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PROCOPIUS

III
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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES
III

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS V AND VI

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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS:
BOOK V

THE GOTHIC WAR
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ
ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΔΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ

I

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Διβύη πράγματα τῇδε Ὁρωμαιοὶ ἐχώρησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον τῶν Γοτθικῶν εἶμι, ἐπειπὼν πρῶτον ὅσα Γότθοις τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πρὸ τούτῳ τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ἐξυνέβη.

2 Ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βασιλεύοντος Ἀὐγουστος εἰχε τὸ ἐστέριον κράτος, δι' καὶ Ἀὐγούστου οὐκοκορίζομεν ἐκάλουν Ὁρωμαίοι, ὡς δὲ καὶ μειράκιον ὅπως ἔτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἤν οἱ ὘ρέστης ὁ πατήρ διώκειτο ἐξυνετῶ.

3 τατος ὅν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ Ὁρωμαίοι χρόνῳ τινὶ πρῶτον Σκίρους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Γοτθικα ἔθνη ἐς εὐμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι· ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τε Ἁλαρίχου καὶ Ἀττίλα 1 συνηνέχθη παθεῖν ἄπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν

4 λόγοις ἔρρήθη. ὅσπερ τε 2 τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἥκμαζε, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ τῶν Ὁρωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἀξίωμα ἦδη ὑπέληγε, καὶ τῷ εὑπρεπεῖ

1 Ἀττίλα Grotius and Maltretus: ἀντάλα MSS.
2 διῳ τε Scaliger: δὲ MSS.
such, then, were the fortunes of the Romans in Libya. I shall now proceed to the Gothic War, first telling all that befell the Goths and Italians before this war.

During the reign of Zeno in Byzantium the power in the West was held by Augustus, whom the Romans used to call by the diminutive name Augustulus because he took over the empire while still a lad, his father Orestes, a man of the greatest discretion, administering it as regent for him. Now it happened that the Romans a short time before had induced the Sciri and Alani and certain other Gothic nations to form an alliance with them; and from that time on it was their fortune to suffer at the hand of Alaric and Attila those things which have been told in the previous narrative. And in proportion as the barbarian element among them became strong, just so did the prestige of the Roman soldiers forthwith decline, and under the fair name of alliance

1 Book III. ii. 7 ff., iv. 29 ff.
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tῆς ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπηλύδων τυραννοῦμενοι ἐβιάζοντο· ὅστε αὐτοὺς ἀνέδην ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὦ τι ἐκουσίους ἦνάγκαζον καὶ τελευτώντες ἔμπαντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς νείμασθαι. 5 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγροὺς ἡξίουν. ὅπε ἦ τὸ τριτημόριον σφίζει διδόναι τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐκέλευον, ταύτα τε ποιήσειν αὐτῶν ὡς ἕκιστα ὀμολογοῦντα 6 εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ὁδόακρος ὄνομα, ἐς τοὺς βασιλέως δορυφόρους τελῶν· ὅσ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοὺς ποιήσειν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ὀμολογησεν, ἦπερ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατα- 7 στήσωνται. οὕτω τε τὴν τυραννίδα παραλαβὼν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸν βασιλέα κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἐν 8 ἰδιότου δὲ λόγῳ βιοτεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔισε. καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸ τριτημόριον τῶν ἀγρῶν παρα- σχῶμενος τούτῳ τε τὸ τρόπῳ αὐτοὺς βεβαιότητα ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκρατύνετο δέκα.

9 Τπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ Γότθοι, οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης δόντος βασιλέως κατόχηντο, ὑπλα ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους, Θεουδερίχου σφίζων ἡγουμένου, ἀντήραν, ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ὑπάτων 10 δίφρον ἀναβεβηκότος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεύς, τὰ παρόντα εὐ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος, Θεουδερίχῳ παρήνει ἐς Ἰταλίαν πορεύεσθαι καὶ Ὁδόακρῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντι τὴν ἐσπερίαν ἐπικράτη- 11 σιν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γότθοις πορίζεσθαι. ἀμείνων γὰρ οἱ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπτ' ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἦκοντι,

1 ὅσ αὐτοῖς Grotius: οἱ αὐτῶς MSS.
they were more and more tyrannized over by the intruders and oppressed by them; so that the barbarians ruthlessly forced many other measures upon the Romans much against their will and finally demanded that they should divide with them the entire land of Italy. And indeed they commanded Orestes to give them the third part of this, and when he would by no means agree to do so, they killed him immediately. Now there was a certain man among the Romans named Odoacer, one of the bodyguards of the emperor, and he at that time agreed to carry out their commands, on condition that they should set him upon the throne. And when he had received the supreme power in this way, he did the emperor no further harm, but allowed him to live thenceforth as a private citizen. And by giving the third part of the land to the barbarians, and in this way gaining their allegiance most firmly, he held the supreme power securely for ten years.  

It was at about this same time that the Goths also, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, took up arms against the Romans under the leadership of Theoderic, a man who was of patrician rank and had attained the consular office in Byzantium. But the Emperor Zeno, who understood how to settle to his advantage any situation in which he found himself, advised Theoderic to proceed to Italy, attack Odoacer, and win for himself and the Goths the western dominion. For it was better for him, he said, especially as he had attained the senatorial dignity, to force out a usurper and be ruler

1 Odoacer was defeated and shut up in Ravenna by Theoderic in 489, surrendered to him in 493, and was put to death in the same year. His independent rule (rūpavīls) therefore lasted thirteen years.
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tūranvnon biassamēνον Ἡρωμαϊν τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ἡ βασιλεῖ διαμαχομένως ἐς τὸσον κινδύνον ἴναι.

12 Θευδερίγος δὲ ἦσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦε, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γότθων λέως εἴπετο, παιδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι καὶ
13 τὰ ἐπιπλα ὅσα φέρειν οἷοὶ τε ἦσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε κόλπου ἀγχίστα τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐγένοντο, διαπορθ-μεύσθαι, νὴν σφῖσιν οὐ παρουσῶν, ἦκιστα εἶχον περιόντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον πρόσω ἐχὼρουν διὰ τε Γαυλαντίων καὶ τῶν ταύτη ἐθνῶν. τούτοις δὲ οἱ ἅμφι Ὀδόακρον ὑπαντά-σαντες μάχας 1 τε ἠσθήθεντες πολλαῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥαβένης σὺν τῷ ἤγεμόνι σφῶς αὐτοὺς εἶρξαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων ἱσχυροῖς
15 οὐσὶ. καθεστηκότες δὲ εἰς πολιορκίαν οἱ Γότθοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χωρία εὑμπαντα τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν εἴλον, Καισῆναν δὲ τῷ φρού-ριον, ὅπερ σταδίους τριακοσίοις Ῥαβένης διέχει, Ῥάβεναν τε αὐτήν, ἐνθα καὶ Ὀδόακρον συμ-πέπτωκεν εἶναι, οὔτε ὁμολογία οὔτε βία ἐλεῖν ἵσχυν. Ῥάβενα γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐν πεδίῳ μὲν κεῖται ὑπτίῳ ἐς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου τὰ ἔσχατα, δυοῖν σταδίους διεργομένη μέτρῳ τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαλάσσιος εἶναι, οὐκ εὐέφοδος δὲ οὔτε ναυσὶν οὔτε πεζῶν
17 στρατῷ φαίνεται οὔσα. αἱ τε γὰρ νῆς καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνην ἁκτὴν ἤκιστα ἐχοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῇ ἡ θάλασσα ἐμπόδιος ἀπὸ βράχως πουρμένη οὐχ ἴσσον ἢ κατὰ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἥιονα ταύτην, καίπερ τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀγχίστα

1 μάχας editors: μάχης V, μάχη, followed by a lacuna of two words, L.
over all the Romans and Italians than to incur the great risk of a decisive struggle with the emperor.

Now Theodoric was pleased with the suggestion and went to Italy, and he was followed by the Gothic host, who placed in their waggons the women and children and such of their chattels as they were able to take with them. And when they came near the Ionian Gulf,\textsuperscript{1} they were quite unable to cross over it, since they had no ships at hand; and so they made the journey around the gulf, advancing through the land of the Taulantii and the other nations of that region. Here the forces of Odoacer encountered them, but after being defeated in many battles, they shut themselves up with their leader in Ravenna and such other towns as were especially strong. And the Goths laid siege to these places and captured them all, in one way or another, as it chanced in each case, except that they were unable to capture, either by surrender or by storm, the fortress of Caesena,\textsuperscript{2} which is three hundred stades distant from Ravenna, and Ravenna itself, where Odoacer happened to be. For this city of Ravenna lies in a level plain at the extremity of the Ionian Gulf, lacking two stades of being on the sea, and it is so situated as not to be easily approached either by ships or by a land army. Ships cannot possibly put in to shore there because the sea itself prevents them by forming shoals for not less than thirty stades; consequently the beach at Ravenna, although to the eye of mariners it is very

\textsuperscript{1} Meaning the whole Adriatic; cf. chap. xv. 16, note.
\textsuperscript{2} Modern Cesena.
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όρωμένην, τῇ τοῦ βράχους περιουσία ἐκαστάτῳ
18 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐσβατῇ
οὐδαμῇ γίγνεται. Πάδος τε γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς, ὅπως
καὶ Ἦριδανων καλοῦσιν, ἐξ ὄριων τῶν Κελτικῶν
ταύτη φερόμενος καὶ ποταμὸς ἀλλοι ναυσίποροι
ξὺν λίμναις τισὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν περιβάλλοντες
ἀμφίβρρυτον ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. ἐνταῦθα
γίγνεται τι ἐς ἥμεραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον οἶνον.
ἡ θάλασσα πρῶτ ποιομένη σχῆμα ποταμοῦ
ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς γῆν ἀναβαίνει καὶ
πλοῖον αὐτὴν παρεχομένη ἐν μέσῃ ἥπειρῳ,
ἀυθὶς ἀναλύουσα τὸν πορθμὸν ἀναστρέφει ἀμφὶ
deίλην ὄψιν, καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὴν ξυνάγει τὸ ῥέμα.

20 ὅσοι οὖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομμέζειν τὰ ἐπιτίθεια
ἡ ἐνθένδε ἐκφέρειν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἢ κατ' ἀλλην
ἐχοσίναι αἰτίαν, τὰ φορτία ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέ-
μενοι, κατασπάσαντες τε αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ οὗ
δὴ ὁ πορθμὸς γίνεσθαι εἰσθῇ, προσδέχονται τὴν

21 ἐπιρροῆν. καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτὴ ἀφίκηται, τὰ τε
πλοία κατὰ βραχῦ ἐκ γῆς ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ καὶ
οἱ ἀμφὶ 2 ναῦται ἔργον ἐχόμενοι ναυτιλλοῦνται

22 ἢδη. καὶ τούτο οὖν ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς
ἀπασαν τὴν ἐκείνην 3 ἀκτὴν ἐς ἀεὶ γίγνεται, ἄχρι
23 ἀκυληθὸς πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐς
τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον γίνεσθαι εἰσθεν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἁλίκα
μὲν βραχὺ φαίνεται τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲ ἡ
τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος ἑσοχαὶ γίγνεται, μετὰ
de τὴν πρώτην δίχοτομον ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν

1 ὄριον MSS.: ὄρεών ("mountains") editors, cf. VIII.
v. 30.
2 ἀμφὶ MSS.: ἀμφὶ αὐτὰ or ἀμφὶ ταύτα Herwerden.
3 ἐκείνη Maitretons: ἐκείνη MSS.
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near at hand, is in reality very far away by reason of the great extent of the shoal-water. And a land army cannot approach it at all; for the river Po, also called the Eridanus, which flows past Ravenna, coming from the boundaries of Celtica, and other navigable rivers together with some marshes, encircle it on all sides and so cause the city to be surrounded by water. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place every day. For early in the morning the sea forms a kind of river and comes up over the land for the distance of a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and becomes navigable in the midst of the mainland, and then in the late afternoon it turns back again, causing the inlet to disappear, and gathers the stream to itself.¹ All those, therefore, who have to convey provisions into the city or carry them out from there for trade or for any other reason, place their cargoes in boats, and drawing them down to the place where the inlet is regularly formed, they await the inflow of the water. And when this comes, the boats are lifted little by little from the ground and float, and the sailors on them set to work and from that time on are seafaring men. And this is not the only place where this happens, but it is the regular occurrence along the whole coast in this region as far as the city of Aquileia. However, it does not always take place in the same way at every time, but when the light of the moon is faint, the advance of the sea is not strong either, but from the first² half-moon until the

¹ He means that an estuary (πορθμός) is formed by the rising tide in the morning, and the water flows out again as the tide falls in the evening.
² From the first until the third quarter.
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καρτερά μάλλον ή ἐπιρροή γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὁδὲ τη̣ ἡ ἕχει.

24 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θευδερίχω
Ῥαβένναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτρυπτο ἦδη, οὔ τε Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ καὶ οἱ ἄμφι
Ὀδόακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὑπὸ διάλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἕρει ἐς λόγους
ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ὁ Θευδερίχος τε καὶ
Ὀδόακρος ἐν Ῥαβέννη ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστῇ καὶ ὁμοῖα διὰ
ταῦν έξουσί. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τίνα διεσώσαντο τὰ
ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θευδερίχος Ὀδόακρον λα-
βῶν, ὃς φασίν, ἐπιβουλή ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον, νῦν
τε δολερῷ καλέσας ἐπὶ θώμην, ἐκείνεν, καὶ ἀπ' 
αὐτοῦ βαρβάρων τῶν πολεμίων προσποιησάμενος
ὅσους περιεῖναι ξυνεπέσεν αὐτὸς ἔσχε τῷ Γότθων
26 τε καὶ Ἰταλιώτῶν κράτος. καὶ βασιλέως μὲν 
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὐτε τοῦ σχήματος οὔτε τοῦ ὁμό-
ματος ἐπιβατεύει ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤξι διεβίου
καλούμενοι (οὕτω γὰρ σφῶν τους ἱγεμόνας
καλεῖν οἱ βαρβαροὶ νεομίκασι), τῶν μέντοι
κατηκόων τῶν αὐτοῦ προώστη ξύμπαντα περι-
βαλλόμενος ὁσα τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ ήρμοσται.

27 δικαιοσύνης τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπεμελήσατο καὶ
τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ βεβαῖῳ διεσώσατο, ἐκ τε 
βαρβάρων τῶν περιοίκων τῆν χώραν ἀσφαλῶς
διεφύλαξε, ξυνέσεως τε καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς ἄκρον
28 ἐξελύσθει ως μάλιστα. καὶ ἀδίκημα σχεδὸν τι
οὕδὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εἰργάζετο
οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκότι ἐπέτρεπε,

1 νῦ V: τρόπω L.
2 καλεῖν οἱ βαρβαροὶ: καλεῖν οἱ βαρβαροὶ V, οἱ βαρβαροὶ καλεῖν L. 3 τε L: τε γὰρ V and Suidas.
second the inflow has a tendency to be greater. So much for this matter.

But when the third year had already been spent by the Goths and Theodoric in their siege of Ravenna, the Goths, who were weary of the siege, and the followers of Odoacer, who were hard pressed by the lack of provisions, came to an agreement with each other through the mediation of the priest of Ravenna, the understanding being that both Theodoric and Odoacer should reside in Ravenna on terms of complete equality. And for some time they observed the agreement; but afterward Theodoric caught Odoacer, as they say, plotting against him, and bidding him to a feast with treacherous intent slew him,¹ and in this way, after gaining the adherence of such of the hostile barbarians as chanced to survive, he himself secured the supremacy over both Goths and Italians. And though he did not claim the right to assume either the garb or the name of emperor of the Romans, but was called "rex" to the end of his life (for thus the barbarians are accustomed to call their leaders),² still, in governing his own subjects, he invested himself with all the qualities which appropriately belong to one who is by birth an emperor. For he was exceedingly careful to observe justice, he preserved the laws on a sure basis, he protected the land and kept it safe from the barbarians dwelling round about, and attained the highest possible degree of wisdom and manliness. And he himself committed scarcely a single act of injustice against his subjects, nor would he brook such conduct on the part of

¹ See note in Bury's edition of Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 180, for an interesting account of this event.

² This is a general observation; the title "rex" was current among the barbarians to indicate a position inferior to that of a βασιλεύς or "imperator"; cf. VI. xiv. 38.
Πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τῶν χωρίων την μοίραν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοὶς Γόθθοι ἐνείμαντο ἦπερ Ὄδοακρος τοῖς
29 στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν. ἢν τε ο Θευ-
δέρίχος λόγῳ μὲν τύραννος, ἔργῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ἀληθῆς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τὸ εἶ ἀρχῆς
ηὐδοκιμηκότων οὐδενὸς ἦςσον, ἔρως τε αὐτοῦ ἐν
tε Γόθθοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πολὺς ἤκμασε, καὶ
30 ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου. ἔτέρων γὰρ
ἔτερα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις δὲ αἱρουμένων τὴν
ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν ξυμβάινει ἀρέσκεων μὲν ἐν τῷ
παραντικά οἶς ἂν ἐν ἦδουν ἡ πρασσόμενα ἢ,
λυπεῖν δὲ ὅν τῆς γνώμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρῆ-
31 σειν. ἔτη δὲ ἐπιβιοῦσ ἐτπά καὶ τριάκοντα
ἐτελεύτησε, φοβερῶς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγονός
ἀπασι, πόθον δὲ αὐτοῦ πολὺν τινα ἐς τοὺς ὑπη-
κόους ἀπολιπτῶν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρόπῳ τοὐβὸδε.
32 Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ό τούτου γαμβρός,
εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦστην, πρῶτῳ δὲ
βουλής τῆς Ρωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτῳ ἑγενέσθην ἄμ-
33 φω. φιλοσοφίαι δὲ ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης
ἐπιμελησαμένω οὔδενὸς ἦςσον, πολλοῖς τε ἅστῶν
καὶ ξένων χωρίμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένω καὶ
δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθόνον
34 τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐπηγαγήτην. οἷς δὲ συκο-
φαντοῦσι Θευδέριχος ἀναπεισθείς ἄτε νεωτέροις
πράγμασιν ἐγκεροῦντε τῷ ἄνδρε τοῦτῳ ἔκτεων
καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα
35 ἐποιήσατο. δειπνοῦντι δὲ οἱ ήμέραις ὀλίγαις
ὑστερον ἰχθύος μεγάλου κεφαλῆν οἱ θεράποντες

1 ἦςσον L: ἦςσον V and Suidas.
2 δόν V: ἢν L.
3 ἅστων V: αὐτῶν L.
4 πονηροτάτους V: πικροτάτους L.
anyone else who attempted it, except, indeed, that the Goths distributed among themselves the portion of the lands which Odoacer had given to his own partisans. And although in name Theodoric was a usurper, yet in fact he was as truly an emperor as any who have distinguished themselves in this office from the beginning; and love for him among both Goths and Italians grew to be great, and that too contrary to the ordinary habits of men. For in all states men's preferences are divergent, with the result that the government in power pleases for the moment only those with whom its acts find favour, but offends those whose judgment it violates. But Theodoric reigned for thirty-seven years, and when he died, he had not only made himself an object of terror to all his enemies, but he also left to his subjects a keen sense of bereavement at his loss. And he died in the following manner.

Symmachus and his son-in-law Boetius were men of noble and ancient lineage, and both had been leading men in the Roman senate and had been consuls. But because they practised philosophy and were mindful of justice in a manner surpassed by no other men, relieving the destitution of both citizens and strangers by generous gifts of money, they attained great fame and thus led men of the basest sort to envy them. Now such persons slandered them to Theodoric, and he, believing their slanders, put these two men to death, on the ground that they were setting about a revolution, and made their property confiscate to the public treasury. And a few days later, while he was dining, the servants set before him

1 Probably a reminiscence of the "princeps senatus" of classical times.
παρετίθεσαν. αὐτὴ Θευδeràχρω ἐδοξεν ἡ κεφαλή
36 Συμμάχου νεοσφαιγοῦς εἶναι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀδού-
σιν ἐς χεῖλος τὸ κάτω ἐμπεπηγοσί, τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς βλοσυρόν τι ἐς αὐτὸν 1 καὶ μανικόν
37 ὀρώσιν, ἀπείλουντι οἱ ἐπὶ πλεύστον ἐφκεῖ. περι-
δεής δὲ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοῦ τέρατος γεγονοῦς
καὶ ρυγώσας ἐκτόπως ἐς κοίτην τῆν αὐτοῦ ἀπε-
χώρησε δρόμῳ, τριβώνια τε πολλὰ οἱ ἐπιθεῖναι
38 κελεύσας ἥσυχαζε. μετὰ δὲ ἀπαντα ἐἰς Ἐλπίδιον
τὸν ἰατρὸν τὰ ξυμπεσοῦντα ἐξενεγκὼν τῇν ἐς
Σύμμαχον τε καὶ Βοέτιον ἀμαρτάδα ἐκλαεῖν.
39 ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλήγησας τῇ ἥμμοφορά
οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐτελεύτησε, ἀδίκημα τοῦτο
πρῶτον τε καὶ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς
αὐτοῦ δράσας, ὅτι δὴ ὡς διερευνησάμενος, ὡσπερ
εἰῶθει, τῇν περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν γούσων ἤνεγκε.

II

Τελευτήσαντος τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τὴν βασι-
λείαν Ἠταλάριχος, ὁ Θευδeràχρον θυγατρικός,
ὥστα γεγονός ἐτη καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἁμαλα-
2 σούθη τρεφόμενος. ὁ γὰρ οἱ πατὴρ ἦδη ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο. χρόνῳ τε οὐ πολλῷ
ὕστερον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν βασιλεών
3 παρέλαβεν. Ἁμαλασώνθα δὲ, ἀτε τοῦ παιδός
ἐπίτροπος οὐσα, τὴν ἀρχήν δισκεῖτο, ἐνεσκεῖτο
μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῇς
δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἄγαν τὸ ἄρρενοτὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη.
4 ὅσον τε χρόνου τῆς πολιτείας προὔστη, οὔδένα

1 ἐς αὐτὸν V: om. L.
the head of a great fish. This seemed to Theoderic to be the head of Symmachus newly slain. Indeed, with its teeth set in its lower lip and its eyes looking at him with a grim and insane stare, it did resemble exceedingly a person threatening him. And becoming greatly frightened at the extraordinary prodigy and shivering excessively, he retired running to his own chamber, and bidding them place many covers upon him, remained quiet. But afterwards he disclosed to his physician Elpidius all that had happened and wept for the wrong he had done Symmachus and Boetius. Then, having lamented and grieved exceedingly over the unfortunate occurrence, he died not long afterward. This was the first and last act of injustice which he committed toward his subjects, and the cause of it was that he had not made a thorough investigation, as he was accustomed to do, before passing judgment on the two men.

II

After his death the kingdom was taken over by Atalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter; he had reached the age of eight years and was being reared under the care of his mother Amalasuntha. For his father had already departed from among men. And not long afterward Justinian succeeded to the imperial power in Byzantium. Now Amalasuntha, as guardian of her child, administered the government, and she proved to be endowed with wisdom and regard for justice in the highest degree, displaying to a great extent the masculine temper. As long as she stood at the head of the government she inflicted punish-
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tών πάντων Ἦρωμαίων ἐσ τὸ σώμα ἐκόλασεν ἡ
5 χρήμασιν ἐξημιώσεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γότθοις ἔσω-
χώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἐς ἐκεῖνος ἄδικιάν ὀργόσων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Συμμάχου τε καὶ Βοετίου παισι
6 τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπέδωκεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἄμαλασοῦνθα
τὸν παίδα ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ἦρωμαίων ἀρχοῦσι τὰ
ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὁμότροπον καταστήσασθαι καὶ
7 φοιτάν ἐς γραμματιστῶν ἦδη ἱνάγκαζε. τρεῖς τε
ἀπολεξαμένη τῶν ἐν Γότθοις γερόντων οὐσπερ
ἡπίστατο μᾶλλον ἀπάντων ἔσωτούς τε καὶ ἐπι-
εικεῖσ εἶναι, ξυνδιατάσσατο Ἀταλαρίχῳ ἐκέλευε.
8 Γότθοις δὲ ταῦτα οὔδαμη ἢρεσκε. τῆς 2 γάρ ἐς
τοὺς ύπηκόους ἄδικιάς ἐπιθυμία βαρβαρικῶτερον
9 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχεσθαι ἡθελον. καὶ ποτε ἡ μὲν
μήτηρ ἀμαρτάνοντα τι ἐν τῷ κοιτῶν τὸν παίδα
λαβοῦσα ἐρράπισε· καὶ ὃς δεδακρυμένος ἐς τὴν
10 ἀνδρωνίτων ἐνθένε ἀπήλθε. Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῷ
ἐντυχόντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῇ Ἄμαλασοῦνθῃ
λοιδορούμενοι ἰσχυρίζοντο βούλεσθαι αὐτῆν τὸν
παίδα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανείων ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅπως
αὐτὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθοῦσα Γότθων τε
11 καὶ Ἁταλιωτῶν ἐξιν αὐτῷ ἄρχοι. ξυλλεγέντες
tε, ὅσοι δὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγιμοι ᾦσαν, καὶ παρὰ
tὴν Ἄμαλασοῦνθαν ἐλθόντες ἤτιώντο οὐκ ὀρθῶς
σφίσαν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐμφέρει τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι.
12 γράμματά τε γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι ἀν-
δρίας, καὶ διδασκαλίας γερόντων ἀνθρώποις ἐς
τὸ δείλον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ
13 ἐπὶ πλείστον. δεῖν τοις τῶν ἐν τινὶ ἐργῷ τολ-
μητὴν τε καὶ δόξῃ μέγαν ἐσομενοῦ, φόβου του ἐκ
didaskalow ἀπαλλαγέντα, τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
1 ἐς ἐκεῖνος V: ἐκεῖνον L. 2 τῆς V: τῇ L.
ment upon no Roman in any case either by touching his person or by imposing a fine. Furthermore, she did not give way to the Goths in their mad desire to wrong them, but she even restored to the children of Symmachus and Boetius their fathers' estates. Now Amalasuntha wished to make her son resemble the Roman princes in his manner of life, and was already compelling him to attend the school of a teacher of letters. And she chose out three among the old men of the Goths whom she knew to be prudent and refined above all the others, and bade them live with Atalaric. But the Goths were by no means pleased with this. For because of their eagerness to wrong their subjects they wished to be ruled by him more after the barbarian fashion. On one occasion the mother, finding the boy doing some wrong in his chamber, chastised him; and he in tears went off thence to the men's apartments. And some Goths who met him made a great to-do about this, and reviling Amalasuntha insisted that she wished to put the boy out of the world as quickly as possible, in order that she might marry a second husband and with him rule over the Goths and Italians. And all the notable men among them gathered together, and coming before Amalasuntha made the charge that their king was not being educated correctly from their point of view nor to his own advantage. For letters, they said, are far removed from manliness, and the teaching of old men results for the most part in a cowardly and submissive spirit. Therefore the man who is to shew daring in any work and be great in renown ought to be freed from the timidity which teachers inspire and to take his training in arms.
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14 μελέτας ποιεῖσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ Θεοδέριχος ποτε Γότθων τινὰς τοὺς παιδὰς ἐς γραμματιστοῦν τέμπειν ἐφ᾽ ήλεγεν γὰρ ἀπασιν ὡς, ἢνπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύτους ἐπιγένηται δέος, οὐ μὴ ποτε ξῖφους ἢ δορατίου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἀξιώσουσιν. ἐνοείν τε αὐτὴν ἐδικαίουν ὡς ἄρα οἱ οἱ πατήρ Θεοδέριχος χώρας τε τοσαύτης κύριος γεγονός καὶ βασιλείαν οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν περιβαλλόμενος τελευτήσει, καίτερ 1

17 γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄκοιν ἔχων. "Οὐκόψω, ὦ δεσποτίων," ἐφάσαν, "παιδαγωγοὺς μὲν τούτους φιλεῖν ταύν ἔα, σὺ δὲ 'Αταλάριχου ὁμοδιάτους ἡλικιάς τινὰς δίδου, οὐπερ αὐτῶν 2 τἀ ἐς τὴν ἠλικίαν ἔνυπακμάζοντες ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν 3 κατὰ γε τὸν βαρβαροῦν νῦμον ὀρμήσουσιν."

18 Ταῦτα ἐπει ήκοιςεν 'Αμαλασοῦνθα, οὐκ ἐπηνεσε μὲν, δεύσασα δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβολήν, δόκησιν τε παρεῖχε τὸ πρὸς ἠδονῆς αὐτῆ ὁ λόγος ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἔνυπερ πολλὰ ἀπαντά ὅσων οἱ βαρβαροὶ αὐτῆς ἔχρηζον. τῶν τε γερόντων 'Αταλάριχου ἐκλειποῦντων παῖδες αὐτῷ τεῖνες ἔυπησαν κοινοῦ τῆς διαίτης ἐσόμενοι, οὐπω μὲν ἡθικάτες, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ προτερεύοντες, οὐπερ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἠθὴν ἠλθέν, ἐς τε μέθην καὶ γνωικῶν μέξεις παρακαλοῦντες, κακοθητὴ τε διαφέροντως εἰναι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὑπὸ ἀβέλτερίας ἀπειθέστερον κατεστῆσαντο. ὡστε οὐδὲ μεταποιεῖσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ παράπταν ἦξιον, καίτερ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆν ἦδη ἔνυπακμάζοντες, οἶ γε καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀναχώρειν τήν ἀνθρω-

1 καίτερ Haury : καὶ περὶ MSS., καίτερ περὶ Scaliger.
2 αὐτῶν V: αὐτῶ L. 3 ἀρετὴν V Suidas: ἀρχὴν L.
They added that even Theoderic would never allow any of the Goths to send their children to school; for he used to say to them all that, if the fear of the strap once came over them, they would never have the resolution to despise sword or spear. And they asked her to reflect that her father Theoderic before he died had become master of all this territory and had invested himself with a kingdom which was his by no sort of right, although he had not so much as heard of letters. "Therefore, O Queen," they said, "have done with these tutors now, and do you give to Atalaric some men of his own age to be his companions, who will pass through the period of youth with him and thus give him an impulse toward that excellence which is in keeping with the custom of barbarians."

When Amalasuntha heard this, although she did not approve, yet because she feared the plotting of these men, she made it appear that their words found favour with her, and granted everything the barbarians desired of her. And when the old men had left Atalaric, he was given the company of some boys who were to share his daily life,—lads who had not yet come of age but were only a little in advance of him in years; and these boys, as soon as he came of age, by enticing him to drunkenness and to intercourse with women, made him an exceptionally depraved youth, and of such stupid folly that he was disinclined to follow his mother's advice. Consequently he utterly refused to champion her cause, although the barbarians were by now openly leaguing together against her; for they were boldly commanding the
21 πον ἀνέδην ἐκέλευον. 'Αμαλασούνθα δὲ οὔτε κατωρρώδησε τὴν τῶν Γότθων ἐπιβουλὴν οὔτε οἷα γυνὴ ἐμαθακίσθη, ἀλλ' ἐτι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐνδεικνυμένη, τρεῖς ἀπολέξασα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογιμωτάτους τε καὶ αὐτὴν αἰτιωτάτους τής στάσεως, ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας ἑναί, οὐχ ἁμα μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο ἐφ' ὃ τὴν χώραν φυλάξωσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
22 ἐφόδου. ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἥσσον οἱ ἄνδρες οὕτω διὰ τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν (ξυνήσαν' γὰρ ἐτι καὶ μακρὰν ὅδον πορευόμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντες) 'Αμαλασούνθη τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξητύντοντο.

"Ἀπερ οὐκέτι φέρειν ἡ γυνὴ οἷα τε οὖσα ἐπενύοι.

23 τοιάδε. πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον ᾿Ιουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰπερ αὐτῷ βουλομένω εἰς 'Αμαλασούνθαν τὴν Θευδερίχου παρ' αὐτὸν ήκειν' βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπαλ-

24 λάσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἥσθεις ἐλθεῖν τε τὴν γυναίκα ἐκέλευε καὶ τῶν Ἐπιδάμμων οίκων τῶν κάλλιστον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλε γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν Ἀμαλασούνθα ἐνταῦθα ἵνα, καταλύοι τε αὐτόσε καὶ χρόνου διατρίψασα οὖσαν ἄν αὐτὴ βουλομένῃ εἰ, οὕτω δὴ κομίζεται ἐς Βυζάντιον. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ἁμαλα-

25 σούνθα ἐγὼ, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξασα Γότθους, δρα-

στηρίους τε καὶ αὐτὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους,

1 ξυνήσαν Λ: ξυνήσαν V. 2 γὰρ ἐτι καὶ V: κατερ Λ.
3 'Αμαλασούνθη Λ: καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη Λ.
4 τῶν Ἐπιδάμμων οίκων Αμυγ: τῶν ἐπιδάμμων οίκων V, τῶν ἐπιδάμμων οίκων Λ.
woman to withdraw from the palace. But Amalasuntha neither became frightened at the plotting of
the Goths nor did she, womanlike, weakly give way, but still displaying the dignity besetting a queen, she
chose out three men who were the most notable among the barbarians and at the same time the most respon-
sible for the sedition against her, and bade them go to the limits of Italy, not together, however, but as
far apart as possible from one another; but it was made to appear that they were being sent in order
to guard the land against the enemy’s attack. But nevertheless these men by the help of their friends
and relations, who were all still in communication with them, even travelling a long journey for the
purpose, continued to make ready the details of their plot against Amalasuntha.

And the woman, being unable to endure these things any longer, devised the following plan. Sending to
Byzantium she enquired of the Emperor Justinian whether it was his wish that Amalasuntha, the
daughter of Theodoric, should come to him; for she wished to depart from Italy as quickly as possible.
And the emperor, being pleased by the suggestion, bade her come and sent orders that the finest of the
houses in Epidamnus should be put in readiness, in order that when Amalasuntha should come there, she
might lodge in it and after spending such time there as she wished might then betake herself to Byzantium.
When Amalasuntha learned this, she chose out certain Goths who were energetic men and especially devoted
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Έστελλεν ἐφ' ψ' τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὅν ἁρτὶ ἐμνήσθην, ἀτε τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους αὐτῇ 26 γενομένους. αὐτὴ δὲ ἄλλα τε χρήματα καὶ τετρακόσια χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν νη μιὰ ἐνθεμένη, ἐς ταύτην τε ἐμβιβάσασα τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων 1 τινάς, πλεῖν μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἀφικομένους δὲ ὀρμίζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ ταύτης λιμένι, τῶν δὲ φορτίων, ἕως αὐτὴ ἐπιστέλλοι, 27 μηδ’ ὀτιοῦν ἐκφορεῖν τῆς νεός. ἐπράσσε δὲ ταύτα, ὅπως, ἥν μὲν ἀπολωλεῖναι τοὺς τρεῖς πύθηται, μένοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τήν ναῦν μεταπέμποιτο, οὐδὲν ἐτι ἔχουσα πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν δέος· ἢν δὲ αὐτῶν τινα περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνῃ, οὐδεμιᾶς οἱ ἀγαθὰς ἀπολελειμμένης ἑλπίδος, πλέοι τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως.

28 ξιν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώξοιτο. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸν Ἐπίδαμνιον λιμένα, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες τὰ ἐνετειλαμένα 29 ἐποίουν. οὐλγωφ δὲ ὑστερον Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, τῶν φόνων οἱ ἐξειργασμένων ἀπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν τε ναῦν μετεπέµπτετο καὶ μένουσα ἔπει Ραβέενης τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἑκρατύνατο.

III

'Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν Γότθως Θευδάτος ὄνομα, τῆς Θευδερίχου ἀδελφῆς Ἀμαλαφρίδης ύίος, πόρρω που ἡδη ἡλικίας ἥκων, λόγων μὲν Λατίνων μεταλαχῶν καὶ δογμάτων Πλατωνικών, πολέμων δὲ

1 οἱ πιστοτάτων V: εὐπιστοτάτων L.
2 ἔπεμπε V: ἔστελλε L.
to her and sent them to kill the three whom I have just mentioned, as having been chiefly responsible for the sedition against her. And she herself placed all her possessions, including four hundred centenaria\(^1\) of gold, in a single ship and embarked on it some of those most faithful to her and bade them sail to Epidamnus, and, upon arriving there, to anchor in its harbour, but to discharge from the ship nothing whatever of its cargo until she herself should send orders. And she did this in order that, if she should learn that the three men had been destroyed, she might remain there and summon the ship back, having no further fear from her enemies; but if it should chance that any one of them was left alive, no good hope being left her, she purposed to sail with all speed and find safety for herself and her possessions in the emperor's land. Such was the purpose with which Amalasuntha was sending the ship to Epidamnus; and when it arrived at the harbour of that city, those who had the money carried out her orders. But a little later, when the murders had been accomplished as she wished, Amalasuntha summoned the ship back and remaining at Ravenna strengthened her rule and made it as secure as might be.

III

There was among the Goths one Theodatus by name, son of Amalafrida, the sister of Theoderic, a man already of mature years, versed in the Latin literature and the teachings of Plato, but without

\(^1\) See Book I. xxii. 4; III. vi. 2 and note.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΣΑΡΕΑΟΥ

αμελετήτως παντάπασιν ἔχουν, μακράν τε ἀπολειμμένος τοῦ δραστηρίου, ἐς μέντοι φιλοχρη-
ματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. οὕτος ὁ Θευδάτος πλείστων μὲν τῶν ἐν Τούσκοις χωρίων κύριος
ἐγεγόρησε, βιαζόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ λειπόμενα τοὺς
κεκτημένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἰχε. γείτονα
γὰρ ἔχειν συμφόρα τὰς Θευδάτων ἐδόκει εἶναι.

3 ταύτην αὐτῶ 'Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὴν προθυμίαν ἀνα-
stέλλειν ἠπείγετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἦχετο τε αὐτῆ

4 ἐς αἰεὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. ἐβουλεύετο1 οὖν Ὦου-
στιωνᾶν ἔβασιλει Τουσκίαν ἐνδούναι, ἐφ' ὅ χρή-
ματά τε πολλὰ καὶ βολής πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄξιωμα
κομμασμένον εὖ Βυζαντίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν διατρίβοι.

5 ταῦτα Θευδάτου βεβουλευμένον πρέσβεις ἐκ
Βυζαντίου παρὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα ἠκον, ὃ τε
τῆς Ἐφέσου ἱερεὺς Ἑπάτιος καὶ Δημήτριος ἐκ
τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππων, δόξης ἔνεκοι ἡν
Χριστιανοὶ ἐν σφισιν αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν ἄμφι-
6 γνωστές. τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἕγον ἐξεπιστά-
μενον ὡς ἦκαστα ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀπονοίας γὰρ
μανιῶδος τινὸς ἠγουμαι εἶναι διερευνᾶσθαι τὴν
7 τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅποια ποτὲ ἔστιν. ἀνθρώπων γὰρ
οὐδὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐς τὸ ἀκρίβες οἷμαι κατα-
ληπτά, μὴ τί τε γε δὴ τὰ εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν ἦκοντα.
ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκινδύνως σεσωπήσθω μόνῳ
8 τοῦ2 μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι3 τὰ τετειμένα. ἕγον γὰρ
οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ ὀτιοῦν εἴποιμι ἢ ὅτι
ἀγαθὸς τε παντάπασιν εἰς καὶ ξύμπαντα εὖ τῇ
9 ἐξουσία τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔχει. λεγέτω δὲ ὡς τῇ ἐκαστος
γυνώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἴεται, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ

1 ἐβουλεύετο L: ἐβουλεύετο V. 2 το Maltretus: τὸ MSS.
3 ἀπιστεῖσθαι V: ἀπιστήσαι L.
any experience whatever in war and taking no part in active life, and yet extraordinarily devoted to the pursuit of money. This Theodatus had gained possession of most of the lands in Tuscany, and he was eager by violent methods to wrest the remainder from their owners. For to have a neighbour seemed to Theodatus a kind of misfortune. Now Amalasuntha was exerting herself to curb this desire of his, and consequently he was always vexed with her and resentful. He formed the plan, therefore, of handing over Tuscany to the Emperor Justinian, in order that, upon receiving from him a great sum of money and the senatorial dignity, he might pass the rest of his life in Byzantium. After Theodatus had formed this plan, there came from Byzantium to the chief priest of Rome two envoys, Hypatius, the priest of Ephesus, and Demetrius, from Philippi in Macedonia, to confer about a tenet of faith, which is a subject of disagreement and controversy among the Christians. As for the points in dispute, although I know them well, I shall by no means make mention of them; for I consider it a sort of insane folly to investigate the nature of God, enquiring of what sort it is. For man cannot, I think, apprehend even human affairs with accuracy, much less those things which pertain to the nature of God. As for me, therefore, I shall maintain a discreet silence concerning these matters, with the sole object that old and venerable beliefs may not be discredited. For I, for my part, will say nothing whatever about God save that He is altogether good and has all things in His power. But let each one say whatever he thinks he knows about these matters, both priest and layman.
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ιδιότης. Θεοδάτος δὲ ξυγγενόμενος λάθρα τοῦς πρέσβεις τούτοις ἀγγέλλειν ἐπέστελλεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλείᾳ ἀπερ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἰς, ἐξειπὼν ὅσα μοι ἄρτι δεδηλωται.

10 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀταλάριχος ἐς κραυπάλην ἐμπεπτωκὼς ὤρων οὐκ ἔχουσαν νοσήματι μαρασμοῦ ἦλω. διὸ δὴ Ἀμαλασούνθα διητορεῖτο οὐτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς γυώμη τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐληλακότος, ἢν ταύτῳ Ἀταλάριχος εἶξανθρώπων ἀφανίζηται, οὐκ ἔφετο αὐτῇ τοῦ βίου ἐν τῷ ἄσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι, Γότθων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις προσκεκροκυνία. διὸ δὴ τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτους ἐνδιδόναι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλείᾳ, ὅπως αὐτῇ σώζοιτο, ἤθελεν.

12 ἔτυγχανε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀνήρ ἐκ Βουλής, σὺν τε Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ῥαταῖῳ ἐνταῦθα ήκών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Ἀμαλασούνθης πλοῖον ἔν τῷ Ἐπιδάμωνος λιμένι ὁμίξεθαι βασιλεὺς ἠκουσεν, αὐτὴν δὲ μελλεῖν ἔτι, καὶ περ χρόνου τριβέντως συχνοῦ, ἐπεμψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐφ' ὁ κατασκεψάμενος ἀπαντα τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ ἀγγείλειε τῷ δὲ λόγῳ πρεσβευτὰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε, τοῖς τε ἀμφὶ τῷ Διλυβαῖῳ ἐνυνταραγχεῖς (ἀπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδηλωται) καὶ ὅτι Οὔννοι δέκα ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Διβύῃ στρατοπέδου, δρασμοῦ 2 ἔχομενοι, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, Οὐλίαρις τε αὐτούς, ὡς Νεάπολιν ἐφύλασσεν, Ἀμαλασούνθης οὔτε ἄκουσιον ὑπεδέξατο, Γότθων τε Γῆπαισι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον πολεμοῦν.

1 ἐκ V: ἀπὸ L.

2 δρασμὸν V: δρασμῶ L.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. iii. 9–15

As for Theodatus, he met these envoys secretly and directed them to report to the Emperor Justinian what he had planned, explaining what has just been set forth by me.

But at this juncture Atalaric, having plunged into a drunken revel which passed all bounds, was seized with a wasting disease. Wherefore Amalasuntha was in great perplexity; for, on the one hand, she had no confidence in the loyalty of her son, now that he had gone so far in his depravity, and, on the other, she thought that if Atalaric also should be removed from among men, her life would not be safe thereafter, since she had given offence to the most notable of the Goths. For this reason she was desirous of handing over the power of the Goths and Italians to the Emperor Justinian, in order that she herself might be saved. And it happened that Alexander, a man of the senate, together with Demetrius and Hypatius, had come to Ravenna. For when the emperor had heard that Amalasuntha's boat was anchored in the harbour of Epidamnus, but that she herself was still tarrying, although much time had passed, he had sent Alexander to investigate and report to him the whole situation with regard to Amalasuntha; but it was given out that the emperor had sent Alexander as an envoy to her because he was greatly disturbed by the events at Lilybaeum which have been set forth by me in the preceding narrative,1 and because ten Huns from the army in Libya had taken flight and reached Campania, and Uliaris, who was guarding Naples, had received them not at all against the will of Amalasuntha, and also because the Goths, in making war on the Gepaedes about

1 Book IV. v. 11 ff.
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tes, πόλει Γρατιανῆ, ἐν τῇ Ἱλλυρίων ἐσχατιᾷ
16 κειμένη, ὡς πολεμία ἐχρήσαντο. ἀπερ Ἀμαλα-
σούνθη ἐπικαλῶν γράμματα τε γράψας τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμψεν.

'Οσ ἐπειδὴ ἐν 'Ρώμη ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς
ἀυτοῦ εἰάσε πράσσοντας δὲν ἔνεκα ἥλθον, ἐς δὲ
Ῥάβενναν αὐτοῦ κομισθεὶς καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη ἐς
ὄψιν ἦκων, τοὺς τε βασιλέως λόγους ἀπῆγγειλε
λάθρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἐνεχεῖ-
ρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε: "Τὸ ἐν Διλυ-
βαίῳ φρούριον, ἡμέτερον ὅν, βία λαβοῦσα ἔχεις,
καὶ βαρβάρους δραπέτας ἐμοὺς γεγενημένους
δεξαμένη ἀποδοῦναι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐγνώκας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Γρατιανὴν τὴν ἐμὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα,

18 οὐδὲν σοι προσῆκον, εἰργάσω. ὃθεν ὥρα σοι
ἐκλογίζεσθαι 1 ποίᾳ ποτὲ τούτοις τελευτή γέ-
νοτο." ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἡ γυνὴ τὰ γράμ-
ματα ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται τοίοῦτο. "Βασιλέα
μέγαν τε καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον, ὦρφανῷ
παιδὶ καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαισθα-
νομένῳ μᾶλλον ξυλλαβέσθαι εἰκὸς ἢ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς

19 αἰτίας διάφορον εἴναι. ἀγὼν γάρ, ἣν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ
ἀντιπάλου ἵστατι, οὐδὲ τὴν νίκην εὐπρεπῆ

20 φέρει. σὺ δὲ τὸ Διλύβαιων Ἁταλαρίχῳ ἐπανα-
σείεις καὶ φυγάδας δέκα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ
πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰῶντων ἀμαρτάδα ξυμ-

21 πεσοῦσαν ἀγνοία των ἐς πόλιν φιλίαν. μὴ δὴτα,
μὴ σὺ γε, ὦ βασιλεὺ, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ μὲν ὡς, ἤνικα

22 1 ὥρα σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι V: ἥρα σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι προσῆκε L.

28
Sirmium, had treated the city of Gratiana, situated at the extremity of Illyricum, as a hostile town. So by way of protesting to Amalasuntha with regard to these things, he wrote a letter and sent Alexander.

And when Alexander arrived in Rome, he left there the priests busied with the matters for which they had come, and he himself, journeying on to Ravenna and coming before Amalasuntha, reported the emperor's message secretly, and openly delivered the letter to her. And the purport of the writing was as follows: "The fortress of Lilybaeum, which is ours, you have taken by force and are now holding, and barbarians, slaves of mine who have run away, you have received and have not even yet decided to restore them to me, and besides all this you have treated outrageously my city of Gratiana, though it belongs to you in no way whatever. Wherefore it is time for you to consider what the end of these things will some day be." And when this letter had been delivered to her and she had read it, she replied in the following words: "One may reasonably expect an emperor who is great and lays claim to virtue to assist an orphan child who does not in the least comprehend what is being done, rather than for no cause at all to quarrel with him. For unless a struggle be waged on even terms, even the victory it gains brings no honour. But thou dost threaten Atalaric on account of Lilybaeum, and ten runaways, and a mistake, made by soldiers in going against their enemies, which through some misapprehension chanced to affect a friendly city. Nay! do not thus; do not thou thus, O Emperor, but call to mind

\[1\] Near modern Mitrowitz.
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ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἐστάτευσε, οὐχ ὅσον σοι ἐμποδῶν ἐστημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅδιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σὺν προβυμία πολλῆ ἐδομεν, ἀλλων τε καὶ ὑπ'πων τοσούτων τὸ πλήθος, ἀφ' ὃν σοι ἡ τῶν ἔχθρων ἐπικράτησις μάλιστα γέγονε. καίτοι ξύμμαχος ἄν καὶ φίλος δικαίως καλοῖτο οὐχ ὃς ἂν τὴν ὁμαχμίαν ἐσ τοὺς πέλας προίσχοιτο μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν τῷ ἕ σείμουν ἕκαστον ὅτι ἂν δέοιτο ὑποργῶν φαύνοιτο. ἐκλογήζον δὲ ὡς τηνικαῦτα ὃ στόλος ὃ σῶς οὐτε ἀλαχὴ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἴχεν ὅτι μὴ Σικελία προσχείν οὔτε τῶν ἐνθέντων χωρίς εἰς Διβύνην ἰέναι. ὡσε σοι τὸ τῆς νίκης κεφάλαιον ἕξ ἦμῶν ἔστιν ὃ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπόροις τὴν λύσιν διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐντεύθεν ᾗ ἀπόβασιν φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι. τί δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡδιόν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, ὃς βασιλεὺ, γένοιτο; καὶ μὴν ἐλασσοῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν μετρίως ἦμων ἄμβαινε, ο' γε οὐχι κατά τὸν πολέμον νόμον τὸ τῶν λαβύρων νεμόμεθα μέρος. 

νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸ Σικελίας Διλύβαιον, ἄνωθεν Γότθοις προσήκον, ἀξιόις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, πέτραν, ὃς βασιλεὺ, μίαν ὅσον οὐδὲ ἄργυρίον ἀξίαν, ἢν ἄνθυποργεῖν σε Ἀταλαρίχῳ εἰκός γε ἂν, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐνυαραμένῳ, εἶπερ ἄνωθεν τῆς σῆς βασιλείας οὔσα ἐτύγχανε." ταύτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα βασιλεὶ ἔγραψε.

1 ἂν τῷ Ἑκρυ : ἂν τῷ ΜΣ. 2 ἐντεύθεν τῷ : ἐνθέντε L. 3 ἡδιόν Λ : ἡδιόν V.
that when thou wast making war upon the Vandals, we not only refrained from hindering thee, but quite zealously even gave thee free passage against the enemy and provided a market in which to buy the indispensable supplies, furnishing especially the multitude of horses to which thy final mastery over the enemy was chiefly due. And yet it is not merely the man who offers an alliance of arms to his neighbours that would in justice be called their ally and friend, but also the man who actually is found assisting another in war in regard to his every need. And consider that at that time thy fleet had no other place at which to put in from the sea except Sicily, and that without the supplies bought there it could not go on to Libya. Therefore thou art indebted to us for the chief cause of thy victory; for the one who provides a solution for a difficult situation is justly entitled also to the credit for the results which flow from his help. And what could be sweeter for a man, O Emperor, than gaining the mastery over his enemies? And yet in our case the outcome is that we suffer no slight disadvantage, in that we do not, in accordance with the custom of war, enjoy our share of the spoils. And now thou art also claiming the right to despoil us of Lilybaeum in Sicily, which has belonged to the Goths from ancient times, a lone rock, O Emperor, worth not so much as a piece of silver, which, had it happened to belong to thy kingdom from ancient times, thou mightest in equity at least have granted to Atalaric as a reward for his services, since he lent thee assistance in the times of thy most pressing necessity.” Such was the message which Amalasuntha wrote openly to the emperor; but

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1 Cf. Book III. xiv. 5, 6.
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lāthra dē aūtī ἔμπασαν Ἰταλίαν ἐγχειρεῖν
29 ὤμολογήσεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐσ τυάντιον ἐπανή-
κοντες ἀπαντα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασίλει ἤγγειλαν·
Ἀλέξανδρος μέν ἀπερ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη δοκοῦντα
εἰη, Δημητρίος δὲ καὶ Ἰπατίας ὁ σα Θεοδάτον
λέγοντος ἦκουσαν, καὶ ως δυνάμει μεγάλη ἐν
Τούσκοις ὁ Θεοδάτος χρώμενος, χώρας τε ἑνταῦθα
τῆς πολλῆς κύριος γεγονός, πόνω ἀν οὐδενὶ τὰ
30 ὤμολογημένα ἐπιτελεῖν οἶλος τε εἰη. οἰς δὴ περι-
χαρῆς γεγονός βασίλευς Πέτρου, Ἰλλυρίων γένος,
ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ὁρμώμενον, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἐνθῆς ἐστέλλει, ἐνα μὲν ὡντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ
ρητόρων, ἀλλὰς δὲ ξυνετὸν τε καὶ πράον καὶ ἔσ
tὸ πείθειν ικανὸς ¹ πεφυκότα.

IV

'Ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Θεο-
dάτον Τούσκοι πολλοὶ Ἄμαλασοῦνθη διέβαλον
βιάσασθαι ἁπαντας τοὺς ταύτη ἀνθρώπους καὶ
toὺς ἀγροὺς ἀφελέσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς τε
ἀλλοὺς ἁπαντας καὶ οὐχ ἢκιστά γε τὴν βασίλειον
οἰκίαν αὐτήν, ἢν δὴ πατριμώνιον Ὀρμαίου καλεῖν
2 νεομίκασι. διὸ δὴ ἐς τὰς εὐθύνας καλέσασα ²
Θεοδάτον ἡ γυνὴ διαρρήκτη τε πρὸς τῶν δια-
βαλόντων ἐληλεγμένον ἀποτινυνύαι πάντα ἡμά-
κασεν ἀπερ οὔ δέον ἀφείλετο, οὔτω τε αὐτῶν
3 ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ἀν-
θρώπῳ προσκεκρουκύια διάφορος τὸ λοιπὸν

¹ ικανὸς H : ικανὸν VL.
² καλέσασα Hoeschel : καλέσας MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. iii. 28–iv. 3

secretly she agreed to put the whole of Italy into his hands. And the envoys, returning to Byzantium, reported everything to the Emperor Justinian, Alexander telling him the course which had been decided upon by Amalasuntha, and Demetrius and Hypatius all that they had heard Theodatus say, adding that Theodatus enjoyed great power in Tuscany, where he had become owner of the most of the land and consequently would be able with no trouble at all to carry his agreement into effect. And the emperor, overjoyed at this situation, immediately sent to Italy Peter, an Illyrian by birth, but a citizen of Thessalonica, a man who was one of the trained speakers in Byzantium, a discreet and gentle person withal and fitted by nature to persuade men.

IV

But while these things were going on as I have explained, Theodatus was denounced before Amalasuntha by many Tuscans, who stated that he had done violence to all the people of Tuscany and had without cause seized their estates, taking not only all private estates but especially those belonging to the royal household, which the Romans are accustomed to call "patrimonium." For this reason the woman called Theodatus to an investigation, and when, being confronted by his denouncers, he had been proved guilty without any question, she compelled him to pay back everything which he had wrongfully seized and then dismissed him. And since in this way she had given the greatest offence to the man, from that time she was on hostile terms with him,
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ἐγεγόνει ἀνιωμένω ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας ὡς μάλιστα, ὦτι διαμαρτάνει τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι ἀδύνατος ἦν.

4. Ὄπο τὸν χρόνον τούτον Ἄταλάριχος μὲν τῇ νόσῳ καταμαρανθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡκτῳ τῇ ἁρχῇ ἐπιβίους ἔτη. Ἀμαλασσοῦνθα δὲ (χρῆν γὰρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἐν οὐδὲν λόγῳ φύσιν τὴν Θεοδάταν ποιησαμένη καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸν ἔσαγχος δράσεις, οὐδὲν πείσασθαι ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπετόπησεν, ἢν τι τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἁγαθῶν ἑργάσηται μεῖζον. μεταπεμφαμένη τοῖνυν αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἦκε, τιθασενουσα ἐφασκε χρόνου ἐξεπιστάτασθαι ὡς οἱ ὁ παῖς ἐπίδοξος εἰ ὅτι δὴ ὅλῳν ύστερον τελευτήσειε. τῶν τε γὰρ ἱατρῶν πάντων ταύτα γινοσκόντων ἀκηκοέναι καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἄταλαρίχου σῶματος ἀεὶ μαραπομένου ἁσθήσαται. ἐπει τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ Θεοδάτῳ ἐώρα Γόθθους τε καὶ Ἰταλιώτας δόξαν οὐκ ἁγαθήν τινα ἐχοντας, ἐς ὅν περιστήκηκε τὸ Θεοδερίχου γένος, τούτου δὴ αὐτὸν διακαθάρατ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ὀνόματος ἐν σπουδῇ οἱ γενέσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτὸ καλουμένων

5 ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπόδιον εἰη. ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὴν ἐξυνταράξαι, εἴ γε περισταί τοῖς ἡδικησάτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἥδη αἰτιωμένους οὐκ ἐχειν μὲν ὅτι τὰ ἔχειν σφίσαι ἀγγείλωσι, δεσπότην τὸ ἐν τῶν δυσμενῆ ἐχεῖν. διὰ ταύτα μὲν αὐτῶν, οὔτω καθαρὸν γεγενημένου, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρακαλείν. δείν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅρκους δεινοτάτος καταληφθῆναι ὡς ἐς Θεοδάτου μὲν τὸ τῆς ἁρχῆς

6 ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ [Θεοδάτῳ] Christ: ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ Θεοδάτῳ V, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ Θεοδάτῳ L.

7 αὐτοῦ V: αὐτοῦ ὡς L, αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν, ὡς Maltretus.

34
exceedingly vexed as he was by reason of his fondness for money, because he was unable to continue his unlawful and violent practices.

At about this same time Atalaric, being quite wasted away by the disease, came to his end, having lived eight years in office. As for Amalasuntha, since it was fated that she should fare ill, she took no account of the nature of Theodatus and of what she had recently done to him, and supposed that she would suffer no unpleasant treatment at his hands if she should do the man some rather unusual favour. She accordingly summoned him, and when he came, set out to cajole him, saying that for some time she had known well that it was to be expected that her son would soon die; for she had heard the opinion of all the physicians, who agreed in their judgment, and had herself perceived that the body of Atalaric continued to waste away. And since she saw that both Goths and Italians had an unfavourable opinion regarding Theodatus, who had now come to represent the race of Theoderic, she had conceived the desire to clear him of this evil name, in order that it might not stand in his way if he were called to the throne. But at the same time, she explained, the question of justice disturbed her, at the thought that those who claimed to have been wronged by him already should find that they had no one to whom they might report what had befallen them, but that they now had their enemy as their master. For these reasons, then, although she invited him to the throne after his name should have been cleared in this way, yet it was necessary, she said, that he should be bound by the most solemn oaths that while the title of the office should
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όνομα ἄγοιτο, αὐτὴ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κράτος οὐκ
9 ἔλασσον ἡ πρότερον ἔχοι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θευδάτος
ὴκούσειν, ἀπαντᾷ ὁσα ἦν βουλομένη Ἀμαλα-
σοῦνθη ὁμομοιώσεις, ἐπὶ λόγῳ τῷ πονηρῷ ὀμολο-
γησεν, ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων ὁσα δὲ ἐκείνη πρότερον
10 ἐς αὐτῶν εἰργασμένη ἑτύγχανεν. οὕτω μὲν
Ἀμαλασοῦνθα πρὸς τε γνώμης τῆς οἰκείας καὶ
tῶν Θευδάτῳ ὁμομοιομενῶν ἀπατηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τῆς
11 ἁρχῆς αὐτῶν κατεστήσατο. πρέσβεις τε πέμ-
ψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἄνδρας Γότθους Ἰοὐστινιανῷ
βασιλεὶ ταῦτα ἐδήλων.
12 Θευδάτος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, πάντα
οἱ1 τάναντια ὃν ἐκείνη τε ἡλπίσε καὶ αὐτὸς
13 ὑπέσχετο ἐπρασσε. καὶ Γότθων τῶν πρὸς αὐτῆς
ἄνηρμενῶν τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς ἐπαγαγόμενος, πολ-
λοῦς τε καὶ λίαν λογίμους ἐν Γότθων ὡς, τῶν
tῶν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη προσηκόντων ἐκ τοῦ αἱρετικοῦ
tινάς ἐκτεινε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, οὕτω
14 τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένων. ἔστι
δὲ τις λίμνη ἐν Τούσκοις, Βουλσίνη καλομένη,
ἢ δὴ ἐντὸς νῆσος ἀνέχει.2 βραχεία μὲν κομιδὴ
15 οὔσα, φρούριον δὲ ἐχύρων ἔχουσα. ἐνταῦθα
Θευδάτος τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν καθείρξας ἔτηρει.
deῖσας δὲ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ βασιλεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
προσκεκρουκὼς εἰς, ἀνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
βουλής Διβερίων τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα στείλας σὺν
ἐτέροις τισὶ, παραίτεσθαι πάση δύναμει βασιλέα
ἐπῆγγελλεν, ἵσχυριζόμενος μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ
ἀχαρι τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ξυμβῆναι, καίπερ ἐς

1 οἱ MSS.: Haury suggests τοι.
2 ἀνέχει V: αἰὲ ἐστι L.
be conferred upon Theodatus, she herself should in fact hold the power no less than before. When Theodatus heard this, although he swore to all the conditions which Amalasuntha wished, he entered into the agreement with treacherous intent, remembering all that she had previously done to him. Thus Amalasuntha, being deceived by her own judgment and the oaths of Theodatus, established him in the office. And sending some Goths as envoys to Byzantium, she made this known to the Emperor Justinian.

But Theodatus, upon receiving the supreme power, began to act in all things contrary to the hopes she had entertained and to the promises he had made. And after winning the adherence of the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her—and they were both numerous and men of very high standing among the Goths—he suddenly put to death some of the connections of Amalasuntha and imprisoned her, the envoys not having as yet reached Byzantium. Now there is a certain lake in Tuscany called Vulsina,¹ within which rises an island,² exceedingly small but having a strong fortress upon it. There Theodatus confined Amalasuntha and kept her under guard. But fearing that by this act he had given offence to the emperor, as actually proved to be the case, he sent some men of the Roman senate, Liberus and Opilio and certain others, directing them to excuse his conduct to the emperor with all their power by assuring him that Amalasuntha had met with no harsh treatment at his hands, although

¹ Modern Bolsena.
² Marta; "now entirely uninhabited, but with a few steps cut in the rock which are said to have led to the prison of Amalasuntha."—HODGKIN.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὐτῶν ἀνήκεστα δεινὰ εἰργασμένη τὰ πρῶτα.
16 καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε βασιλεῖ έγραψε καὶ
tὴν Ἀμαλασούνθαν οὐτί ἐκουσάν ἤνάγκασε
grάψαι.
17 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο θηδ. Πέτρος δὲ ἥδη
ἐπὶ πρεσβεία 1 ἐστήλλετο προειρημένον αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέως 2 ἐντυχείν μὲν κρύφα τῶν
ἀλλών ἀπάντων Θευδάτῳ καὶ ὀρκῳ τὰ πιστὰ
παρεχομένω ως οὔδεν ἀν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐκ-
pνυστον γένοιτο, οὕτω τε τὰ ἀμβε Τουσκίαν ἐν τῷ
ἀσφαλεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν θέσατε, καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη
ξυγγενόμενον λάθρα ξυμπάσης 3 πέρι Ἰταλίας
19 διοικήσασθαι, ὡτὶ ἐκατέρψξο ξυνοίσειν μέλλειν. ἐς
δὲ τὸ ἐμφανὲς ύπέρ τε τοῦ Δινυβίου καὶ τῶν
ἀλλών οὐν ἑναγχὸς ἐμνήσθην προειρήμουσαν ᾧει. 4
οὕτω γάρ τι περὶ τῆς Ἀταλαρίχου τελευτής ἡ
τῆς Θευδάτου ἀρχῆς ἡ τῶν Ἀμαλασούνθη
ξυμ-
pνυστον βασιλεὺς ἥκηκεν. Πέτρος δὲ ὅδω
πορευόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς Ἀμαλασούνθης
πρέσβεσι ξυγγενόμενος τὰ ἀμβε τῇ Θευδάτου
21 ἀρχῆ ἢμαθε: γενόμενος δὲ ὅληγ ύστερον ἐν πόλει
Αὐλώνι, ἡ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰουνίῳ κεῖται, ἐνταύθα
tε τοῖς ἀμβε Διβέριων τε καὶ Ὀπιλίων ἐντυχάν
τὰ ἐμπεσόντα ἐξιµπαντα ἐγνω, ἐς τε βασιλεία
tαῦτα 5 ἀνενεγκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐμείνεν.
22 Ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἦκουσε,
Γόθους τε καὶ Θευδάτον ἐνταράξαι διανοού-
μενος, πρὸς μὲν Ἀμαλασούνθαν γράμματα

1 πρεσβεία Haury : πρεσβεία V, ἥδη ... προειρημένον om. L.
2 βασιλέως V : βασιλέως ἐντεταλτο L.
3 ξυμπάσης LH : ξυμβάσεις V.
4 ἤει Hoeschel : εἰθ MSS. 5 ταῦτα VH : πάντα L.
she had perpetrated irreparable outrages upon him before. And he himself wrote in this sense to the emperor, and also compelled Amalasuntha, much against her will, to write the same thing.

Such was the course of these events. But Peter had already been despatched by the emperor on an embassy to Italy with instructions to meet Theodatus without the knowledge of any others, and after Theodatus had given pledges by an oath that none of their dealings should be divulged, he was then to make a secure settlement with him regarding Tuscany; and meeting Amalasuntha stealthily he was to make such an arrangement with her regarding the whole of Italy as would be to the profit of either party. But openly his mission was to negotiate with regard to Lilybaeum and the other matters which I have lately mentioned. For as yet the emperor had heard nothing about the death of Atalaric or the succession of Theodatus to the throne, or the fate which had befallen Amalasuntha. And Peter was already on his way when he met the envoys of Amalasuntha and learned, in the first place, that Theodatus had come to the throne; and a little later, upon reaching the city of Aulon,¹ which lies on the Ionian Gulf, he met there the company of Liberius and Opilio, and learned everything which had taken place, and reporting this to the emperor he remained there.

And when the Emperor Justinian heard these things, he formed the purpose of throwing the Goths and Theodatus into confusion; accordingly he wrote

¹ Modern Avlona in Albania.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐγραφεῖ, δηλοῦντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὡς ἐνι μᾶλστα μεταποιείσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχον· τῷ δὲ Πέτρῳ ἐπέστεκλε ταύτα μηδαμή ἀποκρύψαθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τε Θευδάτῳ φανερὰ καὶ Γότθοις ἀπασι καταστήσασθαι. πρέσβεων δὲ τῶν εἴ Ἰταλίας οί μὲν ἄλλοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκομίσθησαν, τὸν πάντα λόγον βασιλεῖ ἤγγειλαν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Διβέριος· ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καλός τε καὶ ἀγάθος διαφερόντως, λόγον τε τοῦ ἄληθος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἑξεπιστάμενοι· 'Οπιλίων δὲ μόνος ἐνδελεχέστατα ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲν ἐς Ἀμαλασούνθαν ἀμαρτείν Θευδάτον. Πέτρου δὲ ἀφικομένου εἰς Ἰταλίαν Ἀμαλασούνθη ξυνέβη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. Γότθων γὰρ συγγενεῖς τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἀνηρμένων Θευδάτῳ προσελθόντες οὕτε αὐτῷ οὕτε σφίζοντες τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεί ἴσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, ἢν γε μὴ αὐτοῖς Ἀμαλασούνθα ὁτι τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν γένηται. ξυνχωροῦντο τε αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι τὴν Ἀμαλασούνθαν εὐθὺς ἐκτειναν. ὅπερ Ἰταλιώτας τε ὑπερφυῶς ἀπανταί καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἄλλους ἦνασεν. ἀρετῆς γὰρ πάσης ἢ γυνὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὅπερ 2 ὡς ἄλλοις ἐμπροσθεῖν εἰρηταί. Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θευδάτῳ αὐτικρος ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις 3 ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τουτοῦ ἐξειργασμένον ἀσπονδός βασιλεῖ τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται. Θευδάτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας τοῦ Ἀμαλασούνθης φονεῖς ἐν τιμῇ τε καὶ σπουδῇ ἐχον, Πέτρου τε καὶ βασιλέα πείθειν


40
a letter to Amalasuntha, stating that he was eager to
give her every possible support, and at the same
time he directed Peter by no means to conceal this
message, but to make it known to Theodatus himself
and to all the Goths. And when the envoys from
Italy arrived in Byzantium, they all, with a single
exception, reported the whole matter to the emperor,
and especially Liberius; for he was a man unusually
upright and honourable, and one who knew well how
to shew regard for the truth; but Opilio alone
declared with the greatest persistence that Theodatus
had committed no offence against Amalasuntha. Now
when Peter arrived in Italy, it so happened that
Amalasuntha had been removed from among men.
For the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by
her came before Theodatus declaring that neither his
life nor theirs was secure unless Amalasuntha should
be put out of their way as quickly as possible. And
as soon as he gave in to them, they went to the
island and killed Amalasuntha,—an act which grieved
exceedingly all the Italians and the Goths as well.
For the woman had the strictest regard for every
kind of virtue, as has been stated by me a little
earlier.\(^1\) Now Peter protested openly\(^2\) to Theodatus
and the other Goths that because this base deed had
been committed by them, there would be war without
truce between the emperor and themselves. But
Theodatus, such was his stupid folly, while still
holding the slayers of Amalasuntha in honour and
favour kept trying to persuade Peter and the

\(^1\) Chap. ii. 3.

\(^2\) See Gibbon's note (chap. xli.), amplified in Bury's
edition, Vol. IV. p. 304, for additional light on the part
played by Justinian and Peter in this affair.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἤθελεν ὡς αὐτοῦ σύνδαμη ἐπανούντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα ἀκουσίου, Γόθθοις ἐργασθεὶ τὸ μίσμα τοῦτο.

V

'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριου ηὐδοκιμηκέναι κατὰ Γελύμερος τε καὶ Βανδίλων τετύχηκε. βασιλεὺς δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυνενεχθέντα μαθῶν εὖθυς καθίστατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνατον ἔτος τὴν δ' βασιλείαν ἔχων. καὶ Μοῦνδον ἔμεν τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸν ἐς τε Δαλματίαν ἴναι, τὴν Γόθθοιν κατήκουν, καὶ Σαλώνων ἀποπειράσασθαι ἐκέλευν (ἐὰν δὲ ὁ Μοῦνδος γένος μὲν βάρβαρος, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς τε βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνοι καὶ ἀγαθός τὰ πολέμια), Βελισάριον δὲ ναυσίν ἔστελλε, στρατιῶτας ἐκ μὲν καταλόγῳν καὶ φοιδεράτων τετρακισχιλίους, ἐκ δὲ Ἰσαύρων τρισχιλίων μάλιστα ἔχοντα. ἀρχοντες δὲ ἴσαν λόγιμοι μὲν Κωνσταντίνος τε καὶ Βέσσας, ὡς τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, Περάνιος δὲ ἔξ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἄγχιστα Μηδίων, γενόμενος μὲν τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἰβήρου, αὐτόμολος δὲ πρότερον ἐς Ὀρμαίους κατὰ ἔχος τὸ Περσῶν ἥκων, καταλόγων δὲ ἵππικων μὲν Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος, πεζῶν δὲ Ὅρωδιανὸς τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Οὐρσικίνος, ἀρχηγὸς δὲ Ἰσαύρων Ἐννης. εὐποντὸ δὲ καὶ Οὐννοι ξύμ-

1 Μοῦνδον V: μοῦνδον αὐτὸν L.  
2 δὲ τοῖς τε Krašeninnikov: τε τοῖς τοῦ MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. iv. 31–v. 4

emperor that this unholy deed had been committed by the Goths by no means with his approval, but decidedly against his will.

V

Meanwhile it happened that Belisarius had distinguished himself by the defeat of Gelimer and the Vandals. And the emperor, upon learning what had befallen Amalasuntha, immediately entered upon the war, being in the ninth year of his reign. And he first commanded Mundus, the general of Illyricum, to go to Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and make trial of Salones.\(^1\) Now Mundus was by birth a barbarian, but exceedingly loyal to the cause of the emperor and an able warrior. Then he sent Belisarius by sea with four thousand soldiers from the regular troops and the foederati,\(^2\) and about three thousand of the Isaurians. And the commanders were men of note: Constantinus and Bessas from the land of Thrace, and Peranius from Iberia\(^3\) which is hard by Media, a man who was by birth a member of the royal family of the Iberians, but had before this time come as a deserter to the Romans through enmity toward the Persians; and the levies of cavalry were commanded by Valentinus, Magnus, and Innocentius, and the infantry by Herodian, Paulus, Demetrius, and Ursicinus, while the leader of the Isaurians was Ennes. And there were also two hundred Huns as

\(^1\) Or Salona, near modern Spalato.

\(^2\) Auxiliaries; see Book III. xi. 3, 4, and note.

\(^3\) Corresponding roughly to modern Georgia, just south of the Caucasus.
μαχαὶ διακόσιοι καὶ Μαυροῦσιοι τριακόσιοι. στρατηγὸς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ’ ἀπασὶ Βελισάριος ἦν, δορυφόρος τε καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς πολλοὺς τε καὶ δοκίμους ἔχον. εἰπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φώτιος, ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντιωνίης νῦς ἐς γάμων προτέρων, νέος μὲν ὅν ἐτὶ καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, ξυνετῶτας δὲ καὶ φύσεως ἵσχυς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν δηλώσας. βασιλεὺς τε Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ στέλλεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκονται, ὡς δὴ κατὰ χρείαν τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀποβάντας πειρασθαι τῆς νῆσου. καὶ ἢ μὲν δυσνᾶ ἢ ὑποχειρίαν αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι, κατέχειν τε καὶ αὐτῆς μηκέτι μεθέσθαι. ἢν δὲ τι ἐμπόδιων ὑπαντάσῃ, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Διβύθης, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν τῆς βουλήσεως παρεχόμενους.

8 Πέμψασ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Φράγγιον τοὺς ἢγεμόνας ἔγραψε τάδε· "Γότθου Ἑταλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βία ἑλόντες οὐχ ὅσον αὐτὴν ἀποδείδοναι οὐδαμή ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήσαν ἡμᾶς οὐτέ φορητα οὔτε μέτρα. διὸπερ ἢμεῖς μὲν στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἕγαγκάσμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς ξυνιαφέρειν ἡμῖν πόλεμον τόπδε, ὃν ἡμῖν κοινοῦ εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὅρθη, ὑποσειομένη τὴν Ἄρειαν τῆς γυνώμην, καὶ τὸ ἐς Γότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος."

9 τοσαῦτα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε· καὶ χρήσασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, πλείονα δώσειν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ὁμολόγησεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμία πολλὴ ἐξαμαχήσειν ὑπέσχοντο.

1 δωρησάμενος V: φιλοτιμησάμενος L.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. V. 4–10

allies and three hundred Moors. But the general in supreme command over all was Belisarius, and he had with him many notable men as spearmen and guards. And he was accompanied also by Photius, the son of his wife Antonina by a previous marriage; he was still a young man wearing his first beard, but possessed the greatest discretion and shewed a strength of character beyond his years. And the emperor instructed Belisarius to give out that his destination was Carthage, but as soon as they should arrive at Sicily, they were to disembark there as if obliged for some reason to do so, and make trial of the island. And if it should be possible to reduce it to subjection without any trouble, they were to take possession and not let it go again; but if they should meet with any obstacle, they were to sail with all speed to Libya, giving no one an opportunity to perceive what their intention was.

And he also sent a letter to the leaders of the Franks as follows: "The Goths, having seized by violence Italy, which was ours, have not only refused absolutely to give it back, but have committed further acts of injustice against us which are unendurable and pass beyond all bounds. For this reason we have been compelled to take the field against them, and it is proper that you should join with us in waging this war, which is rendered yours as well as ours not only by the orthodox faith, which rejects the opinion of the Arians, but also by the enmity we both feel toward the Goths." Such was the emperor's letter; and making a gift of money to them, he agreed to give more as soon as they should take an active part. And they with all zeal promised to fight in alliance with him.
11 Μούνδος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ξύν αὐτῷ στρατιὰ ἐστὶ Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι καὶ Γόθοις τοῖς ἐκείνης ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐσχεῖς ἑλθόντες, νυκήσαντες τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ, Σαλωνας ἐσχοῦν. Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Σικελίαν Κατάννην ἔλαβεν. ἐνθεν τε ὁ ὀρμόμενος Συρακούσας τε ὁμολογημένα καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἀλλὰς παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὴν γῇ ὅτι Γόθοι οὐκ ἐν Πανόρμῳ φυλακὴν εἰχοῦν, ἡγαστάντες τῷ περιβόλῳ (ἡ γὰρ ἐχύρων τὸ χωρίον) προσχωρεῖν τε Βελισαρίῳ ἤκιστα ἢθελον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθέντε ἀπάγειν τὸν στράτον κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσιν. Βελισάριος δὲ λογισάμενος ἀμήχανον εἴναι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ χωρίον ἐλείν ἐπελείν τὸν στόλον 1 ἐστὶν τῷ ιμένα ἐκέλευσεν ἀχρι ἐς τὸ τείχος διήκοντα. ἢ γὰρ τῷ τε περιβόλῳ ἑκτὸς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος. οὐ δὴ τῶν νηῶν ὀρμισάμενον τοὺς ἱστοὺς ἤκισταν 15 τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπερτέρους εἴναι. αὐτίκα οὖν τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἀπάντας τοξοτῶν ἐμπλη- σάμενος ἀπεκρέμασεν ἀκρῶν ἱστῶν. 2 οθεν δὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν βαλλόμενοι οἱ πολέμοι ἐστὶ δέος τι ἀμαχοῦ 3 ἡθον καὶ Πάνορμον εὐθὺς ὀμολογια 16 Βελισαρίῳ παρέδοσαν. βασιλεὺς τε ἐκ τούτῳ Σικελίαν ὅλην ἐς φόρου ἄπαγωγὴν καθήκοντο εἰχε. τῷ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τῆς κρείσσονον λόγου εὐτύχειμα 17 ξυνηχθῇ γενέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ ὑπατείας λαβὼν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐπὶ τῷ Βανδόλους νεικηκέναι, ταύτης ἔτι ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεστήσατο Σικελίαν ὅλην, τῇ τῆς ὑπατείας ὑστάτῃ 4 ἡμέρα ἐς τὰς Συρακοῦ-

1 τῶν στόλων Λ: τῶ στόλων Β.
2 ἰστῶν: ἰστῶν Λ, ἰστῶν Β.
3 ἀμαχοῦ Λ: ἀχήχανον Λ.
4 ὑστάτη Λ: ἐσχάτη Λ.
Now Mundus and the army under his command entered Dalmatia, and engaging with the Goths who encountered them there, defeated them in the battle and took possession of Salones. As for Belisarius, he put in at Sicily and took Catana. And making that place his base of operations, he took over Syracuse and the other cities by surrender without any trouble; except, indeed, that the Goths who were keeping guard in Panormus, having confidence in the fortifications of the place, which was a strong one, were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius and ordered him to lead his army away from there with all speed. But Belisarius, considering that it was impossible to capture the place from the landward side, ordered the fleet to sail into the harbour, which extended right up to the wall. For it was outside the circuit-wall and entirely without defenders. Now when the ships had anchored there, it was seen that the masts were higher than the parapet. Straightway, therefore, he filled all the small boats of the ships with bowmen and hoisted them to the tops of the masts. And when from these boats the enemy were shot at from above, they fell into such an irresistible fear that they immediately delivered Panormus to Belisarius by surrender. As a result of this the emperor held all Sicily subject and tributary to himself. And at that time it so happened that there fell to Belisarius a piece of good fortune beyond the power of words to describe. For, having received the dignity of the consulship because of his victory over the Vandals, while he was still holding this honour, and after he had won the whole of Sicily, on the last day of

1 Modern Palermo.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σας εἰσήλασε, πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ Σικελιωτῶν κροτοῦμενος ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ νόμισμα χρυσοῦ ῥήττων ἄπασιν. οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες μέντοι αὐτῶ πεποίηται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνθρώπω ἀνυβέβη τύχῃ πᾶσαν ἀνασωσμένω τὴν 

γῆσον Ἡρωμαῖος ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρα-κούσας ἐσεληλακέναι, τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτων ἄρχήν, 

οὔχ ἦπερ εἰώθει ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίου βουλευτηρίῳ, 

ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένῳ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενέσθαι. 

Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν οὔτω δὴ εὐημερησαι εὐνύτυχεν.

VI

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Πέτρος ἔμαθεν, ἐγκείμενος πολλῷ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον καὶ δεδισόμενος Θευδάτων 

2 οὐκέτι ἀνίει. καὶ δς ἀποδειλάσας τε καὶ ἐς 

ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκός, οὐχ ἤσοσιν ἢ εἰ δορυά-

λωτος ξὺν τῷ Γελίμερι αὐτὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἐς 

λόγος τῷ Πέτρῳ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων 

ήλθεν, ἐς τε ξύμβασιν ἐν σφίσιν ἤλθεν, ἐφ' ὃ 

Θευδάτος Ἰουστινιανὸ βασιλεῖ Σικελίας ἐκστή-

σεται πάσης, πέμψει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανον 

χρυσῶν ἀνὰ πάν ἐτῶς κατὰ τριακοσίας ἐκλογα 

λίτρας, Γρόθους τε ἀντρας μαχίμους ἐς τρισ-

χιλίους, ἡμίκα ἀν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνι, Θευδάτῳ 

δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν οὐδαμὴ ἐσεσθαι τῶν τιν 

ἄρτων ἡ βουλευτῶν ἀποτιμώησαι, ἡ ἀνάγρα-

πτοῦ τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ὀτι 

3 μὴ βασιλεῶς ποιεῖσθαι γνώμη. ἦν δὲ γε τῶν

1 τῷ VW: αὐτῷ L. 2 γελίμερι VW: γελίμερι καὶ L. 3 βουλομένῳ... αὐτῷ KL: δὲ καὶ W.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. v. 18–vi. 3

his consulship, he marched into Syracuse, loudly applauded by the army and by the Sicilians and throwing golden coins to all. This coincidence, however, was not intentionally arranged by him, but it was a happy chance which befell the man, that after having recovered the whole of the island for the Romans he marched into Syracuse on that particular day; and so it was not in the senate house in Byzantium, as was customary, but there that he laid down the office of the consuls and so became an ex-consul. Thus, then, did good fortune attend Belisarius.

VI

And when Peter learned of the conquest of Sicily, he was still more insistent in his efforts to frighten Theodatus and would not let him go. But he, turning coward and reduced to speechlessness no less than if he himself had become a captive with Gelimer, entered into negotiations with Peter without the knowledge of any others, and between them they formed an agreement, providing that Theodatus should retire from all Sicily in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and should send him also a golden crown every year weighing three hundred litrae, and Gothic warriors to the number of three thousand whenever he should wish; and that Theodatus himself should have no authority to kill any priest or senator, or to confiscate his property for the public treasury except by the decision of the emperor; and

1 The captivity of Gelimer is described in Book IV. vii. 12–17: ix. 11–14.
2 At present values "worth about £12,000."—Hodgkin.
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υπηκόων τινὰς ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἡ ἄλλο 
βουλὴς ἀξίωμα Θευδάτος ἁγαγεῖν βούληται,
tοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν δῶσειν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα αἰτή-
4 σειν διδόναι· εὐφημοῦντα δὲ Ἡρωμάτων τὸν δήμον 
ἀναβοήσειν ἀεὶ βασιλέα πρῶτον, ἕπειτα Θευδά-
tου, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἱπποδρομίαις καὶ εἰ ποῦ 
5 ἄλλη τὸ 1 τοιοῦτον δεῖσει γενέσθαι. εἰκόνα τε 
χαλκὴν ἢ χάλης ἑτέρας μὴ ποτὲ Θευδάτῳ μόνῳ 
καθίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι μὲν ἂεὶ ἀμφοτέροις, 
στήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶς· εἰ δεξιὰ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως, 
ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τὴν Θευδάτου. ἐπὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ 
ξυμβάσει γράφας τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ὁ Θευδάτος 
ἀπεπέμψατο.

6 Ὅλιγον δὲ ὑστερον ψυχῆς ὀρρωδία περιλα-
βουσά τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐς δειμάτα τε ἀπήγειν ὅρον 
οὐκ ἔχοντα καὶ ἐστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, 
δεδισσομένη τῷ τοῦ πολέμου οὖν ὁμοίων, καὶ ὡς, ἐ
4 γε βασιλέα οὕδαμη ἀρέσκει τά τε αὐτῷ καὶ 
Pέτρῳ συγκείμενα, ὁ πόλεμος εὑρίσκε ἀπαιτήσει.
7 αὖθις οὖν Πέτρου μεταπεμψάμενος ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς 
ἡδὴ γενόμενον ἄτε κοινολογούμενος λάθρα τοῦ 
ἀνθρωποῦ ἀνεπυμφάνετο, εἰ τὴν ξύμβασιν βα-
8 σίλει πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἔσεσθαι οἴεται. καὶ ὃς οὖτω 2 
δὴ ὑποτοπάσειν ἔφη. "Ἠν δὲ γε ταῦτα μηδαμὴ 
ἀρέσκει τὸν ἄνδρα, τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γενήσεται;"
9 εἰπεν. ἀπεκρίνατο Πέτρος "Πολεμητέα σοι τὸ 
λοιπὸν, ὦ γενναῖε." "Τί δὲ; δίκαια ταύτα, ὦ 
φίλτατε πρεσβευτά;" ἔφη. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη 3 
ὑπολαβών "Καὶ πῶς οὖ δίκαιον, ὦ ἀγαθέ," εἶπε,

1 ἄλλη τὸ LW: ἄλλο τι K.
2 οὖτω KL: αὐτῷ W.
3 ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη K: om. L, ὃ δὲ * W.

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that if Theodatus wished to advance any of his subjects to the patrician or some other senatorial rank this honour should not be bestowed by him, but he should ask the emperor to bestow it; and that the Roman populace, in acclaiming their sovereign, should always shout the name of the emperor first, and afterward that of Theodatus, both in the theatres and in the hippodromes and wherever else it should be necessary for such a thing to be done; furthermore, that no statue of bronze nor of any other material should ever be set up to Theodatus alone, but statues must always be made for both, and they must stand thus: on the right that of the emperor, and on the other side that of Theodatus. And after Theodatus had written in confirmation of this agreement he dismissed the ambassador.

But, a little later, terror laid hold upon the man’s soul and brought him into fears which knew no bound and tortured his mind, filling him with dread at the name of war, and reminding him that if the agreement drawn up by Peter and himself did not please the emperor at all, war would straightway come upon him. Once more, therefore, he summoned Peter, who had already reached Albani,1 for a secret conference, and enquired of the man whether he thought that the agreement would be pleasing to the emperor. And he replied that he supposed it would. “But if,” said Theodatus, “these things do not please the man at all, what will happen then?” And Peter replied “After that you will have to wage war, most noble Sir.” “But what is this,” he said; “is it just, my dear ambassador?” And Peter, immediately taking him up, said “And how is it not just, my good Sir, that

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"τὰ ἐπιτηθεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκάστου φυλάσσεσται;" "Τῇ δὴ τούτῳ ἔστιν;" ὁ Θεοῦ δότος ἡρώτα. "Ὅτι σοὶ μὲν σπουδὴ πολλὴ φιλοσοφεῖν," ἔφη, "Ἰουστινιανῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων γενναῖῳ εἶναι. διαφέρει δὲ, ὅτι τῷ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντι θάνατον ἀνθρώποις πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τοσοῦτος τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ μὴ τοῦτο εὑπρεπὲς εἰ, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἃς ἰδοὺντοι μετασχόντα σοι μὴ οὐκὶ φῶνον παντὸς ἐλευθέρῳ εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον ἐκείνων δὲ χώρας μεταποιήσασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἄνωθεν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ προσηκούσῃ ἀρχῇ." ταύτη ὁ Θεοῦ δότος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὀμολόγησεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκστήσεσχαι. καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ὠμοσε. τὸν τε Πέτρον ὅρκοις κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐ πρότερον ἐκπυττα ταῦτα ποιησεται, πρὶν ἀν βασιλέα οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον τὴν προτέραν ξύμβασιν ὄδοι. καὶ Ῥουστικὸν τῶν τινα ίερῶν καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειον, ἀνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ἔχειν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ καὶ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε.

Πέτρος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ῥουστικὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενοι τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα βασιλεῖ ἡγειλαν, καθάπερ Θεοῦ δότος σφίσσαν ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐνδεχεσθαι βασιλεῦσ ήκιστα ἦθελε, τὰ ἐν ὑστέρῳ γεγραμμένα ἐπέδειξαν. ἐδήλου δὲ

1 ἐπιτηθεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ (ἐκάστου Ἑαυτοῦ) ἐκάστῃ KW: ἐπιτηθεύματα ἐκάστου ψυχῆς L.
2 διαφέρει Hoebbichel: διαφέρειν MSS.
3 πάντας KW: παντελῶς L.
4 ἐπιτήθειον K: επιτηθείων L, ἐπιτηθεῖο W.

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the pursuits appropriate to each man's nature should be preserved?" "What, pray, may this mean?" asked Theodatus. "It means," was the reply, "that your great interest is to philosophize, while Justinian's is to be a worthy emperor of the Romans. And there is this difference, that for one who has practised philosophy it would never be seemly to bring about the death of men, especially in such great numbers, and it should be added that this view accords with the teachings of Plato, which you have evidently espoused, and hence it is unholy for you not to be free from all bloodshed; but for him it is not at all inappropriate to seek to acquire a land which has belonged from of old to the realm which is his own." Thereupon Theodatus, being convinced by this advice, agreed to retire from the kingship in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and both he and his wife took an oath to this effect. He then bound Peter by oaths that he would not divulge this agreement until he should see that the emperor would not accept the former convention. And he sent with him Rusticus, a priest who was especially devoted to him and a Roman citizen, to negotiate on the basis of this agreement. And he also entrusted a letter to these men.

So Peter and Rusticus, upon reaching Byzantium, reported the first decision to the emperor, just as Theodatus had directed them to do. But when the emperor was quite unwilling to accept the proposal, they revealed the plan which had been committed to writing afterwards. This was to the following effect:
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ἡ γραφὴ τάδε. "Οὐ γέγονα μὲν βασιλικὴς αὐλῆς ἐπηλύτης, τετύχηκε γάρ μοι τετέχθαι τε ἐν βασιλέως θείου καὶ τεθράφθαι τοῦ γένους ἀξίως, πολέμων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτωι θορύβων εἰμὶ

16 οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. περὶ λόγων γάρ ἀκοῆ ἀνωθεν ἔρωτικῶς ἐσχηκὸτι μοι καὶ διατριβήν ἐστὶ τούτῳ ἀεὶ πεποιημένῳ ξυμβαίνει τῆς ἐν ταῖς

17 μάχαις ταραχῆς ἐκαστάτω ἐστὶ τόδε εἶναι. ὁστε ἥκιστα με εἰκὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ζηλοῦντα τιμᾶς τῶν μετὰ κινδύνων διόκειν βίον, ἔξον ἀμ-

18 φοῖν ἐκποδῶν ἵστασθαι. τούτωι γάρ μοι οὐδέτερον ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔστι τὸ μὲν, ὅτι κόρῳ τετίμηται, πλησμονῇ γὰρ ἠδέων ἀπάντων, τὸ δέ, ὅτι τὸ μῆ

19 ἔθισθήναι ἐς ταραχῆν φέρει. ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ μοι χωρία γένηται οὕς ἡσσον ὡς ὀδεκα κεντηνάριον ἐπέτειον φέροντα πρόσοδον, περὶ ἐλάσσονος ἃν αὐτῶν τὴν

20 Ἰταλιώτῶν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐγχειρῶτας κράτος. ὡς ἔγινεν ἕδιον ἀν ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνη γεωργίας εἶναι ἐν μερίμναις βασιλικαῖς βιβλίαιν, κινδύνους 2

21 ἐκ κινδύνων παραπεμποῦσαι. ἀλλὰ πέμπε ἄνδρα ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτι μὲ Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα παραδοῦναι προσῆκει."

22 Θεοδάτου μὲν ἡ γραφή τοσαύτα ἐδίδου. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἡσθεῖς ἀμείβεται ὅτε. "Πάλαι μὲν σε ἕξεστὸν εἶναι ἀκοῆ εἶχοι, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ

πείρᾳ μεμαθηκὸς οἶδα οἷς οὐκ ἐγνωκας τὸ τοῦ

1 ἐν βασιλεῶς θείου Κ cor. L : ἐκ βασιλεῶς θείου Κ pr. m.,

ἐν βασιλεῖως θείου Grotius.

2 κινδύνους Ἁυρυ : κινδύνοις MSS.

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"I am no stranger to royal courts, but it was my fortune to have been born in the house of my uncle while he was king and to have been reared in a manner worthy of my race; and yet I have had little experience of wars and of the turmoils which wars entail. For since from my earliest years I have been passionately addicted to scholarly disquisitions and have always devoted my time to this sort of thing, I have consequently been up to the present time very far removed from the confusion of battles. Therefore it is utterly absurd that I should aspire to the honours which royalty confers and thus lead a life fraught with danger, when it is possible for me to avoid them both. For neither one of these is a pleasure to me; the first, because it is liable to satiety, for it is a surfeit of all sweet things, and the second, because lack of familiarity with such a life throws one into confusion. But as for me, if estates should be provided me which yielded an annual income of no less than twelve centenaria, I should regard the kingdom as of less account than them, and I shall hand over to thee forthwith the power of the Goths and Italians. For I should find more pleasure in being a farmer free from all cares than in passing my life amid a king's anxieties, attended as they are by danger after danger. Pray send a man as quickly as possible into whose hands I may fittingly deliver Italy and the affairs of the kingdom."

Such was the purport of the letter of Theodatus. And the emperor, being exceedingly pleased, replied as follows: "From of old have I heard by report that you were a man of discretion, but now, taught by experience, I know it by the decision you have reached

1 See Book I. xxii. 4; III. vi. 2, note.
23 πολέμου καραδοκεῖν πέρας. ὡτερ ἦδη πεπονθότες 
tinės ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ σοι οὐ 
pote μεταμελήσει φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ πολεμίων 
24 ποιησαμένης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπερ αἰτεῖς παρ' 
ἡμῶν ἔξεις, καὶ προσέσται σοι ἐν ταῖς πρώταις 
25 Ῥωμαίῶν τιμαῖς ἀναγράπτῳ εἶναι. νῦν μὲν οὖν 
Ἄθανάσιον τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀπέσταλκα, ὅπως ὁμο-
λογία τινὶ ἐκατέρῳ τὸ βέβαιον ἔσται. ἣξει δὲ 
όσον ὦπω καὶ Βελισάριος παρὰ σὲ, πέρας ἀπασίων 
26 ἐπιθήσων ὅσα ἄν ἐν ἡμῖν ἴνα γείμενα ἡ.” ταῦτα 
βασιλέως γράψας Ἀθανάσιον τε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου 
ἀδελφόν, ὃς πρώην ἐς Ἀταλάριχον, ὡσπερ ἐρ-
ἐρηθή, ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ Πέτρον αὐθίς τὸν ῥήτορα 
ἐπέμψεν, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἐνυελάμενος τὰ 
μὲν χωρία τῆς βασιλέως οἰκίας, ἣν πατριμόνιον 
καλοῦσι, Θευδάτῳ νεῖμαι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ ὅρ-
κους ὁχύρωμα ταῖς ἐνυθήκαις ποιησάμενους οὕτω 
δὴ ἐκ Σικελίας Βελισάριον μεταπέμψαις, ἐφ' 
φ' τά τε βασιλεία καὶ Ἰταλίαν παραλαβὼν ξύμ-
27 πασαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοι. 1 καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστει-
λεν ὅστε αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὰν μεταπέμψωνται, κατὰ 
tάχος ἥκειν.

VII

Ἐν δὲ ταῦτα τε βασιλεὺς ἐπρασσε καὶ οἱ 
πρέσβεις οὕτω ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ 
Γότθοι, ἀλλοι τε καὶ Ἀσιναρίου καὶ Γρίπτα 
σφίσιν ἤγουμένων, στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Δαλμα-
2 τιαν ἥκον. ἐπειδὴ τε Σαλώνων ἀγχιστα ἴκοντο,

1 ἔχοι suggested by Haury: ἔχει MSS.
not to await the issue of the war. For certain men who in the past have followed such a course have been completely undone. And you will never repent having made us friends instead of enemies. But you will not only have this that you ask at our hands, but you will also have the distinction of being enrolled in the highest honours of the Romans. Now for the present I have sent Athanasius and Peter, so that each party may have surety by some agreement. And almost immediately Belisarius also will visit you to complete all the arrangements which have been agreed upon between us." After writing this the emperor sent Athanasius, the brother of Alexander, who had previously gone on an embassy to Atalaric, as has been said,\(^1\) and for the second time Peter the orator, whom I have mentioned above,\(^2\) enjoining upon them to assign to Theodatus the estates of the royal household, which they call "patrimonium"; and not until after they had drawn up a written document and had secured oaths to fortify the agreement were they to summon Belisarius from Sicily, in order that he might take over the palace and all Italy and hold them under guard. And he wrote to Belisarius that as soon as they should summon him he should go thither with all speed.

VII

But meantime, while the emperor was engaged in these negotiations and these envoys were travelling to Italy, the Goths, under command of Asinarius and Gripas and some others, had come with a great army into Dalmatia. And when they had reached the

\(^{1}\) Chap. iii. 13; \(^{2}\) Chap. iii. 30, iv. 17 ff.
Μαυρίκιος σφίσων, ο Μούνδου νιός, οὐκ ἐσ παρά-
tαξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κατασκοπή ἥκων εἴν ὀλύνοις τις ἦν
ὑπηντίαξε. καρτερᾶς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ἡμιβολῆς
Γότθων μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἠπεσον, Ὁρ-
μαῖοι δὲ σχέδου ἀπαντες καὶ Μαυρίκιος ὁ στρα-
tηγός. ἀπερ ἐπεὶ ἠκούσε Μούνδος περιώδεινός
τε γενόμενος τῇ ἡμιφορᾷ καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἦδη
ἐχόμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὔδενι
κόσμῳ ἤει. τῆς τε máχης κρατερᾶς γεγενημένης
τὴν Καδμείαν νίκην Ὁρμαίων υικήσας εὐνέπεσε.
tῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα οἱ πλείστοι ἠπε-
sον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἠγεγόνει, Μούνδος δὲ
κτείνων τε καὶ ὅπῃ παρατόχωι ἐπόμενος καὶ κατέ-
χειν τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡμιφορᾶ ὡς
ήκιστα ἔχων ύφ᾽ ὅτου δὴ τῶν φευγόντων πληγεῖς
ἐπεσε, καὶ ἡ τε δίωξις ἐσ τούτῳ ἐτελεύτα καὶ τὰ
στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα διελέυτο. τότε Ὁρμαίωι
ἀνεμησθησαν τοῦ Σιβύλλης ἔπους, ὅπερ ἀδόμε-
νον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ τέρας αὐτῶι ἔδοξεν εἶναι.
ἐλεγε γὰρ τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο ὡς, ἡνίκα καὶ ἀφρικῇ
ἐχθαται, ὁ κόσμος ξύν τῷ γόνῳ ὀλείται. τὸ μέντοι
χρηστήριον οὐ τοῦτο ἐδήλῳ, ἀλλ' ὑπειπὼν ὅτι δὴ
αὐθις ὑπὸ Ὁρμαίωις Λιβύη ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπει-
πεν, ὅτι τότε ξύν τῷ παιδὶ ἀπολείται Μούνδος.
λέγει γὰρ ὥδε: Αφρικα κατα Mundus cum nato
peribit. ἐπεὶ δὲ κόσμου τῇ Λατίνων ψυφῇ Μούνδος

1 ἡμιβολῆς K: προσβολῆς L. 2 ἐχόμενοι L: γενόμενοι K.
3 κρατερᾶς L: κατὰ τάχος K.
4 Africa . . . peribit: the original Greek characters may
be read in Haury, note ad loc. The last word (peribit) is
uncertain; peribit Braun, peribuit Comparetii, periet Bury.
neighbourhood of Salones, Mauricius, the son of Mundus, who was not marching out for battle but, with a few men, was on a scouting expedition, encountered them. A violent engagement ensued in which the Goths lost their foremost and noblest men, but the Romans almost their whole company, including their general Mauricius. And when Mundus heard of this, being overcome with grief at the misfortune and by this time dominated by a mighty fury, he went against the enemy without the least delay and regardless of order. The battle which took place was stubbornly contested, and the result was a Cadmean victory for the Romans. For although the most of the enemy fell there and their rout had been decisive, Mundus, who went on killing and following up the enemy wherever he chanced to find them and was quite unable to restrain his mind because of the misfortune of his son, was wounded by some fugitive or other and fell. Thereupon the pursuit ended and the two armies separated. And at that time the Romans recalled the verse of the Sibyl, which had been pronounced in earlier times and seemed to them a portent. For the words of the saying were that when Africa should be held, the "world" would perish together with its offspring. This, however, was not the real meaning of the oracle, but after intimating that Libya would be once more subject to the Romans, it added this statement also, that when that time came Mundus would perish together with his son. For it runs as follows: "Africa capta Mundus cum nato peribit." But since "mundus" in the Latin tongue has the force of "world," they thought

1 Proverbial for a victory in which the victor is slain; probably from the story of the Theban, or "Cadmean," heroes Éteocles and Polynices.
2 See Bury's edition of Gibbon, Vol. IV. App. 15, for a discussion of this oracle.
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dúnavatai, φοντο ἁμφὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ λόγιον εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὃδε πη ἐσχεν. εἰς δὲ Σάλωνας
9 εἰσῆλθεν οὖν δέ. οὐ τε γὰρ Ἡρμαιοὶ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀναχώρησαν, ἑπεὶ ἄναρχοι τὸ παράπαν ἐλεύθερον,
καὶ οἱ Γότθοι τῶν ἀρίστων οὖν ὀφθαλμὸς σφίσιν ἀπολε- λειμμένου εἰς δέος ἐλθόντες τὰ ἐκείνη φρούρια
10 ἐσχον. οὖν γὰρ Σαλώνων τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπίτατεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόμενον Ἡ
Ῥωμαίων οὗ ταύτη φόντυ.

11 Ταύτα ἐπεὶ Θευδάτος ἦκουσε, τοὺς πρέσβεις ἦδη παρ’ αὐτὸν ἤκοντας ἐν οὐδείς ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ. εἰς γὰρ ἀπιστίαν ἰκανός ἐπεφύκει καὶ βέβαιοι τῇ
διάνοιᾳ οὖν διαμῇ ἐχεν, ἄλλ᾿ ἂει αὐτὸν ἥ παρούσα ἄλλη ἡ ἐλόγως τε καὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων οὐκ ἐπαξίως
εἰς τε ὁρρωδίαν ἄπήγγε καὶ μέτρων οὐκ ἔχουσαν καὶ

12 αὐθίς ἐς ἅφατον τι ἀντικαθίστη θράσος. καὶ τῷ τοῖς ᾿ανατό πέρι Μοῦσιδον τε ἀκούσας καὶ
Μαυρικίου ἐπήρθη τε ὑπέραγαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λό-
γον τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἦδη

13 παρ’ αὐτὸν ἤκοντας ἐρεσχελεῖν ἤξιον. καὶ ἑπειδὴ αὐτὸς Πέτρος ποτὲ ἀντι ὑπερβάντι τὰ βασιλεῖ
ἀμφότερον ἐλοιδορεῖται, ἀμφὼ Θευδάτος δημο-

14 σία καλέσας ἐλέξε τοιάδε: “Σεμενόν μὲν τὸ χρήμα
τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἄλλως ἐντιμὸν καθέστηκεν ἐς
πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γέρας ἐς τόδε οἱ
πρέσβεις ἐν σφίσιν αὐτῶς διασώζουσιν, ἐς 2 τῇ
σφέτερα ἐπιεικεῖα φυλάξωσι τὸ τῆς προβλείας

15 ἢξιομα. κτεῖναι γὰρ ἄνδρα προσβεπτὴν ἐνδικώς
νεομίκασιν ἀνθρώποι, ὅταν ἡ ἐς βασιλεία ὑβρι-

1 ἀπήγγε ΚΛ.: ἕπηγεν Η.
2 ἐς 2 τῇ H Dindorf: ἐς 2 τε Κ, ἔστου Λ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. vii. 8–15

that the saying had reference to the world. So much, then, for this. As for Salones, it was not entered by anyone. For the Romans went back home, since they were left altogether without a commander, and the Goths, seeing that not one of their nobles was left them, fell into fear and took possession of the strongholds in the neighbourhood; for they had no confidence in the defences of Salones, and, besides, the Romans who lived there were not very well disposed towards them.

When Theodatus heard this, he took no account of the envoys who by now had come to him. For he was by nature much given to distrust, and he by no means kept his mind steadfast, but the present fortune always reduced him now to a state of terror which knew no measure, and this contrary to reason and the proper understanding of the situation, and again brought him to the opposite extreme of unspeakable boldness. And so at that time, when he heard of the death of Mundus and Mauricius, he was lifted up exceedingly and in a manner altogether unjustified by what had happened, and he saw fit to taunt the envoys when they at length appeared before him. And when Peter on one occasion remonstrated with him because he had transgressed his agreement with the emperor, Theodatus called both of them publicly and spoke as follows: “The position of envoys is a proud one and in general has come to be held in honour among all men; but envoys preserve for themselves these their prerogatives only so long as they guard the dignity of their embassy by the propriety of their own conduct. For men have sanctioned as just the killing of an envoy whenever he is either found to have insulted a
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σας φαίνηται, ἡ γυναίκος ἄλλῳ ξυνοικούσης ἐς εὐνήν ἔλθοι." Θευδάτος μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Πέτρου ἀπέρριψεν, οὐχ ὅτι γυναίκι ἐπήλησασεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἰσχυρίσητα ἐγκλήματα, ὧς τὸ εἰκός, γίνεσθαι ἐς πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἄγοντα. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀμείβονται τοιοῦτο. "Οὔτε ταῦτα, οὐ Γότθων ἄρχηγε, ταύτη ἦπερ εἰρήκας ἔχει, οὔτ’ ἀν σὺ παραπετάσμασιν οὐχ ὑγιέσιν ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις ἐνδείξιον. μοιχῶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένῳ πρεσβευτῇ πάρεστι γίνεσθαι, οὐ γε οὐδὲ ὅποτος μεταλαγχάνειν ὅτι μὴ γυνώμη τῶν φυλασσόντων δακίων ἔστι. λόγους δὲ, ὅσους ἂν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος ἄκηκος εἰπτη, οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐντεύθεν αὐτίαν, ἣν γε οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ τύχοις ὄντες, εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κελεύσας φέροιτο ἀν δικαίως τὸ ἐγκλῆμα τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ πρεσβευτῇ τῷ τὴν ὑποργίαν ἐκτελέσαι περίεστι μόνον. ὅστε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἢπαντα ἐρόμεν ὅσα ἀκούσαντες πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλημεν, σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἀκούσῃ πρέσβεις ταραττομένῳ γὰρ σοι ἄδικειν ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις λειλεψεται. οὐκοῦν ὁρὰ σοι ἐκόντι ἐπιτελεῖν ὅσα βασιλεῖ ὁμολόγησας. ἐπ’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς ἤκομεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν σοι ἔγραψεν ἦδη λαβὼν ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἂ τοῖς Γότθων πρῶτος ἐπέμψεν, ὦκ ἄλλοις τισίν ἢ αὐτοῖς δώσουμεν. "ταῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων ἐπεὶ παρόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες ἦκου-

1 ἐκ τοῦ KL: αὐτοῦ H. 2 καὶ τὴν μὲν H: om. KL. 3 ἦδη... ἐπέμψεν KL: om. H.
sovereign or has had knowledge of a woman who is the wife of another.” Such were the words with which Theodatus inveighed against Peter, not because he had approached a woman, but, apparently, in order to make good his claim that there were charges which might lead to the death of an ambassador. But the envoys replied as follows: “The facts are not, O Ruler of the Goths, as thou hast stated them, nor canst thou, under cover of flimsy pretexts, wantonly perpetrate unholy deeds upon men who are envoys. For it is not possible for an ambassador, even if he wishes it, to become an adulterer, since it is not easy for him even to partake of water except by the will of those who guard him. And as for the proposals which he has received from the lips of him who has sent him and then delivers, he himself cannot reasonably incur the blame which arises from them, in case they be not good, but he who has given the command would justly bear this charge, while the sole responsibility of the ambassador is to have discharged his mission. We, therefore, shall say all that we were instructed by the emperor to say when we were sent, and do thou hear us quietly; for if thou art stirred to excitement, all thou canst do will be to wrong men who are ambassadors. It is time, therefore, for thee of thine own free will to perform all that thou didst promise the emperor. This, indeed, is the purpose for which we have come. And the letter which he wrote to thee thou hast already received, but as for the writing which he sent to the foremost of the Goths, to no others shall we give it than to them.” When the leading men of the barbarians, who were present, heard this speech of the envoys, they bade
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23 εἶχε δὲ ὁδε. "Ἐπιμελές γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἥμετέραν, ὅπερ ὑμᾶς ἠσθήναι εἰκός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλασ-σοῦνθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀξιώτεροι ἔσεσθε, ἐς ἡμᾶς ἤξετε. ἀλλ' ὅταν οὐκ ἦσθαν ἡ ἀλλόγωντα ἡ Πέτρους καλοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ηθάσι γενομένους ὑμῖν εἶτα ἐπὶ καιροῦ διευθανά τετύχηκε. διὰ ταύτα νῦν Ἀθανάσιος τε καὶ Πέτρος ἐστάλησαν αὐτόσε, οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶ ἀπαντά ξυλλαβέσθαι χρεῶν." τοσ-αῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλοι. Θευδάτος δὲ ἀπαντά ἀναλεξάμενος οὔτε τὶ ἐγραφαὶ ἐπιτελεῖν ἄλλω βασιλεὶ υπέσχετο ἐγνώ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν φυλακῇ οὐ μετρία ἐιχε.

26 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαλματία ξυνενεχθέντα ἤκηκοει, Κωνστα-ντιανὸν μὲν, δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰπποκόμων ἠρχεν, εἰς Ἰλλυρίους ἐπεμψε, στρατιάν τοι ἔπιστει-

27 τας ἐνθέντε ἀγείραι καὶ Σαλώνων ἀποτειρᾶσθαι, ὅπη ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὰ εἰή. Βελισάριοι δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι καὶ Γότθοις ὡς πολεμίους χρήσθαι. Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδαμμον τὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ χρόνον τινὰ δια-

28 τρίψας ἐνταῦθα στρατιάν ἡγείρεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθοι, Ἰρίπα σφίσιν ἡγομένου, στρατῷ ἐστέρῳ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι Σάλωνας ἐσκολ. Κωνσταντιανὸς τε, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἀριστα εἴχεν, ἀρας ἐς Ἐπίδαμμον τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ὀρμήζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαμρον, ἡ ἔστων ἐν δεξιᾷ

1 ἔσεσθε Ηαυρύ: ἔσεσθε Κ, ἔσεσθε Λ, ἔσεσθε Η
2 ἀλλάγωντα Ἡ: ἀλλως ἀγνώτα ΚΛ
3 ἀφίκετο ΚΗ: ἀφικόμενος Λ

64
them give to Theodatus what had been written to them. And it ran as follows: “It has been the object of our care to receive you back into our state, whereat you may well be pleased. For you will come to us, not in order to be made of less consequence, but that you may be more honoured. And, besides, we are not bidding the Goths enter into strange or alien customs, but into those of a people with whom you were once familiar, though you have by chance been separated from them for a season. For these reasons Athanasius and Peter have been sent to you, and you ought to assist them in all things.” Such was the purport of this letter. But after Theodatus had read everything, he not only decided not to perform in deed the promises he had made to the emperor, but also put the envoys under a strict guard.

But when the Emperor Justinian heard these things and what had taken place in Dalmatia, he sent Constantianus, who commanded the royal grooms, into Illyricum, bidding him gather an army from there and make an attempt on Salones, in whatever manner he might be able; and he commanded Belisarius to enter Italy with all speed and to treat the Goths as enemies. So Constantianus came to Epidamnus and spent some time there gathering an army. But in the meantime the Goths, under the leadership of Gripas, came with another army into Dalmatia and took possession of Salones; and Constantianus, when all his preparations were as complete as possible, departed from Epidamnus with his whole force and cast anchor at Epidaurus,¹ which is on the right as

¹ Modern Ragusa Vecchia.
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ἐσπλέουντι τὸν Ἰόμον κόλπων ἔνθα δὴ ἀνδρας οὗς ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν θρίπασας ἐπεμψε τετύχκενεν 29 εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοῖς τάς τε ναῦς ἐπισκοποῦσι καὶ τὸ Κωνσταντιανὸν στρατόπεδον ἔδοξε θάλασσα τε καὶ ἡ γῆ ξύμπασα στρατιωτῶν ἔμπλεος εἶναι, παρὰ τε τῶν θρίπαν ἐπανήκοντες μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὅλγας Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐπάγεσθαι.

30 ἰσχυρίζοντο. ὃ δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα τι ἐμπεσών ὑπαντιάζειν τε τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἀξύμφορον ὤντο εἶναι καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ, οὐτώ δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντος, ἢκιστά

31 ἢδελε: μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνυπάρασσεν ὃ τε Ἑλλάδος περίβολος, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη καταπεπτώκει, καὶ τῶν ταύτης φιλημένων τὸ ἐς

32 Γότθους κομιδὴ ὑποπτοῦν. καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐνθέντε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδεύτωται ὃ μεταξὺ Ἑλλάδος τε καὶ Ἑλλάδον 1 πόλεως ἐστι. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπάσαις πλέων ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου, Ἀντίνη προσέσχεν, ἢ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κεῖται.

33 ἐνθέντε τε τῶν ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπεμφανίζεσθαι, ἐφ᾽ ὃ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ θρίπα διερευνώμενου ὁποία ποτὲ ἢ ἐσαγγεῖλωσίν. ἀφ᾽ ὧν δὴ τὸν πάντα λόγον πυθόμενος εὐθὺ Σαλάβων κατὰ τάχος ἐπλεί.

34 καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴς ἀγχίστα ἐγεγόνει, ἀποβιβάζας τοῦ στρατευμα ἐς τὴν ἢπειρον αὐτός μὲν ἑπιταῦθα ἡσύχια, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας Σιφίλαν τε αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστῆσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐνα, ἐκελευθεῖ τὴν στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν ἢν δὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς

1 Ἑκάρδωνος Ηαυρύ: Χαρδάνης Μαλτρέτος, κράμωνος Κ, κράτωνος Λ.
one sails into the Ionian Gulf. Now it so happened that some men were there whom Gripas had sent out as spies. And when they took note of the ships and the army of Constantianus it seemed to them that both the sea and the whole land were full of soldiers, and returning to Gripas they declared that Constantianus was bringing against them an army of men numbering many tens of thousands. And he, being plunged into great fear, thought it inexpedient to meet their attack, and at the same time he was quite unwilling to be besieged by the emperor's army, since it so completely commanded the sea; but he was disturbed most of all by the fortifications of Salones (since the greater part of them had already fallen down), and by the exceedingly suspicious attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the place toward the Goths. And for this reason he departed thence with his whole army as quickly as possible and made camp in the plain which is between Salones and the city of Scardon. And Constantianus, sailing with all his ships from Epidaurus, put in at Lysina, which is an island in the gulf. Thence he sent forward some of his men, in order that they might make enquiry concerning the plans of Gripas and report them to him. Then, after learning from them the whole situation, he sailed straight for Salones with all speed. And when he had put in at a place close to the city, he disembarked his army on the mainland and himself remained quiet there; but he selected five hundred from the army, and setting over them as commander Siphilas, one of his own bodyguards, he commanded them to seize the narrow pass which, as he had been informed, was in the

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1 Near Sebenico.  
2 Modern Lesina.  
3 An important approach to the city from the west.
πόλεως προαστείῳ ἐπύθετο εἶναι. καὶ Σιφίλας
μὲν κατὰ ταύτα ἐπολεί. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ
στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς Σάλωνας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσελά-
σαντες τῷ πεξῷ καὶ ταῖς ναοῦ προσωρίσαντο.
36 Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Σαλώνων τοῦ περιβόλου
ἐπεμελείτο, ἀνοικοδομούμενος σπουδῇ ἀπαντᾷ
ὅσα αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει. Γρίπας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν
Γότθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ Ὁρμαῖοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον,
ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα εὑθεῖνε ἀναστάντες εἶπε Ὁραβένης
ἀπεκομίσθησαν, οὕτω τε Κωνσταντιανὸς Δαλ-
ματίαν τε καὶ Διβουρνίαν ξύμπασαν ἔσχε,
Γότθους προσαγαγόμενος ἀπαντᾷ οἱ ταύτῃ
37 ἱδρυντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄμφι Δαλματίαν ταύτῃ τῇ
ἔσχε. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ πρῶτον έτος
ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τὸ ἔννοι τοῦ Προκόπιος συνε-
γραφεῖ.

VIII

Βελισάριος δὲ φύλακας ἐν τῇ Συρακούσῃ καὶ
Πανόρμῳ ἀπολυπὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεσημνῆς
dιέβη ἐς Ρήγιον (ἐνθὰ δὴ οἱ ποιμαὶ τὴν τε
Σκύλλαν γεγονέναι μυθοποιοῦσι καὶ Χάρυβδιν),
καὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν οὐσμέραι οἱ ταύτῃ ἀν-
2 θρώτοι. τῶν τε γαρ χωρίῳν ἀτείχίστων σφίσιν
ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντων, φυλακὴν αὐτῶν οὖδαμῇ εἰχον
καὶ κατὰ ἑξῆς τὸ Γότθων μάλιστα τῇ 1 παροῦσῃ
3 ἀρχῇ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἡχοῦσται. ἐκ δὲ Γότθων αὐτο-
μολοῦ παρὰ Βελισάριον Ἐβρίμους ἔστιν πάσι τοῖς
ἐπομένοις ἦλθεν, ὁ Θεοδάτον γαμβρός, ὡς τῇ
ἐκείνου θυγατρὶ Θεουδένανθὴ ξυνήκει. αὐτίκα τε
1 τῇ παρ. Haury: τῇ γαρ παρ. MSS.
outskirts of the city. And this Siphilas did. And
Constantianus and his whole land army entered
Salones on the following day, and the fleet anchored
close by. Then Constantianus proceeded to look
after the fortifications of the city, building up in
haste all such parts of them as had fallen down;
and Gripas, with the Gothic army, on the seventh
day after the Romans had taken possession of
Salones, departed from there and betook themselves
to Ravenna; and thus Constantianus gained posses-
sion of all Dalmatia and Liburnia, bringing over to
his side all the Goths who were settled there. Such
were the events in Dalmatia. And the winter drew
to a close, and thus ended the first year of this war,
the history of which Procopius has written.

VIII

And Belisarius, leaving guards in Syracuse and
Panormus, crossed with the rest of the army from
Messana to Rhegium (where the myths of the poets
say Scylla and Charybdis were), and every day the
people of that region kept coming over to him. For
since their towns had from of old been without walls,
they had no means at all of guarding them, and
because of their hostility toward the Goths they were,
as was natural, greatly dissatisfied with their present
government. And Ebrimos came over to Belisarius
as a deserter from the Goths, together with all his
followers; this man was the son-in-law of Theodatus,
being married to Theodenanthe, his daughter. And
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παρὰ βασιλέα σταλείς, γερών τε ἄλλων ἐτυχε
4 καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρικίων ἄξιωμα ἠλθε. τὸ δὲ στρατευμα ἐκ Ῥηγίου πεζῆ διὰ Βριττίων τε καὶ
5 Δευκάνων ᾁει, παρηκολούθει τε ἄγχιστα τῆς
6 ἥπερον ο τῶν νηῶν στόλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, πόλει ενέτυχον ἐπιθαλασσίᾳ,
7 Νεαπόλει οὖν, χωρίου τε φύσει ἐχυρὰ ἔτει
8 καὶ
9 Γότθων πολλῶν φρουρὰν ἐχοῦση. καὶ τὰς μὲν
10 ναύς Βελισάριος ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἕξω βελῶν
11 ὅντι ὀρμίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγὺς
12 στρατόπεδου ποιησάμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φρουρὶον ὃ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶν ὦμολογία εἶλεν,
13 ἐπεὶ τα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δεσμένους ἐπέτρεπε
14 τῶν τινῶν λογίμων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμψας,
15 ἐφ᾽ ὃ ἐπείπωσε τὸ ὅσα αὐτοῖς βουλομένους ἐστὶ
16 καὶ τοὺς λόγος ἀκούσαντες τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ πᾶν
17 ἀγγείλωσιν. αὐτίκα οὖν ὁ Νεαπόλιται Στέφανον
18 πέμπτος. δὲ ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἠκεῖν, ἐλέξε
19 τοιάδε.

"Οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖσ, ὦ στρατηγε, ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρας
20 Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ οὖν ἄδικοντας στρατευον,
21 οἰ πόλιν τε μικράν οἰκούμεν καὶ βαρβάρων
22 δεσποτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχομεν, ὡστε οὐδ᾽ ἀντιπράξαι,
23 ἧν ἐθελομεν, ἐφ᾽ ἠμῶν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροῖς
24 τοῖσδε εὐμβαίνει παῖδας τε καὶ γυναικάς καὶ τὰ
25 τιμώτατα ύπὸ ταῖς Θεουδάτου χερσίν ἀπολι
26 ποῦσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φυλακῇ ἦκειν. οὐκοῦν,
27 ἦν τι ἐς υμᾶς πράξωσιν, οὐ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ
28 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπροδιδόντες φανήσουσιν. εἰ

1 χωρίσει τε φύσει ἐχυρὰ K: χωρίου τε ἐχυροῦ L
2 υμᾶς Grotius: ἢμᾶς MSS.
he was straightway sent to the emperor and received many gifts of honour and in particular attained the patrician dignity. And the army of Belisarius marched from Rhegium through Bruttium and Lucania, and the fleet of ships accompanied it, sailing close to the mainland. But when they reached Campania, they came upon a city on the sea, Naples by name, which was strong not only because of the nature of its site, but also because it contained a numerous garrison of Goths. And Belisarius commanded the ships to anchor in the harbour, which was beyond the range of missiles, while he himself made his camp near the city. He then first took possession by surrender of the fort which is in the suburb, and afterwards permitted the inhabitants of the city at their own request to send some of their notables into his camp, in order that they might tell what their wish was and, after receiving his reply, report to the populace. Straightway, therefore, the Neapolitans sent Stephanus. And he, upon coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

"You are not acting justly, O general, in taking the field against men who are Romans and have done no wrong, who inhabit but a small city and have over us a guard of barbarians as masters, so that it does not even lie in our power, if we desire to do so, to oppose them. But it so happens that even these guards had to leave their wives and children, and their most precious possessions in the hands of Theodatus before they came to keep guard over us. Therefore, if they treat with you at all, they will plainly be betraying, not the city, but themselves."
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΟΦ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ

dé déi tâlpèthes ouðèn úpóstelíámenv eneíne, ouðè
ta xúmpora ùmín autòis boulêusámenv ei' hèmàs
èkete. ’Rômhn mèn gar èlouníu ùmín kai Neá-
polis ouðíi pónfí úpoxeíria èstai, èkeínihs dé,
òs to eikòs, àpokròusíèntes ouðè tautìn àspalaw
èxete. òstse tûnàllwos ò xhònòs ùmìn èn tì
proyesdèxia tétpíjìsetai tautì.

Tosauta mèn Stéfanos èpte. Béllsarmos dé
àmeibètai óde:
12 "Tò mèn èn ò állwos hèmàs boulêusaménon
ènûháde hèkein ou Neapòlítaios skopèin dòsòmen.
à dé èsti tìs ùmetèras boulìhs àkìa, boulòmèðha
skopoumévons ùmàs ouòw déi proássèin òsa àn
13 ënwòseiw ùmìn autòis mèllh. déxasothe toìwn tì
pòlei tòn básileów straton èpì tì èleuðèria
ùmòw te kai tòw állwun 'Italiwòtw èkounta, kai
14 mè tà pàntwv anìaròtata èpì ùmìn ëllèthe. òssoi
mèn gar doulèiai ò állo ti anàdòmëvòi tòw
àisçhròw ès pòleumòn xwroròsin, ouòi dé èn ge
tì ágòwni èýìmerouìtes èútuxìmatà dìplà ëxòusi,
èvn tì níkì kai tìn tòw kàkkòw èleuðèrias
ktpòsmævòi, kai àssòwìvòi fëròntai ti autòis
paràmùbìov, tò mè èkòntes tìn xèríówn èpesòtau
15 tòxhì. oì dé paròw àmakhtì èleuðèròs èjnai,
oí dé èptòs tìn doulèiai bëbaiov èxòusi ès
ágòwna kakìstòntai, ouòi dé kai xeniìkkòtes, òn
ouòw tòxhì, èn toìs ànanakaiòtòtòs èsfálìsan,
kai kata tìn màxhì èlaxòsòw hè èbóulònto
àpallàxìates èvn tìn èllh kakòdàmæmonìa kai
72
And if one must speak the truth with no concealment, you have not counselled to your advantage, either, in coming against us. For if you capture Rome, Naples will be subject to you without any further trouble, whereas if you are repulsed from there, it is probable that you will not be able to hold even this city securely. Consequently the time you spend on this siege will be spent to no purpose."

So spoke Stephanus. And Belisarius replied as follows:

"Whether we have acted wisely or foolishly in coming here is not a question which we propose to submit to the Neapolitans. But we desire that you first weigh carefully such matters as are appropriate to your deliberations and then act solely in accordance with your own interests. Receive into your city, therefore, the emperor's army, which has come to secure your freedom and that of the other Italians, and do not choose the course which will bring upon you the most grievous misfortunes. For those who, in order to rid themselves of slavery or any other shameful thing, go into war, such men, if they fare well in the struggle, have double good fortune, because along with their victory they have also acquired freedom from their troubles, and if defeated they gain some consolation for themselves, in that they have not of their own free will chosen to follow the worse fortune. But as for those who have the opportunity to be free without fighting, but yet enter into a struggle in order to make their condition of slavery permanent, such men, even if it so happens that they conquer, have failed in the most vital point, and if in the battle they fare less happily than they wished, they will have, along with their general ill-
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tιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐμφορεύν ἔξωσι. πρὸς μὲν
οὐν Νεαπόλιτας ἢμιν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. Γόθθοις
dὲ τοὺς τοὺς παροῦσιν ἄρεσιν δίδωμεν, ἢ ξύν,
ἡμῖν τού λοιποῦ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ τετάρχαι,
ἡ κακῆς ἀπαθείσιν τὸ παράπαν οἰκαδὲ ἔναι.

ος, ἢν τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτὸι τε καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἀμελήσαντες ὅπλα ἢμῖν ἀντάρειν τολμήσητε,
ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢν θέσι θέλη, τῷ προστυχόντι
ὡς πολεμίῳ χρὴσθαι. εἰ μὲντοι βουλομένοι ἢ
Νεαπόλιταις τὰ τε βασιλέως ἑλέσθαι καὶ δουλείας
οὗτῳ χαλεπῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἐκεῖνα ἢμῖν ἀνα-
δέχομαι τὰ πιστὰ διδοὺς ἑσθαὶ πρὸς ἢμῶν ἡ
Σιμελιώται πρὸς ἑπίσαντες ψευδορκίους ἡμᾶς
οὐκ ἔσχον εἰπεῖν.

ταῦτα μὲν Στέφανον Βελισάριος ἐς τὸν δῆμον
ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσα. Ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ μεγάλα ὑπέ-
σχετο ἀγαθὰ ἑσθαί, Νεαπόλιτας ἐς εὐνοίαν
τὴν βασιλέως ὀρμήσοντι. Στέφανος δὲ ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἢκων τοὺς τε Βελισαρίον λόγους ἀπήγγελλε
καὶ γνῶμην αὐτὸς ἀπεβαίνετο βασιλεῖ μάχεσθαι

ἀξύμφορον ἔναι. καὶ οἱ ξυνεπρασσεὶν Ἀντίοχος,
Σύρος μὲν ἄνηρ, ἕκ παλαιόν δὲ φημενος ἐν
Νεαπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία καὶ
δόζαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ξυνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη

ἐν ταῦτά ἔχων. Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος
ρήτορε μὲν ἡστῆν καὶ λίαν ἐν γε Νεαπόλιταις
λογίμω, Γόθθοις δὲ φίλω ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ
tὰ παρόντα ὡς ἤκιστα βουλομένων μεταβάλλεσθαι.

τοῦτοι τω ἄλλῳ βουλευσαμένω ὅπως τὰ πρασό-
μενα ἐν κωλύμα ἔσται, πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα τὸ

1 τὸ παράπαν οἰκαδὲ Haury: οἰκαδὲ τὸ παράπαν MSS.
fortune, also the calamity of defeat. As for the Neapolitans, then, let these words suffice. But as for these Goths who are present, we give them the choice, either to array themselves hereafter on our side under the great emperor, or to go to their homes altogether immune from harm. Because, if both you and they, disregarding all these considerations, dare to raise arms against us, it will be necessary for us also, if God so wills, to treat whomever we meet as an enemy. If, however, it is the will of the Neapolitans to choose the cause of the emperor and thus to be rid of so cruel a slavery, I take it upon myself, giving you pledges, to promise that you will receive at our hands those benefits which the Sicilians lately hoped for, and with regard to which they were unable to say that we had sworn falsely.”

Such was the message which Belisarius bade Stephanus take back to the people. But privately he promised him large rewards if he should inspire the Neapolitans with good-will toward the emperor. And Stephanus, upon coming into the city, reported the words of Belisarius and expressed his own opinion that it was inexpedient to fight against the emperor. And he was assisted in his efforts by Antiochus, a man of Syria, but long resident in Naples for the purpose of carrying on a shipping business, who had a great reputation there for wisdom and justice. But there were two men, Pastor and Asclepiodotus, trained speakers and very notable men among the Neapolitans, who were exceedingly friendly toward the Goths, and quite unwilling to have any change made in the present state of affairs. These two men, planning how they might block the negotiations, induced the multitude to demand many serious
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πλήθος ἐνηγήτην προτισχεσθαι καὶ Βελισάριον ὄρκοις καταλαμβάνειν ὃτι δὲ τούτων αὐτίκα
24 μᾶλα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεῦξονται. ἐν βιβλιδῷ δὲ ἀπαντά γράφαντε ὅσα Βελισάριον ὅλκ ἂν τις
25 ἐνδέξασθαι ὑπετόπησε Στεφάνῳ ἐδοσαν. ὡς, ἐπεὶ ἐσ τὸ βασιλέως στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἀφίκετο,
26 τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδιέξας τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπινθάνετο εἰ ὦι πάντα τὲ ἐπιτελέσα ὅσα Νεαπολῖται
27 προτείνονται καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅμεισθαι βουλομένων εἰη. ὦ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀπαντά σφίσιν ἐπιτελῆ
28 ἔσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεπέμψατο. ταῦτα Νεα-
29 πολῖται ἀκούσαντες τοὺς τὰ ὁγοὺς ἐνδέχοντο ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασι-
λέως στράτευμα δέχεσθαι. ἀπαντήσειν γὰρ
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἱσχυρίζετο 1 οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, εἰ τῷ
ἰκανοὶ Σικελιώται τεκμηριώσαι, οἷς δὴ τετύχηκεν
ἐναγχος βαρβάρων τυράννων τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ
βασιλείαν ἀλλαξαμένους, ἐλευθέρους τε εἰναι καὶ
ἀπαθεῖν δυσκόλων ἀπαντῶν. καὶ πολλῷ θορύβῳ
ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὡς δὴ αὐτὰς ἀνακλη-
νοῦντες ἔσεσαν. Γότθοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἦδην ἡ τὰ
πρασσόμενα, κωλύειν μέντοι οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες
ἐκπολέμων ἵσταντο.

29 Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος τὸν τε δήμον
29 καὶ Γότθους ἀπαντᾶς ἐσ ἐνα συγκαλέσαντες χώρον
ἐλέξαι τοιάδε: “Πόλεως μὲν πλήθος ἑαυτοῦ τε
καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν προτεσθαι οὐδέν ἀπει-
κός, ἄλλως τῇ ἢ καὶ μηδενὶ ποῖς δοκίμων κοινώ-
σαντες εἰτα αὐτόνομον τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιή-
30 σωνται γνώσιν. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐξυ ὑμῖν ὅσον

1 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἱσχυρίζετο Κ.: αὐτοῖς σφίσιν ἱσχυρίζοντο Λ.
2 μηδενὶ Λ.: ἡδονὴ Κ.
concessions, and to try to force Belisarius to promise on oath that they should forthwith obtain what they asked for. And after writing down in a document such demands as nobody would have supposed that Belisarius would accept, they gave it to Stephanus. And he, returning to the emperor’s army, shewed the writing to the general, and enquired of him whether he was willing to carry out all the proposals which the Neapolitans made and to take an oath concerning them. And Belisarius promised that they should all be fulfilled for them and so sent him back. Now when the Neapolitans heard this, they were in favour of accepting the general’s assurances at once and began to urge that the emperor’s army be received into the city with all speed. For he declared that nothing unpleasant would befall them, if the case of the Sicilians was sufficient evidence for anyone to judge by, since, as he pointed out, it had only recently been their lot, after they had exchanged their barbarian tyrants for the sovereignty of Justinian, to be, not only free men, but also immune from all difficulties. And swayed by great excitement they were about to go to the gates with the purpose of throwing them open. And though the Goths were not pleased with what they were doing, still, since they were unable to prevent it, they stood out of the way.

But Pastor and Asclepiodotus called together the people and all the Goths in one place, and spoke as follows: “It is not at all unnatural that the populace of a city should abandon themselves and their own safety, especially if, without consulting any of their notables, they make an independent decision regarding their all. But it is necessary for us, who are on
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οὐπω ἀπολογομένους ὑστατον ἔρανον τῇ πατρίδι
tήδε παρέχεσθαι τὴν παραίνεσιν. ὅρῳμεν τοῖ
νυν ὑμᾶς, ἀνδρεσ πολιταί, καταπροδιδόναι Βελι
σαρίῳ ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειγομένους,
pολλά τε ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι
καὶ ἄρκουσι δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀμείσθαι. ἐι
μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀναδέχεσθαι οἷος τέ ἐστιν
ὡς ἐς αὐτὸν ἦξει τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, οὐδεὶς
ἀν ἄντείποι 1 μὴ οὐκ ἔταυτα ὑμῖν ξύμφορα εἶναι.

τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ γενησομένῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα χαρί
ζεσθαι πολλή ἀνοια. ἐι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἀδήλῳ
κεῖται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀξιόχρεώς ἐστὶ τὴν
τῆς τύχης ἀναδέχεσθαι γνώμην, σκέψασθε ὑπὲρ

οἷον ὑμῖν συμφοροῦν ἡ σπουδὴ 2 γίγνεται. ἦν γάρ
τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι τῶν δυσμενῶν περιέσονται, ὡς
πολεμίους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ δεινότατα σφᾶς αὐτοὺς

εἰργασμένους κολάσουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη βιαζό
μενοι, ἀλλά γνώμη ἐθελοκακῶντες ἐσὶ τὴν προδο
σιαν καθίστασθε. ὡστε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ κρατή
σαντι τῶν πολεμίων ἴσως ἀπίστοι τε φανούμεθα
καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων προδόται, καὶ ἀτε δραπέται

γεγενημένοι, ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα φρουρῶν πρὸς

βασιλέως κατὰ 3 τὸ εἰκὸς ἔξομεν. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ προ
donτον τετυχηκὼς τῇ μὲν χάριτι ἐς τὸ παραντικα
νικήσας ἡσθῇ, ὑποψία δὲ ύστερον τῇ ἐκ τῶν
πεπραγμένων μυσεῖ καὶ φοβεῖται τὸν εὐεργέτην,

αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας γνωρίσματα

ἐχών. ἢν μὲντοι πιστοὶ Γότθοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι
gενώμεθα, γενναίως ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐ
tοῖ τε τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσαντες μεγάλα ἡμᾶς

1 ἄν ἄντείποι Vitelli: ἄντείπη Κ, ἄντείποι L.
2 ἡ σπουδὴ L: ἐν σπουδὴ Κ.
3 κατὰ L: ἐς Κ.
the very point of perishing together with you, to offer as a last contribution to the fatherland this advice. We see, then, fellow citizens, that you are intent upon betraying both yourselves and the city to Belisarius, who promises to confer many benefits upon you and to swear the most solemn oaths in confirmation of his promises. Now if he is able to promise you this also, that to him will come the victory in the war, no one could deny that the course you are taking is to your advantage. For it is great folly not to gratify every whim of him who is to become master. But if this outcome lies in uncertainty, and no man in the world is competent to guarantee the decision of fortune, consider what sort of misfortunes your haste is seeking to attain. For if the Goths overcome their adversaries in the war, they will punish you as enemies and as having done them the foulest wrong. For you are resorting to this act of treason, not under constraint of necessity, but out of deliberate cowardice. So that even to Belisarius, if he wins the victory over his enemies, we shall perhaps appear faithless and betrayers of our rulers, and having proved ourselves deserters, we shall in all probability have a guard set over us permanently by the emperor. For though he who has found a traitor is pleased at the moment of victory by the service rendered, yet afterwards, moved by suspicion based upon the traitor's past, he hates and fears his benefactor, since he himself has in his own possession the evidences of the other's faithlessness. If, however, we shew ourselves faithful to the Goths at the present time, manfully submitting to the danger, they will give us great rewards in case they win
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ἀγαθά δράσουσι καὶ Βελισάριος ἦμῖν νευκηκώς,

38 ἅν οὔτω τύχῃ, συγγνώμων ἔσται. εὖνοια γὰρ ἀποτυχοῦσα πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁτι μὴ ἄξι-

39 νέτου κολάζεται. τί δὲ καὶ παθόντες κατωρρω-

δήκατε τῶν πολεμῶν τήν προσεδρείαν, οὔ οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες οὔτε τοῦ ἀποκεκλεισ-

μένου τῶν ἀναγκαίων κάθησθε οἶκοι, τῷ τε περι-

βόλῳ καὶ φρουροῖς τοὺς τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχουτες; ὦ γει-

μεθα δὲ οὖδ' ἂν Βελισάριον ἐς τήνδε ξυμβῆναι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἦμῖν, εἰ τινὰ βία τήν πόλιν αἱρή-

σειν ἐλπίδα εἴχε. καίτοι εἰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἦμῖν

ξυνοίσουσα ποιεῖν ἤθελεν, οὐ Νεαπολίταις αὐτὸν δεδίσσεσθαι ἐχρήν οὓδ' τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐς Γότθους ἄδικα τὴν οἰκείαν βεβαιοῦν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ-

dάτῳ τε καὶ Γότθους ἐς χεὶρας ἱέναι, ὅπως κινδύνου τε καὶ προδοσίας ἑμετέρας χωρίς η πόλις ἐς τὸ τῶν νικῶντων χωρήσει κράτος.”

41 Τοσαῦτα Πάστωρ τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἰ-

πόντες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρῆγγυ ἱσχυριζόμενους τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῖ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ Γότθου δε φυλάξειν ἁσφαλῶς τῶν περίβολον

42 ἱσχυρίζοντο. οἷς δὴ Νεαπολίται ἤγεμένου ἐκέλευν Βελισάριον ἐνθέευδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.

43 ο δὲ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. πολλάκις τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἀπεκρούσθη, τῶν

στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέσας πολλοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς

44 δὴ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε. τὸ γὰρ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος τὰ μὲν θαλάσση, τὰ δὲ δυσχω-

1 ἀνθρώπων Κ.: ἀνθρώπων Ι.
the mastery over the enemy, and Belisarius, if it should so happen that he is the victor, will be prone to forgive. For loyalty which fails is punished by no man unless he be lacking in understanding. But what has happened to you that you are in terror of being besieged by the enemy, you who have no lack of provisions, have not been deprived by blockade of any of the necessities of life, and hence may sit at home, confident in the fortifications and in your garrison here?¹ And in our opinion even Belisarius would not have consented to this agreement with us if he had any hope of capturing the city by force. And yet if what he desired were that which is just and that which will be to our advantage, he ought not to be trying to frighten the Neapolitans or to establish his own power by means of an act of injustice on our part toward the Goths; but he should do battle with Theodatus and the Goths, so that without danger to us or treason on our part the city might come into the power of the victors."

When they had finished speaking, Pastor and Asclepiodotus brought forward the Jews, who promised that the city should be in want of none of the necessities, and the Goths on their part promised that they would guard the circuit-wall safely. And the Neapolitans, moved by these arguments, bade Belisarius depart thence with all speed. He, however, began the siege. And he made many attempts upon the circuit-wall, but was always repulsed, losing many of his soldiers, and especially those who laid some claim to valour. For the wall of Naples was inaccessible, on one side by reason of the sea, and on the other

¹ i.e. the Goths; cf. § 5 above.
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ρίαις τισιν ἀπρόσοδον τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθο- 
λεύοντι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀναντεῖς εἶναι
45 οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατόν. καὶ τὸν ὀχετὸν μέντοι, δὲ ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἐσῆγε τὸ ὕδωρ, διελῶν Βελισάριος, οὐ σφο-
δρα Νεαπολίτας ἐτάραξεν, ἐπεὶ φρέατα ἐντός τε ἄν
τα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν χρείαν παρεχόμενα
αἰσθησιν τούτου σφίσιν οὐ λιᾱν ἐδίδου.

IX

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολυρκοῦμενοι λαυθάνοντες τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐπεμπον ἐς Ὄρμην παρὰ Θευνάτων
βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι. Θευνάτως δὲ
πολέμου παρασκευήν τινα ἥκιστα ἐποιεῖτο, ὡν
μὲν καὶ φύσει ἀναίδρος, ὅσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν
2 εἰρηταί. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ έτερον τι ξυμ-
βήναι, ὃ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξεπληξέ εκαὶ ἐς ὄρρω-
διαν μεῖζω ἀπῆνεγκεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες:
3 καὶ ὡς δὲ εἰρήσεται. Θευνάτως καὶ πρότερον μὲν
οὐκ ἀμελέτητος 1 ἡν τῶν τι προλέγεσθε ἐπαγγελλο-
μένων τάς πύστεις 2 ποιεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ τοῖς παρ-
οῦσιν ἀποροῦμενοι, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
ἐς μαντείας ὁμάν εἴσαθε, τῶν τινός Ἐβραίων,
δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῆν ἐχοντος, ἐπυνθάνετο
4 ὁποῦτον ποτε τῷ πολέμῳ τῶδε τὸ πέρας ἔσται. ὁ
dὲ αὐτῷ ἐπηγγέλλει χοιρόν δεκάδας τρεῖς καθείρ-
ζαντι ἐν οἰκίσκοις τρισὶ καὶ ὅνομα ποιησαμένῳ
dεκάδι ἐκάστη, Γότθων τε καὶ Ὁρμαίων καὶ τῶν

1 ἀμελέτητος V: ἀτέλεστος L.
2 πύστεις Braun: πίστεις MSS.
because of some difficult country, and those who planned to attack it could gain entrance at no point, not only because of its general situation, but also because the ground sloped steeply. However, Belisarius cut the aqueduct which brought water into the city; but he did not in this way seriously disturb the Neapolitans, since there were wells inside the circuit-wall which sufficed for their needs and kept them from feeling too keenly the loss of the aqueduct.

IX

So the besieged, without the knowledge of the enemy, sent to Theodatus in Rome begging him to come to their help with all speed. But Theodatus was not making the least preparation for war, being by nature unmanly, as has been said before.¹ And they say that something else happened to him, which terrified him exceedingly and reduced him to still greater anxiety. I, for my part, do not credit this report, but even so it shall be told. Theodatus even before this time had been prone to make enquiries of those who professed to foretell the future, and on the present occasion he was at a loss what to do in the situation which confronted him—a state which more than anything else is accustomed to drive men to seek prophecies; so he enquired of one of the Hebrews, who had a great reputation for prophecy, what sort of an outcome the present war would have. The Hebrew commanded him to confine three groups of ten swine each in three huts, and after giving them respectively the names of Goths, Romans, and the soldiers of the

¹ Chap. iii. 1.
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βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν, ἡμέρας ῥητός ἡ συνή Με-
νειν. Θεοδάτος δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ
παρῆν ἡ κυρία, ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσκοις ἀμφο ἱερόμενοι
ἐθεώντο τοὺς χοίρους, εὐρόν τε αὐτῶν οἷς μὲν τὸ
Γότθων ἔπειρ ὀνομα δυοῖν ἀπολειμμένοι νε-
κροὺς ἀπαντας, ζωντας δὲ ὀλγὼν χωρίς ἀπαντας
ἐς οὐς τὸ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ὄνομα Ἰλθεν. ¹
ὅσοι μὲντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, τούτοις δὲ ξυν-
έβη ἀπορρυῆσαι μὲν τὰς τρίχας ἀπασι, περιεῖναι
6 δὲ ἐς ἡμου μάλιστα. ταύτα Θεοδάτῳ θεσσαμένῳ
καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀπόβασιν
δεός φασίν ἐπελθεῖν μέγα, εὐ εἰδότι ὡς Ῥωμαίοις
μὲν ξυμπεσεῖται πάντως τεθνήξεσαι τε κατὰ
ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων στερηθῆσαι, Γότθως
dὲ ἡσσωμένοις τὸ γένος ἐς ὀλγὼν ἀποκεκρίθαι,
ἐς βασιλεά δὲ, ὀλγὼν οἱ στρατιωτῶν ἀπολου-
7 μένου, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίξεσθαι κράτος. καὶ
dιὰ τούτο Θεοδάτῳ λέγονσιν οὐδεμίαν ὄμην ἐπι-
πεσεῖν ἐς ἁγῶνα Βελισαρίῳ καθίστασθαι. περὶ
μὲν οὖν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὡς πῃ ἐς αὐτὰ
πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀπίστιας ἔχει.

8 Βελισάριος δὲ Νεαπόλιτας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ
θάλατταν πολιορκῶν ἡ σχάλλειν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ οὐδὲ
προσχωρήσειν ποτὲ αὐτῶς φέσο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
ἀλώσεσθαι ἠλπίζειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν δυσ-
9 κολλαν ἀντιστατούσαν ὡς μάλιστα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ
χρόνος αὐτὸν ² τριβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡμία, λογίζο-
μενον ὅπως μὴ χειμῶνος ὁ ἐπὶ Θεοδάτου τε
10 ἀναγκάζηται καὶ Ῥώμην ἴέναι. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἐπηγγείλει συσκευάζεσθαι, μέλλων ἐν-

¹ Ἰλθεν V : Ἰλ L. ² αὐτὸν L : αὐτῶ V.
emperor, to wait quietly for a certain number of days. And Theodatus did as he was told. And when the appointed day had come, they both went into the huts and looked at the swine; and they found that of those which had been given the name of Goths all save two were dead, whereas all except a few were living of those which had received the name of the emperor's soldiers; and as for those which had been called Romans, it so happened that, although the hair of all of them had fallen out, yet about half of them survived. When Theodatus beheld this and divined the outcome of the war, a great fear, they say, came upon him, since he knew well that it would certainly be the fate of the Romans to die to half their number and be deprived of their possessions, but that the Goths would be defeated and their race reduced to a few, and that to the emperor would come, with the loss of but a few of his soldiers, the victory in the war. And for this reason, they say, Theodatus felt no impulse to enter into a struggle with Belisarius. As for this story, then, let each one express his views according to the belief or disbelief which he feels regarding it.

But Belisarius, as he besieged the Neapolitans both by land and by sea, was beginning to be vexed. For he was coming to think that they would never yield to him, and, furthermore, he could not hope that the city would be captured, since he was finding that the difficulty of its position was proving to be a very serious obstacle. And the loss of the time which was being spent there distressed him, for he was making his calculations so as to avoid being compelled to go against Theodatus and Rome in the winter season. Indeed he had already even given orders to the army to pack up, his intention
θένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορομμένῳ εὐτυχίᾳ τοιὰδε ἕξωνηνέχθη χρήσθαι. τῶν τινα Ἰσαύριον ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ ὄχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν θεάσασθαι, καὶ ὄντων τρόπου τῇ πόλει τὴν τοῦ ὦδατος χρείαν παρέχετο. ἐσβάς τῇς πόλεως ἀποθεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν διέρρηξε Βελισάριος, ἐβάδιζε πόνῳ οὐδεέν, ἔπει τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτὸν ἄτε διερρωγότα ἐπελειόπει. ἔπει δὲ ἀγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, πέτα μεγάλη ἐνέτυχεν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων χεραῖν ἐνταύθα, ἄλλα πρὸς τῆς φύσεως του χαρίου ἀποτεθείση. ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἱ τῶν ὄχετον δειμάμενοι πάλαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαντες διώρυχα ἐνθένδε ἐποίουν, οὐκ ἐς δίδον μέντοι ἀνθρώπου ἰκανώς ἔχουσαν, ἄλλη ὅσον τῷ ὦδατι τὴν πορείαν παρέχεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔννεβαινεν οὐκ εὗρος τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχόσε τοῦ ὄχετοῦ εἶναι, ἄλλα στενοχωρία ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκείνη ὑπηντίαξεν, ἀνθρώπῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τεθωρακισμένῳ ἢ ἀσπίδα φέροντι, ἀπόρευτος οὖσα. ταύτα τῷ Ἰσαύρῳ κατανοήσαντι οὐκ ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰέναι, ἡν ὀλίγῳ μέτρῳ τὴν ἐκείνη διώρυχα εὐρυτέραν ποίησωνται. ἄτε δὲ αὐτὸς ἁφανῆς τε ὅν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδεί πῶποτε ἐς λόγους ἢκων τὸ πράγμα ἐς Παύκαριν ἤγεγεν, ἀνδρὰ Ἰσαυρον, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίον ὑπασπισταῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Παύκαρις τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀυτίκα τῷ στρατηγῷ ἤγειλε. Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἡδονὴ ἀναπνεύσας καὶ χρήμασι με-
being to depart from there as quickly as possible. But while he was in the greatest perplexity, it came to pass that he met with the following good fortune. One of the Isaurians was seized with the desire to observe the construction of the aqueduct, and to discover in what manner it provided the supply of water to the city. So he entered it at a place far distant from the city, where Belisarius had broken it open, and proceeded to walk along it, finding no difficulty, since the water had stopped running because the aqueduct had been broken open. But when he reached a point near the circuit-wall, he came upon a large rock, not placed there by the hand of man, but a part of the natural formation of the place. And those who had built the aqueduct many years before, after they had attached the masonry to this rock, proceeded to make a tunnel from that point on, not sufficiently large, however, for a man to pass through, but large enough to furnish a passage for the water. And for this reason it came about that the channel of the aqueduct was not everywhere of the same breadth, but one was confronted by a narrow place at that rock, impassable for a man, especially if he wore armour or carried a shield. And when the Isaurian observed this, it seemed to him not impossible for the army to penetrate into the city, if they should make the tunnel at that point broader by a little. But since he himself was a humble person, and never had come into conversation with any of the commanders, he brought the matter before Paucaris, an Isaurian, who had distinguished himself among the guards of Belisarius. So Paucaris immediately reported the whole matter to the general. And Belisarius, being pleased by the report, took new courage, and by promising to reward
γάλους τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν δωρήσεσθαι ὡς τὴν πράξιν ἦγε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν Ἰσαύρων τινὰς ἐταιρισάμενον ἐκτομὴν ὡς τάχιστα τῆς πέτρας ποιεῖσθαι, φυλασσόμενον ὅπως τοῦ ἔργου μηδενὶ αἰσθήσειν δώσουσι. Παύκαρις δὲ, Ἰσαύρων ἀπολεξάμενος πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτηδείως πάντη ἔχοντας, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὅχετοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐγένετο. ἔσ τὸν χῦρον ἔλθοντες ἦνα δὴ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ἡ πέτρα ἐποίει, ἔργον εἰχοντο, οὐκ ἀξίναις τὴν πέτραν οὐδὲ πελέκεσι τέμνοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἔνδηλα τῷ κτύπῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ποιήσωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ σιδηρίους τισὶν ὃξεισιν αὐτὴν ἐνδελεχέστατα έξοντες. καὶ χρόνῳ ὅλιγῳ κατείργαστο, ὅστε ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὰ εἶναι θώρακά τε ἀμπεχομένω καὶ ἀσπίδα φέροντι ταῦτα ἴεναι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπαντὰ ἦδη ὡς ἀρίστα εἰχεν, ἐννοια Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὡς, ἦν πολέμῳ ἐς Νεάπολιν τῷ στρατῷ ἑστιτήτα εἶν, τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβῆσεται καὶ τάλλα ἐξυμπτεσεῖν ἀπαντά, ὅσα πόλει πρὸς πολεμίων ἀλούσῃ γίνεσθαι εἰσῆ. Στέφανον τε εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐλεξέ τοιαδέ, "Πολλάκις εἴδον πόλεις ἀλούσας καὶ τῶν την ἱκανά ἐνομιμόν ἐμί ἐμπερος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀναιροῦσιν ἡβηδον ἀπαντας, γυναίκας δὲ θυσίκειν αἰτουμένας οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς ύβριν ἀγόμενα πάσχονσιν ἀνήκεστα τε καὶ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια.

παίδας δὲ οὔτε τροφῆς οὔτε παιδείας οὔτω μεταλαχοῦντας δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πάντων ἐχθίστοις, ὃν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν

1 δωρήσεσθαι V: δωρήσασθαι L. 2 πάντη L: πάντας K. 3 τάλλα Haury: ἀλλα MSS.
the man with great sums of money induced him to attempt the undertaking, and commanded him to associate with himself some of the Isaurians and cut out a passage in the rock as quickly as possible, taking care to allow no one to become aware of what they were doing. Paucaris then selected some Isaurians who were thoroughly suitable for the work, and secretly got inside the aqueduct with them. And coming to the place where the rock caused the passage to be narrow, they began their work, not cutting the rock with picks or mattocks, lest by their blows they should reveal to the enemy what they were doing, but scraping it very persistently with sharp instruments of iron. And in a short time the work was done, so that a man wearing a corselet and carrying a shield was able to go through at that point.

But when all his arrangements were at length in complete readiness, the thought occurred to Belisarius that if he should by act of war make his entry into Naples with the army, the result would be that lives would be lost and that all the other things would happen which usually attend the capture of a city by an enemy. And straightway summoning Stephanus, he spoke as follows: "Many times have I witnessed the capture of cities and I am well acquainted with what takes place at such a time. For they slay all the men of every age, and as for the women, though they beg to die, they are not granted the boon of death, but are carried off for outrage and are made to suffer treatment that is abominable and most pitiable. And the children, who are thus deprived of their proper maintenance and education, are forced to be slaves, and that, too, of the men who are the most odious of all—those on whose hands
ΠΟΡΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΟΙΕΑΡΕΑ

26 πατέρων αἶμα τεθέανται. ἑώ γάρ, ὃ φίλε Στέφανε, λέγειν τὸ πῦρ, ὡ τα τῇ ἄλλᾳ χρήματα καὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζεται κάλλος. ταῦτα Νεάπολι τήνδε ὠσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ταῖς πρώτοις ἀλούσαις πόλεσιν ὅρων πάσχουσαι, αὐτής τε καὶ ὁμοῦ ἐσὶν ὡςκο. μηχανάλ γάρ μοι πεποίηται νῦν ἐς αὐτήν, ἤν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀλώναι ἀδύνατον. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαίαν καὶ οἰκήτορας Χριστιανοῦς τε καὶ Ρωμαίους ἀνωθὲν ἐξουσίαν ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ὅν καὶ εὐξαίμην, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ υπ’ ἐμοῦ 1 Ρωμαίων στρατηγοῦντος, 2 ἔθειν, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ μοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἰςίν, ἀδελφοὶς ἢ ἐμφυγείς πρὸ τοῦδε ἀπολωλεκτές τοῦ τείχους· ἃν δὴ κατέχειν τὸν θυμόν, ἤν πολέμῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐλωσίν, ὅν ἀν δυναίμην. οὐκοῦν ἐως ἔτι τὸ τὰ εὐνοιόσοντα ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πρᾶσειν ἐφ’ ὕμιν ἄστι, βουλεύσασθε μὲν τὰ βελτίω, φύγετε δὲ ἔσημορὰς ὃς, ἃς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξεμπεπτούσης ὅμων οὐ τὴν τύχην δικαίως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰτιάσεσθε 3 γινώμην." τοσάττα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος Στέφανον ἀπεπέμψατο. ὡς ἐς Νεαπολιτῶν τὸν ὁμοῦ παρῆλθε διδακτεμένος τε καὶ πάντα ἔναν οἰμώγην ἀγγέλλων ὅσα Βελισαρίου λέγοντος ἦκουσεν. οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρῆν 4 Νεαπολίταις ἄθροος βασιλεῖ κατηκόους γενέσθαι) οὐτε ἐδεισάν τι οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ προσχωρεῖν ἐγνώσαν.

1 ἐμοῦ Λ: ἐμοὶ Κ.
2 στρατηγοῦντος Λ: στρατηγοῦντι Κ.
3 αἰτιάσεσθε Kraheninnikov: αἰτιάσεσθε Κ, αἰτιάσθε Λ.
4 οὐδὲ γὰρ χρῆν Hauray: οὐδὲν δει Κ, οὐδὲ γάρ ἤν Λ.
they see the blood of their fathers. And this is not all, my dear Stephanus, for I make no mention of the conflagration which destroys all the property and blots out the beauty of the city. When I see, as in the mirror of the cities which have been captured in times past, this city of Naples falling victim to such a fate, I am moved to pity both it and you its inhabitants. For such means have now been perfected by me against the city that its capture is inevitable. But I pray that an ancient city, which has for ages been inhabited by both Christians and Romans, may not meet with such a fortune, especially at my hands as commander of Roman troops, not least because in my army are a multitude of barbarians, who have lost brothers or relatives before the wall of this town; for the fury of these men I should be unable to control, if they should capture the city by act of war. While, therefore, it is still within your power to choose and to put into effect that which will be to your advantage, adopt the better course and escape misfortune; for when it falls upon you, as it probably will, you will not justly blame fortune but your own judgment.” With these words Belisarius dismissed Stephanus. And he went before the people of Naples weeping and reporting with bitter lamentations all that he had heard Belisarius say. But they, since it was not fated that the Neapolitans should become subjects of the emperor without chastisement, neither became afraid nor did they decide to yield to Belisarius.
Τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐς τὴν έἰσοδον κατεστήσατο δῶδε. ἀνδρας ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ἀπολέξα-μενος περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς καὶ ἅρχοντε ἐν τοῖς εἰπιστήσεις Μάγνου τε, δς ἰππικοῦ καταλόγου ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἄρχηγον Ἕνης, θωρακίσασθαι τε ἀπαντας καὶ τὰς τε ἀσπίδας τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἱσυχάζειν, ἀχρι αὐτὸς
2 σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευε. καὶ Ἁέσσαν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπήγγειλε· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἔναν αὐτῷ βοιλήν τινα περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ποιήσασθαι.  
3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ Ἕνη τὰ σφίσι παρόντα εἰπῶν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιδείξας οὐ πρότερον διελών τὸν ὄχετον ἐτυχε, τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγήσασθαι.
4 λύχνα ἀνελομένους, ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἀνδρας δύο ταῖς σάλησι χρῆσθαι ἐπισταμένους ἔναν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ὑποδέχασθαι τὸν περιβόλου ἔντος γένονται, τὴν τε πόλιν ξυνταράξαι καὶ τὰ πράσ-
5 σόμενα σημῆναι σφίσιν οἰοί τε ὅσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ κλίμακας ὅτι πλείστας πρότερον πεποιημένας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἴχεν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ὄχετον ὑποδύντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔναν τῷ Βέσσα καὶ Φωτίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ ξίναν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντα  
6 ἐπρασσε. πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐγρηγορέναι τε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν ἑπετάττε. καὶ πολλοὺς μέντοι ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν

1 ἅρχοντε Haurgy : ἅρχοντα MSS.
2 διελών τὸν ὄχετον ἐτυχε K : τὸν ὄχ. ἔτ. διαρρήξας L.
THEN at length Belisarius, on his part, made his preparations to enter the city as follows. Selecting at nightfall about four hundred men and appointing as commander over them Magnus, who led a detachment of cavalry, and Ennes, the leader of the Isaurians, he commanded them all to put on their corselets, take in hand their shields and swords, and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal. And he summoned Bessas¹ and gave him orders to stay with him, for he wished to consult with him concerning a certain matter pertaining to the army. And when it was well on in the night, he explained to Magnus and Ennes the task before them, pointed out the place where he had previously broken open the aqueduct, and ordered them to lead the four hundred men into the city, taking lights with them. And he sent with them two men skilled in the use of the trumpet, so that as soon as they should get inside the circuit-wall, they might be able both to throw the city into confusion and to notify their own men what they were doing. And he himself was holding in readiness a very great number of ladders which had been constructed previously.

So these men entered the aqueduct and were proceeding toward the city, while he with Bessas and Photius² remained at his post and with their help was attending to all details. And he also sent to the camp, commanding the men to remain awake and to keep their arms in their hands. At the same time

¹ Cf. chap. v. 3. ² Cf. chap. v. 5.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

οὗς δὴ εὐτολμοτάτους ἤκοτο εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ
tὴν πόλιν ἵοντων οἱ ὑπὲρ Ἦμισυ κατωρρωδηκότες
7 τῶν κινδυνοῦν ὁπίσω ἀπεκομίζοντο. οὓς ἐπεὶ
Μάγνος ἔπεσθαί οἱ, καίπερ πολλὰ παραινέσας,
οὐκ ἔπειθε, παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξὺν αὐτοῖς
8 ἐπανήκε. τούτους δὲ Βελισάριος κακίσας καὶ
tῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἀπολέξας διακοσίους σὺν Μάγνῳ
ἰέναι ἐκέλευεν. ὃν δὴ καὶ Φωτίος ἤγειρθαί θέλων,
ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἐσπερίδησεν ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος
9 αὐτῶν διεκώλυσεν. αἰσχυνθέντες δὲ τοῦ τε
στρατηγοῦ καὶ Φωτίου τὴν λοιδορίαν καὶ ὅσοι
τῶν κινδυνοῦν ἐφευγον, αὐθίς αὐτῶν ὕποστήρικα
10 τολμήσαντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστον. Βελισάριος δὲ
deίχνας μὴ τῶν πολεμῶν τις τῶν πρασσομένων
ἀισθήσεις γένηται, οἱ δὴ ἐς τὸν πύργον φυλακήν
εἶχον ὃς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἄγχιστα ἐτύγχανεν ὄν,
ἐνταῦθα τε ἠλθὲ καὶ Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε τῇ Γότθων
φωνῇ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, ὅπως
δὴ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν πάταγος ἐναύλοις
11 εἴῃ. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναβοῦσας μέγα προσ-
χωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ παρῆκε, πολλὰ σφίσων ἐπαγ-
12 γελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ ἐσεσθαί. οἱ δὲ ἐτώθαξον, πολλὰ
ἐς Βελισάριον τε καὶ βασιλέα υβρίζοντες. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Βέσσα ἐπράσσετο τηδὲ.
13 'Ο δὲ Νεαπόλεως ὀχετὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
καλύπτεται μόνον, ἀλλ' οὕτω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ
πλείστον διήκει, κύρτωμα ἐκ πλίνθου ὄπτημένης
ψηλῶν ἔχων, ὡστε γενόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου
οἱ ἀμφὶ Μάγνου τε καὶ Ἐννημ ἀπαντες οὐδὲ ὅπου
94
he kept near him a large force—men whom he considered most courageous. Now of the men who were on their way to the city above half became terrified at the danger and turned back. And since Magnus could not persuade them to follow him, although he urged them again and again, he returned with them to the general. And Belisarius, after reviling these men, selected two hundred of the troops at hand, and ordered them to go with Magnus. And Photius also, wishing to lead them, leaped into the channel of the aqueduct, but Belisarius prevented him. Then those who were fleeing from the danger, put to shame by the railings of the general and of Photius, took heart to face it once more and followed with the others. And Belisarius, fearing lest their operations should be perceived by some of the enemy, who were maintaining a guard on the tower which happened to be nearest to the aqueduct, went to that place and commanded Bessas to carry on a conversation in the Gothic tongue with the barbarians there, his purpose being to prevent any clanging of the weapons from being audible to them. And so Bessas shouted to them in a loud voice, urging the Goths to yield to Belisarius and promising that they should have many rewards. But they jeered at him, indulging in many insults directed at both Belisarius and the emperor. Belisarius and Bessas, then, were thus occupied.

Now the aqueduct of Naples is not only covered until it reaches the wall, but remains covered as it extends to a great distance inside the city, being carried on a high arch of baked brick. Consequently, when the men under the command of Magnus and Ennes had got inside the fortifications, they were
14 ποτὲ γῆς εἰσὶ ξυμβάλλεσθαι ἐδύναντο. οὐ μὴν ούδὲ τὴ ἀποβαίνειν ἐνθένδει εἴχον, ἔως οἱ πρῶτοι ἐς χῶρον ἴκοντο οὐ τὸν ὅχετον ἀνώροφον ξυπέ- πεσεν εἶναι καὶ οἴκημα ἢν κομιδὴ ἀπημελημένον.

15 ἐνταύθα ἐσω γυνὴ τις φίκει, μόνη τε οὖσα καὶ πενία πολλῇ ξυνοικούσα, καὶ δένδρον ἐλαιάς καθ- ύπερθεν τοῦ ὁχετοῦ ἑπεφύκει. οὕτωι ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἴδον καὶ εὖ μέση πόλει ἤσθοντο εἶναι, ἐκβαίνειν μὲν διενουῦτο, μηχανὴν μὲντοι οὖδε- μίαν εἴχον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις, τοῦ ὁχετοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ύψηλη γὰρ τις ἐνταύθα ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτυχεν οὖσα καὶ οὔδὲ ἀνάβασιν τινα ἐξουσα. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπο- ρουμένων καὶ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ξυνιὼτων (ὥδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὁπισθεὶν ὅντων πολὺς τις ξυν- ἐρρεὶ ὀμίλος), ἐγένετο αὐτῶν τινι ἐννοια τῆς ἀνόδου ἀποπειράσασθαι. καταθέμενος οὖν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα, ταῖς τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἀνά- βασιν βιασάμενος, ἐς τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οἰκήμα ἡλθε. καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνταύθα ἰδὼν, ἢν μὴ σιωπόθη, κτείνειν ἠπείλησεν. ἡ δὲ καταπλαγείσα ἄφωνος ἔμενε. καὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρέμουν τῆς ἐλαίας ἵμαντα τινά ἱσχυρῶν ἀναψάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ ἱμάντος ἁρχὴν ἐς τὸν ὁχετὸν ἐρριφεν. οὐ δὴ λαβόμενος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστὸς ἀνέβαινε μόλις. ἔπει δὲ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἀπαντες τῆς τε νυκτὸς το τε- ταρτημόριον ἐπὶ ἐλείπετο, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ τύργων δύο τῶν φύλακας, οὐδὲν τί αἰσθανο-
one and all unable even to conjecture where in the world they were. Furthermore, they could not leave the aqueduct at any point until the foremost of them came to a place where the aqueduct chanced to be without a roof and where stood a building which had entirely fallen into neglect. Inside this building a certain woman had her dwelling, living alone with utter poverty as her only companion; and an olive tree had grown out over the aqueduct. So when these men saw the sky and perceived that they were in the midst of the city, they began to plan how they might get out, but they had no means of leaving the aqueduct either with or without their arms. For the structure happened to be very high at that point and, besides, offered no means of climbing to the top. But as the soldiers were in a state of great perplexity and were beginning to crowd each other greatly as they collected there (for already, as the men in the rear kept coming up, a great throng was beginning to gather), the thought occurred to one of them to make trial of the ascent. He immediately therefore laid down his arms, and forcing his way up with hands and feet, reached the woman's house. And seeing her there, he threatened to kill her unless she should remain silent. And she was terror-stricken and remained speechless. He then fastened to the trunk of the olive tree a strong strap, and threw the other end of it into the aqueduct. So the soldiers, laying hold of it one at a time, managed with difficulty to make the ascent. And after all had come up and a fourth part of the night still remained, they proceeded toward the wall; and they slew the garrison of two of the towers before the men in them
μένους τοῦ κακοῦ, κτείνουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐνθα βελισάριος ξὺν τῷ Βέσσα καὶ Φωτίῳ εἰστήκει, καραδοκῶν τὰ πρασόμενα.

21 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ταῖς σάλπυγισι εκάλουν, Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τὰς κλίμακας ἐρέισας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν δὲ κλιμάκων οὐδεμιὰν διήκειν ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξυνέβαινεν. ἀτε γὰρ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐκ τού ἐμφανὸς οἱ τεχνίται ποιούμενοι μέτρου τοῦ καθήκουτος οὐχ οἶοι τε ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐγένοντο. διόπερ δῦο ἐς ἄλληλα χυνδέοντες καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀναβαίνοντες οὕτω δὴ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπέρτεροι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐγένοντο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ ἐφέρετο τῇ δε.

24 Ἐσ δὲ τὰ πρὸς βάλασαν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐνθα οὐχ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὕτε ταῖς κλίμαξι χρῆσθαι οὐτε ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὸ τείχος οἱ στρατιώται ἐδύναντο. οἱ γὰρ Ἰουδαίοι τοῦ πολεμίους ἡδη προσκεκροκότες, ἐμπόδιοι τε γεγενημένοι ὡς μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαχῆτι ἐλώσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἄν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὡσιν ἐχοντες, καρτερώς τε, καὶ περι αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἡδη ἀλούσης, ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐναιτίων προσβολὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεἶχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἰέσαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπισθεν βαλλόμενοι ἐφευγοῦν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἑξάπολις ἤλω. καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἡδη ἀνακεκλιμένων ἄπας ὁ Ὑσω-27 μαίων στρατὸς εἰσήγει. ὅσοι δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐτε-

1 τὸ στράτευμα Κ : om. L.
2 ἦν ὑπ' Haury : ἦν ὑπ' Vitelli, ἦν ἐπ' Grotius, ἐπ' MSS.
3 αὐτοὶς ὡσιν L : αὐτοῖς Κ, αὐτοῖς Christ.
had an inkling of the trouble. These towers were on the northern portion of the circuit-wall, where Belisarius was stationed with Bessas and Photius, anxiously awaiting the progress of events. So while the trumpeters were summoning the army to the wall, Belisarius was placing the ladders against the fortifications and commanding the soldiers to mount them. But it so happened that not one of the ladders reached as far as the parapet. For since the workmen had not made them in sight of the wall, they had not been able to arrive at the proper measure. For this reason they bound two together, and it was only by using both of them for the ascent that the soldiers got above the level of the parapet. Such was the progress of these events where Belisarius was engaged.

But on the side of the circuit-wall which faces the sea, where the forces on guard were not barbarians, but Jews, the soldiers were unable either to use the ladders or to scale the wall. For the Jews had already given offence to their enemy by having opposed their efforts to capture the city without a fight, and for this reason they had no hope if they should fall into their hands; so they kept fighting stubbornly, although they could see that the city had already been captured, and held out beyond all expectation against the assaults of their opponents. But when day came and some of those who had mounted the wall marched against them, then at last they also, now that they were being shot at from behind, took to flight, and Naples was captured by storm. By this time the gates were thrown open and the whole Roman army came in. But those who were stationed
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tάχατο τάς πρός ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον τετραμμένας, ἐπεὶ κλίμακες σφίσι παροῦσαι οὐδαμῆ ἐτυχον, ταύτας δὴ τάς πύλας ἀφιλάκτους παντάπασιν
28 οὕσας ἔκανασαι. ἔρημον γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἐκείνη
τείχος, ἀτε τῶν φυλάκων δρασμὸ χρησαμένων,
29 ἐγένετο. φόνος τε ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἐγεγόνει. θυμῷ
γὰρ ἐχόμενοι ἀπαντεῖ, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅσοι ἀδελ-
φῶν τινα ἕξυγγενή ἀποθανεῖν τειχομαχοῦντα
tετύχηκε, τὸν ἐν ποσίν ἀεί, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φεἱ-
δόμενοι, ἔκπευσον, ἐς τε τὰς οἰκίας ἑσβάλλοντες
παῦδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἡμραπόδισαν, τὰ δὲ
χρήματα ἔλησαντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ Μασ-
σαγέται, οἱ οὐδὲ τῶν ιερῶν ἀπεχόμενοι πολλοὺς
tῶν ἐσ αὐτὰ φυγόντων ἀνείλον, ἔως Βελισάριος
πανταχόσε περιμῶν διεκώλυσε τε καὶ ἠγκαλέσας
ἀπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε:
30 "Ἐπειδὴ γενικηκέναι τα ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς
καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐδοξίας ἀφίχθαι, πόλιν ἀνά-
λωτον πρότερον οὕσαν ύποχειρίαν ἡμῖν ποιησά-
μενος, ἀναγκαίον καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ μή ἀναξίους εἶναι
τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἠσσημένους φιλαν-
θρωπία τὸ δικαίως κεκρατηκέναι τούτων ἐνδεικνυ-
σθαι. μὴ τοίνυν ἀπέραντα Νεαπόλιτας μισήσῃτε,
μηδὲ ύπερόριον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐχθὸς
ποιήσητε. τοὺς γὰρ ἠσσημένους οὐδεὶς τῶν νει-
31 κηκότων ἐτί μισεῖ. κτείνοντες τε αὐτοὺς οὐ πολε-
μίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ
ξημωθῆσεσθε τῶν υπηκόων. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπους
τούσδε μηδὲν ἐργάσησθε περαιτέρω κακῶν, μηδὲ
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about the gates which fronted the east, since, as it happened, they had no ladders at hand, set fire to these gates, which were altogether unguarded; for that part of the wall had been deserted, the guards having taken to flight. And then a great slaughter took place; for all of them were possessed with fury, especially those who had chanced to have a brother or other relative slain in the fighting at the wall. And they kept killing all whom they encountered, sparing neither old nor young, and dashing into the houses they made slaves of the women and children and secured the valuables as plunder; and in this the Massagetae outdid all the rest, for they did not even withhold their hand from the sanctuaries, but slew many of those who had taken refuge in them, until Belisarius, visiting every part of the city, put a stop to this, and calling all together, spoke as follows:

"Inasmuch as God has given us the victory and has permitted us to attain the greatest height of glory, by putting under our hand a city which has never been captured before, it behooves us on our part to shew ourselves not unworthy of His grace, but by our humane treatment of the vanquished, to make it plain that we have conquered these men justly. Do not, therefore, hate the Neapolitans with a boundless hatred, and do not allow your hostility toward them to continue beyond the limits of the war. For when men have been vanquished, their victors never hate them any longer. And by killing them you will not be ridding yourselves of enemies for the future, but you will be suffering a loss through the death of your subjects. Therefore, do these men no further harm, nor continue to give
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33 τῇ ὀργῇ πάντα χαρίζεσθε. αἰσχρόν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θυμοῦ ἡσσους φαίνεσθαι. ὡμῶν δὲ χρήματα μὲν τὰ ἄλλα γνώσθω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα, γυναῖκες δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ξύν τοῖς παῖσιν ἀποδιδόσθων. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ οἱ νεωκημένοι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἕλκων ἐξ' ἀβουλίας ἐστέρησαν φίλους.

34 Τοσαύτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος τὰς τε γυναίκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα Νεαπολίταις πάντα ἀφήκεν, ὑβρισσες οὐδεμιᾶς ἐσ πείραν ἐλθόντα, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς στρατιῶτας διήλθεν.

35 οὕτω τε Νεαπολίταις ἐυνηνέχθη ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰχμαλώτως τοὺς γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἀνασώσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρήματων τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνακτήσασθαι. ἦπει αὐτῶν ὅσοι χρυσὸν ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν τιμίων ἔχοντες ἔτυχον, ὦτοι δὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες ἀπεκρύψαντο, καὶ ταύτῃ τοῖς πολεμίως λαθεῖν ἵσχυσαν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τάς οἰκίας ἀπολαβόντες. ἦ τε πολιορκίᾳ ἐς ἡμέρας μάλιστα εἰκοσι κατατείνασε ἐς τούτῳ ἐτελεύτα. Γότθοις δὲ τούς τίδε ἀλόντας οὐχ ἡσσους ἢ ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς Βελισάριος παντάπασι διαφυλάξας, οὐκ ἔλασσόνως ἢ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τιμῇ ἐϊχε.

36 Πάστωρ δέ, ὃς ἐς ἀπόνοιαν, ὡς πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, τὸν δὴ μοῦ ἐνῆγεν, ἐπεὶ τὴν τόλμην ἀλησκομένην εἰδεν, ἐς ἀποπληξίαν ἐξέπεσε καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀπέθανεν, ὦτε νοσήσας πρότερον οὔτε ἀλλο τι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθῶν ἀχαρι. Ἀσκεληπιόδοτος δὲ, ὃς ξύν αὐτῷ ταύτα ἐπράσσε, ξύν τῶν

1 ἐξ L: τῆς K.
way wholly to anger. For it is a disgrace to prevail over the enemy and then to shew yourselves vanquished by passion. So let all the possessions of these men suffice for you as the rewards of your valour, but let their wives, together with the children, be given back to the men. And let the conquered learn by experience what kind of friends they have forfeited by reason of foolish counsel."

After speaking thus, Belisarius released to the Neapolitans their women and children and the slaves, one and all, no insult having been experienced by them, and he reconciled the soldiers to the citizens. And thus it came to pass for the Neapolitans that on that day they both became captives and regained their liberty, and that they recovered the most precious of their possessions. For those of them who happened to have gold or anything else of value had previously concealed it by burying it in the earth, and in this way they succeeded in hiding from the enemy the fact that in getting back their houses they were recovering their money also. And the siege, which had lasted about twenty days, ended thus. As for the Goths who were captured in the city, not less than eight hundred in number, Belisarius put them under guard and kept them from all harm, holding them in no less honour than his own soldiers.

And Pastor, who had been leading the people upon a course of folly, as has been previously¹ set forth by me, upon seeing the city captured, fell into a fit of apoplexy and died suddenly, though he had neither been ill before nor suffered any harm from anyone. But Asclepiodotus, who was engaged in this

¹ Chap. viii. 22.
λογίμων τοῖς περιοῦσι παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦλθε.
καὶ αὐτῷ Στέφανος ἐπιτωθάξων ἐλύδορεῖτο ὡδε.
"Ορα, ὃ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οὐκ ἡμᾶς
τὴν πατρίδα εἰργάσω, τῆς ἐς Γότθους εὐνολας τῆν
τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποδόμενος σωτηρίαν. εἶτα εἰ μὲν
τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πράγματα, ήξισας
ἂν ἕμμισθός τε αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι καὶ ἦμων
ἐκαστὸν τῶν τὰ βελτίω βεβουλευμένων τῆς ἐς
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προδοσίας ύπαγαγεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
τὴν μὲν πόλιν βασιλεὺς ἐλεῖ, σεσωμεθα δὲ τῇ
tοὑδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄρετῇ, οὕτω δὲ ἑισελθεῖν παρὰ
tὸν στρατηγὸν ἀνεπικέπτως ἐτόλμησας ἀτε οὐθὲν
dεινδιὸν οὐτε Νεαπολίτας οὔτε τὸ βασιλέως
diåpeπραγμένος στρατόπεδον, ἅξια τίσεις δι-
κας." 2 Στέφανος μὲν τῇ ἕμμορφῃ περιοδύνος δὲν
ἐς Ἀσκληπιόδωτον ταῦτα ἀπέρριψεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν
ἀμείβεται τούδε: "Δέλθηδα σαντὸν ἐγκωμίαξαν
ἡμᾶς, ὃ γενναίε, οἷς δὴ εὐνοιαν τὴν ἐς τοὺς
Γότθους ἠμᾶν οὐείδειες. εὐνοὺς γάρ τις 4 δεσπό-
tais κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ βεβαιοῦ τῆς γνώ-
μης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰη. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν οἱ κρατοῦντες
tοιοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας φύλακα ἐξουσίων οἴον ἀρ-
tίως πολέμων εὐρον, ἑπεὶ ὁ τῇ φύσει τὸ πιστὸν
ἔχων οὐ ἕμμεταβάλλει τῇ τύχῃ τῆς γνώμην. σὺ
dὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς φερομένων
ἐτοίμως ἄν τοὺς τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐνδέξαι λόγους.
ὁ γὰρ τὸ τῆς διανοίας νοσῶν ἄστατον ἄμα τε
ἐδείσε καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φιλτάτους ἦρνησατο πί-

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1 οὔτω δὲ Κ: οὔτω δὴ ΛV1.
2 ἅξια τίσεις δικας Κ: om. Λ.
3 δὴ Λ: δὴ ΚV1.
4 γὰρ τίς Κ pr. m. corr., Λ: γὰρ τοὺς Κ pr. m.
intrigue with him, came before Belisarius with those of the notables who survived. And Stephanus mocked and reviled him with these words: "See, O basest of all men, what evils you have brought to your fatherland, by selling the safety of the citizens for loyalty to the Goths. And furthermore, if things had gone well for the barbarians, you would have claimed the right to be yourself a hireling in their service and to bring to court on the charge of trying to betray the city to the Romans each one of us who have given the better counsel. But now that the emperor has captured the city, and we have been saved by the uprightness of this man, and you even so have had the hardihood recklessly to come into the presence of the general as if you had done no harm to the Neapolitans or to the emperor's army, you will meet with the punishment you deserve." Such were the words which Stephanus, who was deeply grieved by the misfortune of the city, hurled against Asclepiodotus. And Asclepiodotus replied to him as follows: "Quite unwittingly, noble Sir, you have been heaping praise upon us, when you reproach us for our loyalty to the Goths. For no one could ever be loyal to his masters when they are in danger, except it be by firm conviction. As for me, then, the victors will have in me as true a guardian of the state as they lately found in me an enemy, since he whom nature has endowed with the quality of fidelity does not change his conviction when he changes his fortune. But you, should their fortunes not continue to prosper as before, would readily listen to the overtures of their assailants. For he who has the disease of inconstancy of mind no sooner takes fright than he denies his pledge to those most dear."
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46... τοσαίτα μὲν καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἶπε. Νεαπολιτῶν δὲ ὁ δήμος, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνθέντε ἀναχωροῦντα εἴδον, ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι, ἀπαντά αὐτῷ ἐπεκάλουν τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. καὶ οὗ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν δὴ ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ βραχὺ διεσπάσαντο. οὕτω τε ἐν τῇ Πάστωρος οἰκίᾳ γενόμενοι τὸν ἀνδρα ἔξητον. τοῖς τε οἰκέταις τεθνάναι Πάστωρα ἱσχυριζόμενος ἦκε στα πιστεύειν ἡξίουν, ἔως αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν ἐδείξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν Νεαπολῖται ἐν τῷ προαστεῖῳ ἀνεσκολόπισαν. οὕτω τε Βελισάριον παρητήσαντο ἐφ’ οἷς δικαία ὀργὴ ἐχόμενοι ἐδρασαν, τυχόντες τε αὐτοῦ συγγενέμονος διελύθησαν. οὕτω μὲν Νεαπολῖται ἀπῆλλαξαν.

XI

Γότθοι¹ δὲ ὅσοις ἀμφὶ τῇ Ρώμην καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνῃ χώρᾳ ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον τὴν Θευδάτον ἡσυχίαν ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι, ὧς δὴ ἐν γειτόνων οὐσὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ βούλοτο διὰ μάχης ἦν, ἐν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενοι, ὥς δὴ τὰ Γότθων πράγματα προδιδὸ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐθελουσίως, ἀλλο τε οἱ οὗδεν ἐπιμελές εἶν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως αὐτῶς ἡσυχὴ βιοτεύοι, ὡς πλεῖστα περιβαλλόμενος χρήματα, ἐπειδὴ ἀλώνια Νεάπολιν ἦκουσαν, ἀπαντά οἱ ταύτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανούς ἥδη ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐς χωρίον ξυνελέγησαν Ῥώμης ὅγ-

¹ Γότθοι Κραλενινικόν: γότθοις MSS.
² ποιούμενοι Κραλενινικόν: ποιουμένοις MSS.

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Such were the words of Asclepiodotus. But the populace of the Neapolitans, when they saw him returning from Belisarius, gathered in a body and began to charge him with responsibility for all that had befallen them. And they did not leave him until they had killed him and torn his body into small pieces. After that they came to the house of Pastor, seeking for the man. And when the servants insisted that Pastor was dead, they were quite unwilling to believe them until they were shown the man's body. And the Neapolitans impaled him in the outskirts of the town. Then they begged Belisarius to pardon them for what they had done while moved with just anger, and receiving his forgiveness, they dispersed. Such was the fate of the Neapolitans.

XI

But the Goths who were at Rome and in the country round about had even before this regarded with great amazement the inactivity of Theodatus, because, though the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he was unwilling to engage them in battle, and they felt among themselves much suspicion toward him, believing that he was betraying the cause of the Goths to the Emperor Justinian of his own free will, and cared for nothing else than that he himself might live in quiet, possessed of as much money as possible. Accordingly, when they heard that Naples had been captured, they began immediately to make all these charges against him openly and gathered

\[\text{χράμενοι Krašeninnikov: χραμένοι K, χρησαμένοι L.}\]
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dοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίως στάδιον διέχον, ὅπερ Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι Ῥεγάτα: ἐνταῦθα ἐνστρατο-
pedeύσασθαι σφίσιν ἐδοξεῖν ἀριστον εἶναι, πεδία
2 γὰρ πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ἰππόβοτα. ἤὲ δὲ καὶ
ποταμός, διὰ Δεκεννόβιον τῇ Δανίων φωνῇ καλοῦ-
σιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐννεακαίδεκα περιών
σημεία, ὅπερ ἐξυνεισὶν ἐς τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν
στάδιους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκβάλλει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀμφὶ
πόλιν Ταρακίνην, ἢς ἀγχίστα ὅρος τὸ Κήρκαιον
ἐστὶν, οὗ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τῇ Κήρκῃ ἔγγενεθαι
φασίν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν νήσῳ
"Ομηρος τὰ τῆς Κήρκης οἰκία ἱσχυρίζεται εἶναι.
3 ἐκεῖνο μὲν τοῦ ἐχὼ εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὸ Κήρκαιον τοῦτο,
ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης διήκον, νῆσῳ ἐμφερέσ
ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς τε πλέουσιν ἀγχίστα τοῖς τε ἐς τὴν
ἐκείνην ἡδῶνα βαδίζουσι νῆσος δοκεῖ ἐπὶ πλείστον
eῖναι. καὶ ἐπειδὰν τις ἐν αὐτῷ γένηται, τότε δὴ
μεταμανθάνει πενθηδὴν τῆς δόξης τὰ πρότερα.
4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο "Ομηρος ὕσος νῆσον τὸ χωρίον
ἀνώμασεν. ἔγω δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἄνειμι.2
5 Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Ῥεγάτα ξυνελέγησαν, βασι-
λέα σφίσι τε καὶ Ἰταλιῶτας Οὐίττιγνω ἐἶποντο,
ἄνδρα οἰκίας μὲν οὐκ ἐπιθαυμάζοις ὑντα, ἐν μάχαις
δὲ ταῖς ἀμφὶ ΢ίρμιον λίαν εὐδοκιμηκότα τὸ πρό-
tερον, ἴνα ἐν τὸν πρὸς Γήπαιδας πόλεμον Θευδέ-
6 ριχος διέφερε. Θεοῦδατος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας
ἐς φυγῆν τε ὀρμητο καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναι ήλαυ-

1 ἐνταῦθα K: ἐνθένδε γὰρ L.
2 ἄνειμι L: εἰμί K, ἐπάνειμι Herwerden.
at a place two hundred and eighty stades distant from Rome, which the Romans call Regata.\textsuperscript{1} And it seemed best to them to make camp in that place; for there are extensive plains there which furnish pasture for horses. And a river also flows by the place, which the inhabitants call Decennovium\textsuperscript{2} in the Latin tongue, because it flows past nineteen milestones, a distance which amounts to one hundred and thirteen stades, before it empties into the sea near the city of Taracina; and very near that place is Mt. Circaem, where they say Odysseus met Circe, though the story seems to me untrustworthy, for Homer declares that the habitation of Circe was on an island. This, however, I am able to say, that this Mt. Circaem, extending as it does far into the sea, resembles an island, so that both to those who sail close to it and to those who walk to the shore in the neighbourhood it has every appearance of being an island. And only when a man gets on it does he realize that he was deceived in his former opinion. And for this reason Homer perhaps called the place an island. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Goths, after gathering at Regata, chose as king over them and the Italians Vittigis, a man who, though not of a conspicuous house, had previously won great renown in the battles about Sirmium, when Theodoric was carrying on the war against the Gepaedes.\textsuperscript{3} Theodatus, therefore, upon hearing this, rushed off in flight and took the road to Ra-

\textsuperscript{1} Near Terracina.

\textsuperscript{2} The name is made from \textit{decem} and \textit{novem}, "nineteen,"—apparently a late formation. The "river" was in reality a canal, extending from Appii Forum to Terracina.

\textsuperscript{3} Chap. iii. 15.
νέν. Οὐίττυγις δὲ κατὰ τάχος Ὀπταριν ἐπεμψεν, ἀνδρα Γότθον, ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ ἡ ζώντα ἡ νεκρὸν ἅγαγειν Θευδάτον. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Θευδάτῳ οὕτος Ὀπταρις χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἔξ αἰτίας τοιάσθε. κόρην τινὰ Ὀπταρίς ἐπίκληρον τε καὶ τὴν ὅψιν εὐπρεπὴ οὖσαν ἐμψυχεύετο. ταῦτην Θευδάτος ἀφελόμενος τὸν μνηστήρα τούτον, χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθείς, ἐτέρῳ ἡγγύσε. διὸ δὴ τῷ τε θυμῷ καὶ Οὐίττυγιδι χαρίζομενος, πολλὴ Θευδάτον σπουδὴ τε καὶ προθυμία, οὔτε νῦκτα ἀνεὶς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἐδίωκε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ὁδῷ ἔτι πορεύομεν καταλαμβάνει, ἐς ἐδαφὸς τε ὑπτιον ἀνακλίνας ὀσπερ ἰερεῖω τῷ ἔθυσεν. αὕτη τε Θευδάτῳ καταστροφή τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τρίτον ἁχούσης ἔτος, ἐγένετο.

1. Οὐίττυγις δὲ ἀμα Γότθοις τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔς Ῥόμην ἐσπήλαυν. γνοὺς τε τὰ Θευδάτῳ ἐξυνενεχθέντα, ᾧθῃ τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα Θευδέγισκον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Γότθων πράγματα ἥκιστα οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐδοξέν εἶναι, βέλτιον ἐνόμισεν ὡς Ῥάβενναν πρῶτον ἴπναι, ἐνταῦθα τε πάντα ἐξαρτυσαμένῳ ὡς ἀριστὰ οὔτω δὴ καθίστασθαι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐνυγκάλεσας οὐν ἀπαντᾶς ἔλεξε τοιῶδε.

12 "Αἵ μέγισται τῶν πράξεων, ἀνδρεὶς συστρατιῶται, οὐ καιρῶν ὁξύτητι, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίᾳ φιλοῦσιν ὁρθῶσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ μέλλησις τε εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα μᾶλλον ὠνησε καὶ σπουδὴ.

1 Γότθοις Κ.: γότθων Λ.
VENNA. But Vittigis quickly sent Optaris, a Goth, instructing him to bring Theodatus alive or dead. Now it happened that this Optaris was hostile to Theodatus for the following cause. Optaris was wooing a certain young woman who was an heiress and also exceedingly beautiful to look upon. But Theodatus, being bribed to do so, took the woman he was wooing from him, and betrothed her to another. And so, since he was not only satisfying his own rage, but rendering a service to Vittigis as well, he pursued Theodatus with great eagerness and enthusiasm, stopping neither day nor night. And he overtook him while still on his way, laid him on his back on the ground, and slew him like a victim for sacrifice. Such was the end of Theodatus’ life and of his rule, which had reached the third year.

And Vittigis, together with the Goths who were with him, marched to Rome. And when he learned what had befallen Theodatus, he was pleased and put Theodatus’ son Theodegisclus under guard. But it seemed to him that the preparations of the Goths were by no means complete, and for this reason he thought it better first to go to Ravenna, and after making everything ready there in the best possible way, then at length to enter upon the war. He therefore called all the Goths together and spoke as follows:

“The success of the greatest enterprises, fellow-soldiers, generally depends, not upon hasty action at critical moments, but upon careful planning. For many a time a policy of delay adopted at the opportune moment has brought more benefit than the opposite course, and haste displayed at an unseason-
οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἐπιδειχθεῖσα πολλοῖς ἀνεχαίτισε
14 τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἑπίδα. ῥζον γὰρ οἱ πλεί-
στοι ἀπαράσκευοι μὲν, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου δὲ τῆς
dυνάμεως μαχόμενοι, ἥσσωνται ἡ ὦσι τὴν ἐλάσ-
σω ἵσχυν ὅσον ἀριστα παρασκευασμένοι ἐς τὸν
.aws αὐτοὺς ἑργασώμεθα. κρείσσον γὰρ ἐν ἵσχυν ἡ


15 ἄγωνα καταστήγαν. μὴ τοίνυν τῷ παραντίκα


φιλοτίμῳ ἐπιαρομένου τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς


ἐργασώμεθα. κρείσσον γὰρ ἐν ἵσχυν ἡ


16 κατοί καὶ ὑμεῖς δὴ που ἐπίστασθε ὡς τὸ τε


Γότθων πλήθος καὶ ἕμπασαν σχεδὸν τὶ τὴν τῶν


ωπλῶν σκευὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλλίαις καὶ Βενετίαις καὶ


χώραις ταῖς ἐκαστάτω ἔμμοιαί εἶναι. καὶ μὴν


καὶ πρὸς τὰ Φράγγων ἔθυς ὧν ἡ ἱσσὼ 2 τοῦθε


πολέμου διαφέρομεν, ὅν ὅσον ἐν διαθεμένους ἐφ' ἐτερον χωρεῖν πολλή ἄνοια. τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀμφι-


17 βολῶν τι καθοσταμένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἕπα πολέμου


ὁρῶντας τῶν ἐναυτίων ἱσσάθθαι εἰκός. ἐγὼ δὲ


φημ χρῆναι νῦν μὲν εὐθὺς Ἱαβέννης ἐνθένδε 3


ἐνεῖναι, τὸν δὲ πρὸς Φράγγους πολέμου διαλύ-


18 σαντας τὰλα τῇ διφυκμένους ὃς ἀριστα οὗτο


δὴ Βελισαρίῳ παντὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ διαμά-


19 χεθθαί. καὶ μοι τὴν ἀνακόρησιν τῆνδε ὑμῶν 4


ὕποστελλέσθω μηδείς, μὴ δὲ φυγῇν αὐτὴν ὅνο-


20 μάζευν ὅκεντω. δειλὰς μὲν γὰρ προσηγορία


ἐπιτηθεῖσα προσπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς ὀμάθωσεν, ἀν-


δρείας δὲ ὄνομα ὅσι ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τις ὑ

1 ἵσχυν MSS.: ἵσχυν ἔκοπτες Scaliger.
2 ἱσσὼ Dindorf: ἱσσοῦ MSS., ἱσσονα Scaliger.
3 ἐνθένδε K: om. L. 4 ὑμῶν K: om. L.
able time has upset for many men their hope of success. For in most cases those who are unprepared, though they fight on equal terms so far as their forces are concerned, are more easily conquered than those who, with less strength, enter the struggle with the best possible preparation. Let us not, therefore, be so lifted up by the desire to win momentary honour as to do ourselves irreparable harm; for it is better to suffer shame for a short time and by so doing gain an undying glory, than to escape insult for the moment and thereby, as would probably be the case, be left in obscurity for all after time. And yet you doubtless know as well as I that the great body of the Goths and practically our whole equipment of arms is in Gaul and Venetia and the most distant lands. Furthermore, we are carrying on against the nations of the Franks a war which is no less important than this one, and it is great folly for us to proceed to another war without first settling that one satisfactorily. For it is natural that those who become exposed to attack on two sides and do not confine their attention to a single enemy should be worsted by their opponents. But I say that we must now go straight from here to Ravenna, and after bringing the war against the Franks to an end and settling all our other affairs as well as possible, then with the whole army of the Goths we must fight it out with Belisarius. And let no one of you, I say, try to dissemble regarding this withdrawal, nor hesitate to call it flight. For the title of coward, fittingly applied, has saved many, while the reputation for bravery which some men have gained at the
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21 ἐγγενόμενον, εἶτα ἐς ἦτταν ἐχώρησεν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔνωμοπρώ τῶν ἔργων ἐπεσθαί αξίων. ἀνδρὸς τε γὰρ ἁρετὴν οὐκ ἂρχόμεναι δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶσαι

22 μηνύουσι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὖν ὦν ἃν μετὰ μείζονος τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτίκα μᾶλα ἐπ’ αὐτούς ἤκουεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σώματα ἐς ἀεὶ διασώξειν βουλόμενοι ἐκποδῶν ἴστανται. πόλεως τε τῆς ἰδίου ἀλώσεως πέρι μηδενὶ

23 ύμῶν γινέσθω τι δέος. ἢν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι ἡμῖν εὐνοϊκός ἔχωσι, τὴν πόλιν ἐν βεβαιῷ Γότθοις φυλάξουσιν, ἀνάγκης τε πείραν οὐδεμᾶς ἠξουσιών.

24 ἐπεὶ ἐν βραχεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξιομεν χρόνῳ. καὶ ἢν τὶ υποπτὸν αὐτοῖς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἐλάσσω βλάψουσι τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολέμους δεξάμενοι ἁμεινον¹ γὰρ πρὸς δυσμενεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς

25 διαμάχεσθαι. ὅπως μέντοι μὴ δὲν τι εὐμβῆσται τοιοῦτον, ἐγώ προούσω. ἀνδρὰς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἡπειρώτατον ἀπολείψομεν, οἳ Ῥώμην φυλάξαι ἰκανοὶ ἠξονται, ὡστε καὶ ταύτα ἡμῖν ἐν καλῷ κεῖσται καὶ οὐδὲν ἃν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίου ἡμῶν τῆς ἀναχωρῆσις γένοιτο βλάβος.”

26 Οὐλτίνης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ Γότθοι ἀπαντᾷς παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν πορείαν. μετὰ δὲ Σίλβερίῳ τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς τε ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ παραινέας Οὐλτίνης, καὶ τῆς Θεουδέριχου ἀρχῆς ὑπομνήσας, ἐνεκελεύετο ἀπαννῖν ἐς Γότθων τὸ θνος εὐνοϊκώς ἐχεῖν, ὅρκους αὐτοὺς δεμοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων καταλαβῶν, ἀνδρὰς τε ἀπολέξας

¹ ἁμεινον Κ.: ἁμήχανον Λ.
wrong time, has afterward led them to defeat. For it is not the names of things, but the advantage which comes from what is done, that is worth seeking after. For a man's worth is revealed by his deeds, not at their commencement, but at their end. And those do not flee before the enemy who, when they have increased their preparation, forthwith go against them, but those who are so anxious to save their own lives for ever that they deliberately stand aside. And regarding the capture of this city, let no fear come to any one of you. For if, on the one hand, the Romans are loyal to us, they will guard the city in security for the Goths, and they will not experience any hardship, for we shall return to them in a short time. And if, on the other hand, they harbour any suspicions toward us, they will harm us less by receiving the enemy into the city; for it is better to fight in the open against one's enemies. None the less I shall take care that nothing of this sort shall happen. For we shall leave behind many men and a most discreet leader, and they will be sufficient to guard Rome so effectively that not only will the situation here be favourable for us, but also that no harm may possibly come from this withdrawal of ours."

Thus spoke Vittigis. And all the Goths expressed approval and prepared for the journey. After this Vittigis exhorted at length Silverius, the priest of the city, and the senate and people of the Romans, reminding them of the rule of Theoderic, and he urged upon all to be loyal to the nation of the Goths, binding them by the most solemn oaths to do so; and he chose out no fewer than four thousand men,

1 Silverius was Pope 536–537 A.D.
οὐχ ἦσσον ἡ τετρακισχιλίων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅρχοντα ἐπιστήσας Δεύδεριν, ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἦκοντα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλῆν ἔχοντα, ἐφ’ ὅ τ’ Ῥώμην φυλάξουσι σφίσαν οὕτω δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβηνναν ἤςε, τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς πλείστους ἐν ὁμήρων λόγω ἔσον αὐτῷ ἔχουν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτέκο, Ματσαούνθαν τὴν Ἀμαλα-σούνθης θυγατέρα, παρθένον τε καὶ ἔραιαν ἦδη οὖσαν, γυναῖκα γαμητὴν οὕτι ἐθελούσιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως δὴ βεβαιοτέραν τὴν ἄρχην ἐξεὶ τῇ 28 ἐς γένος τὸ 1 Θευδερίχου ἐπιμεξία. ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἀπαντας Γόθους πανταχόθεν ἀγείρας διειπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμη, ὅπλα τε καὶ ἅππους διανέμου κατὰ λόγον 2 ἐκάστῳ, μόνους δὲ Γόθους οἱ ἐν Γαλλίας φυλακῆν εἶχον, δεῖ τῶν Φράγγων οὐχ οἶδος τε ἦν 29 μεταπέμπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φράγγοι οὐτοὶ Γερμανοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὁνομάζοντο. ὄντως δὲ ἑρώτου τὸ ἐξ ἄρχης καὶ ὅπποι ὁκεμένοι Γαλλίας τε ἐπεβά-τευσαν καὶ διάφοροι Γόθοις γεγένηται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

XII

Τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ τε ὅκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδείρων ἐσπλέοντα χόρα μὲν ἡ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, 3 οἶστερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, Εὐρώπη ἀνόμασται, ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ Λιβύη ἐκλήθη, ἦν δὴ 2 προϊόντες 'Ασίαν καλοῦσι. Λιβύης μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὴς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἔρημος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνθρώπων, καὶ ἄν' αὐτοῦ

1 τὸ Krašeninnikov : τὸ K, τοῦ L.
2 κατὰ λόγον Hoeschel : καταλόγων K, κατὰ λόγων L.
3 ἀριστερὰ Maltretus : δεξιὰ MSS.

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and set in command over them Leuderis, a man of mature years who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, that they might guard Rome for the Goths. Then he set out for Ravenna with the rest of the army, keeping the most of the senators with him as hostages. And when he had reached that place, he made Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, who was a maiden now of marriageable age, his wedded wife, much against her will, in order that he might make his rule more secure by marrying into the family of Theoderic. After this he began to gather all the Goths from every side and to organize and equip them, duly distributing arms and horses to each one; and only the Goths who were engaged in garrison duty in Gaul he was unable to summon, through fear of the Franks. These Franks were called "Germani" in ancient times. And the manner in which they first got a foothold in Gaul, and where they had lived before that, and how they became hostile to the Goths, I shall now proceed to relate.

XII

As one sails from the ocean into the Mediterranean at Gadira, the land on the left, as was stated in the preceding narrative, is named Europe, while the land opposite to this is called Libya, and, farther on, Asia. Now as to the region beyond Libya I am unable to speak with accuracy; for it is almost wholly destitute of men, and for this reason the

1 Book III. i. 7.
2 i.e. equatorial Africa.
3 Cf. Book IV. xiii. 29.
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hydrate τοῦ Νείλου ἐκροῆ οὖδαμὴ ἐγκωσταί, διν ἄγετέ Λιγύπτων ἐνθέντα φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν.

3 Εὐρώτηθ ἔνθεν αὐχομένη Πελοποννησῷ βεβαιό-

tata ἐμφερής ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θαλάσση ἐκατέρωθι

tai. καὶ χώρα μὲν ἢ ἵπποι τι 

τὸν ὥκεανον καὶ δύοντα ἦλιου ἔστιν ἢ Ἱσπανία ὄνο-

μασται, ἄριστος ἡ Αλπεῖς τὰς ἄτε ὑπερὶ τοῦ Πυρηναίῳ

οὐσας. ᾿Αλπεῖς δὲ καλεῖν τὴν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ
diádochον οἱ ταύτη ἀνθρωποὶ γενομίκασι. τὸ δὲ

ἐνθέντα μέχρι τῶν Διογορίας ὄρων Γαλλία ἐκλή-

θη. ἑνθα δὴ καὶ ᾿Αλπεις ἔτεραι Γάλλους τε

καὶ Διογορίους διορίζουσι. Γαλλία μέντοι Ἱσ-

πανίαν πολλῷ εὐρύτερα, ὥσ τὸ εἰκόσ, ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ

ἐκ στενοῦ ἀρχομένῃ Εὐρώτηθ ἐστὶν ἀφατὸν τοὺς εὑροὺς

ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικῆς καλουμένης ἔχει. ἐν Γάλ-

λοις δὲ ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ Ῥόδανος τοιτο

Ῥήμος ῥέουσι. τούτων τὴν ὄδον τὴν ἐναντίαν

ἀλλήλοις ἴσων ἀτερος μὲν ἐκδίδουσιν ἐστὶν

Τυρρηνικῆς θάλασσαν, Ῥήμος δὲ ἐστὶν τὸν ὥκεανον

τὸ ἐκβολάς ποιεῖται. λύμαι τε ἐντάθαι πολ-

λαί, οὐ δὴ Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν φύκητο, βαρ-

βαρον ἔθνος, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ τὸ κατ’ ἀρχαὶ

ἀξίων, οὐ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται. τούτων ἔχο-

μενοὶ Ἀρβόρυχοι φύκουν, οὐ ἔναν πάση τῆς ἄλλην

Γαλλία καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἱσπανία Ῥώμαιοι κατήκουποι

ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτους, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐστὶν πρὸς

ἀνίσχυτα ἦλιον Θόρυγγοι βάρβαροι, δύντος

1 ἢ: ἡ MSS. 2 ἢστιν Κ.: om. L.

3 Ῥόδανος Κ.: ἡρίδανος L.

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first source of the Nile, which they say flows from that land toward Egypt, is quite unknown. But Europe at its very beginning is exceedingly like the Peloponnesus, and fronts the sea on either side. And the land which is first toward the ocean and the west is named Spain, extending as far as the alps of the Pyrenees range. For the men of this country are accustomed to call a narrow, shut-in, pass "alps." And the land from there on as far as the boundaries of Liguria is called Gaul. And in that place other alps separate the Gauls and the Ligurians. Gaul, however, is much broader than Spain, and naturally so, because Europe, beginning with a narrow peninsula, gradually widens as one advances until it attains an extraordinary breadth. And this land is bounded by water on either side, being washed on the north by the ocean, and having on the south the sea called the Tuscan Sea. And in Gaul there flow numerous rivers, among which are the Rhone and the Rhine. But the course of these two being in opposite directions, the one empties into the Tuscan Sea, while the Rhine empties into the ocean. And there are many lakes in that region, and this is where the Germans lived of old, a barbarous nation, not of much consequence in the beginning, who are now called Franks. Next to these lived the Arborychi, who, together with all the rest of Gaul, and, indeed, Spain also, were subjects of the Romans from of old. And beyond them toward the east were settled the Thuringian bar-

1 This vague statement is intended to describe the country west of the Rhine, at that time a land of forests and swamps.

2 The people whom Procopius names Arborychi must be the Armorici. If so, they occupied the coast of what is now Belgium.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

11 Αὐγοῦστου πρῶτον βασιλέως, ἱδρύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν Βουργουζώνες οὐ πολλῷ ἀπεθεν πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένοι φῶκουν, Σούαβοί τε ὑπὲρ Θορίγγων καὶ Ἀλαμανοί, ἵσχυρὰ ἔθνη. οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι ἀπαντες ταύτῃ τῷ ἀνέκαθεν ἱδρυντο.

12 Προίοντος δὲ χρόνου Οὐσίγοιτοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν βιασάμενοι Ἰσπανίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ 1 ποταμοῦ καθήκοντα 2 σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον.

13 ἔτυγχανον δὲ Ἀρβόρυχοι τότε Ῥωμαίων στρατίωται γεγενημένοι. οὐς δὴ Γερμανοὶ καθήκονσι σφίσιν ἐθέλοντες, ἀτε ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ πολιτείαν ἦν πάλαι εἰχὸν μεταβαλόντας, 3 ποιῆσασθαι, ἐληξίζοντο τε καὶ πανδημείς πολεμησίεσθε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤσσαν. Ἀρβόρυχοι δὲ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ εὐνοιαν ἔς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπεὶ βιάζοντας αὐτοὺς Γερμανοὶ οὐχ οἷοί τε ἢσσαν, ἐταιρίζοντας τῇ ἦξίουν καὶ ἀλλήλων κηδεσταὶ γίνεσθαι. δὴ Ἀρβόρυχοι οὔτι ἄκοισιοι ἐνεδέχοντο. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι οὖτε ἔτυγχανον, οὔτω τε ἐς ἕνα λεῶν ξυνεθῶντες δυνάμεως ἐτῇ μέγα ἐχώρησαν.

14 Καὶ στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτερου ἐς Γαλλῶν τᾶς ἐσχατὰς φυλακῆς ἑνεκὰ ἐτετάχατο. οὗ δὴ οὔτε ἐς Ῥώμην ὅπως ἐπανήξοσιν ἔχοντες οὐ μὴν οὔτε

1 Ῥοδανοῦ K: ἱριδανοῦ L.  
2 τὰ ... καθήκον K: τὰς ... κατηκόους L.  
3 μεταβαλόντας V: καταλαβόντας L.
bavarians, Augustus, the first emperor, having given them this country.\(^1\) And the Burgundians lived not far from them toward the south,\(^2\) and the Suevi\(^3\) also lived beyond the Thuringians, and the Alamani,\(^4\) powerful nations. All these were settled there as independent peoples in earlier times.

But as time went on, the Visigoths forced their way into the Roman empire and seized all Spain and the portion of Gaul lying beyond\(^6\) the Rhone River and made them subject and tributary to themselves. By that time it so happened that the Arborychi had become soldiers of the Romans. And the Germans, wishing to make this people subject to themselves, since their territory adjoined their own and they had changed the government under which they had lived from of old, began to plunder their land and, being eager to make war, marched against them with their whole people. But the Arborychi proved their valour and loyalty to the Romans and shewed themselves brave men in this war, and since the Germans were not able to overcome them by force, they wished to win them over and make the two peoples kin by intermarriage. This suggestion the Arborychi received not at all unwillingly; for both, as it happened, were Christians. And in this way they were united into one people, and came to have great power.

Now other Roman soldiers, also, had been stationed at the frontiers of Gaul to serve as guards. And these soldiers, having no means of returning to Rome, and at the same time being unwilling to yield

\(^1\) Now south-eastern Germany.
\(^2\) Now south-eastern France.
\(^3\) Between the Germans and Burgundians.
\(^4\) In modern Bavaria.  
\(^5\) i.e. west of the Rhone.

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προσχωρεῖν Ἄρειανοὺς οὕσι τοῖς πολεμίοις βουλόμενοι, σφᾶς τε αὐτοῦς ἔχου τοῖς σημεῖοι καὶ χώραν ἦν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἑφύλασσον Ἀρβορύχοις τε καὶ Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν, ἐς τε ἀπογόνους τους σφετέρους ξύμπαντα παραπέμψαντες διεσώσαντο τὰ πάτρια ήθη, ἃ δὴ σεβόμενοι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τηρεῖν ἀξιούσιν. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν καταλόγων ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου δηλοῦνται ἐς οὗς τὸ παλαιὸν τασσόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ σημεία τὰ σφετέρα ἐπαγόμενοι οὕτω δὴ ἐς μάχην καθίστανται, νόμοις τε τοῖς πατρίοις ἐσεὶ χρῶνται. καὶ σχῆμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τοῖς ἀλλοὶς ἀπασι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμαις διασώζουσιν.

"Εσος μὲν οὖν πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἡ αὐτὴ ἔμενεν, Γαλλίας τὰ 1 ἔντος Ὀρινοῦ 2 ποταμοῦ βασιλείας εἰχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὀδόακρος ἐς τυραννίδα μετέβαλε, τὸτε δὴ, τοῦ τυράννου σφίσιν ἐνδιόντος, ξύμπασαν Γαλλίαις Ὀυσίγοτοι ἔσχων μέχρι Ἀλπεων αἱ τὰ Γάλλων τε ὄρια καὶ Δυνούρων διορίζουσι. πεσόντος δὲ Ὀδόακρον Θόρεγγοι τε καὶ Ὀυσίγοτοι τὴν Γερμανῶν δύναμιν ἣδη αὐξομένην δειμαίνοντες (πολυνάθρωπος τε γὰρ ἰσχυρότατα 3 ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοὺς ἀεί ἐν ποσίν ὑπατὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐβιαζέτο) Γότθων δὴ καὶ Θευδέριχον τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. οὖς δὴ ἐταιρίσασθαι Θευδέριχος ἐθέλων ἐς κῆδος 22 αὐτοῖς ἐπιμέμνυσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίων. τῷ μὲν οὖν τηνικαίτα Ὀυσιγοτῶν ἡγούμενος Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ

1 τὰ V: τὰς L.
2 Ὀρινοῦ K: ἡρινοῦ L.
3 πολυνάθρωπος τε γὰρ ἰσχυρότατα V: πολυνάθρωπα γὰρ ἰσχυρότατῃ L.

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to their enemy ¹ who were Arians, gave themselves, together with their military standards and the land which they had long been guarding for the Romans, to the Arborychhi and Germans; and they handed down to their offspring all the customs of their fathers, which were thus preserved, and this people has held them in sufficient reverence to guard them even up to my time. For even at the present day they are clearly recognized as belonging to the legions to which they were assigned when they served in ancient times, and they always carry their own standards when they enter battle, and always follow the customs of their fathers. And they preserve the dress of the Romans in every particular, even as regards their shoes.

Now as long as the Roman polity remained unchanged, ² the emperor held all Gaul as far as the Rhone River; but when Odoacer changed the government into a tyranny, then, since the tyrant yielded to them, the Visigoths took possession of all Gaul as far as the alps which mark the boundary between Gaul and Liguria. But after the fall of Odoacer, the Thuringians and the Visigoths began to fear the power of the Germans, which was now growing greater (for their country had become exceedingly populous and they were forcing into subjection without any concealment those who from time to time came in their way), and so they were eager to win the alliance of the Goths and Theodoric. And since Theodoric wished to attach these peoples to himself, he did not refuse to intermarry with them. Accordingly he betrothed to Alaric the younger, who was then leader of the Visigoths, his

¹ i.e. the Visigoths.
² i.e. under a recognized imperial dynasty.
23 ἀδελφῆς παίδα. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Φράγγοι τῆς μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς βίας δέει τῷ Θευδερίχου ἀπέσχοντο, ἐπὶ Βουργουζίωνας δὲ πολέμῳ ἔσσαν. ὑστεροῦν δὲ Φράγγοις τε καὶ Γόθοις ἐξυμμαχήσαι τε καὶ ἐξυμμαχήσαι ἐπὶ κακῶ τῷ Βουργουζίωνων ἐγένοντο, ἐφ’ ὃ ἐκάτεροι μὲν στρατιάν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς πέμψαντον.

25 ἦν δὲ ὁπότερων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ ἐτεροὶ στρατεύσαντες τὸ Βουργουζίωνων καταστρέφονται γένος καὶ χώραν ἢν ἔχουσί παραστήσωσιν, ποινὴν οἱ νευκηκότες παρὰ τῶν οὐ ξυστρατευσόμενων ρήτιν τι χρυσίον κομίζονται, κοινὴν δὲ καὶ οὗτω χώραν τὴν δορυφόρων ἄμφωτέρων εἶναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ πολλὰς στρατιὰς ἐπὶ Βουργουζίωνας κατὰ τὰ σφίσι τε καὶ Γόθοις ἐνυγκείμενα ἡκούν, Θενδερίχος δὲ παρεσκεύάζετο μὲν δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐξεπίθετος δὲ ἀεὶ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραιάν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἔξοδον ἀπετίθετο, καρδακὼν τὰ ἐσόμενα.

26 καὶ ἐπέμψας ἐπέστησέ τοὺς τούτων. στρατοῦ ἀρχούσι σχολαίτερον τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν Φράγγοις νευκηκέναι ἀκούσωσι τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τάχος ἴναι, ἢν δὲ τι ξύμβαμα ἔμπεπτοκέναι αὐτοῖς πῦθωνται, μηκέτι περιτέρω πορεύεσθαι, ἢν ἢν τε νικήσαντο εὐμβαμα πῦθωνται, τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τάχος ἴναι

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own unmarried daughter Theodichusa, and to Hermenefridus, the ruler of the Thuringians, Amalamberga, the daughter of his sister Amalafrida. As a result of this the Franks refrained from violence against these peoples through fear of Theoderic, but they began a war against the Burgundians. But later on the Franks and the Goths entered into an offensive alliance against the Burgundians, agreeing that each of the two should send an army against them; and it was further agreed that if either army should be absent when the other took the field against the nation of the Burgundians and overthrew them and gained the land which they had, then the victors should receive as a penalty from those who had not joined in the expedition a fixed sum of gold, and that only on these terms should the conquered land belong to both peoples in common. So the Germans went against the Burgundians with a great army according to the agreement between themselves and the Goths; but Theoderic was still engaged with his preparations, as he said, and purposely kept putting off the departure of the army to the following day, and waiting for what would come to pass. Finally, however, he sent the army, but commanded the generals to march in a leisurely fashion, and if they should hear that the Franks had been victorious, they were thenceforth to go quickly, but if they should learn that any adversity had befallen them, they were to proceed no farther, but remain where they were. So they proceeded to carry out the commands of Theoderic, but meanwhile the
29 κατὰ μόνας Βούργουζιώσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθον. μά-
χης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης φόνος μὲν ἐκατέρων
πολὺς γίνεται· ἥν γὰρ ἄγχωμαλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
30 ἡ ξυμβολή· ἐπειτα δὲ Φράγγοι τρεφάμενοι τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐς τὰ ἐσχατα χώρας ἂς τότε ὄκουν
ἐξῆλασαν, ἐνθα σφίσι πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα ἦν,
31 αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ξύμπασαν ἔσχον. ἀπέρ
Γότθοι ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τάχος παρῆσαν. κακι-
ζόμενοι τε πρὸς τῶν ξυμμάχων τὸ τῆς χώρας
dύσοδον Ἰτιώντο, καὶ τὴν ποιήν καταθέμενοι τὴν
χώραν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο, ἦν τοῖς νενικηκόσιν
32 ἐνείμαντο. οὔτω τε Θευδέριχον ἡ πρόνοια ἔτι
μάλλον ἐγνώσθη, ὅσ γε οὐδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀπο-
βαλὼν ὄλγῳ χρυσῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν πολεμίων
ἐκτήσατο χώραν. οὔτω μὲν τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς Γότθοι
tε καὶ Γερμανοὶ μοιράν τίνα Γαλλίας ἔσχον.
33 Μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τῆς δυνάμεως σφίσιν ἐπὶ-
προσθεν ἱούσης ἐν ὀλυγωρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι Θευδέ-
ριχόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δέος ἐπὶ τε Ἀλάριχον
34 καὶ Οὐσιγότθους ἑστράτευσαν. ἄ δὴ Ἀλάριχος
μαθὼν Θευδέριχον ὃτι τάχιστα μετεπέμπετο. καὶ
35 ο μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἤξει. ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ Οὐσιγότθοι, ἐπεὶ Γερμανοὺς ἁμφὶ 1 πό-
λιν Καρκασιανὴν στρατοπεδεῦειν ἐπύθοντο, ὑπη-
νίτιξον τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι ἤρέμουν. 2
36 χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ τριβο-
μένου συχνοῦ ἦσχαλλόν τε καὶ, ἀτε τῆς χώρας

1 ἁμφὶ V: ἐπὶ L.  
2 ἤρέμουν V: ἔμενον L.
Germans joined battle alone with the Burgundians. 584 A.D. The battle was stubbornly contested and a great slaughter took place on both sides, for the struggle was very evenly matched; but finally the Franks routed their enemy and drove them to the borders of the land which they inhabited at that time, where they had many strongholds, while the Franks took possession of all the rest. And the Goths, upon hearing this, were quickly at hand. And when they were bitterly reproached by their allies, they blamed the difficulty of the country, and laying down the amount of the penalty, they divided the land with the victors according to the agreement made. And thus the foresight of Theoderic was revealed more clearly than ever, because, without losing a single one of his subjects, he had with a little gold acquired half of the land of his enemy. Thus it was that the Goths and Germans in the beginning got possession of a certain part of Gaul.

But later on, when the power of the Germans was growing greater, they began to think slightingly of Theoderic and the fear he inspired, and took the field against Alaric and the Visigoths. And when Alaric learned this, he summoned Theoderic as quickly as possible. And he set out to his assistance with a great army. In the meantime, the Visigoths, upon learning that the Germans were in camp near the city of Carcasiana,\(^1\) went to meet them, and making a camp remained quiet. But since much time was being spent by them in blocking the enemy in this way, they began to be vexed, and seeing that their land

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\(^1\) In Gallia Narbonensis, modern Carcassone. Procopius has been misled. The battle here described was fought in the neighbourhood of Poitiers.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ληξυμένης, δεινὰ ἐποιεῖντο. 37 καὶ τελευτάντες ἐστὶ Ἀλάριχον πολλὰ ὑβρίζων, αὐτὸν τε διὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δέος κακίζοντες καὶ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὴν μέλλησιν ὀνειδίζοντες. ἀξιόμαχοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἱσχυρίζοντο εἰναι καὶ ῥᾴδιον κατὰ μόνας περιέσεθαι Γερμανῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθων σφίζον σύπτω παρόντων Ἀλάριχος ἡνάγκαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι. καθυπέρτεροι δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενοι τῶν τε Οὐσινγότων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ Ἀλάριχον τὸν ἀρχοῦντα κτείνουσι. καὶ Γαλλίας μὲν καταλαβόντες τὰ πολλὰ ἔσχον, Καρκασιανὴν δὲ πολλὴ σπουδὴ ἐπολιῶρκον, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν πλούτον ἐνταῦθα ἐπίθυντο εἰναι, δὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀλάριχος ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ρώμην ἔλον ἐλήσατο. ἐν τοῖς ἦν καὶ τὰ Σολόμωνος τοῦ Ἐβραίων βασιλέως κειμῆλια, ἀξιοθέατα ἐς ἁγαν ὄντα. πρασία γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλλωπίζειν, ἀπέρ ἐξ Ἰερουσόλυμων Ῥωμαίοι τὸ παλαιὸν εἴλον. Οὐσινγότων δὲ οἱ περίοντες Γισέλιχον, νόθον Ἀλαρίχου υἱόν, ἀρχοντα σφίςων ἀνεῖπτον, 'Ἀμαλαρίχου τοῦ τῆς Θευδερίχου τυ- γατρὸς παιδὸς ἔτι κομιδῆ ὄντος. ἐπειτὰ δὲ Θευ- δερίχου ἐκ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἠκούτος δείσαντες Γερμανοὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. ἐνθὲν τε ἀναχωρήσαντες Γαλλίας τὰ ἔκτος Ροδανοῦ ποταμοῦ

1 τοῦ τῆς Κρασενινικοῦ: τοῦ V, τῆς τοῦ L.
2 Θευδερίχου Grotius: ἀλαρίχου MSS.
3 Ροδανοῦ V: ἴριδανοῦ L.

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was being plundered by the enemy, they became indignant. And at length they began to heap many insults upon Alaric, reviling him on account of his fear of the enemy and taunting him with the delay of his father-in-law. For they declared that they by themselves were a match for the enemy in battle and that even though unaided they would easily overcome the Germans in the war. For this reason Alaric was compelled to do battle with the enemy before the Goths had as yet arrived. And the Germans, gaining the upper hand in this engagement, killed the most of the Visigoths and their ruler Alaric. Then they took possession of the greater part of Gaul and held it; and they laid siege to Carcasiana with great enthusiasm, because they had learned that the royal treasure was there, which Alaric the elder in earlier times had taken as booty when he captured Rome.

Among these were also the treasures of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, a most noteworthy sight. For the most of them were adorned with emeralds; and they had been taken from Jerusalem by the Romans in ancient times. Then the survivors of the Visigoths declared Giselic, an illegitimate son of Alaric, ruler over them, Amalaric, the son of Theodoric's daughter, being still a very young child. And afterwards, when Theodoric had come with the army of the Goths, the Germans became afraid and broke up the siege. So they retired from there and took possession of the part of Gaul beyond the Rhone River as far as the

2 At the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. The treasures here mentioned were removed from Rome in 410 A.D. The remainder of the Jewish treasure formed part of the spoil of Gizeric, the Vandal. Cf. Book IV. ix. 5 and note.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐς ὀκεανοῦ τετραμμένα ἐσχον. οὖν αὐτοὺς ἔξελάσαι Θευδέριχος οὐχ οἷος τε ὁ λαὸς ταύτα μὲν σφάς ἐξυγερώει ἔχειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ Γαλλίας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνεσώσατο. Γισελίχου τε ἐκποδῶν γενομένου ἐσ τῶν θυγατριδῶν Ἀμαλάριχου τὴν Οὐσιγοῦθον ἄρχὴν ἦμεγκεν, οὔ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπετρόπευε παιδὸς ἐτὶ ὄντος.

χρήματά τε λαβὼν ἐξυμπάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Καρκασιανῆ ἔκειτο ἐσ Ράβειναν κατὰ τάχος ἀπηλαύνει, ἀρχούτας τε ἀεὶ καὶ στρατίαν Θευδέριχος ἐς τε Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἰσπανίαν πέμπτων αὐτῶν εἴσε ϊ ὁ ἔργον ἕτερον τῇ ἀρχῆς κράτος προοῆς τε ὅπως βέβαιον αὐτὸ ἐς ἀεὶ ἔξει φόρου ἀπαγωγῆς ἔταξεν οἱ αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν τούς ταύτην ἄρχοντας. ἰδχόμενος τε αὐτὴν ἐς ἐκαστὸν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν, τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Οὐσιγότθων στρατῶ δάρων ἐπέτειον ἐπεμπε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γότθωι τε καὶ Οὐσιγότθοι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἄτε ἀρχόμενοι τε πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξοιτες παῖδας τοὺς σφετέρους ἀλλήλοις ἐγγυώτες ἐς ἄνεγερειαν ἐπεμλήνυμα.

Μετὰ δὲ Θεύδις, Γότθως ἄνηρ, ὄντερ Θευδέριχος τῷ στρατῷ ἄρχοντα ἐπέμψε, γυναῖκα ἐς Ἰσπανίας γαμετὴν ἐπούσατο, οὐ γενός μὲντοι Οὐσιγότθων, ἀλλ' ἐς οἷάς τῶν τινος ἑπίχωρίων εὐδαίμονον, ἀλλὰ τε περιβεβλημένης μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ χώρας πολλῆς ἐν Ἰσπανίας κυρίαν οὕσαν. οὖν στρατιῶτας ἀμβλ δισχίλιον ἀγείρας δορυφόρων τε περιβαλλόμενος δύναμιν, Γότθων μὲν Θευδέριχου δύντος τῷ λόγῳ ἤρχεν, ἐργῷ δὲ τύραννος οὖν ἀφανὴς ἦν. δείσας δὲ Θευδέριχος

1 εἴχε τῷ ἔργῳ Μαυρυ.: εἴχετο ἔργων Β., εἴχετο ἔργου Λ.
2 ἐν Ἰσπανία Β.: ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰσπανίαν Λ.
ocean. And Theoderic, being unable to drive them out from there, allowed them to hold this territory, but he himself recovered the rest of Gaul. Then, after Giselic had been put out of the way, he conferred the rule of the Visigoths upon his grandson Amalaric, for whom, since he was still a child, he himself acted as regent. And taking all the money which lay in the city of Carcasiana, he marched quickly back to Ravenna; furthermore, he continued to send commanders and armies into Gaul and Spain, thus holding the real power of the government himself, and by way of providing that he should hold it securely and permanently, he ordained that the rulers of those countries should bring tribute to him. And though he received this every year, in order not to give the appearance of being greedy for money he sent it as an annual gift to the army of the Goths and Visigoths. And as a result of this, the Goths and Visigoths, as time went on, ruled as they were by one man and holding the same land, betrothed their children to one another and thus joined the two races in kinship.

But afterwards, Theudis, a Goth, whom Theoderic had sent as commander of the army, took to wife a woman from Spain; she was not, however, of the race of the Visigoths, but belonged to the house of one of the wealthy inhabitants of that land, and not only possessed great wealth but also owned a large estate in Spain. From this estate he gathered about two thousand soldiers and surrounded himself with a force of bodyguards, and while in name he was a ruler over the Goths by the gift of Theoderic, he was in fact an out and out tyrant. And Theoderic, who was
δέτε ξυνέσεως ες ἄκρων καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἦκων, μὴ οἱ πόλεμον πρὸς δούλουν τοῦ αὐτοῦ διαφέροντα οἱ Φράγγοι, ὃς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαντήσουσιν ἢ καὶ τι νεώτερον ὑψίσιγοθοῦ ές αὐτοῦ δράσουσιν, οὕτε παρέλυε τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεύδιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αἰεί ἐς πόλεμον ἱόντι ἐκέλευε. γράφειν μέντοι αὐτῷ Γότθων τοὶς πρῶτοις ἐπήγγειλεν ὡς δίκαια τε ποιοῖς καὶ ξυνέσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξια, ἂν

54 Θευδέριχος ἐς Ράββενιαν ἦκων ἀσπάζοντο. Θεύδις δὲ ἀ μεν Θευδέριχος ἐκέλευεν ἀπαντά ἐπετέλει, καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον οὕτοτε ἀποφέρων ἀνύει, ἐς Ράββενιαν δὲ ιέναι οὕτε ήθελεν οὔτε τοῖς γράφουσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο.

XIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θευδέριχος ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο, Φράγγοι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἔτι Θορίγγοις ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ Ἐρμενέφριδον τε τὸν αὐτῶν ἀρχοντα κτείνουσι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαντᾷς 2 ὑποχειρίοις ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. ἣ δὲ τοῦ Ἐρ-

55 μενεφρίδου γυνὴ ξυν τοῖς παισὶ λαθοῦσα 3 παρὰ Θευδάτον τὸν ἀδελφόν, Γότθων τηνικάυτα ἀρ-

χοντα, ἦλθε. μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ Βουργουζιώνων τε τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἐς χείρας ἦλθον καὶ μάχῃ νική-

56 σαντες τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀρχοντα ἐς τι τῶν ἐκείνη ἐφηρίων καθείρζαντες ἔν φυλακῇ εἶχον, αὐτοὺς δὲ κατηκούσας ποιησάμενος ἐστράτευσεν τὸ λοι-

1 οἱ φρ. V: ἡ φρ. L. 2 ἀποφέρων V: οἰμ. L. 3 λαθοῦσα V: φυγοῦσα L.
wise and experienced in the highest degree, was afraid to carry on a war against his own slave, lest the Franks meanwhile should take the field against him, as they naturally would, or the Visigoths on their part should begin a revolution against him; accordingly he did not remove Theudis from his office, but even continued to command him, whenever the army went to war, to lead it forth. However, he directed the first men of the Goths to write to Theudis that he would be acting justly and in a manner worthy of his wisdom, if he should come to Ravenna and salute Theoderic. Theudis, however, although he carried out all the commands of Theoderic and never failed to send in the annual tribute, would not consent to go to Ravenna, nor would he promise those who had written to him that he would do so.

XIII

After Theoderic had departed from the world, the Franks, now that there was no longer anyone to oppose them, took the field against the Thuringians, and not only killed their leader Hermenefridus but also reduced to subjection the entire people. But the wife of Hermenefridus took her children and secretly made her escape, coming to Theodatus, her brother, who was at that time ruling over the Goths. After this the Germans made an attack upon the Burgundians who had survived the former war,¹ and defeating them in battle confined their leader in one of the fortresses of the country and kept him under guard, while they reduced the people to subjection

¹ Cf. chap. xii. 24 ff.
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πὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀτε δορυαλώτους Ἰύναγκαζον, καὶ τὴν χώραν ξύμπασαν ἤν Βουργουζώνες τὰ πρότερα ὥκουν, ὅποιερίαν ἐσ
4 ἀπαγωγήν φόρου ἐκτῆσαντο. Ἄμαλάριχος θε, δὴ ἤρχεν Οὐσιγότθων, ἐπεὶ ἐς ἄνδρός ἥλικιαν ἠλθε, δύναμιν τὴν Γερμανῶν κατορρωδήσας τὴν Ἐενδιβέρτου ἄδελφην τοῦ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντος ἐν γαμετῆς ἐποιήσατο λόγον, καὶ Γαλλίαν πρὸς τε Γότθους καὶ τῶν ἀνεψιον Ἀταλάριχον ἐνείματο.

5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ́ 1 ποταμοῦ Γότθοι ἔλαχον, τά δὲ τούτου ἐκτὸς ἐς τὸ Οὐσιγότθων

6 περιέστη κράτος. ξυνέκειτο δὲ φόρου διὸ Θευδέριχος 2 ἐτάξε μηκέτι ἐς Γότθους κομίζεσθαι, καὶ χρήματα ὡσα ἐκείνος ἐκ Καρκασιανῆς πόλεως λαθῶν ἔτυχεν, Ἀταλάριχος Ἀμαλαρίχῳ ὀρθώς

7 καὶ δικαῖως ἀπέδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄμφῳ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα ἐς τὸ κήδος ἀλλήλως ξυνελθόντα ἔτυχε, τὴν αἰρέσιν ἔδοσαν ἄνδρι ἐκάστῳ, τὴν ἐγγύην ἐς θάτερον ἔθνος πεποιημένοι, πότερον γυναῖκα ἐπεσθαὶ βουλοῦτο, ἡ ἐκείνην ἐς γένος τὸ αὐτοῦ

8 ἄγεσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁπη ἐβούλουντο ἀγοντες καὶ οἱ πρὸς γυναικῶν τῶν

9 σφιτέρων ἀγόμενοι. ὑστερον δὲ Ἀμαλαρίχος, προσκεκρούκως τῷ τῆς γυναικᾶς ἄδελφῳ, κακὸν

10 μέγα ἔλαβε. δόξης γὰρ ὀρθῆς τὴν γυναίκα οὕσαν, αἰρέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀρείου ἔχων, οὐκ εἰα νομίμως τοῖς εἰωθοῦσι χρήσθαι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ ἐθη τα πάτρια τὰ ἐς τὸ θείου ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσχώρεϊ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἤθεσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν πολλῇ ἀτυμίᾳ εἰχεν. ἀπερ ἐπεὶ οὐχ οίᾳ τε ἦν ἡ γυνὴ φέρειν, ἐς τὸν ἄδελφον ἐξήνεγκεν ἀπαντα.

1 Ῥοδανοῦ V: τοῦ ἦριδανοῦ Λ. 2 Θευδέριχος Ἁ: Θευδάτος Υ.
and compelled them, as prisoners of war, to march with them from that time forth against their enemies, and the whole land which the Burgundians had previously inhabited they made subject and tributary to themselves. And Amalaric, who was ruling over the Visigoths, upon coming to man's estate, became thoroughly frightened at the power of the Germans and so took to wife the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Germans, and divided Gaul with the Goths and his cousin Atalaric. The Goths, namely, received as their portion the land to the east of the Rhone River, while that to the west fell under the control of the Visigoths. And it was agreed that the tribute which Theoderic had imposed should no longer be paid to the Goths, and Atalaric honestly and justly restored to Amalaric all the money which he had taken from the city of Carcasiana. Then, since these two nations had united with one another by intermarriage, they allowed each man who had espoused a wife of the other people to choose whether he wished to follow his wife, or bring her among his own people. And there were many who led their wives to the people they preferred and many also who were led by their wives. But later on Amalaric, having given offence to his wife's brother, suffered a great calamity. For while his wife was of the orthodox faith, he himself followed the heresy of Arius, and he would not allow her to hold to her customary beliefs or to perform the rites of religion according to the tradition of her fathers, and, furthermore, because she was unwilling to conform to his customs, he held her in great dishonour. And since the woman was unable to bear this, she disclosed the whole matter to her brother. For this
11 διὸ δὴ ἐς πόλεμον Γερμανοῖ τε καὶ Οὐσιώτθοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέστησαν. καὶ λίαν μὲν ἵσχυρὰ ἔγεγον ἔπτι πλείστου ἡ μάχη, τέλος δὲ ἡσσηθείς Ἀμαλαρίχος τῶν τε οἰκείων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλεις καὶ αὐτὸς θυσκεῖ. Θευδίβερτος δὲ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ἐξὺν πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἐλαβε τε καὶ Γαλλίας ὅποσον Οὐσιώτθοι λαχώντες εἶχον.

12 τῶν δὲ ἡσσημένων οἱ περιόντες ἐκ Γαλλίας ἐξὺν γυναιξὶ τε καὶ παισὶν ἀναστάντες παρὰ Θεῦδιν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἦδη ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τυραννοῦτα ἐχώρησαν. οὕτω μὲν Γότθοι τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ Γαλλίας ἔσχον.

14 Χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ύστερῷ Θευδάτος, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἀρχηγὸς, ἐπεδιδὴ Βελσάριοιν εἰς Σικελίαν ἥκειν ἐπιθέτο, ἐνυπηκὰς πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ποιεῖται, ἐφ' ὧν ἔχοντας τε αὐτοὺς τὴν Γότθοις ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἐν Γάλλοις μοῦραν καὶ χρυσίῳ κεφηνάρια λαβοῦτα εἰκοσὶ πόλεμον τόνδε σφίζει ξυνάρασθαι.

15 οὕτω τε τὰ ἐνγκειμένα ἔργῳ ἐπιτελέσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. διὸ δὴ Γότθων πολλοῖ τε καὶ ἁριστοί ἐνταῦθα, ὃν Μαρκίας ἤγειτο, φυλακῆν ἐίχον. οὐς Οὐίττυγις ἐνθέντε ἐξαναστήσαι οὐχ οἷς τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Φράγγως ἀντιτάξασθαι αὐτοὺς φέτο ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, Γαλλίαν τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν, ως τὸ εἰκός, καταθεοῦσιν, ἦν αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλάσῃ. Ἕν γεικάδες οὖν εἰ τι ἐν Γότθως καθαρὸν ἦν, ἐλέξει τοιάδε: "Οὐχ ἡδεῖν μὲν, ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, ἀναγκαίον

1 πρότασις WW: αὐτούς καὶ L. 2 αὐτοῦς WW: αὐτοὺς καὶ L. 3 οὗτο το τὰ ἐνγκειμένα VL: διεπρεσβεύσαντο δὲ ποτε τὰ ἐνγκειμένα W. 4 τὴν Ηαουρ: μοῦραν τὴν MSS.

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reason, then, the Germans and Visigoths entered into war with each other. And the battle which took place was for a long time very stoutly contested, but finally Amalaric was defeated, losing many of his men, and was himself slain. And Theudibert took his sister with all the money, and as much of Gaul as the Visigoths held as their portion. And the survivors of the vanquished emigrated from Gaul with their wives and children and went to Theudis in Spain, who was already acting the tyrant openly. Thus did the Goths and Germans gain possession of Gaul.

But at a later time Theodatus, the ruler of the Goths, upon learning that Belisarius had come to Sicily, made a compact with the Germans, in which it was agreed that the Germans should have that portion of Gaul which fell to the Goths, and should receive twenty centenaria of gold, and that in return they should assist the Goths in this war. But before he had as yet carried out the agreement he fulfilled his destiny. It was for this reason, then, that many of the noblest of the Goths, with Marcius as their leader, were keeping guard in Gaul. It was these men whom Vittigis was unable to recall from Gaul, and indeed he did not think them numerous enough even to oppose the Franks, who would, in all probability, overrun both Gaul and Italy, if he should march with his whole army against Rome. He therefore called together all who were loyal among the Goths and spoke as follows:

"The advice which I have wished to give you,
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dè ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνήγαγον. ὅπως δὲ ἀκοῦσθε μὲν πρᾶξις, βουλεύσασθε δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ἔσαξις. οἷς γὰρ αἱ πράξεις οὗ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦσι, τὸ μὴ πειθομένους τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ τῇ ἁχτῇ ὀντω τὰ παρόντα διοικεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ ἡμῖν ὡς ἀριστα ἠς τῶν πόλεμον παρασκευὴς ἔχει. Φράγγοι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν ἱστανται, οἷς ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολεμίου οὗσι, τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι διαπανώμενοι, ἀντέχειν ἐς τόδε ὄμως ἰσχύσαμεν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο ὀυδέν ἡμῖν ἀπίντα πολέμου. ἐφ’ ἑτέρους δὲ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους ἵναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοῦν πόλεμον καταλύειν ἐκεῖνοι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι, ἢν δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν διαμείνωσι, μετὰ Βελίσαριος ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς τετάξατο πάντως. τοὺς γὰρ ἑχθρὸν τὸν αὐτοῦν ἔχοντας ἄλληλοις ἐς εὗροιαν τε καὶ ξυμμαχίαν συνάπτεσθαί ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσπράχεται φύσις. ἐπείτα, ἢν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερον στρατόπεδον χωρίς τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, λελείψεται ἡμῖν ἀμφότερον ἡσσῆσθαι. ἀμείνων οὐν ὅλῳ ἡμᾶς ἐλασσούμενοις τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς διασώσασθαι, ἡ πάντα ἔχειν ἐφιεμένους έξου πάση τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διανάμει πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολογέσαι. οἴμαι τοῖς ὡς, ἢν Γαλλίας τὰς σφίσιν ὀμόρους Γερμανοῖς δώμεν, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἔλιπεν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Θεουδάτος αὐτοῖς ὁμολόγησε δώσειν, οὐχ ὅσον ἀποτρέψονται τὸ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐχθαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ξυλίζωσον τόνδε. ὅπως δὲ αὖθις,

1 τῶν πόλεμον παρασκευὴς V: τὴν πολέμου παρασκευὴν L.
2 πάντα V: πάνως L.

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fellow-countrymen, in bringing you together here at
the present time, is not pleasant, but it is necessary;
and do you hear me kindly, and deliberate in a
manner befitting the situation which is upon us. For
when affairs do not go as men wish, it is inexpedient
for them to go on with their present arrangements in
disregard of necessity or fortune. Now in all other
respects our preparations for war are in the best
possible state. But the Franks are an obstacle to us;
against them, our ancient enemies, we have indeed
been spending both our lives and our money, but
nevertheless we have succeeded in holding our own
up to the present time, since no other hostile force
has confronted us. But now that we are compelled
to go against another foe, it will be necessary to put
an end to the war against them, in the first place
because, if they remain hostile to us, they will
certainly array themselves with Belisarius against
us; for those who have the same enemy are by the
very nature of things induced to enter into friend-
ship and alliance with each other. In the second
place, even if we carry on the war separately against
each army, we shall in the end be defeated by both
of them. It is better, therefore, for us to accept
a little loss and thus preserve the greatest part of
our kingdom, than in our eagerness to hold every-
thing to be destroyed by the enemy and lose at the
same time the whole power of our supremacy. So my
opinion is that if we give the Germans the provinces
of Gaul which adjoin them, and together with this
land all the money which Theodatus agreed to give
them, they will not only be turned from their enmity
against us, but will even lend us assistance in this
war. But as to how at a later time, when matters
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eυ φερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν, Γαλλίας ἀνακτησόμεθα, ὑμῶν διαλογιζόμεθα μηδείς. ἐμὲ γάρ τις παλαιός εἰσέρχεται λόγος, τὸ παρὸν εὐ τιθέναι κελεύων.

26 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι, ξύμφορά τε οἰόμενοι αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἐπιτελῆ γενέσθαι ἥθελον. στέλλονται τούτων πρέσβεις αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ Γερμανῶν ἔθνος, ἐφ᾽ ὧ Γαλλίας τε αὐτοῖς ἔστων τὸ ἤρως δώσονται καὶ ὁμαίχιμαν ποιήσονται.

27 Φράγγων δὲ τότε ἄγγελον ἦσαν Ἰλδίβερτος τε καὶ Θενδίβερτος καὶ Κλοαδαρίος, οἱ Γαλλίας τε καὶ τὰ χρῆματα παραλαβόντες διενείμαντο μὲν κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐκάστου ἀρχῆς, φίλοι δὲ ὁμολόγησαν Γότθους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔστησθαι, καὶ λάθρα αὐτοῖς ἐπικούρους πέμψευς, οὐ Φράγγους μέντοι,

28 ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν σφίσι κατηκών ἔθνων. ὁμαιχίμαις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἕκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἧρωμαίων κακῷ ποιήσασθαι ὑμᾶί οἷοι τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς τόνδε τοῦ πόλεμον ἔνηλής

29 ψευθαὶ ὁμολόγησαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐφ᾽ ὅσπερ ἐστάλησαν διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπανήκουν ἐς Ῥάβενναν. τότε δὲ καὶ Μαρκίαν σὺν τοῖς ἐπο-μένους Οὐίττιγις μετεπέμπετο.

XIV

Ἐν φ᾽ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίττιγις ἐπρασσεν, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην ἴέναι παρεσκευάζετο. ἀπο-λέξας οὖν ἀνδρας ἐκ καταλόγου πεζικοῦ τρια-κοσίους καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῇ Νεαπό-

1 αὐτοῖς W: αὐτοῖς VL, αὐτοὶ Maltretus.

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are going well for us, we may regain possession of Gaul, let no one of you consider this question. For an ancient saying \(^1\) comes to my mind, which bids us 'settle well the affairs of the present.'"

Upon hearing this speech the notables of the Goths, considering the plan advantageous, wished it to be put into effect. Accordingly envoys were immediately sent to the nation of the Germans, in order to give them the lands of Gaul together with the gold, and to make an offensive and defensive alliance. Now at that time the rulers of the Franks were Ildibert, Theudibert, and Cloadarius, and they received Gaul and the money, and divided the land among them according to the territory ruled by each one, and they agreed to be exceedingly friendly to the Goths, and secretly to send them auxiliary troops, not Franks, however, but soldiers drawn from the nations subject to them. For they were unable to make an alliance with them openly against the Romans, because they had a little before agreed to assist the emperor in this war. So the envoys, having accomplished the mission on which they had been sent, returned to Ravenna. At that time also Vittigis summoned Marcias with his followers.

**XIV**

But while Vittigis was carrying on these negotiations, Belisarius was preparing to go to Rome. He accordingly selected three hundred men from the infantry forces with Herodian as their leader, and

\(^1\) Cf. Thuc. i. 35, ἰδιότητα τοῦ παρόν, "to deal with the actual situation"; Hor. Od. iii. 29, 32, "quod adest memento | Componere."
2 λεως φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Κύμην φρουρούς, ὡσους φέτο τῇ τοῦ ἐνταύθα φρουρίου φυλακῇ ἰκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἄλλο γάρ τι όχύρωμα ἐν Καμπανίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ ἐν Κύμη τε καὶ ἐν
3 Νεαπόλει, οὐκ ἦν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Κύμη οἱ ἐπι-
χώριοι τῷ Σιβύλλης δεικνύοισι σπήλαιον ἐνθά δὴ
αὐτῆς τὸ μαντεῖον γεγενήσθαι φασίν ἐπιθαλασ-
σία δὲ ἡ Κύμη ἐστὶ, Νεαπόλεως ὦκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσι
4 καὶ ἐκατόν στάδιον διέχουσα. Βελισάριος μὲν
οὖν διεκόσμησε τὸ στρατεύμα, Ἄρωμαῖοι δὲ, δεί-
σαντες μὴ σφίσι ξυμβαίνῃ ὅσα Νεαπολίταις
ξυμπέπτωκε, λογισάμενοι ἐγνώσαν αἵμειν εἶναι
τῇ πόλει τῶν βασιλέωσ στρατὸν δέξασθαι. μά-
λιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ Σιλβέριος ἕς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν, ὁ
5 τῆς 2 πόλεως ἁρχιερεύς. Φιδελίον τε πέμψατε,
ἀνδρὰ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ὀρμώμενον, ἢ ἐν Διγούρῳς
κεῖται, δὲ δὴ Ἄταλαρίχῳ παρῆδρευε πρότερον
(κοιαίστωρα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ἄρω-
μαῖοι), Βελισάριον ἐς Ἄρωμην ἐκάλουν, ἀμαχτῆ
6 τὴν πόλιν παραδώσειν ὑποσχόμενοι. ὁ δὲ διὰ
tῆς Δατίνης ὀδοῦ ἀπῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα, τὴν
Ἀππίαν ὀδόν ἀφεῖς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, δὴ Ἄππιος ὁ
Ῥωμαῖων ὑπάτος ἐννακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς πρότερον
ἐποίησε τε καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχεν.

"Εστι δὲ ἡ Ἄππια ὀδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε εὐξώνῳ
ἀνδρὶ ἐκ Ἄρωμης γὰρ αὕτη 3 ἐς Καπύνην διήκει.
7 εὗρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἀμάξας δύο

1 Σιλβέριος Maltretus: βελισάριος V, λιβέριος L.
2 τῆς V: τῆςδὲ τῆς L. 3 αὕτη L: αὕτης V.
assigned them the duty of guarding Naples. And he also sent to Cumae as large a garrison as he thought would be sufficient to guard the fortress there. For there was no stronghold in Campania except those at Cumae and at Naples. It is in this city of Cumae that the inhabitants point out the cave of the Sibyl, where they say her oracular shrine was; and Cumae is on the sea, one hundred and twenty-eight stades distant from Naples. Belisarius, then, was thus engaged in putting his army in order; but the inhabitants of Rome, fearing lest all the calamities should befall them which had befallen the Neapolitans, decided after considering the matter that it was better to receive the emperor’s army into the city. And more than any other Silverius, the chief priest of the city, urged them to adopt this course. So they sent Fidelius, a native of Milan, which is situated in Liguria, a man who had been previously an adviser of Atalaric (such an official is called "quaestor" by the Romans), and invited Belisarius to come to Rome, promising to put the city into his hands without a battle. So Belisarius led his army from Naples by the Latin Way, leaving on the left the Appian Way, which Appius, the consul of the Romans, had made nine hundred years before and to which he had given his name.

Now the Appian Way is in length a journey of five days for an unencumbered traveller; for it extends from Rome to Capua. And the breadth of this road is such that two waggons going in opposite directions

1 Cf. chap. xi. 26, note.
2 The quaestor held an important position as counsellor (παρεσποσ) of the emperor in legal matters. It was his function, also, to formulate and publish new laws.
3 Built in 312 B.C. by the censor, Appius Claudius.
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8 πάντων μάλιστα. τὸν γὰρ λίθον ἀπάντα, μυλί-
την τε ὄντα καὶ φύσει σκληρόν, ἐκ χώρας ἄλλης
μακρὰν οὕσης τεμὼν "Αππίου εὐταύθα ἐκόμισε.
9 ταύτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς γῆς οὔδαμη πέφυκε. λείους
δὲ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ὀμαλοὺς ἐργασάμενος, ἔγγυ-
νίοις τε τῇ ἑντομῇ πεποιημένοι, ἐς ἄλληλος
ξυνέδησεν, οὔτε χάλικα ἐντὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο
ἐμβεβλημένος. οἱ δὲ ἄλληλοι οὔτω τε ἀσφαλῶς
συνδέσεται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὡστε δὴ δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν
ἡμοσμένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐμπεφύκασιν ἄλληλοις, δόξαι
10 τοῖς ὀρῶσι παρέχονται: καὶ χρώμιον τριβέντος
συχνοῦ δὴ οὕτως ἀμάξας τε πολλαὶς καὶ ζῷοις
ἀπασὶ διαβατολ γινόμενοι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην οὔτε
τῆς ἅμονίας παντάπασι διακέρυται οὔτε τωὶ
αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆι ή μείοι γίνεσθαι ξυνέπεσεν,
οὐ μὴν οὔδε τῆς ἅμαρυγῆς τι ἀποβαλέσθαι. τὰ
μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀππίας ὄδοι τοιαῦτα ἐστι.
11 Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἐρωμῆ φυλακῆς εἶχον, ἐπεὶ
τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀγχιστὰ τῇ εἶναι ἐπύθοντο
καὶ Ἐρωμαίων τῆς γνώμης ἡσθοῦτο, ἡσχαλλον
2 τότε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι διὰ μάχης ἱέναι
12 οὐχ οὐδὲ τε ὄντες ἡπόρουν: ἔπειτα δὲ Ἐρωμαίων
σφίσιν ἐνυδαθέντων ἐνθένε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ
Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησαν ἀπαντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι
Διούδερις δὲ αὐτῶν ἑρχεν, αἰδεσθείς, οἰμαί, τύχην
13 τῆν παρούσαν, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. ξυνέπεσεν τε ἑκείνη
τῇ ἡμέρα κατὰ τοὺν αὐτῶν χρόνων Βελισάριου μὲν

1 χάλικα Braun: χαλκά V, χαλκῶν L.
2 τότε τῇ πόλει V: τὴν τε πόλιν φυλάσσειν L.
3 ἡπόρουν V: om. L.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xiv. 7–14

can pass one another, and it is one of the noteworthy sights of the world. For all the stone, which is mill-stone and hard by nature, Appius quarried in another place far away and brought there; for it is not found anywhere in this district. And after working these stones until they were smooth and flat, and cutting them to a polygonal shape, he fastened them together without putting concrete or anything else between them. And they were fastened together so securely and the joints were so firmly closed, that they give the appearance, when one looks at them, not of being fitted together, but of having grown together. And after the passage of so long a time, and after being traversed by many waggons and all kinds of animals every day, they have neither separated at all at the joints, nor has any one of the stones been worn out or reduced in thickness,—nay, they have not even lost any of their polish. Such, then, is the Appian Way.

But as for the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, it was not until they learned that the enemy were very near and became aware of the decision of the Romans, that they began to be concerned for the city, and, being unable to meet the attacking army in battle, they were at a loss; but later, with the permission of the Romans, they all departed thence and proceeded to Ravenna, except that Leuderis, who commanded them, being ashamed, I suppose, because of the situation in which he found himself, remained there. And it so happened on that day that at the very same time when Belisarius and the emperor's

1 Chiefly basalt. As built by Appius, however, the surface was of gravel; the stone blocks date from later years.
2 Apparently an error, for lava quarries have been found along the road.
καὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐστὶ Ρώμην εἰσίναι διὰ πῦλις ἢν καλοῦσιν Ἄσιναριάν, Γότθους δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐνθέειδε διὰ πῦλις ἔτερας ἡ Φλαμινία ἐπικαλέσται, Ρώμη τε αὕτης ἔξηκοντα ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ὑπὸ Ρωμαίους γέγονεν, ἐνάτη τοῦ τελευταίου, πρὸς δὲ Ρωμαίων προσαγορευομένου Δεκεμβρίου 1 μηνὸς ἐνδέκατων ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν ἔχοντος. Δεύ- δεριν μὲν οὖν τὸν Γότθουν ἀρχοντα καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς Βελισαρίους βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλαχὴ διερρυκότας ἐπεμελεῖτο. ἐπάλξειν δὲ ἐκάστην ἐγγύονα ἐποίησε, οἰκοδομᾶν δὴ τινα ἐτέραν ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ εὐνυμοῦ τιθέμενος, ὅπως ὦν ἐνθέειδε τοῖς ἐπιούσι μαχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἔν 2 ἄριστερά φίλοι τειχο- μαχοῦντων ἦκισα βάλλονται, καὶ τάφρον ἄμφι τὸ τείχος βαθεῖάν τε καὶ λόγου ἄξιαν πολλοὶ ὄρυσσε. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως τὴν ἐστὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀποδεδευμένην ἐμπειρίαν ἐπήμουν, ἐν θαῦματι δὲ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἦσχαλλον, εἰ τινὰ ως πολιορκηθήσεται ἐννοιαν ἔχων ὀφθη ἐστιν οἱ ἂς Ρώμην ἐναι, ἡ οὔτε πολιορκίαν οὐα τέ ἐστι φέρειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος ἐναι, καὶ τείχους 3 περιβαλλομένη τοσοῦτον τι χρήμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τείχῳ κειμένη ἐστὶ ἁγάν ὑπτίῳ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εὐφόδους,

1 'Ρωμαῖοι ('Ρωμαῖος Ευαγρίου). Δεκεμβρίου added from Euagrius iv. 19: not in MSS. 2 ἐν Maitretus: om. MSS. 3 τείχους Krašeninnikov: τείχος V, τείχη L.

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army were entering Rome through the gate which they call the Asinarian Gate, the Goths were withdrawing from the city through another gate which bears the name Flaminian; and Rome became subject to the Romans again after a space of sixty years, on the ninth day of the last month, which is called "December" by the Romans, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Now Belisarius sent Leuderis, the commander of the Goths, and the keys of the gates to the emperor, but he himself turned his attention to the circuit-wall, which had fallen into ruin in many places; and he constructed each merlon of the battlement with a wing, adding a sort of flanking wall on the left side, in order that those fighting from the battlement against their assailants might never be hit by missiles thrown by those storming the wall on their left; and he also dug a moat about the wall of sufficient depth to form a very important part of the defences. And the Romans applauded the forethought of the general and especially the experience displayed in the matter of the battlement; but they marvelled greatly and were vexed that he should have thought it possible for him to enter Rome if he had any idea that he would be besieged, for it cannot possibly endure a siege because it cannot be supplied with provisions, since it is not on the sea, is enclosed by a wall of so huge a circumference, and, above all, lying as it does in a very level plain, is naturally exceedingly

1 i.e. on the left of the defender. The battlement, then, in horizontal section, had this form \( \text{---} \), instead of the usual series of straight merlons. Winged merlons were used on the walls of Pompeii; for an excellent illustration see Overbeck, Pompeii, p. 46.

2 i.e. too great to be defended at every point: the total length of the circuit-wall was about twelve miles.
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17 ώς τὸ εἰκός, ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούων τὰ 
esda poliorκίαν οὐδέν τι ἵσσον ἀπαντὰ ἐξηρτύτετο,
καὶ τὸν σίτον δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔχων ἐκ Σικελίας 
ἀφίκετο, ἐν οἰκήμασι καταθέμενος δημοσίους 
ἐφύλασσε, καὶ Ἡρωμαίους ἀπαντᾷ, καίπερ δεινὰ 
ποιομένους, ἡμῶν γαζεν ἀπαντᾷ σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

XV

Τότε δὴ καὶ Πίτζας, Γότθος ἀνήρ, ἐκ Σαμνίου 
ηκών, αὐτὸν τε καὶ Γότθους οἵ ἐκείνης ἤν αὐτῷ 
φημετο, καὶ Σαμνίου τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου μοίραν 
τὴν ἡμίσειαν Βελισίαριω ἐνεχείρησεν, ἀχρὶ ἕς τὸν 
2 ποταμὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας μεταξύ φέρεται. Γότθοι 
γὰρ ὅσοι ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἵδρυντο, οὗτε 
τῷ Πίτζα ἐπέσθαι οὗτε βασιλεὺς κατηκοῦ εἶναι 
ἡθελον. στρατιώταις τοῖς Βελισάριως οὐ πολ-
λοὺς ἐδωκεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ξυμφόλοξοι τὰ ἐκείνη 
3 χώρα. πρὸτερον δὲ Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι, 
Γότθων σφίσι τῇ χώρᾳ ὡς παρόντων, Βελισάριω 
ἐθελοῦσιν προσεχωρήσαν τοῖς παράλοιποι καὶ οἱ 
tα μεσόγεια ἔχοντες.

4 Ἐν τοῖς καὶ Βενεβεντός ἔστιν, ὡς παλαι μὲν 
Μαλεβεντοῦ ὄνομασαν Ἡρωμαῖο, ταῦτιν δὲ Βενε-
βεντόν καλούσι, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου ὄνοματος 
diaφεύγοντες βλασφημίαις βέντος γὰρ ἀνεμον 
5 τῇ Δαλίνων φωνῇ δύναται. ἐν Δαλματία γάρ,

1 γὰρ V: ἤ L.

1 Probably either the Biferno or the Sangro.

2 sic Procopius. The customary form “Beneventum”
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xiv. 16–xv. 5

easy of access for its assailants. But although Belisarius heard all these criticisms, he nevertheless continued to make all his preparations for a siege, and the grain which he had in his ships when he came from Sicily he stored in public granaries and kept under guard, and he compelled all the Romans, indignant though they were, to bring all their provisions in from the country.

XV

At that time Pitzas, a Goth, coming from Samnium, also put himself and all the Goths who were living there with him into the hands of Belisarius, as well as the half of that part of Samnium which lies on the sea, as far as the river which flows through the middle of that district.¹ For the Goths who were settled on the other side of the river were neither willing to follow Pitzas nor to be subjects of the emperor. And Belisarius gave him a small number of soldiers to help him guard that territory. And before this the Calabrians and Apulians, since no Goths were present in their land, had willingly submitted themselves to Belisarius, both those on the coast and those who held the interior.

Among the interior towns is Beneventus,² which in ancient times the Romans had named “Maleventus,” but now they call it Beneventus, avoiding the evil omen of the former name,³ “ventus” having the meaning “wind” in the Latin tongue. For in shews less clearly the derivation from “ventus” which Procopius favours. Other possible explanations are “bene” + “venio” or “bene” + (suff.) “entum.”

¹ Cf. Pliny III. xi. 16, § 105, who says that the name was originally “Maleventum,” on account of its unwholesome air.

¹⁴⁹
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ἡ ταύτης καταντικρυ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἥπειρῳ κείται, ἀνέμου τι πνεῦμα σκληρὸν τε καὶ ύπερφιώς ἄγριον ἑπισκεπτεῖν φιλεῖ, ὅπερ ἐπειδὰν ἑπιπνεῖν ἀρχηται, ὁδὸν ἱόντα ἐτι ἀνθρωπὸν ἐνταῦθα εὑρεῖν οὐδεμα ἑκαχνὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι ἀπαντες καθείρξαντες ἐαυτοὺς τηροῦσι. τοιαύτη γάρ τις ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ρύμη τυγχάνει οὔσα ὡστε ἄνδρα ἵππεα ἔξων τῷ ἱππῷ ἀρπάσασα μετέωρον φέρει, ἕπτε πλείστον τε περιαγαγοῦσα τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος χώρας εἴτα ὅπῃ παρατύχη ἀπορρίπτει τούσα κτείνει. Βεβεβεβτὸν δὲ ἂτε καταντικρύ Δαλματίας οὖσαν, ὡσπερ μοι εἰρηται, ἐπὶ τε ὑψηλοῦ τινος χώρου κειμένη μοῖραν τινα φέρεσθαι τῆς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνέμου δυσκολίας συμβαίνει. ταύτην Διομήδης ποτὲ ὁ Τυδέως ἐδείματο, μετὰ Ἠλίου ἀλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑργοὺς ἀποκρουσθεῖς, καὶ γνώρισμα τῇ πόλει τούς ὀδοντας συν τοῦ Καλωδωνίου ἐλείπετο, οὐς οἱ θείοι Μελέαγρος ἄθλα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου λαβῶν ἐτυχεῖ, οἳ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνταύθα ποῖσι, θέαμα λόγου πολλοὺ ἱδεῖν ἄξιον, περιμετρων οὐχ ἴσων ἢ τρισπίθαμον ἐν μυροεἰδεῖ σχήματι ἔχοντες.

ἐνταύθα καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι τὸν Διομήδην Ἀινέα τῷ Ἀγχίσου ἄκοιτε ἐξ Ἠλίου φασὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τῷ τῆς Ἀθῆνης ἀγαλμα δοῦναι δ ἔξω τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἀποσυλλήσας ἐτυχεῖ, ὅτε κατασκόπω ἐς τὴν Ἠλίου ἡλίθετον ἄμφω πρότερον ἢ τῆν Ἐλλησί. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῷ νοσήσαντί τε ὑστερὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου

1 ῥύμη V: φορὰ L
2 τὴν Haury: τὸ MSS., cf. VIII. xxii. 31, εξ Ἠλίου ἀλωσίας.
3 τὴν Ἠλίου Haury: τὴν π... V, τὴν τε L

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xv. 5–10

Dalmatia, which lies across from this city on the opposite mainland, a wind of great violence and exceedingly wild is wont to fall upon the country, and when this begins to blow, it is impossible to find a man there who continues to travel on the road, but all shut themselves up at home and wait. Such, indeed, is the force of the wind that it seizes a man on horseback together with his horse and carries him through the air, and then, after whirling him about in the air to a great distance, it throws him down wherever he may chance to be and kills him. And it so happens that Beneventus, being opposite to Dalmatia, as I have said, and situated on rather high ground, gets some of the disadvantage of this same wind. This city was built of old by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, when after the capture of Troy he was repulsed from Argos. And he left to the city as a token the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which his uncle Meleager had received as a prize of the hunt, and they are there even up to my time, a noteworthy sight and well worth seeing, measuring not less than three spans around and having the form of a crescent. There, too, they say that Diomedes met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was coming from Ilium, and in obedience to the oracle gave him the statue of Athena which he had seized as plunder in company with Odysseus, when the two went into Troy as spies before the city was captured by the Greeks. For they tell the story that when he fell sick at a later time, and made enquiry
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πυθανομένοι χρήσαι το μαντεῖον ού ποτέ οί τού κακοῦ ἀπαλλαγήν ἔσεσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄνδρι
11 Τρωί το ἄγαλμα τούτου διδοῖ. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν ὅπου γῆς ἔστιν, οὐ φασὶ 'Ρωμαιοὶ εἰδέναι, εἰκόνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τινί ἐγκεκολαμμένην δεικνύουσι ¹ καὶ ἐς ἐς ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης ἱερῷ, οὐ δὴ ² πρὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματος κείται, ὅπερ αἰθριοῦ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐω τοῦ νεῶ ἵνα τείνηται. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰκών πολεμοῦσι τε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἀνατεινοῦσι ἀτέ ἐς ξυμβολήν ἐούκει· ποδήρη ἐς καὶ ὃς τῶν χιτῶνα ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ τοῖς Ἕλληνικοῖς ἀγάλμασι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμφερέσε ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οί παντάπασι τὸ παλαιὸν Λευκότητι ἐποίουν. Βυζάντιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τούτου Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέα ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμος ἑστὶ κατορύζαντα δέσθαι. ταύτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε τῇ ἐσχεν.
15 Ἡ Ἰταλίαν δὲ οὕτω ξύμπασαν ἡ ἔντος κόλπον τοῦ Ἰονίου ἔστιν, ἀχρὶ ἐς τῇ 'Ρώμην καὶ Σάμυνον Βελισάριος παρεστήσατο, τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἔκτος ἀχρὶ ἐς Δισούριαν Κωνσταντιανός, ὥσπερ ἔρημη ἐςχέν. ἄντινα δὲ τρόπον Ἡ Ἰταλίαν οἰκούσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἀνθρωποὶ ἔρων ἐρχομαί. πέλαγος τὸ Ἀδριατικόν, ἐκροήν τινα πόρρω ποὺ τῆς ἥπερ δὲ κόλπου ἐκβάλλον, ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰονίου κόλπον, οὐδὲν ὅμως τοῖς ἀλλοῖς χαρίοις ἔνθα δὴ τελευτῶσα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν ἥπερ ἀνάβασις ἱσθμοῦ
16 ¹ δεικνύουσι: Haury: δεικνύουσιν obs δὴ MSS., δεικν. ὃς δὴ Comparetti, Christ, δεικν. ἡτις Hoeschel.
2 οὐ δὴ: Haury, for obs δὴ (above).

¹ The Forum of Constantine was a short distance west of the hippodrome. One of its principal monuments, a huge
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xv. 10-16

concerning the disease, the oracle responded that he would never be freed from his malady unless he should give this statue to a man of Troy. And as to where in the world the statue itself is, the Romans say they do not know, but even up to my time they shew a copy of it chiselled on a certain stone in the temple of Fortune, where it lies before the bronze statue of Athena, which is set up under the open sky in the eastern part of the temple. And this copy on the stone represents a female figure in the pose of a warrior and extending her spear as if for combat; but in spite of this she has a chiton reaching to the feet. But the face does not resemble the Greek statues of Athena, but is altogether like the work of the ancient Aegyptians. The Byzantines, however, say that the Emperor Constantine dug up this statue in the forum which bears his name¹ and set it there. So much, then, for this.

In this way Belisarius won over the whole of that part of Italy which is south of the Ionian Gulf;² as far as Rome and Samnium, and the territory north of the gulf, as far as Liburnia, had been gained by Constantianus, as has been said.³ But I shall now explain how Italy is divided among the inhabitants of the land. The Adriatic Sea⁴ sends out a kind of outlet far into the continent and thus forms the Ionian Gulf, but it does not, as in other places where the sea enters the mainland, form an isthmus at its end.

Porphyry column, still stands and is known as the "Burnt Column."

² i.e. the Adriatic Sea; see note 4. ³ Chap. vii. 36. ⁴ By the "Adriatic" is meant the part of the Mediterranean which lies between Africa on the south, Sicily and Italy on the west, and Greece and Epirus on the east; Procopius' "Ionian Gulf" is therefore our Adriatic Sea.
17 ποιεῖται. ο γὰρ Κρισαῖος καλούμενος κόλπος, ἀπολήγων ἐσ τὸ Δέχαυον, ὡν δὴ Κορυθίων ἢ πόλις ἑστίν, ἐν 1 μέτρῳ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων μᾶλιστα, ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτης ἰσθμόν· καὶ ὁ Ἅφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κόλπος, διὸ Μέλανα καλοῦσιν, οὐ πλέον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ἰσθμόν. ἐκ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως, οὐ δὴ τελευτᾶ ὁ Ἰόνιος κόλπος, ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν οὐχ ἤσσον ἢ ὀκτὼ ὄδος ἡμερῶν εὐξώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑστιν. αὐτιν δὲ ὅτι προϊόντα ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἐν δεξιὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς ἀεὶ φέρεται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς πόλιμα πρῶτον ὁ Δρυός οἰκεῖται, ὅπερ ταῦτα
21 Ἅδρωνς καλεῖται. τούτου ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Καλαβρῶ τε καὶ Ἁπούλιοι καὶ Σαμνῖται εἰσὶ, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Πικηνοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν ἑκκυν- 
22 ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Καλαβρῶν τε μοῖρα ἡ λειτομένη ἑστὶ καὶ Βριττῖοι τε καὶ Λευκανόι, μεθ' οἳς Καμπανοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ταρακίνην πόλιν οἰκούσιν, οὗ δὴ οἱ Ἅρμης ὄροι ἐκδέχονται. ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνη ἑκατέρας τε θαλάσσης τὴν ἡδῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη μεσόγεα ξύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. αὐτη τέ ἑστιν ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς καλουμένη τὰ πρότερα. ἐν Βριττῖοις γὰρ Δοκροῖ τε εἰσὶν οἱ Ἐπίζεφυροι καὶ Κροτωνιάται καὶ Θούριοι. τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς πρῶτοι μὲν Ἐλληνες εἰσιν, Ἡπειρῶται καλούμενοι, ἄχρι Ἐπιδάμνου πόλεως, ἢπερ ἐπὶ
25 θαλάσσας οἰκεῖται. καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἐχομένη Πρέκαλις ἡ χώρα ἑστι, μεθ' ἢν Δαλματία ἐπτι-

1 ἐν Hoeschel : ὡς MSS.

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For example, the so-called Crisaean Gulf, ending at Lechaeum, where the city of Corinth is, forms the isthmus of that city, about forty stades in breadth; and the gulf off the Hellespont, which they call the Black Gulf,\(^1\) makes the isthmus at the Chersonese no broader than the Corinthian, but of about the same size. But from the city of Ravenna, where the Ionian Gulf ends, to the Tuscan Sea is not less than eight days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And the reason is that the arm of the sea, as it advances,\(^2\) always inclines very far to the right. And below this gulf the first town is Dryus,\(^3\) which is now called Hydrus. And on the right of this are the Calabrians, Apuliens, and Samnites, and next to them dwell the Piceni, whose territory extends as far as the city of Ravenna. And on the other side are the remainder of the Calabrians, the Bruttii, and the Lucani, beyond whom dwell the Campani as far as the city of Taracina, and their territory is adjoined by that of Rome. These peoples hold the shores of the two seas, and all the interior of that part of Italy. And this is the country called Magna Graecia in former times. For among the Bruttii are the Epizephyrian Locrians and the inhabitants of Croton and Thurii. But north of the gulf the first inhabitants are Greeks, called Epirotes, as far as the city of Epidamnus, which is situated on the sea. And adjoining this is the land of Precalis, beyond which

\(^1\) Now the Gulf of Saros, north and west of the Gallipoli peninsula.

\(^2\) i.e. to the north-west. Procopius means that the Adriatic should incline at its upper end more toward the left (the west) in order to form the isthmus which he is surprised to find lacking.

\(^3\) Hydruntum; cf. Book III. i. 9, note.
καλείται, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐσπερίας λελόγισται κράτει. ́

tó dé ἐντεῦθεν Διβουρία τε καὶ Ἰστρία καὶ

Βενετίων ἡ χώρα ἔστι μέχρι ἑς Ἱάβενναν πόλιν

diήκουσα. οὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ταύτῃ ὄχθη-

tαι. ὑπέρθεν δὲ αὐτῶν Σίσκιοι τε καὶ Σούαβοί

(οὐχ οἱ Φράγγοι κατήκουσι, ἀλλὰ πάρα τούτοις

ἐτεροί) χώραν τὴν μεσόγειον ἐξουσία. καὶ ὑπὲρ

tούτους Καρνίου τε καὶ Νωρίκοι ἰδρύνται. τούτων

dὲ Δάκαι τε καὶ Παννόνες ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκούσιν, οἱ

ἄλλα τὰ χωρία καὶ Συγγείδον καὶ Συρμοῦν

ἐχοῦσιν, ἀχρί ἐς ποταμῷ Ἰστρον διήκοντες.

tούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν Γότθου κόλποι τοῦ

Ἰονίου ἐκτὸς κατ’ ἄρχα τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ἦρχον,

ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀβέννης πόλεως Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ

ἐν ἀριστερὰ Διογούριοι φιήναται. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ

μὲν πρὸς βορράν ἀνέμον Ἀλβανοὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπερ-

φυώσ ἀγαθὴ Δαγγούβιλλα καλουμένη οἰκούσι,

tούτων τε ὑπέρθεν ἐθνὴ τὰ Φράγγοις κατήκοια

ἐστι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γάλλου τε καὶ μετ’

ἐκεῖνους Ἰστανοὶ ἐξουσί. τοῦ δὲ Πάδου ἐν δεξιᾷ

Ἀιμιλία τέ ἐστι καὶ τὰ Τούσκων ἐθνη, ἀχρι καὶ

ἐς τοὺς Ῥώμης ὄρους διήκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

ὅδε πη ἐχει.

XVI

Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ Ῥώμης ὀρία κύκλῳ ἄπαντα

μέχρι ἑς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν καταλαβὼν ἐκρατύ-

νατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἄπαντα ὡς ἀρισταὶ εἶχε,

1 τφ . . . κράτει Haury : τὸ . . . κράτος MSS.

1 Modern Croatia. 2 Modern Belgrade.
is the territory called Dalmatia, all of which is counted as part of the western empire. And beyond that point is Liburnia, and Istria, and the land of the Veneti extending to the city of Ravenna. These countries are situated on the sea in that region. But above them are the Siscii and Suevi (not those who are subjects of the Franks, but another group), who inhabit the interior. And beyond these are settled the Carnii and Norici. On the right of these dwell the Dacians and Pannonians, who hold a number of towns, including Singidunum and Sirmium, and extend as far as the Ister River. Now these peoples north of the Ionian Gulf were ruled by the Goths at the beginning of this war, but beyond the city of Ravenna on the left of the river Po the country was inhabited by the Ligurians. And to the north of them live the Albani in an exceedingly good land called Langovilla, and beyond these are the nations subject to the Franks, while the country to the west is held by the Gauls and after them the Spaniards. On the right of the Po are Aemilia and the Tuscan peoples, which extend as far as the boundaries of Rome. So much, then, for this.

XVI

So Belisarius took possession of all the territory of Rome as far as the river Tiber, and strengthened it. And when all had been settled by him in the best

3 Procopius seems to have erred: Liguria, as well as Aemilia (below), was south of the Po. Cf. chap. xii. 4, where Liguria is represented as extending to the Alps.

4 Whose capital was Placentia (Piacenza).
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πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν ξὺν δορυφόρους ἄλλους τε καὶ Ζαρτῆρι καὶ Χορσομᾶνω καὶ Αἰ- σχμάνω τὸὺς Μασσαγέταις καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην Κωνσταντίνῳ ἔδωκεν, ἕς τε Τουσκίαν ἐκέλευεν
2 ἵναι, ἐφ' ὦ παραστήσεται τὰ ἑκείνη χωρία. καὶ Βέσσαν ἐπήγγελλε καταλαβεῖν Ναρνίαν, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν μάλιστα ἐν Τούσκοις οὕσαν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσας οὗτος Γότθος μὲν ἢ γένος τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν Ὁράκη οἰκημένων, Θευδερίχῳ τε οὐκ ἐπιστομένων, ἢνικα ἐνθέντε ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπήγγε τὸν Γότθων λέων, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἀγάθος τὰ πολέμια.

3 στρατηγός τε γὰρ ἢν ἀριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξίος. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν οὓς ἀκουσίων τῶν οἰκητῶν Ναρνίαν ἔσχε, Κωνσταντίνος δὲ Σπο- λίτιον τε καὶ Περυσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα πολίσ.

4 ματα παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. ἐθελούσιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς πόλεσι Τούσκοι ἐδέχοντο. φρουρὰν οὖν ἐν Σπολιτίῳ καταστησάμενοι αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐν Περυσίᾳ τῇ Τούσκων πρώτῃ ᾦσύχαξεν.

5 Οὐίττυγις δὲ ταῦτα ἀκουσάς στρατιάν τε καὶ ἀρχοντας Οὐίλαν τε καὶ Πίσσαν ἔπε αὐτοῦς

6 ἐπεμπεν. οἷς Κωνσταντίνος ὑπαντιάσας ἐν τῷ Περυσίας προαστείῳ ἐς χειρας ἠλθε. πλήθει δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ύπεραρχῶν ἀγχόμαλος μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἐγεγόνει ἢ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ Ρωμαίοι τῇ σφών ἄρετῇ καθυπέρτεροι γεγενημένοι τοὺς πολέμους ἐτρέψαντο, φεύγοντάς τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ

7 σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντᾶς ἐκτεινον ὅ ἔτω τοὺς τῶν πολέμων ἀρχοντας παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπιμψαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίττυγις ἦκουσεν,

1 ἐπιστομένων Maltres: ἐπισχομένω MSS.
possible manner, he gave to Constantinus a large number of his own guards together with many spearmen, including the Massagetae Zarter, Chorsomanus, and Aeschmanus, and an army besides, commanding him to go into Tuscany, in order to win over the towns of that region. And he gave orders to Bessas to take possession of Narnia, a very strong city in Tuscany. Now this Bessas was a Goth by birth, one of those who had dwelt in Thrace from of old and had not followed Theodoric when he led the Gothic nation thence into Italy, and he was an energetic man and a capable warrior. For he was both a general of the first rank, and a skilful man in action. And Bessas took Narnia not at all against the will of the inhabitants, and Constantinus won over Spolitium¹ and Perusia² and certain other towns without any trouble. For the Tuscans received him into their cities willingly. So after establishing a garrison in Spolitium, he himself remained quietly with his army in Perusia, the first city in Tuscany.

Now when Vittigis heard this, he sent against them an army with Unilas and Pissas as its commanders. And Constantinus confronted these troops in the outskirts of Perusia and engaged with them. The battle was at first evenly disputed, since the barbarians were superior in numbers, but afterwards the Romans by their valour gained the upper hand and routed the enemy, and while they were fleeing in complete disorder the Romans killed almost all of them; and they captured alive the commanders of the enemy and sent them to Belisarius. Now when Vittigis heard this, he was no longer

¹ Modern Spoleto.  ² Modern Perugia.
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dνυχάζεων ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης οὐκέτι ἤθελεν, οὐ δὴ αὐτῷ ἔκλυσις 

8 Γαλλιῶν ἤκοντες ἐμπόδιοι ἦσαν. ἐσ μὲν όν 

9 Δαλματίαν στρατιάν τε πολλὴν καὶ ἄρχοντας 

10 ἦσαν τῶν ἄμφω Σουαβίαν χωρίων 

11 πολυροκείν οἷοί τε ὡσιν. αὐτῶν δὲ τῷ παντὶ 

12 άσιν, άσιν καὶ τῷ ἁπέ 

13 καὶ σχίστι Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίῳ 

14 ἀνέμειν Ὀυλιγίσαλος. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ, ἐπεὶ 

15 ἄνεμειν Ὀυλιγίσαλος. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ, ἐπεὶ 

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1 αὐτῷ Grotius and Maltretus: αὐτῶν MSS.
2 ἐκ Hoeschel: om. MSS.
3 ἀπαντή L: ἀπάντων V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xvi. 7-15

willing to remain quietly in Ravenna, where he was embarrassed by the absence of Marcias and his men, who had not yet come from Gaul. So he sent to Dalmatia a great army with Asinarius and Uligisalus as its commanders, in order to recover Dalmatia for the Gothic rule. And he directed them to add to their own troops an army from the land of the Suevi, composed of the barbarians there, and then to proceed directly to Dalmatia and Salones. And he also sent with them many ships of war, in order that they might be able to besiege Salones both by land and by sea. But he himself was hastening to go with his whole army against Belisarius and Rome, leading against him horsemen and infantry to the number of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, and the most of them as well as their horses were clad in armour.

So Asinarius, upon reaching the country of the Suevi, began to gather the army of the barbarians, while Uligisalus alone led the Goths into Liburnia. And when the Romans engaged with them at a place called Scardon, they were defeated in the battle and retired to the city of Burnus; and there Uligisalus awaited his colleague. But Constantianus, upon hearing of the preparations of Asinarius, became afraid for Salones, and summoned the soldiers who were holding all the fortresses in that region. He then dug a moat around the whole circuit-wall and made all the other preparations for the siege in the best manner possible. And Asinarius, after gathering an exceedingly large army of barbarians, came to the
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16 ἄγείρας ἐς Βούρνον πόλιν ἀφίκετο. ἔνθα δὴ Ὀὐλιγισάλφ τε καὶ τῇ Γόθθων στρατίᾳ ξυμμέξας ἐς Σάλωνας ἤλθε. καὶ χαράκωμα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐποίησαν, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενοι τοῦ περίβολον τὸ ἐπιθαλάσσιον μέρος ἐφρούρουν· οὕτω τε Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπολιόρκουν. Ὡρμαίοι δὲ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ναυσίν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιθέμενοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπουσι καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καταδύοντι, πολλὰς δὲ ἀνδρῶν κενὰς εἴλον. οὐ μέντοι τὴν προσεδρείαν Γόθθων διέλυσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον ἐν τῇ πόλει Ὡρμαίοις κατὰ κράτος πολιορκοῦντες ἐιρξαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα Ὡρμαίων τε καὶ Γόθθων ἐν Δαλματίαις ἐφέρετο τῇ δὲ.

19 Οὐκτιγιδί δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκ Ὡρμῆς ἦκοντων ἀκούσαντι τὸ ἄνευ Βελισαρίῳ στρατευμα βραχύτατον ἦν, Ὡρμῆς τε ύποκεχωρηκότι μετέμελε καὶ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ ἡδὴ ἐχόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤει. καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ 2 τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ιερέων ἐκ Ὡρμῆς ἦκων ἐνέτυχεν. οὐ δὴ ἐξ ἄνω θορύβῳ πολλῷ πυθέσαντι φασὶν Οὐκτιγιδί εἰς Βελίσαριος ἔτι ἐν Ὡρμῇ εἶν, ἀτε δείσαντα μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνειν οἶός τε ἦ, ἀλλὰ φθάσῃ ἀποδρᾶς ἐνθέντε. καὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἦκιστά οἱ χρήναι τοῦτοRAFT EN ФΟΥΝΤΙΔΙ εἶναι. καὶ αὐτῶν γὰρ οἱ ἀναδέχεσθαι μὴπτε Βελίσαριον δρασμῷ χρήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ἐπείγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἦ

1 βραχύτατον Grotius: βαρύτατον MSS.
2 ταύτῃ V: αὐτῇ L.
3 χρήσασθαι KVL: χρήσασθαι V1.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xvi. 15-21

city of Burnus. There he joined Uligisalus and the Gothic army and proceeded to Salones. And they made a stockade about the circuit-wall, and also, filling their ships with soldiers, kept guard over the side of the fortifications which faced the sea. In this manner they proceeded to besiege Salones both by land and by sea; but the Romans suddenly made an attack upon the ships of the enemy and turned them to flight, and many of them they sunk, men and all, and also captured many without their crews. However, the Goths did not raise the siege, but maintained it vigorously and kept the Romans still more closely confined to the city than before. Such, then, were the fortunes of the Roman and Gothic armies in Dalmatia.

But Vittigis, upon hearing from the natives who came from Rome that the army which Belisarius had was very small, began to repent of his withdrawal from Rome, and was no longer able to endure the situation, but was now so carried away by fury that he advanced against them. And on his way thither he fell in with a priest who was coming from Rome. Whereupon they say that Vittigis in great excitement enquired of this man whether Belisarius was still in Rome, shewing that he was afraid he would not be able to catch him, but that Belisarius would forestall him by running away. But the priest, they say, replied that he need not be at all concerned about that; for he, the priest, was able to guarantee that Belisarius would never resort to flight, but was remaining where he was. But Vittigis, they say,
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πρότερον, εὐξίμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τὸ Ῥώμης θεάσασθαι τεῖχος πρότερον ἡ Βελισάριον ἐνθένδε ἀποδρᾶναι.

XVII

Βελισάριος δὲ, ἐπεὶ Γότθους πανδημεῖ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἦκουσε, διηπορεῖτο. οὐτε γὰρ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κωνσταντίνον ἐς καὶ Βέσσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι ἦθελεν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅλος σὲ τῆς στρατιάς παντάπασιν οὐχὶς, καὶ τὰ ἐν Τούσκοις ἐκκυπτόν ὁχυρώματα ἐδόκει οἱ ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις Γότθου ἐπιτείχισε· σοματὰ ἔχοιεν. λογισάμενος οὖν Κωνσταντίνος τε καὶ Βέσσα ἐπέστειλε φρουράν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιότοις τῶν ἐκείνη ἀπολιπέων χωρίων, ὅση δὴ φυλάσσειν αὐτὰ Ἰκανὴ εἶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ ἀλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἴέναι. καὶ Κωνσταντίνος μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε. ἔν τε γὰρ Περπυσίᾳ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ φρουράν καταστησάμενος ἔστω τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆλαυνε. 4 Βέσσα δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ ἐν Ναρνίᾳ καθισταμένου ἐξυπέπεσε τὴν δίοδον ἐνθένδε ποιουμένων τῶν πολεμίων ἔμπλεα. Γότθων τὰ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ πεδίῳ εἶναι, πρόδρομοι δὲ οὗτοι πρὸ τῆς ἀλλής στρατιάς ἰσαν ὁδὴ Βέσσας ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθον τοὺς τε κατ᾽ αὐτὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἐτρέφατο καὶ πολλοὺς κτεῖνας, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλῆθει ἐμβαζότο, ἐς 6 Ναρνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν. ἐνταῦθα τε φρουροῦς

1 Κωνσταντίνον Maltretus: κωνσταντιανόν MSS.
2 Κων. Maltretus: κωνσταντιανῷ MSS.
3 Κων. Maltretus: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.
kept hastening still more than before, praying that he might see with his own eyes the walls of Rome before Belisarius made his escape from the city.

XVII

But Belisarius, when he heard that the Goths were marching against him with their whole force, was in a dilemma. For he was unwilling, on the one hand, to dispense with the troops of Constantinus and Bessas, especially since his army was exceedingly small, and, on the other, it seemed to him inadvisable to abandon the strongholds in Tuscany, lest the Goths should hold these as fortresses against the Romans. So after considering the matter he sent word to Constantinus and Bessas to leave garrisons in the positions which absolutely required them, large enough to guard them, while they themselves with the rest of the army should come to Rome with all speed. And Constantinus acted accordingly. For he established garrisons in Perusia and Spolitium, and with all the rest of his troops marched off to Rome. But while Bessas, in a more leisurely manner, was making his dispositions in Narnia, it so happened that, since the enemy were passing that way, the plains in the outskirts of the city were filled with Goths. These were an advance guard preceding the rest of the army; and Bessas engaged with them and unexpectedly routed those whom he encountered and killed many; but then, since he was overpowered by their superior numbers, he retired into Narnia. And
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ἀπολιπὼν, καθάπερ οἱ ἑπέστελλε Βελισάριος, ἐσ' Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἦς παρέσεσθαι τε ὅσον οὐπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπῆγγελλε. Ῥώμης γὰρ Ναρνία πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίων διέχει. Οὐττιγις δὲ Περυσίας μὲν καὶ Σπολιτίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἥκιστα ἐνεχεῖρεν τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐχυρά ως μάλιστα ἔστι, καὶ τρίβεσθαι οἱ τὸν χρόνον ἑνταύθα οὐδαμὴ ἤθελε. μὸνον γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο Βελισάριον οὐπό ἀποδράντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐρέσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναρνίαν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μαθῶν οὐδὲν ἑνταύθα κινεῖν ἤθελε, δυσπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἀλλὰς ἀναντεῖ ὁ τὸ χωρίον εἰδὼς κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ ὀρεὶ. ποταμὸς δὲ Νάρνος τὸν τοῦ ὄρους παραρρέει πρόποδα, δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει παρέσχεν. ἀνοδοί τε ὁ ἑνταύθα δὴ ἀγουσιν, ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχυτα ἡλιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δύοντα. ταῦταν ἀτέρα μὲν στενοχώριαν τινὰ δύσκολον έξ ἀποτόμων πετρῶν ἔλαξεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁτι μὴ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ιέναι ἢ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπικαλύπτουσα διῴσασιν ταῦτῃ ἐργάζεται. ταὐτὴν δὲ τὴν γεφυραν Καίσαρ Αὐγουστος ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον τῶν γὰρ κυρτωμάτων πάντων ψηλότατον ἔστιν ὁν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν.

12 Οὐττιγις οὖν οὐκ ἀναμεῖνα τὸν χρόνον σφίσιν ἑνταύθα τρίβεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἤει, διὰ

1 παρέσεσθαι τε Κρασενιννικόν: παρέσεσθαι τότε Κ, καὶ παρέσεσθαι τότε Λ. 2 τῶν Κρασενιννικόν: τῶν ρώμης Κ, τῶν ἐν ρώμη Λ. 3 τῶν Scheftlein: ἐς τῶν MSS.

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leaving a garrison there according to the instructions of Belisarius, he went with all speed to Rome, and reported that the enemy would be at hand almost instantly. For Narnia is only three hundred and fifty stades distant from Rome. But Vittigis made no attempt at all to capture Perusia and Spolitium; for these places are exceedingly strong and he was quite unwilling that his time should be wasted there, his one desire having come to be to find Belisarius not yet fled from Rome. Moreover, even when he learned that Narnia also was held by the enemy, he was unwilling to attempt anything there, knowing that the place was difficult of access and on steep ground besides; for it is situated on a lofty hill. And the river Narnus flows by the foot of the hill, and it is this which has given the city its name. There are two roads leading up to the city, the one on the east, and the other on the west. One of these is very narrow and difficult by reason of precipitous rocks, while the other cannot be reached except by way of the bridge which spans the river and provides a passage over it at that point. This bridge was built by Caesar Augustus in early times, and is a very noteworthy sight; for its arches are the highest of any known to us.

So Vittigis, not enduring to have his time wasted there, departed thence with all speed and went with the whole army against Rome, making the journey
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13 Σαβίνων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ῥώμης ἁγχοῦ ἐγένετο, σταδίοις τε αὐτῆς 1 οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα διεἰχέ, Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρα ἐνέτυχεν. ἦνα δὴ Βελεσάριος ὁλύψας πρότερον πύργον τε δειμάμενος καὶ πύλας αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενος στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτη μόνον ὁ Τίβερις διαβατός ἦν (νῆσι τε γὰρ καὶ γέφυρα πολλαχός τοῦ ποταμοῦ τυγχάνουσιν οὕτωσι), ἀλλὰ ὅτι πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τρίβεσθαι ἥθελεν, στράτευμα τε ἀλλο ἐκ βασιλείως καραδοκῶν, καὶ ὅπως ἐτι μᾶλ- λον Ἡρωμάνοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. ὡς τε γὰρ ἐνεχέεδε ἀποκροσεθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι δια- βαίνεν εὐχερήςσασαι ἐπί γεφύρας ἐτέρωθι τῇ οὐσίᾳ, 2 οὐχ ἦσσον ἡ εἰκόσιν ἡμέρας δαπανᾶσθαι σφίσιν ἐνομίζη, καὶ πλοῖα βουλομένως ἐς Τίβεριν κατασπάσαι τοσάτα τὸ πλῆθος πλείω αὐτώς,

14 ὅτι τὸ εἰκός, τετρίψεσθαι χρόνον. ἄ δὴ ἐν νῦ ἔχων τὴν τῇ δὲ φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο. ἦνδα οἱ Γότθοι ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡνίκαστο, ἀπορούμενοι τε καὶ πολεμητέα ἔσσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐς τὸν πύργον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἰόμενοι. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτῶς αὐτόμολοι δύο καὶ εἰκόσι, βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται δὲ Ηρωμάνοι, ἐκ κατάλογον ἰπτικοῦ ὀπέρ Ἰν- νοκέντιος ἠρχεν. ἐννοια δὲ τὸτε Βελεσάριῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφὶ Τίβεριν ποταμόν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ τε διαβάσει τῶν πολεμίων ἐτὶ μᾶλ- λον ἐμπόδιον γένωσται καὶ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου.

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1 αὐτῆς Maltretus: αὐτὸ K, αὐτοῖς L.
2 ἐτέρωθι τῇ οὐσίᾳ K: ἐτέρωθι μὴ οὐσίᾳ Κ, ἐτέρωθι οὐσίᾳ L.

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through Sabine territory. And when he drew near to Rome, and was not more than fourteen stades away from it, he came upon a bridge over the Tiber River.¹ There a little while before Belisarius had built a tower, furnished it with gates, and stationed in it a guard of soldiers, not because this is the only point at which the Tiber could be crossed by the enemy (for there are both boats and bridges at many places along the river), but because he wished the enemy to have to spend more time in the journey, since he was expecting another army from the emperor, and also in order that the Romans might bring in still more provisions. For if the barbarians, repulsed at that point, should try to cross on a bridge somewhere else, he thought that not less than twenty days would be consumed by them, and if they wished to launch boats in the Tiber to the necessary number, a still longer time would probably be wasted by them. These, then, were the considerations which led him to establish the garrison at that point; and the Goths bivouacked there that day, being at a loss and supposing that they would be obliged to storm the tower on the following day; but twenty-two deserters came to them, men who were barbarians by race but Roman soldiers, from the cavalry troop commanded by Innocentius.² Just at that time it occurred to Belisarius to establish a camp near the Tiber River, in order that they might hinder still more the crossing of the enemy and make some kind of a display of their own daring

¹ The Mulvian Bridge.  
² Cf. chap. v. 3.

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ἐπίδειξιν τινα ἐς τοὺς ἑναντίους ποιήσωνται.
19 στρατιῶται μέντοι δοσὶ φρουράν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ εἶχον, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν Γότθων ὄμιλον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου κατωρρωδηκότες τὸ μέγεθος, νῦκτωρ τῶν πύργων ἐκλιπότοις ὄντερ ἐφύλασσον, ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήντο. ἐς Ῥώμην δὲ σφίσιν οὐκ οἰόμενοι εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι ἐπὶ Καμπανίας λάθρα ἐχώρησαν, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κόλασιν δείσαντες, ἢ τοὺς ἐταῖρους ἐρυθρίωντες.

XVIII

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι τὰς τοῦ πύργου πύλας πόνῳ ὑδειν διαφθείραντες τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν 2 ἰσταμένου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὕτω τι πεπυμένος τῶν ἄμφι τῇ φρουρᾷ ἔμπεσοντων ἵππεας χελίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἦν, τὸν χῶρον ἐπισκεψόμενος οὕτε ἄν σφίσιν ἐν-
3 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἀμείνου εἰς. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγ-
γυτέρω ἐγένοντο, ἐντυγχάνοντοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἴδῃ τῶν ποταμῶν διαβάσιν, ἐς χεῖρας τε αὐτῶν τισὶν οὐτὶ ἐθελοῦσιν ἦλθον. ἦς ἵππεαν δὲ ἐνυ-
4 στατο ἐς ἕμβολῆ ἐκατέρωθεν. τότε Βελισάριος,
καίπερ ἀσφαλῆς τὰ πρότερα ἦν, οὐκέτι του ἑντη-
τηγοῦ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς 5 πρῶτοι ἀτε στρατιώτης ἐμάχησε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὸῦ τα Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔννεβη ἐς κίνδυνον πολὺν ἐκπεπτωκέναι, ἐπεὶ ἕμπασα ἢ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ 6 ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνο. ἐνυχε δὲ ἵππῳ τηνικαύτα ὄχου-
μενος, πολέμων τε λίαν ἐμπείρῳ καὶ διασώσασθαι 170
to their opponents. But all the soldiers who, as has been stated, were keeping guard at the bridge, being overcome with terror at the throng of Goths and quailing at the magnitude of their danger, abandoned by night the tower they were guarding and rushed off in flight. But thinking that they could not enter Rome, they stealthily marched off toward Campania, either because they were afraid of the punishment the general would inflict or because they were ashamed to appear before their comrades.

XVIII

On the following day the Goths destroyed the gates of the tower with no trouble and made the crossing, since no one tried to oppose them. But Belisarius, who had not as yet learned what had happened to the garrison, was bringing up a thousand horsemen to the bridge over the river, in order to look over the ground and decide where it would be best for his forces to make camp. But when they had come rather close, they met the enemy already across the river, and not at all willingly they engaged with some of them. And the battle was carried on by horsemen on both sides. Then Belisarius, though he was safe before, would no longer keep the general's post, but began to fight in the front ranks like a soldier; and consequently the cause of the Romans was thrown into great danger, for the whole decision of the war rested with him. But it happened that the horse he was riding at that time was unusually experienced in warfare and knew well
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tὸν ἐπιβάτην ἐπισταμένω, ὅσοι δὲ ὅλον μὲν τὸ σῶμα φαίδος ἢν, τὸ μέτωπον δὲ ἀπαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ἐς ρίνας λευκὸς μάλιστα. τούτον Ἔλληνες "Ελληνες μὲν φαίδος, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσί. καὶ δείκνυσεν Λότθων τοὺς πλείστους βάλλειν ἐπ' ἀυτοῦ τε καὶ Βελισάριον τά τε ἀκόντια καὶ τά ἀλλὰ βέλη ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶς. ἀυτόμολοι ὅσοι τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἢσ Γότθων ἦκον, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώ-
tοις ¹ μαχόμενον Βελισάριον εἶδου, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς, ἢν αὐτός πέσῃ, διαφθαρήσει τῷ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα ἡ μάλα τὰ πράγματα, κρανὴ ἐχρώντο, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γότθων στρατιῶν ξύμπασαν οὗτος δὴ περιφερόμενος ὁ λόγος ἢλθε, ζήτησιν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀτε ἐν θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ ἠκούστα ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐσ Βελισάριον ἐφερε σαφῶς ἐγνωσαν. ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκῆ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπολάξοντα ὡς πάντας ² ἴεναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἄφε-
μενοι πάντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἐβαλ-
λον. ἢδη δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοτίμια μεγάλη ἐχόμενοι ὅσοι ἁρετής τι μετέποιοῦντο, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω παρα-
γενόμενοι, ἀπτεσθαῖ τε αὐτῶν ἐνεχείρουν καὶ τοῖς δόρασι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι θυμὸν πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ³ ἐπαυοῦν. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἐπιστροφᾶν 

1 πρώτοις L: γότθοις K in context, ἀöις K in margin.
2 ὡς πάντας K: ἐς πάντα L.
3 ἐχόμενοι K: ἐχόμενοι L.
4 ἐν Maltretus: om. MSS.

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how to save his rider; and his whole body was dark grey, except that his face from the top of his head to the nostrils was the purest white. Such a horse the Greeks call "phalius"\textsuperscript{1} and the barbarians "balan." And it so happened that the most of the Goths threw their javelins and other missiles at him and at Belisarius for the following reason. Those deserters who on the previous day had come to the Goths, when they saw Belisarius fighting in the front ranks, knowing well that, if he should fall, the cause of the Romans would be ruined instantly, cried aloud urging them to "shoot at the white-faced horse." Consequently this saying was passed around and reached the whole Gothic army, and they did not question it at all, since they were in a great tumult of fighting, nor did they know clearly that it referred to Belisarius. But conjecturing that it was not by mere accident that the saying had gained such currency as to reach all, the most of them, neglecting all others, began to shoot at Belisarius. And every man among them who laid any claim to valour was immediately possessed with a great eagerness to win honour, and getting as close as possible they kept trying to lay hold of him and in a great fury kept striking with their spears and swords. But Belisarius himself, turning from side to side, kept killing as they came those who encountered him, and he also profited very greatly by the loyalty of his own spearmen and guards in this moment of danger. For they all surrounded

\textsuperscript{1} Having a white spot, "White-face."
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ἀρετήν ἐπεδείξαντο οἷαν πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων
13 ἐς τήμε τὴν ἡμέραν δεδηλώσθαι οἷμα: τάς γὰρ ἀσπίδας τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ προβεβλημένοι, τά τε βέλη πάντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐπιώντας ὁδισμῆς χρῶμενοι ἀπεκρύπτοντο. οὕτω τε ἡ ξυμβολὴ πᾶσα ἐσ σῶμα ἐνὸς ἀπεκρίθη
14 ἀνδρὸς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτουσι μὲν Γόθθοι
οὐχ ἡσσοὺς ἢ χίλιου, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐμάχοντο, θυήσκουσι δε τῆς Βελισαρίου ὁικίας πολλοίς καὶ ἀριστοῖς, καὶ Μαξέντιος ὁ
δορυφόρος, ἔργα μεγάλα ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπι-
15 δειξάμενοι. Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τις τύχη ἐκείνη
τῇ ἡμέρα, μήτε τετρώσθαι μήτε βεβλήσθαι, καὶ
περ ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ γενομένης τῆς máχης.
16 Τέλος δὲ ἀρετῆ τῇ σφέτερᾳ Ἡρωμαῖοι τοὺς πο-
λέμους ἐτρέψαντο, ἐφευγε τε πάμπολυ τι βαρ-
βάρους πλήθος, ἐσ' ἐσ' στρατότερον τὸ αὐτῶν
ἐκοντο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ Γόθθων πεζοὶ ἀτε ἀκμήτε
ὀντες υπέστησάν τε τοὺς πολέμους καὶ πόνω
17 οὐδενὶ ἀπεώσαντο. βεβοηθηκότων τε αὐτᾶς ἵπ-
πέων ἐτέρων κατὰ κράτος Ἡρωμαῖοι ἔφυγον, ἐσ'
ἀναβάντες ἐς τι γεώλοφον ἐστήσαν. καταλαβόν-
των τε σφᾶς βαρβάρων ἱππεών, αὐτοῖς ἱππομαχία
18 ἐγένετο. ἐνθα δὴ Βαλεντίνος, ὁ Φωτίου τοῦ 'Αν-
τωνίνης παιδὸς ἱπποκόμος, ἀρετῆς δήλωσιν ὡς
μάλιστα ἐποίησατο. μόνος γὰρ ἐστήθησας ἐς
τῶν πολεμίων τὸν ὄμιλον ἐμπόδιος τε τῇ Γόθθων
ὀρμή ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοὺς ἐξιν αὐτῷ διεσώσατο.
19 οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Ἡρωμῆς περίβολου
ἡλθον, διώκοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἄχρι ἐς τὸ

1 ἐς K: ἐς L.
him and made a display of valour such, I imagine, as has never been shewn by any man in the world to this day; for, holding out their shields in defence of both the general and his horse, they not only received all the missiles, but also forced back and beat off those who from time to time assailed him. And thus the whole engagement was centred about the body of one man. In this struggle there fell among the Goths no fewer than a thousand, and they were men who fought in the front ranks; and of the household of Belisarius many of the noblest were slain, and Maxentius, the spearman, after making a display of great exploits against the enemy. But by some chance Belisarius was neither wounded nor hit by a missile on that day, although the battle was waged around him alone.

Finally by their valour the Romans turned the enemy to flight, and an exceedingly great multitude of barbarians fled until they reached their main army. For there the Gothic infantry, being entirely fresh, withstood their enemy and forced them back without any trouble. And when another body of cavalry in turn reinforced the Goths, the Romans fled at top speed until they reached a certain hill, which they climbed, and there held their position. But the enemy's horsemen were upon them directly, and a second cavalry battle took place. There Valentinus, the groom of Photius, the son of Antonina, made a remarkable exhibition of valour. For by leaping alone into the throng of the enemy he opposed himself to the onrush of the Goths and thus saved his companions. In this way the Romans escaped, and arrived at the fortifications of Rome, and the barbarians in pursuit pressed upon them
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τείχος ἐνέκειτο τὴν πύλην ἢ Σαλαρία
20 ὀνόμασται.2 δείσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τοῖς φεύγουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ξυνεισβάλλοντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένωνται, ἀνακλίνειν τὰς πῦλας ἥκιστα ἥθελον, καὶ περὶ Βελισαρίου πολλὰ τε σφίσιν
21 ἐγκελεστηκέναι καὶ ξύν ἀπειλῆ ἀναβοώντος. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διακύπτοντες ἐπιγινώσκειν οὐκεί τε ἥσαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὸ τε πρόσωπον καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ξύμπασα λύθρω τε καὶ κονιορτῷ ἐκκαλύπτετο, ἀμα δὲ οὔδε καθορᾶν τις ἀκριβῶς εἰχεν· ἦ γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ ἠλίῳ δύσων.
22 οὐ μὴν οὔδε περιέχει τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίοι φωνεῖ· οὔσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρότερον γενομένῃ3 τροπῇ φεύγουσες ἦκον, τεθνάναι Βελισαρίου ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριστεύοντα ἡγεμόνον. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁμιλος τῶν πολεμιῶν ἴερος τε πολὺς καὶ θυμὸ μεγάλῳ ἐχόμενος, τῆν τε τάφρον εὐθὺς διαβῆκατί καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσαι ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθέονται διενοῦντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τείχος ἀθρόοι τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι ἐν χρῷ τε ἐξυνόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν
23 ὅλην συνήγοντο. οἱ μέντοι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἀτε ἀστρατήγητοι4 τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ περὶ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ πόλει πεφοβημένοι, ἀμύνειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ περὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσιν, οὐδαμῇ εἰχον.
24 Τότε Βελισαρίου ἐγγοιαὶ τε καὶ τόλμα εἰσῆλθεν, ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτω τὰ πράγματα διεσώσατο. ἐγκελεστηκέναις γὰρ τοῖς ξύν αὐτῷ
25 πᾶσιν ἐξαπιναίωσ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέπεσεν. οἱ

1 ἐνέκειτο Κ.: ἡκοντο Λ.
2 Σαλαρία ὀνόμασται Κ.: βελισαρία ὀνόμασται νῦν Λ.
3 γεγομένη Haury: γεγομένοι MSS.
4 ἀστρατηγοί K., ἀστρατήγοιτοι Λ.

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as far as the wall by the gate which has been named the Salarian Gate. But the people of Rome, fearing lest the enemy should rush in together with the fugitives and thus get inside the fortifications, were quite unwilling to open the gates, although Belisarius urged them again and again and called upon them with threats to do so. For, on the one hand, those who peered out of the tower were unable to recognise the man, for his face and his whole head were covered with gore and dust, and at the same time no one was able to see very clearly, either; for it was late in the day, about sunset. Moreover, the Romans had no reason to suppose that the general survived; for those who had come in flight from the rout which had taken place earlier reported that Belisarius had died fighting bravely in the front ranks. So the throng of the enemy, which had rushed up in strength and possessed with great fury, were purposing to cross the moat straightway and attack the fugitives there; and the Romans, finding themselves massed along the wall, after they had come inside the moat, and so close together that they touched one another, were being crowded into a small space. Those inside the fortifications, however, since they were without a general and altogether unprepared, and being in a panic of fear for themselves and for the city, were quite unable to defend their own men, although these were now in so perilous a situation.

Then a daring thought came to Belisarius, which unexpectedly saved the day for the Romans. For urging on all his men he suddenly fell upon the

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1 See plan opposite p. 185.
δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἄκοσμια πολλῆ ἄτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διώξει χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἐπίσοντας παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς φευγοντας εἰδον, ὑποτοπήσαντες καὶ ἄλλο βεβοηθηκέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στράτευμα, ἐς φόβον τε πολὺν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καταστάντες κατὰ κράτος ᾍδη ἀπαντές ἤφευγον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἡκιστα ἐκπεσῶν ἐς τὴν δίωξιν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέστρεψεν. οὕτω τε Ἦρωμαιοι θαρσήσαντες αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀπαντας τῇ πόλει ἔδεξαντο. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν κινδύνου Βελισάριος τε καὶ τὰ βασιλείως πράγματα ἠλθεν· ἢ τε μάχη προὰ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νῦκτα. ἡρίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἦρωμαιοι μὲν Βελισάριος, Γότθων δὲ Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος, ὡς, ἦνικα ἢ μάχη ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπέπεσεν, οὐ πρότερον ἄπέστη ἐως τρισκαίδεκα πληγᾶς λαβὼν τῷ σώματi ἔπεσε. δόξας δὲ αὐτίκα τεθνάναι, ἡμελήθη τε πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, καίπερ νενικήτων, καὶ ἐξιν τοὺς νεκροῖς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπειδὴ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ἦρωμης περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηρεάζοντας ἐφ’ ρ’ νεκροὺς τε τοὺς σφετέρους θάψουσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ ὀσία τῇ ἐκείνων ποίησονται, οἱ τὰ σώματα τῶν κειμένων διερευνώμενοι Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριον ἐτί ἐμπνευσεν εὐρίσκουσι, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἐταίρων φωνὴ τινα οἱ ἀφεῖναν ἦξιον. ὦ δὲ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐντὸς τῷ τε λιμῷ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλης κακοπαθείας αὐχμον λἶαν ἐκάστῳ, ὑδωρ οἱ ἐνευεν ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

1 αὐτῶν Hoeschel: αὐτῶν MSS.
2 ὑδωρ οἱ ἐνευεν K: καὶ ὑδωρ οἱ ἐνθέρθεν ἐδέετο L.
enemy. And they, even before this, had been in great disorder because of the darkness and the fact that they were making a pursuit, and now when, much to their surprise, they saw the fugitives attacking them, they supposed that another army also had come to their assistance from the city, and so were thrown into a great panic and all fled immediately at top speed. But Belisarius by no means rushed out to pursue them, but returned straightforward to the wall. And at this the Romans took courage and received him and all his men into the city. So narrowly did Belisarius and the emperor's cause escape peril; and the battle which had begun early in the morning did not end until night. And those who distinguished themselves above all others by their valour in this battle were, among the Romans, Belisarius, and among the Goths, Visandus Vandalarius, who had fallen upon Belisarius at the first when the battle took place about him, and did not desist until he had received thirteen wounds on his body and fell. And since he was supposed to have died immediately, he was not cared for by his companions, although they were victorious, and he lay there with the dead. But on the third day, when the barbarians had made camp hard by the circuit-wall of Rome and had sent some men in order to bury their dead and to perform the customary rites of burial, those who were searching out the bodies of the fallen found Visandus Vandalarius with life still in him, and one of his companions entreated him to speak some word to him. But he could not do even this, for the inside of his body was on fire because of the lack of food and the thirst caused by his suffering, and so he nodded to him to put water into his
πιόντα τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότα ἀράμενοι
33 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦνεγκαν. μέγα τε ὄνομα Οὐί-
σαυνος Βανδαλάριος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν
Γόθθοις ἔσχε, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμων πάμ-
πολῶν τινα ἐπεβίω χρόνον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτη
ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρα γεγενήθησαν ἐννέασησε.
34 Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεῖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἦν
τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐγένετο, στρατώτας τε καὶ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων δῆμον σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
ἀγείρας, πυρὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα
ὅλην ἔγρηγορέναι ἐκέλευε. καὶ τῶν περίβολου
περιών κύκλῳ τά τε ἄλλα διείπε καὶ πῦλη
35 ἐκάστῃ τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων ἐπέστησε. Βέσσας
δὲ, ὅσ ἐν πύλῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πρωνεστίνη φυλα-
κήν ἔσχεν, ἀγγελον παρὰ Βελισάριον πέµψας
ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν
πόλιν, δι’ ἄλλης πύλης ἐμβεβληκότων ἢ ὑπὲρ
ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐστὶ Παγκρατίου ἀνδρὸς ἀγίον
36 ἐπώνυμος οὐσα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅσοι ἅμφο
Βελισάριον ᾦσαν, σώζεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα διὰ
πύλης ἐτέρας παρῆσαν. αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε
κατωρρώθησαν, οὔτε τὸν λόγον ὑγιὰ ἢσχυρίζετο
37 εἶναι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τυώς ὑπὲρ
ποταμὸν Τίβεριν κατὰ τάχος, οὐ τὰ ἐκείνη ἐπι-
σκεψάμενοι οὔδεν πολέμου τῇ πόλει ἐνταῦθα
38 ἐξυμβῆναι ἀπήγγελλον. πέµψας οὖν εὐθὺς ἐς
πύλῃν ἐκάστην ἄρχοντα τοῖς πανταχῇ οὕσιν
ἐπέστελλεν ὡστε, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκού-
σωσι κατ’ ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσβεβλη-
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mouth. Then when he had drunk and become himself again, they lifted and carried him to the camp. And Visandus Vandalarius won a great name for this deed among the Goths, and he lived on a very considerable time, enjoying the greatest renown. This, then, took place on the third day after the battle.

But at that time Belisarius, after reaching safety with his followers, gathered the soldiers and almost the whole Roman populace to the wall, and commanded them to burn many fires and keep watch throughout the whole night. And going about the circuit of the fortifications, he set everything in order and put one of his commanders in charge of each gate. But Bessas, who took command of the guard at the gate called the Praenestine,¹ sent a messenger to Belisarius with orders to say that the city was held by the enemy, who had broken in through another gate which is across the Tiber River² and bears the name of Pancretius, a holy man. And all those who were in the company of Belisarius, upon hearing this, urged him to save himself as quickly as possible through some other gate. He, however, neither became panic-stricken, nor did he hesitate to declare that the report was false. And he also sent some of his horsemen across the Tiber with all speed, and they, after looking over the ground there, brought back word that no hostile attack had been made on the city in that quarter. He therefore sent immediately to each gate and instructed the commanders everywhere that, whenever they heard that the enemy had broken in at any other part of

¹ See plan opposite p. 185.
² For Procopius’ description of the wall “across the Tiber,” see chap. xix. 6-10.
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κέναι μοίραν, μήτε ἀμύνειν μήτε φυλακῆν τὴν σφετέραν ἐκλυτεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἦσυχὴ μένειν· αὐτῷ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων μελήσειν· ἔπρασε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως μὴ ἐκ φήμης οὐκ ἄλθοις ἐσε ῥακῆν αὖθις καθιστῶνται.

Οὐστίγησι δὲ, Ῥωμαῖοι ἔτι ἐν θορυβῷ πολλῷ καθεστώτων, ἐς τῦλην Σαλαρίαν τῶν τινα ἀρ-χόντων, Οὔακιν ὄνομα, ἐπεμψεν, οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἀνδρα. δε ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Γότθους ἀπιστίας κακίσας τὴν προδοσίαν ἀνείδιξεν ἃν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι πεποιήθαι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν, οὗ τῆς Γότθων δυνάμεως Γραικοῦς τοὺς σφίσιν οὐχ οἴους τε· ἀμύνειν ὄντας ἡλλάξαντο, ἐξ ὑν τὰ πρότερα οὐδένα ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἥκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγῳδούς τε καὶ μίμους καὶ ναῦτας λαμπότας· ταῦτα τε καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Οὔακις εἰπὼν, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐς Γότθους τε καὶ Οὔστιγην ἀνεχόρησε. Βελιςάριος δὲ γέλωτα πολὺν πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις ὄφλεν, ἐπεὶ μόλις τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγῶν θαρσεῖς τῇ ἥδη καὶ περιφρονεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευεν· εὗ γὰρ εἴδεναι ὡς κατὰ κράτος αὐτοὺς νικήσει. ὅπως δὲ τούτῳ καταμαθὼν ἔγνω ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρῳ ἤν τῶν νυκτῶν, νήστιν ἐτὶ Βελισάριον οὖν ἥ τε γυνὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὗ οἱ παρῆσαν ἄρτου ὑβράχεος κομιδῇ γεύσασθαι μόλις ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς. ταῦτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὖτως ἐκάτεροι διενυκτέρευσαν.

1 See plan opposite p. 185.

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the fortifications, they should not try to assist in the
defence nor abandon their post, but should remain
quiet; for he himself would take care of such
matters. And he did this in order that they might
not be thrown into disorder a second time by a
rumour which was not true.

But Vittigis, while the Romans were still in great
confusion, sent to the Salarian Gate one of his com-
manders, Vacis by name, a man of no mean station.
And when he had arrived there, he began to reproach
the Romans for their faithlessness to the Goths and
upbraided them for the treason which he said they
had committed against both their fatherland and
themselves, for they had exchanged the power of the
Goths for Greeks who were not able to defend them,
although they had never before seen any men of the
Greek race come to Italy except actors of tragedy
and mimes and thieving sailors. Such words and
many like them were spoken by Vacis, but since no
one replied to him, he returned to the Goths and
Vittigis. As for Belisarius, he brought upon himself
much ridicule on the part of the Romans, for though
he had barely escaped from the enemy, he bade
them take courage thenceforth and look with con-
tempt upon the barbarians; for he knew well, he
said, that he would conquer them decisively. Now
the manner in which he had come to know this with
certainty will be told in the following narrative. At
length, when it was well on in the night, Belisarius,
who had been fasting up to this time, was with diffi-
culty compelled by his wife and those of his friends
who were present to taste a very little bread. Thus,
then, the two armies passed this night.

3 Chap. xxvii. 25–29.
Τῇ δὲ ἔπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθοι μὲν Ἦρωμην πολιορκίᾳ ἔλειν διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οὔδενὶ πόνῳ οἴομενοι, Πρωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἁμνώμενοι ἔταξαντο ὅδε. ἔχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὁ περίβολος 2 διὸ ἐπτὰ πύλας καὶ πυλίδας τινάς. Γότθοι δὲ ὦν οἱ τε ὄντες ὅλῳ τῷ 1 στρατοπέδῳ τὸ τεῖχος περιλαβέσθαι κύκλῳ, ἐξ ποιησάμενοι χαρακώματα πέντε πυλῶν χώρον ἤμωχλον, ἐκ τῆς Φλαμίνιας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν καλουμένην Πραυνεστίναν· ταῦτα τε αὐτοῖς τὰ χαρακώματα χύμπαντα ἐντὸς 3 Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπεποίητο. δεῖσαντες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ τὴν γέφυραν διαφθείραντες οἱ πολέμιοι, Ἡ Μολιβίου ἐπόνυμος ἐστίν, ἁβατα σφίσι ποιήσωνται ἀπαντὰ ὅσα ἐκτὸς τοῦ ποτα- μοῦ ἔστι διύκοντα μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἥκιστα ἔχοισιν, χαράκωμα ἐβδομον Τιβέριδος ἐκτὸς ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίοις ἐπῆξαντο, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡ γέφυρα 4 τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν μέσῳ εἰς. διὸ δὴ ἄλλας δύο τῆς πόλεως πύλας ἐνικήσχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ξυνέβαινε, τὸν τε Ἀὐρηλίαν (η νῦν Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου ἀτε που πλησίον κειμένον ἐπόνυμος ἐστὶ) καὶ 5 τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Τιβεριν. οὕτω τε Γότθοι τῷ μὲν στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα περι- ἐβάλλοντο τοῦ τεῖχους μοίραν, ἀτε δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ οὐδαμὴ τὸ παράπαν εἰργόμενοι, ἐς ἀπαντὰ τῶν

1 ὅλο τῷ Κ: ἐλον Λ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xix. 1–5

XIX

But on the following day they arrayed themselves for the struggle, the Goths thinking to capture Rome by siege without any trouble on account of the great size of the city, and the Romans defending it. Now the wall of the city has fourteen large gates and several smaller ones. And the Goths, being unable with their entire army to envelop the wall on every side, made six fortified camps from which they harassed the portion of the wall containing five gates, from the Flaminian as far as the one called the Praenestine Gate; and all these camps were made by them on the left bank of the Tiber River. Wherefore the barbarians feared lest their enemy, by destroying the bridge which bears the name of Mulvius, should render inaccessible to them all the land on the right bank of the river as far as the sea, and in this way have not the slightest experience of the evils of a siege, and so they fixed a seventh camp across the Tiber in the Plain of Nero, in order that the bridge might be between their two armies. So in this way two other gates came to be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the Aurelian (which is now named after Peter, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, since he lies not far from there) and the Transtiburtine Gate. Thus the Goths surrounded only about one-half of the wall with their army, but since they were in no direction wholly shut off from the wall by the river, they made attacks upon

1 This is an error. Procopius means the Porta Cornelia.
2 According to tradition the Basilica of St. Peter was built over the grave of the Apostle.
3 The Aurelian.

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περίβολον κύκλω, ἡνίκα ἐβούλοντο, τῷ πολέμῳ ἤσαν. 1
6 Ὅστινα δὲ τρόπον Ῥωμαίοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὸ τῆς πόλεως τείχος ἐδείμαντο ἔρων ἔρχομαι. πάλαι 2 μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος παραρρέων ἐπὶ πλείστων τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφέρετο τῆς. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος, ἐφ’ οὐ ὁ περιβόλος κατὰ τὸν ροῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέχει, ὑπτίος τε καὶ λάν εὐέφοδος ἐστι. τούτου τε ἀντικρῆ τοῦ χώρου, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Τιβέριδος, λόφον τινὰ μέγαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνθα δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μύλωνες ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες πεποιημέναι, ἀτε ὑδατος ἐνταῦθα πολλοῦ διὰ μὲν ἄχετον ἀγομένου ἐς τὴν τοῦ λόφου ὑπερβολήν, ἐς τὸ κάταντες δὲ ξυν ῥύμη μεγάλη ἐνθέντε ἱόντος. διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοι τὸν τε λόφον καὶ τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅχθην τείχει 3 περὶβαλεῖν ἐγνωσάν, ὡς μῆποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δυνατὰ εἰς τούς τε μύλωνας διαφθείραι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάσειν εὐπετῶς τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν. ξεῦξαντες οὖν ταύτη τῶν ποταμῶν γεφύρα, ξυνάπτειν τε τὸ τείχος ἔδοξαν καὶ οἰκίας συχνὰς ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντίπερας δειμαμένοι μέσον τῆς πόλεως τῷ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πεποιημέναι ρέμα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὅδε τῇ ἐσχε. 4
10 Γοθοὶ δὲ τάφροις τε βαθείας ἀμφι τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ὠρξαν, καὶ τὸν χοῦν ὃν ἐνδέχετο ἀφείλοντο ξυνηχός ὑπὲρ 4 τοίχου τοῦ ἔνδου, ὑψηλὸν τε αὐτὸν ὡς μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι καὶ σκολόπων ἡξέων καθύπερθεν πάμπολυ τῇ χρήμα πηξάμενοι, οὐδέν τι καταδεστέρον τῶν ἐν τοῖς

1 ἤσαν: ἤσαν Κ, ἤσαν Λ. 2 πάλαι Κ: πολὺς Λ. 3 τείχει Κ: τύχη Λ. 4 ὑπὲρ: ὑπὸ Κ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λ.

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it throughout its whole extent whenever they wished.

Now the way the Romans came to build the city-wall on both sides of the river I shall now proceed to tell. In ancient times the Tiber used to flow alongside the circuit-wall for a considerable distance, even at the place where it is now enclosed. But this ground, on which the wall rises along the stream of the river, is flat and very accessible. And opposite this flat ground, across the Tiber, it happens that there is a great hill\(^1\) where all the mills of the city have been built from of old, because much water is brought by an aqueduct to the crest of the hill, and rushes thence down the incline with great force. For this reason the ancient Romans\(^2\) determined to surround the hill and the river bank near it with a wall, so that it might never be possible for an enemy to destroy the mills, and crossing the river, to carry on operations with ease against the circuit-wall of the city. So they decided to span the river at this point with a bridge, and to attach it to the wall; and by building many houses in the district across the river they caused the stream of the Tiber to be in the middle of the city. So much then for this.

And the Goths dug deep trenches about all their camps, and heaped up the earth, which they took out from them, on the inner side of the trenches, making this bank exceedingly high, and they planted great numbers of sharp stakes on the top,

\(^1\) The Janiculum.
\(^2\) The wall described was a part of the wall of Aurelian.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ Ο ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

φρονίσατε ὑπερμάτων τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα
καὶ χαρακώματος μὲν τοῦ ἐν Νέρω
νος πεδίῳ Μαρκίας ἦρχεν (ἡδὴ γὰρ ἐκ Γαλλῶν
ἐξειρμένοις ἀφίκτο, ἵνα οἶς ἐνταῦθα ἐστρα-
τόπεδον), τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀλλῶν Οὐίττυγις ἤγειτο
ἐκτος αὐτὸς ἄρχων γὰρ ἦν εἰς κατὰ χαράκωμα
ἐκαστὸν. Γότθοι μὲν οὖν οὐτῳ ταξάμενοι διεῖλον
τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἁπαντας, ὅπως δὴ ὕδωρ ὡς ἦκιστα
ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσίοι. Ρώμης δὲ ὀχετοὶ
πεσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἰσίν, ἐκ πλίνθου
δὲ ὁπτημένης τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώπους πεποίηται,
ἐς τοσοῦτον εὔρους καὶ βάθους διέκοντες ὅστε
ἀνθρώπῳ ἵππῳ ὄχυμένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἱππεύειν δυ-
νατὰ εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἔς τὴν φυλακήν
τῆς πόλεως διεκόσμη ὅδε. πυλῖδα μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν
Πυγιανῆν καὶ πύλην τὴν ταύτης ἐν δεξιὰ εἰχεν,
ἡ Σαλαρία ἄνομασται. κατὰ ταύτας γὰρ ἐπιμα-
χος ἢν ὁ περίβολος, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔξιστη ἐπὶ
toὺς πολέμους ὄντα ἐπιγχανέ. Προανεστίναν δὲ
Βέσσα ἔδωκε. καὶ τῇ Φλαμμίᾳ, ἡ Πυγιανῆς ἐπὶ
θάτερά ἐστι, Κωνσταντίνου ἐπέστησε, τὰς τε
πύλας ὑποθεὶσ προτερον, καὶ λίθων μεγάλων οἰκο-
dομία ἔνδοθεν αὐτὰς ἀποφράξας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅπως
δὴ αὐτὰς μηδὲν ἀνακλώσει δυνατὰ εἰς.

τῶν γὰρ
χαρακωμάτων ἐνὸς ἀγχοτάτον ὄντος ἔδεισε μὴ της
ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα
ἐσται. τὰς δὲ λειποµένας τῶν πεζίκων κατα-
λόγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν
to ὀχετῶν ἐκαστὸν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα οἰκοδομία

1 οὖν Κ.: om. L.
2 ἐπιμαχος ἢν ὁ περίβολος ἐπιμαχομενος ἢν ὁ περίβολος Κ.: ἐπιμαχος τε ὁ περίβολος ἢν L.
3 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανφ Mss.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xix. 11–18

Thus making all their camps in no way inferior to fortified strongholds. And the camp in the Plain of Nero was commanded by Marcias (for he had by now arrived from Gaul with his followers, with whom he was encamped there), and the rest of the camps were commanded by Vittigis with five others; for there was one commander for each camp. So the Goths, having taken their positions in this way, tore open all the aqueducts, so that no water at all might enter the city from them. Now the aqueducts of Rome are fourteen in number, and were made of baked brick by the men of old, being of such breadth and height that it is possible for a man on horseback to ride in them.¹ And Belisarius arranged for the defence of the city in the following manner. He himself held the small Pincian Gate and the gate next to this on the right, which is named the Salarian. For at these gates the circuit-wall was assailable, and at the same time it was possible for the Romans to go out from them against the enemy. The Praenestine Gate he gave to Bessas. And at the Flaminian, which is on the other side of the Pincian, he put Constantinus in command, having previously closed the gates and blocked them up most securely by building a wall of great stones on the inside, so that it might be impossible for anyone to open them. For since one of the camps was very near, he feared least some secret plot against the city should be made there by the enemy. And the remaining gates he ordered the commanders of the infantry forces to keep under guard. And he closed each of the aqueducts as securely as possible by filling their channels with masonry for a consider-

¹ This is an exaggeration; the channels vary from four to eight feet in height.
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ἐπὶ πλείστου κατέλαβε, μή τις ἔξωθεν κακουργήσων ἐνταῦθα ἵοι.

19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὁχετῶν, καθάπερ μοι εἴρηται, διαιρεθέντων οὐκέτι τὰς μύλας τὸ ὑδωρ ἐνήργηε, ξύφοις τέ τισιν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὰς οὐδαμῇ εἴχον, τροφῆς ἀπάσης ἀτε ἐν πολυρκία σπανίζοντες, οἳ γε καὶ ἑπτὼν μόλις τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐδύναντο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Βελισάριος ἔξευρε τόδε. ἐμπροσθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἡ ἀρτι πρὸς τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐσὶς ἐμνήθην, σχοίνους ἀρτήσας ἐξ ἐκατέρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅχθης ὡς ἀριστα ἐντεταμένας, ταῦτας τε λέμβους δύο παρ' ἀλλήλους ξυνήθεσας, πόδας δύο ἀπ' ἀλλήλους διέχοντας, ἡ μάλιστα ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροή ἐκ τοῦ τῆς γεφύρας κυρτωματος ἀκμάζουσα κατήγει, μύλας τε δύο ἐν λέμβῳ ἐκατέρω ἐνθέμενος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς μηχανῆς

20 ἀπεκρέμασεν ἢ τὰς μύλας στρέφειν εἰώθει. ἐπέκεινα δὲ ἄλλας τε ἀκάτους ἐχομένας τῶν ἅπε ὀπεσθεν κατὰ λόγον ἐδέσμευε, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλείστου ἐνέβαλε. προϊσθήσας οὖν τῆς τοῦ ὑδατος ρύμης αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐφεξῆς ἂπασαι ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς καλυμμέναι ἐνήργησιν τε τὰς κατ' αὐτὰς μύλας καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ αὐτάρκη ἠλούν. ἅ δὴ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων γνώτες

21 ἀφανίζουσι τὰς μηχανὰς τρόπῳ τοιοῦτοι. δένθρα μεγάλα καὶ σώματα 'Ῥωμαίων νεοσφαγή ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν συμφορούντες ἐρρίπτοντων. τούτου τε τὰ πλείστα ἐξιν τῷ ἰεύματι ἐς μέσα τὰ σκάφη φερόμενα τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκαύλιζε. Βελισάριος δὲ

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24 ποταμῶν συμφορούντες ἐρρίπτοντων. τούτου τε τὰ πλείστα ἐξιν τῷ ἰεύματι ἐς μέσα τὰ σκάφη φερόμενα τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκαύλιζε. Βελισάριος δὲ
able distance, to prevent anyone from entering through them from the outside to do mischief.

But after the aqueducts had been broken open, as I have stated, the water no longer worked the mills, and the Romans were quite unable to operate them with any kind of animals owing to the scarcity of all food in time of siege; indeed they were scarcely able to provide for the horses which were indispensable to them. And so Belisarius hit upon the following device. Just below the bridge 1 which I lately mentioned as being connected with the circuit-wall, he fastened ropes from the two banks of the river and stretched them as tight as he could, and then attached to them two boats side by side and two feet apart, where the flow of the water comes down from the arch of the bridge with the greatest force, and placing two mills on either boat, he hung between them the mechanism by which mills are customarily turned. And below these he fastened other boats, each attached to the one next behind in order, and he set the water-wheels between them in the same manner for a great distance. So by the force of the flowing water all the wheels, one after the other, were made to revolve independently, and thus they worked the mills with which they were connected and ground sufficient flour for the city.

Now when the enemy learned this from the deserters, they destroyed the wheels in the following manner. They gathered large trees and bodies of Romans newly slain and kept throwing them into the river; and the most of these were carried with the current between the boats and broke off the mill-wheels. But Belisarius, observing what was being

1 The Pons Aurelius. See section 10 of this chapter.
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κατιδὼν τὰ ποιούμενα προσεπτετεχνήσατο τάδε.
25 ἀλύσεις μακρὰς ἐνδηρᾶς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἦρτησεν, ἐξικνουμένας ἦσ Tίβεριν ὅλον. ἀλὰ δὴ προσπίπτοντα ἡμπαντα ὡσα ο ποταμὸς ἔφερε, ἐπιστατό τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσ τὰ πρόσω ἐχώρει.
26 ταύτα τε ἀνέλκυσε ἀεὶ οἷς τὸ ἔργον τούτο ἐπέκειτο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔφερον. ταύτα δὲ Βελισάριος ἐποίει οὐ τοσοῦτο τῶν μυλῶν ἐνεκα ὡσον ὅτι ἐνθένδε ἐς δέος τε καὶ ἐννοιαν ἤλθε μὴ λάθωσιν ἀκάτως πολλαῖς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐντὸς τῆς γεφύρας καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γενόμενοι. οὕτω τε οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς πείρας, ἔπει οὐδὲν σφίζα ταύτῃ προὐχώρει, ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Ῥωμαῖοι τούτοις μὲν τοῖς μύλωσιν ἔχρωντο, τῶν δὲ βαλανείων τοῦ ὑδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ παντάπασιν ἀπεκέκλειντο.
28 ὕδωρ μεντοὶ ὡσον πιεῖν διαρκές εἶχον, ἔπει καὶ τοῖς του ποταμοῦ ἐκαστάτω οἰκούσι παρῆν ἐκ φρεάτων ὑδρεύοντα. ἕσ δὲ τούς ὑπονόμους, οἵπερ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰ τι οὐ καθαρὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν ἔξω, ἀσφάλειαν ἐπισαῦροι οὐδεμίαν ἠνύγκαστο, ἐπει ἐς ποταμὸν Tίβεριν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐχουσίν ἀπαντες, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδεμίαν οἶνον τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβολὴν γενέσθαι.

XX

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῇ Βελισάριος διωκήσατο. Ἐκαθαρίστηκαν δὲ παιδεῖς πολλοί, πρὸβατα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ σφατέρᾳ ποιμαίνοντες, δύο τῶν

1 μακρὰς L: om. K.
2 πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας Haury: πρὸς τῇ γεφύρα MSS.
done, contrived the following device against it. He fastened above the bridge long iron chains, which reached completely across the Tiber. All the objects which the river brought down struck upon these chains, and gathered there and went no farther. And those to whom this work was assigned kept pulling out these objects as they came and bore them to the land. And Belisarius did this, not so much on account of the mills, as because he began to think with alarm that the enemy might get inside the bridge at this point with many boats and be in the middle of the city before their presence became known. Thus the barbarians abandoned the attempt, since they met with no success in it. And thereafter the Romans continued to use these mills; but they were entirely excluded from the baths because of the scarcity of water. However, they had sufficient water to drink, since even for those who lived very far from the river it was possible to draw water from wells. But as for the sewers, which carry out from the city whatever is unclean, Belisarius was not forced to devise any plan of safety, for they all discharge into the Tiber River, and therefore it was impossible for any plot to be made against the city by the enemy in connection with them.

XX

Thus, then, did Belisarius make his arrangements for the siege. And among the Samnites a large company of children, who were pasturing flocks in

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3 Βελισάριος Κρασενινικόβ: belisariv MSS.
4 διωκήσατο MSS.: διψήκητο Scaliger.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σώματος ἐν σφίσιν εὐ ἢκοντας ἀπολέξαντες, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνα μὲν καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Βελισαρίου ὄνόματος, Οὐίττυγιν δὲ τὸν ἐτερον ὀνομάσαντες, 2 παλαίειν ἐκέλευον. ὃν δὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα καθισταμένων, τὸν Οὐίττυγιν δῆθεν ἐνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν παιῶν ὄμιλος 3 παῖζοντες ἐπὶ 1 δένδρῳ ἐκρήμων. λύκου δὲ τυχὶ τινὶ ἐνταῖθα φανέντως οἱ μὲν παιδε ἐφυγον ἀπαντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ 2 τοῦ δένδρου ἠρτημένος Οὐίττυγις χρόνον ὁ τριβέντος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ 4 θυήσκει. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐς Σαμνίτας ἐκπυστά ἐγεγόνει, οὔτε κόλασιν τινα ἐς τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξυμβαλόντες νική-σειν κατὰ κράτος Βελισάριον ἑχυρίζοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο.

5 Ἄρματον δὲ ὁ δῆμος, τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἀθείς παντάπασιν ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μὲν ἀλουσίᾳ ἐπιεῖξοντο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, φυλάσσειν τα ἁπνον τὸν περίβολον ἣναγκάζοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαξον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφρων τοὺς τε ἁγροὺς καὶ τάλλα πάντα λημβο-μένους, ἡσχαλλον τε καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ 3 αὐτοὶ οὔδὲν ἡδικηκότες πολιορκοῦτο τε καὶ ἐς 6 τοσοῦτον κινδύνου μέγεθος ἦκοιεν. ἐν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἐνυστάμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανον ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ὃς γε οὐκ ἀξιόρευν πρὸς βασιλέως δύναμιν λαβῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ Γόθους στρατεύε-7 σθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ έκ βουλῆς ἢν σύγκλητον καλοῦσι Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παραβύστῳ ὀνειδίζον.

1 ἐπὶ MSS.: ἀπὸ editors. 2 ἐπὶ K: ἀπὸ L. 3 εἰ L: οἱ K.
their own country, chose out two among them who were well favoured in strength of body, and calling one of them by the name of Belisarius, and naming the other Vittigis, bade them wrestle. And they entered into the struggle with the greatest vehemence and it so fell out that the one who impersonated Vittigis was thrown. Then the crowd of boys in play hung him to a tree. But a wolf by some chance appeared there, whereupon the boys all fled, and the one called Vittigis, who was suspended from the tree, remained for some time suffering this punishment and then died. And when this became known to the Samnites, they did not inflict any punishment upon these children, but divining the meaning of the incident declared that Belisarius would conquer decisively. So much for this.

But the populace of Rome were entirely unacquainted with the evils of war and siege. When, therefore, they began to be distressed by their inability to bathe and the scarcity of provisions, and found themselves obliged to forgo sleep in guarding the circuit-wall, and suspected that the city would be captured at no distant date; and when, at the same time, they saw the enemy plundering their fields and other possessions, they began to be dissatisfied and indignant that they, who had done no wrong, should suffer siege and be brought into peril of such magnitude. And gathering in groups by themselves, they railed openly against Belisarius, on the ground that he had dared to take the field against the Goths before he had received an adequate force from the emperor. And these reproaches against Belisarius were secretly indulged in also by the members of the council which
ἀπερ Οὐίττυγς πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκόουσας συγκρούεινε τε αὐτούς ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐθέλων καὶ ἐς πολλὴν ταραχὴν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τα Ὀμναιῶν πράγματα ταύτῃ οἴόμενο, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον

8 ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀλβιν ἐπεμψεν. οἳ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ὄψιν τῆς Βελισάριον ἄφικοντο, παρόντων Ὀμναιῶν τε τῶν ἑκ βουλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, ἐλέξαν τοιάδε: ἰ “Πάλαι, ὁ στρατηγεῖ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώρισται τα τῶν πραγμάτων ὑνόματα. ἐν 9 οἷς ἐν τόδε ἑστί, θράσος κεχώρισται ἀνδρείας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἰς ἀν προσγένοιτο, ξὺν ἀτιμία ἐς κίνδυνον ἀγεί, τὸ δὲ δόξαν ἀρετῆς ἰκανῶς φέρεται.

10 τούτων θάτερον σε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤνεγκεν, ὅποτερον μέντοι, αὐτίκα δηλώσεις. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία πιστεύων ἐπὶ Γότθους ἅστράτευσας, ὅρας γὰρ δήπον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον καὶ σοι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ὅ γενναίε, διαρκῶς πάρεστιν. εἰ δὲ γε θράσει ἐχόμενος ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἁρμήσαι, πάντως σοι καὶ μεταμέλει τῶν εἰκῆ

11 πεπραγμένων. τῶν γὰρ ἀπονευομένων αἰ γνώμαι, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἁγώσι γένονται, μετανοεῖν φιλοῦσί. νῦν οὖν μήτε Ὀμναιῶς τοῦδε περαιτέρω τὴν ταλαίπωρίαν μηκύνεσθαι ποίει, οὖς δὴ Θεοδερίχος ἐν βίῳ τρυφερῷ τε καὶ ἄλλος ἐλευθέρῳ ἐξέδρες, μήτε τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιω-

12 τῶν δεσπότη ἐμποδών ἱστασο. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ
they call the senate. And Vittigis, hearing all this from the deserters and desiring to embroil them with one another still more, and thinking that in this way the affairs of the Romans would be thrown into great confusion, sent to Belisarius some envoys, among whom was Albis. And when these men came before Belisarius, they spoke as follows in the presence of the Roman senators and all the commanders of the army:

“From of old, general, mankind has made true and proper distinctions in the names they give to things; and one of these distinctions is this—rashness is different from bravery. For rashness, when it takes possession of a man, brings him into danger with discredit, but bravery bestows upon him an adequate prize in reputation for valour. Now one of these two has brought you against us, but which it is you will straightway make clear. For if, on the one hand, you placed your confidence in bravery when you took the field against the Goths, there is ample opportunity, noble sir, for you to do the deeds of a brave man, since you have only to look down from your wall to see the army of the enemy; but if, on the other hand, it was because you were possessed by rashness that you came to attack us, certainly you now repent you of the reckless undertaking. For the opinions of those who have made a desperate venture are wont to undergo a change whenever they find themselves in serious straits. Now, therefore, do not cause the sufferings of these Romans to be prolonged any further, men whom Theodoric fostered in a life not only of soft luxury but also of freedom, and cease your resistance to him who is the master both of the Goths and of the Italians. Is it not monstrous that you
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ἀτοπον, σὲ μὲν ὦτῳ καθειργήμενον τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατεπτηχότα ἐν Ῥώμη καθῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ταύτης βασιλέα ἐν χαρακόματι διατρίβοντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ κατηκότους ἐργάζεσθαι; ἥμεις δὲ σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ποιεῖσθαι ἦδη τὴν ἁφοδον κατ᾽ ἐξουσίαν παρέξομεν, ἀπαντά τὰ ύμετερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς τὸ σῶϕρον μεταμαθοῦσιν οὕτε ὅσιον οὔτε τρόπον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἶναι νομίζομεν. ἤδεως δ’ ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐτί ἐροίμεθα τούσδε, τί ποτε ἄρα Γότθους ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς τε αὐ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προῦδον, οὐ γε τὴς μὲν ἡμετέρας ἐπιεἰκείας ἀχρι τούδε ἀπῆλαυσαν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρ᾽ ὕμων ἐπικουρίας εἰσὶν ἐμπεριοί.”

15 Τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀλείπτεται ὅσαν, ὃς ἐχει χαρακόματι πολεμέον καταστήματα ἐν καθῆσθαι. ἡγών μὴ γὰρ τῶν πολεμών ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῆλθαν, σὺ ὅσιον ἐκτὸς ἰδιότητος ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν, δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐγνωρίζεται. ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν εἰσῇ
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should sit in Rome hemmed in as you are and in abject terror of the enemy, while the king of this city passes his time in a fortified camp and inflicts the evils of war upon his own subjects? But we shall give both you and your followers an opportunity to take your departure forthwith in security, retaining all your possessions. For to trample upon those who have learned to take a new view of prudence we consider neither holy nor worthy of the ways of men. And, further, we should gladly ask these Romans what complaints they could have had against the Goths that they betrayed both us and themselves, seeing that up to this time they have enjoyed our kindness, and now are acquainted by experience with the assistance to be expected from you."

Thus spoke the envoys. And Belisarius replied as follows: "It is not to rest with you to choose the moment for conference. For men are by no means wont to wage war according to the judgment of their enemies, but it is customary for each one to arrange his own affairs for himself, in whatever manner seems to him best. But I say to you that there will come a time when you will want to hide your heads under the thistles but will find no shelter anywhere. As for Rome, moreover, which we have captured, in holding it we hold nothing which belongs to others, but it was you who trespassed upon this city in former times, though it did not belong to you at all, and now you have given it back, however unwillingly, to its ancient possessors. And whoever of you has hopes of setting foot in Rome without a fight is mistaken in his judgment. For as long as Belisarius lives, it is impossible for him to relinquish this city." Such were the words of Belisarius. But the Romans,
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ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντιλέγειν ἐτὸλμον, καὶ περ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς Γότθους προδοσία πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν κακιζόμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι 20 Φιδέλιος αὐτοὺς ἐρεσχελείν ἔγνω. ὅσ τὸτε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχος καταστὰς πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἔτυγχανε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πάντων μάλιστα ἔδοξε βασιλεί εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν.

XXI

Οὗτῳ μὲν δὴ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκομίζοντο. καὶ ἔπει αὐτῶν Οὐίττιγις ἐπυνθάνετο ὅποιος τε ἀνὴρ Βελισάριος εἶ καὶ γυναῖκα ὅπως ποτὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀναχάρησει ἔχοι,1 ἀπεκρίναντο ὡς οὐκ εἰκότα Γότθοι ἐλπίζουσι, δεδίξεσθαι Βελισάριον ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ οὕτω- 2 μενοί. Οὐίττιγις δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τείχομαχεῖν τε πολλῷ στούδῳ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ 3 περιβόλου ἐπιβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο ὅδε. πῦργους ἔυλινους ἐποιήσατο ἱσοῦ τῷ τείχει τῶν πολε- μῶν, καὶ ἔτυχε γε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου πολλάκις 4 ἐξυμμετρησάμενος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς πῦργοις τροχοὶ ἐς τὴν βάσιν ἐμβε- βλημένοι πρὸς γυνία ἐκάστη ὑπέκειντο, οὗ δὴ αὐτοὺς κυλινδούμενοι ῥᾴτα περάξειν ἐμελλον ὅπτη οἱ τείχομαχοῦντες ἀεὶ βουλοῦντο, καὶ βόες 5 τοὺς πῦργους ἐνυδεδεμένοι εἰλκον. ἔπειτα δὲ κλίμακας πολλὰς το τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἔξεκοντο ἡτοίμαζε καὶ μηχανᾶς 6 τέσσαρας αἱ κριοὶ καλοῦνται. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μηχανὴ

1 τῇ ἁναχωρῆσει ἔχει Κ: τῇ ἁναχώρησιν ἔχων L.
being overcome by a great fear, sat in silence, and, even though they were abused by the envoys at length for their treason to the Goths, dared make no reply to them, except, indeed, that Fidelius saw fit to taunt them. This man was then praetorian prefect, having been appointed to the office by Belisarius, and for this reason he seemed above all others to be well disposed toward the emperor.

XXI

The envoys then betook themselves to their own army. And when Vittigis enquired of them what manner of man Belisarius was and how his purpose stood with regard to the question of withdrawing from Rome, they replied that the Goths were hoping for vain things if they supposed that they would frighten Belisarius in any way whatsoever. And when Vittigis heard this, he began in great earnest to plan an assault upon the wall, and the preparations he made for the attempt upon the fortifications were as follows. He constructed wooden towers equal in height to the enemy's wall, and he discovered its true measure by making many calculations based upon the courses of stone. And wheels were attached to the floor of these towers under each corner, which were intended, as they turned, to move the towers to any point the attacking army might wish at a given time, and the towers were drawn by oxen yoked together. After this he made ready a great number of ladders, that would reach as far as the parapet, and four engines which are called rams. Now this
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tοιαύτη. κίονες ορθοί ξύλων τέσσαρες ἀντίοι
tε καὶ ἱσοι ἄλληλοις ἐστάσι. τούτους δὲ τοὺς
κίονες δοκοὺς ὅκτῳ ἕγκαρσίας ἐνείροντες τέσσαρας
μὲν ἄνω, τοσάντας δὲ πρὸς ταῖς βάσεσιν ἐναρμό-
7 ζοῦσιν. οἰκίσκου τε σχῆμα τετραγώνου ἑργαζο-
μενοι προκάλυμμα πανταχόθεν ἀντὶ τοῖχων τε
καὶ τείχους διθέρας αὐτῷ περιβάλλουσιν, ὅπως
ὁ τε μηχανῆ τοῖς ἐλκουσιν̃ 1 ἐλαφρὰ εἶχα καὶ οἱ
ἐνδον ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ ὅσιν, ὡς πρὸς τῶν ἐναιτίων
8 ἡμιστα βάλλεσθαι. ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῆς δοκοῦ ἐτέραν
ἀνωθεν ἕγκαρσίαις ἀρτήσαστες χαλαρᾶς ταῖς
ἀλύσει κατὰ μέσῃ μάλιστα τὴν μηχανῆν ἔχου-
σιν. ὡς δὴ ὄξειαν πυρόμενοι τὴν ἄκραν, σύνθημον
πολλῷ καθάπερ ἅκιδα καλύπτοισι βέλους, ἡ̃ 2
καὶ τετράγωνον, ὄσπερ ἄκμονα, τῶν σίδηρον
9 πυροῦσι. καὶ τροχοῖς μὲν ἡ μηχανῆ τέσσαρι
πρὸς κίονες ἐκάστῳ κειμένοις ἐπῆρται, ἀνδρεῖς δὲ
αὐτὴν υἱῶ ζυσαν ἡ κατὰ πεντήκοντα κυνοῦσιν
10 ἐνδοθεν. οἵ ἐπειδάν αὐτὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσι,
tὴν δοκοῦ ὡς δὴ ἀρτὶ ἐμνήσθην μηχανῆς τῶν
στρέφωντες ὁπίσω ἀνέλκουσιν, αὐθίσι τε αὐτήν
11 ἐν μύη πολλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφιάσιν. ἡ δὲ
συχνὰ ἐμβαλλομένη κατασείσαι τε ὅπη προστι-
pτοι καὶ διελεῖν ράστα̃ 3 οία τε ἐστί, καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταῦτα ἡ μηχανῆ ἐχεῖ, ἐπεὶ
τής δοκοῦ ταὐτῆς ἡ ἐμβολὴ προὐχοσα πλῆσεν
ὁποὺ παραπόθω, καθάπερ τῶν προβάτων τὰ ἀρ-
12 ρένα, εἰώθε. τῶν μὲν οὐν τείχωμαχοῦσιν οἱ κριοὶ
13 τοιούδε εἰσί. Γόθθοι δὲ πάμπολυ τι φακέλλων
χρῆμα ἐκ τε ἕξολων καὶ καλάμων ποιησάμενοι ἐν

1 τοῖς ἐκλωσίν L: om. K.
2 ἡ: δὲ K, ἡ L.
3 ράστα L: om. K.

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engine is of the following sort. Four upright wooden beams, equal in length, are set up opposite one another. To these beams they fit eight horizontal timbers, four above and an equal number at the base, thus binding them together. After they have thus made the frame of a four-sided building, they surround it on all sides, not with walls of wood or stone, but with a covering of hides, in order that the engine may be light for those who draw it and that those within may still be in the least possible danger of being shot by their opponents. And on the inside they hang another horizontal beam from the top by means of chains which swing free, and they keep it at about the middle of the interior. They then sharpen the end of this beam and cover it with a large iron head, precisely as they cover the round point of a missile, or they sometimes make the iron head square like an anvil. And the whole structure is raised upon four wheels, one being attached to each upright beam, and men to the number of no fewer than fifty to each ram move it from the inside. Then when they apply it to the wall, they draw back the beam which I have just mentioned by turning a certain mechanism, and then they let it swing forward with great force against the wall. And this beam by frequent blows is able quite easily to batter down and tear open a wall wherever it strikes, and it is for this reason that the engine has the name it bears, because the striking end of the beam, projecting as it does, is accustomed to butt against whatever it may encounter, precisely as do the males among sheep. Such, then, are the rams used by the assailants of a wall. And the Goths were holding in readiness an exceedingly great number of bundles of faggots,
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παρασκευή εἶχον, ὅπως δὴ ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβαλόντες ὡμαλῶν τε τὸν χώρον ἐργάσωνται καὶ ταύτῃ διαβαίνειν αἱ μηχαναὶ ἥκιστα εἰργώνται. οὐτῶς μὲν δὴ Γότθοι παρασκευασάμενοι τειχομαχεῖν ὁρμητοὶ.

14 Βελισάριος δὲ μηχανᾶς μὲν ἐς τοὺς πύργους ἑτίθετο ἃς καλοῦσι βαλλιστράς. τόξου δὲ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν αἱ μηχαναὶ αὐταί, ἐνερθέν τε αὐτοῦ κοίλῃ τις ξυλίνη 2 κεραία προόχει, αὐτῇ μὲν χαλαρὰ ἱρτημένη, σιδηρὰ δὲ εὐθείᾳ τινὶ ἐπικειμένῃ.

15 ἐπειδὰν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθένδε βάλλειν ἐθέλουσιν αὐθρωποὶ, βρόχου βραχέος ἐνέρεσε τὰ ξύλα ἐς ἀλλῆλα νευέν ποιοῦσιν ὅ δὴ τοῦ τόξου ἀκρα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, τὸν τε ἀτρακτον ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ κεραία τίθενται, τῶν ἀλλῶν βελῶν, ἀπερ ἐκ τῶν τόξων ἀφίασι, μήκες μὲν ἔχοντα ἡμισυ μάλιστα, εὕρος δὲ κατὰ τετραπλάσιον. πτεροῖς μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰσώθοσιν ἐνέχεται, ἀλλὰ ξύλα λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν ἐνείροντες ὅλου ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους τὸ σχῆμα, μεγάλης αὐτῶ λίαν καὶ τοῦ πάχους κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἀκίδα ἐμβάλλοντες. σφύγγουσι τε σθένει 3 πολλῷ οἱ 4 ἀμφοτέρωθεν μηχαναῖς τισι, καὶ τότε ἡ κοίλῃ κεραία προϊόνθα ἐκπίπτει 5 μὲν, ἐξιν ρύμη δὲ τοσαύτη ἐκπίπτει τὸ βέλος ὡστε ἐξικνεῖται μὲν

1 τύργους K in margin, L: γότθους K in context.
2 ξυλίνη K: om. L.
3 σθένει added by Haury: om. MSS , τῶν Christ.
4 οἱ L: ἢ K.
5 The sense (see translation) seems to require ἐκλείπει or the like.

1 Cf. the description of the ballista and other engines of war in Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. iv. The engine here
which they had made of pieces of wood and reeds, in order that by throwing them into the moat they might make the ground level, and that their engines might not be prevented from crossing it. Now after the Goths had made their preparations in this manner, they were eager to make an assault upon the wall.

But Belisarius placed upon the towers engines which they call "ballistae." Now these engines have the form of a bow, but on the under side of them a grooved wooden shaft projects; this shaft is so fitted to the bow that it is free to move, and rests upon a straight iron bed. So when men wish to shoot at the enemy with this, they make the parts of the bow which form the ends bend toward one another by means of a short rope fastened to them, and they place in the grooved shaft the arrow, which is about one half the length of the ordinary missiles which they shoot from bows, but about four times as wide. However, it does not have feathers of the usual sort attached to it, but by inserting thin pieces of wood in place of feathers, they give it in all respects the form of an arrow, making the point which they put on very large and in keeping with its thickness. And the men who stand on either side wind it up tight by means of certain appliances, and then the grooved shaft shoots forward and stops, but the missile is discharged from the shaft, and with such force that it described by Procopius is the catapult of earlier times; the ballista hurled stones, not arrows. See the Classical Dictionaries for illustrations.

*2* The "shaft" is a holder for the missile, and it (not the missile) is driven by the bowstring. When the holder stops, the missile goes on.
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οὐχ ἢσσον ἢ κατὰ δύο τῆς τοξείας βολάς, δένδρου
dὲ ἡ λίθου ἐπίτυχον τέμνει ῥαδίως. τοιαύτη μὲν
ἡ μηχανή ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου, ὦτι δὴ
βάλλει ὡς μάλιστα, ἐπικληθεῖσα. ἐτέρας δὲ
μηχανᾶς ἐπῆξαντο ἐν ταῖς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπάλ-
ξεσιν ἐς λίθων βολὰς ἐπιτηδείας. σφενδόνῃ δὲ
αὐταῖ εἰσὶν ἐμφερεῖς καὶ ὀναγροὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται.
ἐν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις λύκους ἔξω ἐπετίθεντο, οὐσ δὴ
ποιοῦσι τρόπῳ τοῦθε. δοκοῦσ δύο ἱστάσιν ἐκ
γῆς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας, ἔξω
τε εἰργασμένα ἐπὶ ἄλληλα θέμενοι τὰ μὲν ὅρθα,
tὰ δὲ ἐγκάρσια ἐναρμόζουσιν, ὡς τῶν ἐνέρσεων
tὰ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς ἄλληλα 1 τρυπῆματα φαίνεσθαι.

ἐκάστης δὲ ἀρμονίας ἐμβολή τις προῦχει, κέντρῳ
παχεῖ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερής ὦσα. καὶ τῶν
ξύλων τὰ ἐγκάρσια ἐς δοκοῦ ἐκατέραν πηξάμενοι,
ἀνωθεν ἄχρι ἐς μοῖραν δῆκοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν,
ὑπτίας τὰς δοκοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνακλίνουσι.

καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτῶν 2 ἐγγυτέρω οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκὼνται,
οῖ δὲ ἀνωθεν ἄκρων δοκῶν ἀψάμενοι ὀθοῦσιν,
αὐταὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίστορας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπί-
πτουσι τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὦσος ἀν
λάβοιεν, εὔπετῶς κτείνουσι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν
tαύτα ἐποίει.

1 ἄλληλα Carpe: ἄλλοιοι MSS.
2 αὐτῶν Haury: αὐτῶ K, αὐτῆς L.
attains the distance of not less than two bow-shots, and that, when it hits a tree or a rock, it pierces it easily. Such is the engine which bears this name, being so called because it shoots with very great force. And they fixed other engines along the parapet of the wall adapted for throwing stones. Now these resemble slings and are called “wild asses.” And outside the gates they placed “wolves,” which they make in the following manner. They set up two timbers which reach from the ground to the battlements; then they fit together beams which have been mortised to one another, placing some upright and others crosswise, so that the spaces between the intersections appear as a succession of holes. And from every joint there projects a kind of beak, which resembles very closely a thick goad. Then they fasten the cross-beams to the two upright timbers, beginning at the top and letting them extend half way down, and then lean the timbers back against the gates. And whenever the enemy come up near them, those above lay hold of the ends of the timbers and push, and these, falling suddenly upon the assailants, easily kill with the projecting beaks as many as they may catch. So Belisarius was thus engaged.

1 A popular etymology of βάλλιστα, a corrupted form of βάλλιστα; the point is in the Greek words βάλλω + μάλιστα, an etymology correct only as far as βάλλω is concerned.
2 Called also “scorpions”; described by Ammianus, l.c.
3 This contrivance was not one familiar to classical times. The “lupi” of Livy XXVIII. iii. were hooks; Vegetius, De Re Militari, ii. 25 and iv. 23, mentions “lupi” (also hooks), used to put a battering-ram out of action.
Γότθοι δὲ ὀκτωκαὶδεκάτη ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ἡμέρα, Οὐιττύγιδος σφίσων ἤγουμένου, ἀμφὶ ἠλίου ἀνατολάς ὡς τειχομαχήσοντες ἐπὶ 1 τῶν περίβολον ἦσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπανταὶ προῖον ἡ τῶν πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν ὦψις παντάπασι τε ἀήθης 2 οὐσα ἐξεπλησσε. Βελισάριος δὲ βαδιζοῦσαν ξῦν ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὅρων τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν, ἐγέλα τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἵππας ἂρχειν, ἐως αὐτὸς σημῆνη. ὅτον δὲ ἐνεκα γελώ, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα 3 ἡκιστα ἐδήλου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐγνώσθη. Ῥωμαίων μέντοι αὐτῶν εἰρωνεύεσθαι ὑποτοπόσαντες ἐκάκιζόν τε καὶ ἀναιδῇ ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἴοντας οὐκ ἀναστέλλοι τοὺς ἐναντίους, δεινά 4 ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι τῆς τάφρου ἐγγυτέρω ἡκομοῦ, πρῶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ τοξον ἐντείνας, τῶν 2 τινα τεθωρακισμένουν 3 τε καὶ τῆς στρατιάς 5 ἤγουμένων 4 εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχών βάλλει. καὶ ὁ μὲν καιρίαν πληγεῖς ἔπεσεν ὕπτιως, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ λεώς ἄπας ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιον τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσοι, ἀριστον οἰώνων ξυνενεχθῆναι σφίσων 6 οἰόμενοι. διὸς δὲ Βελισαρίου τὸ βέλος ἀφεντός, ταῦτα τοῦτο καὶ αὐτίς ἅγνατη, καὶ ἡ τε κραυγὴ μεῖζον ἀπὸ τοῦ περίβολον ἠρήθη καὶ τοὺς ποι- 7 λεμίους ἥσσῆσαι ἦδη Ῥωμαίοι φῶντο. καὶ τότε μὲν Βελισάριος τῇ μὲν στρατιὰ πάση κινεῖν τὰ

1 ἐπὶ L: ἀμφὶ Κ.  2 τῶν L: τῶν Κ, αὐτῶν editors.  3 τεθωρακισμένων Krašeninnikov: τεθωρακισμένον MSS.  4 ἤγουμένων Krašeninnikov: ἤγουμεν MSS.
XXII

On the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege the Goths moved against the fortifications at about sunrise under the leadership of Vittigis in order to assault the wall, and all the Romans were struck with consternation at the sight of the advancing towers and rams, with which they were altogether unfamiliar. But Belisarius, seeing the ranks of the enemy as they advanced with the engines, began to laugh, and commanded the soldiers to remain quiet and under no circumstances to begin fighting until he himself should give the signal. Now the reason why he laughed he did not reveal at the moment, but later it became known. The Romans, however, supposing him to be hiding his real feelings by a jest, abused him and called him shameless, and were indignant that he did not try to check the enemy as they came forward. But when the Goths came near the moat, the general first of all stretched his bow and with a lucky aim hit in the neck and killed one of the men in armour who were leading the army on. And he fell on his back mortally wounded, while the whole Roman army raised an extraordinary shout such as was never heard before, thinking that they had received an excellent omen. And twice did Belisarius send forth his bolt, and the very same thing happened again a second time, and the shouting rose still louder from the circuit-wall, and the Romans thought that the enemy were conquered already. Then Belisarius gave the signal for the
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toixeumata pantata eshmawne, toous de amfy auton aptantas es monous touss boas ekelene ballein.

8 pantou te twvn booun autika pseontow, ouste toous purgyous peraiterw kinein ei pollemoi eixon ouste ti epitekhasesthai aporoomenoi ev autw tou erghw

9 oioi te hisan. outw de belisarion te he pronoia egwsth th tou mhe ekastatow oustas touss pollemious anastellein peirasthai, kai oti gelofh thn twvn barybrwv enthevai, o de boas periakexei es twvn evantwv to teixos outw anepiskptwv elptida eixon. tauta mev amfi salariwv1 pulyrn egenveto.

10 Oýttigwv de taunt apektroustheis, Gotthwv men stratian pollhn autou eisase, falagynh de autwn baxeivn komidh poihsamenos kal tois arxhousin epistellhas prosebolh men mhdamh tou peribolou poiseis, menoutas de en taixei ballein te synh th estas epalkeis kai ois hkeista belisarwv kairovn evvidwv an epibothheiv etereose2 to teixous oti an autovs proseballeiv melly stratof pleioun, outw de amfi pulyrn Praivestitan epi moiraan tou peribolou hyn Rowmaioi Bibariv kalousi, kal h to teixos hyn epimakwston malosta,

11 pollh stratof hei. etugxanov de hhdh kai mchanai alla purygwn te kai krwv kai klimaokes pollal enutaiba oussai.

12 'Ev touwv de Gotthwv prosebolh etera es pul- lwn Avgeliani egyneto troptw toufide. 'Adrianou tou Rowmaion autokratoros taphos exo pulyg Avgelias estin, atexhv tou peribolou oson

13 lidhov bolhn, theama logov pollou axion. ptepol-

1 salariwv K: belisarion L.
2 etereose Haurgy: eterewsen MSS.

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whole army to put their bows into action, but those near himself he commanded to shoot only at the oxen. And all the oxen fell immediately, so that the enemy could neither move the towers further nor in their perplexity do anything to meet the emergency while the fighting was in progress. In this way the forethought of Belisarius in not trying to check the enemy while still at a great distance came to be understood, as well as the reason why he had laughed at the simplicity of the barbarians, who had been so thoughtless as to hope to bring oxen up to the enemy's wall. Now all this took place at the Salarian Gate. But Vittigis, repulsed at this point, left there a large force of Goths, making of them a very deep phalanx and instructing the commanders on no condition to make an assault upon the fortifications, but remaining in position to shoot rapidly at the parapet, and give Belisarius no opportunity whatever to take reinforcements to any other part of the wall which he himself might propose to attack with a superior force; he then went to the Praenestine Gate with a great force, to a part of the fortifications which the Romans call the "Vivarium," 1 where the wall was most assailable. Now it so happened that engines of war were already there, including towers and rams and a great number of ladders.

But in the meantime another Gothic assault was being made at the Aurelian Gate 2 in the following manner. The tomb of the Roman Emperor Hadrian 3 stands outside the Aurelian Gate, removed about a stone's throw from the fortifications, a very note-

1 See chap. xxiii. 15-17 and note.
2 Procopius errs again (cf. chap. xix. 4). He means the Porta Cornelia.
3 Now called Castello di Sant' Angelo.
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ηται γὰρ ἐκ λίθου Παρίσου καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις 1 μεμύκασιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐντὸς ἔχουτες. πλευραὶ τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἵσαι ἄλληλαις, εὑρὸς μὲν σχεδὸν τι ἐς λίθον βολὴν ἐκάστη ἐχουσα, μήκος δὲ ύπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος.

14 ἀγάλματα τε ἀνω ἐκ λίθου εἰσὶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων θαυμάσια ολα. τούτων δὴ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνθρώποι (ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι) τειχίσματι δύο ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλοντες καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποίηται. ἔοικε γοῦν πῦργῳ ύψηλῳ τύλις τῆς ἐκείνης προβεβλημένῳ. ἄν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐνταῦθα ἄχυρωμα ἰκανώτατον. τούτου δὲ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ Κωνσταντῖνος 3 ἐπιστήσας

16 Βελισάριος ἔτυχεν. δὴ ἐπέστειλε καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τείχους τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φαύλην τινὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἔχουσα. ἧκιστα γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμάχου ὄντος τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραρρέωτος, οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ προσβολὴν ἐσεθαι ὑποτοπίσας, οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγοις οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἀναγινωστῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔνειμεν. ἐς πεντακισχιλίους γὰρ μάλιστα τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα ἐν Ἐρώμη καὶ ἀρχαὶ τῆς πολυορκίας ἐννέη.

1 ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις K: ἐς ἄλληλοις L.
2 τούτου Maltretus: τούτω MSS.
3 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸν MSS.

1 i.e. no mortar or other binding material.
2 The square structure was the base of the monument, each side measuring 300 Roman feet in length and 85 feet in
worthy sight. For it is made of Parian marble, and the stones fit closely one upon the other, having nothing at all between them. And it has four sides which are all equal, each being about a stone's throw in length, while their height exceeds that of the city wall; and above there are statues of the same marble, representing men and horses, of wonderful workmanship. But since this tomb seemed to the men of ancient times a fortress threatening the city, they enclosed it by two walls, which extend to it from the circuit-wall, and thus made it a part of the wall. And, indeed, it gives the appearance of a high tower built as a bulwark before the gate there. So the fortifications at that point were most adequate. Now Constantinus, as it happened, had been appointed by Belisarius to have charge of the garrison at this tomb. And he had instructed him also to attend to the guarding of the adjoining wall, which had a small and inconsiderable garrison. For, since that part of the circuit-wall was the least assailable of all, because the river flows along it, he supposed that no assault would be made there, and so stationed an insignificant garrison at that place, and, since the soldiers he had were few, he assigned the great majority to the positions where there was most need of them. For the emperor's army gathered in Rome at the beginning of this siege amounted at most to height. Above this rose a cylindrical drum, surrounded by columns and carrying the statues, and perhaps capped by a second drum. For details see Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom, iii. 663 ff.

3 Procopius neglects to say that the tomb was across the river from the circuit-wall at this point, at the end of a bridge (Pons Aelius) which faced the gate (Porta Cornelia) which he calls the Aurelian Gate.
18 Κωνσταντῖνος ᾦ γάρ οἱ ἡγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς ἡς τῷ Τίβεριν ἀποτειρώμενοι διαβάσεως δεῖσας περὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τειχίσματι αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἐκεῖσε ἕυν ὅλιγοις τισίν ἐβοήθει, τοὺς δὲ πλείοσι τῆς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τε καὶ τῷ τάφῳ φρουρᾶς ἐπιμελείσθαι παρῆγγελλεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Γόθοι πύλῃ τῇ Ἀυρηλίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἀδριανοῦ πύργῳ προσέβαλλον, μηχανή μὲν οὐδεμιᾶν ἔχοντες, κλιμάκως δὲ πάμπολλὶ τι ἐπαγόμενοι χρήμα καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει ῥάζον ὑπὲρ ἡπορίαν καταστήσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἴομενοι καὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου κρατήσει γι' ὁλογνώρω-πίαν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. θύρας δὲ προβεβλημένοι ἐβαδίζον, οὐδὲν ἐλασσομένας τῶν ἐν Πέρσας θυρεῶν, καὶ ἐλαθόν γε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀγχοτάτω 20 αὐτῶν ἤκουτες. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῇ στοάς κρυπτόμενοι ἠλθοῦν ἡ ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν διήκει. ἐνθεύαντες θανατοφόρους ἕργλον εἴχοντο, ὡς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλότροι σφόδροι καὶ οὐκ ἐναντίον τοὺς φύλακας οἴουσ ταῖς ἔνας (οὐ γὰρ πεμποῦσιν ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἐναντίος αἰ μηχανᾶν αὐτὶ τὰ βέλη) οὗ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεῦμασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμυνοῦσαι, τοῦ πράγματος σφίγα διὰ τὰς θύρας 21 αὐτῶν ἤκουτες. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῇ στοάς κρυπτόμενοι ἠλθοῦν ἡ ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν διήκει. ἐνθεύαντες θανατοφόρους ἕργλον εἴχοντο, ὡς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλότροι σφόδροι καὶ οὐκ ἐναντίον τοὺς φύλακας οἴουσ ταῖς ἔνας (οὐ γὰρ πεμποῦσιν ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἐναντίος αἰ μηχανᾶν αὐτὶ τὰ βέλη) οὗ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεῦμασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμυνοῦσαι, τοῦ πράγματος σφίγα διὰ τὰς θύρας ἠλθοῦν τοῖς κρυπτόμενοι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρῆγγελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καρτερὸς τε οἱ Γόθοι ἐνέκειντο, βάλλοντες συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, καὶ ταῖς κλίμακας ἤδη προσήκοντο τῷ τειχίσματι ἐμελλον, κυκλώσαντες σχεδὸν τῷ τούς ἑκ τοῦ τάφου ἀμυνομένοις, ἀεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ χωρῆσαιν, κατὰ νῦντο ἑκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐγίνοντο, χρόνον μὲν

1 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανός MSS.
2 θυρεῶν K: δέρρεων L, γέρρων Scaliger.
3 ἠλθοῦν K: ἠλαθοῦν L.
4 ὅτι μὴ L: om. K.
only five thousand men. But since it was reported to Constantinus that the enemy were attempting the crossing of the Tiber, he became fearful for that part of the fortifications and went thither himself with all speed, accompanied by some few men to lend assistance, commanding the greater part of his men to attend to the guarding of the gate and the tomb. But meanwhile the Goths began an assault upon the Aurelian Gate and the Tower of Hadrian, and though they had no engines of war, they brought up a great quantity of ladders, and thought that by shooting a vast number of arrows they would very easily reduce the enemy to a state of helplessness and overpower the garrison there without any trouble on account of its small numbers. And as they advanced, they held before them shields no smaller than the long shields used by the Persians, and they succeeded in getting very close to their opponents without being perceived by them. For they came hidden under the colonnade which extends to the church of the Apostle Peter. From that shelter they suddenly appeared and began the attack, so that the guards were neither able to use the engine called the ballista (for these engines do not send their missiles except straight out), nor, indeed, could they ward off their assailants with their arrows, since the situation was against them on account of the large shields. But the Goths kept pressing vigorously upon them, shooting many missiles at the battlements, and they were already about to set their ladders against the wall, having practically surrounded those who were fighting from the tomb; for whenever the Goths advanced they always got in the rear of the Romans

1 From the Pons Aelius.
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tina ὀλίγον ἐκπλήξεις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο σὺν ἔχοσιν ¹ καθ’ ὃ τι χρή ἀμυνομένους σωθήναι, μετὰ δὲ ἐξυμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἁγαλμάτων τὰ πλείστα, μεγάλα λίαν ὄντα, διέφθειρον, αἱροῦτές τε λίθους περιπληθεῖς ἐυθέντε χερσίν ἄμφοτέραις κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔρριπτον, οἵ 23 δὲ βαλλόμενοι ἐνεδίδοσαν. κατὰ βραχὺ τε αὐ- τῶν ὑποχωροῦντων, τὸ πλέον ἥδη Ῥωμαίοι ἐχοῦτες, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ ξύν δειδήμοι τόξως τε καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τοὺς τείχομαχούτας ἠμύ- 24 νοτο. καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν ἀψάμενοι ἐς δέος μέγα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἥγου, ἢ τε προσβολὴ αὐτῶν δί’ 25 ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. παρῆν δὲ ἥδη καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ² δεδιξάμενος τε τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποτειρασα- μένους καὶ ῥάδιως ὲσχύσαν, ἐπεὶ οὐ πανταπάσιν ἀφύλακτον, ὀσπερ ἄνωτο, τὸ ἐκεῖνη τείχισμα εὑρον. οὕτω τε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀυρηλίαν ἐγένετο.

XXIII

′Εσ μέντοι πῦλην τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Τίβεριν, ἢ Παγκρατιανὴ καλεῖται, δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων ἐλθοῦσα οὐδέν ὃ τι καὶ ξὺν λόγου ἔδρασε, χωρίων ἵσχύι. ἀνάντης τε γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ εὐπετής ταύτῃ ὅ τῆς πόλεως περι- 2 βολὸς ἐστὶ. Παύλος ἔνταῦθα φιλακὴν εἰχε, ξὺν καταλόγῳ πεζίκῳ οὗ αὐτὸς ἤρχεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

¹ ἔχοσιν Ηαιρύ : ἔχοσιν ἐλλάδα MSS.
² Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xxii. 22–xxiii. 2

on both flanks; and for a short time consternation fell upon the Romans, who knew not what means of defence they should employ to save themselves, but afterwards by common agreement they broke in pieces the most of the statues, which were very large, and taking up great numbers of stones thus secured, threw them with both hands down upon the heads of the enemy, who gave way before this shower of missiles. And as they retreated a little way, the Romans, having by now the advantage, plucked up courage, and with a mighty shout began to drive back their assailants by using their bows and hurling stones at them. And putting their hands to the engines, they reduced their opponents to great fear, and their assault was quickly ended. And by this time Constantinus also was present, having frightened back those who had tried the river and easily driven them off, because they did not find the wall there entirely unguarded, as they had supposed they would. And thus safety was restored at the Aurelian Gate.

XXIII

But at the gate beyond the Tiber River, which is called the Pancratian Gate, a force of the enemy came, but accomplished nothing worth mentioning because of the strength of the place; for the fortifications of the city at this point are on a steep elevation and are not favourably situated for assaults. Paulus was keeping guard there with an infantry detachment which he commanded in person.

1 Because of the quadrangular shape of the building the Goths were able to take their enemy in flank and in rear by advancing beyond the corners. 2 i.e. the Cornelian.

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πύλης Φλαμνίας ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἡπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ
κρημνώδει κειμένη οὐ λίαν ἔστων εὐπρόσοδος. οἱ
Ῥήγες ἐνταύθα, πεζικῶν τέλος, ἐφύλασσον καὶ
Οὐρσικῖνος, δι αὐτῶν ἤρχε. ταύτης δὲ μεταξύ
τῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχομένης πυλίδος, ἡ
Πυγκιανὴ ὀνομαζότατη, μοιρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου
dίχα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ ταῦταμάτων διαρρεβεῖσα,
οὐκ ἐξ ἐδάφους μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐκ μήκους τοῦ
ήμίσεος, οὐκ ἔπεσε μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλος διεφθάρη,
ἐκλίθη δὲ οὕτως ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἑκτὸς
τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἑντὸς φαύνεσθαι. καὶ
ὡς αὐτοῦ Περίβολον Διερρωγότα Ρωμαῖοι τῇ
σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον.

τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος καθελεῖν τε καὶ ἀνοικοδοµή-
σασθαι Βελισάριον κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐγχειροῦντα
ἐκώλυν Ρωμαῖοι, Πέτρον σφίζει τὸν ἀπόστολον
ὑποσχέσθαι ἰσχυριζόμενοι αὐτῷ μελήσεις τοῦ
ἐνταύθα φυλακτηρίου. τούτων δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον
σέβονται Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τεθήτασι πάντων μα-

λιστα. ἀπέβη τε αὐτοῖς ἀπαντα ἐν τρές τῷ
χωρίῳ ἢ διενούντο καὶ προσεδόκων. οὐδὲ γὰρ
tῇ ἠμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν ἀπαντα
χρόνον καθ’ οὐ Γόθθοι Ρώμην ἐπολιόρκον, οὐτὲ
πολεμών τις δύναμις ἐνταύθα ἀφίκετο οὔτε τινὰ

ταραχὴν γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, καὶ ἑθαυμαζόμεν γε
ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐς μνήμην ἡμετέραν ἢ τῶν πολεμῶν

1 "No doubt these are the same as the Regii, one of the
seventeen 'Auxilia Palatina' under the command of the
Magister Militum Praesentalis, mentioned in the Notitia
Orientis, cap. v."—Hodgkin.

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like manner they made no attempt on the Flaminian Gate, because it is situated on a precipitous slope and is not very easy of access. The "Reges,"1 an infantry detachment, were keeping guard there with Ursicinus, who commanded them. And between this gate and the small gate next on the right, which is called the Pincian, a certain portion of the wall had split open of its own accord in ancient times, not clear to the ground, however, but about half way down, but still it had not fallen or been otherwise destroyed, though it leaned so to either side that one part of it appeared outside the rest of the wall and the other inside. And from this circumstance the Romans from ancient times have called the place "Broken Wall"2 in their own tongue. But when Belisarius in the beginning undertook to tear down this portion and rebuild it, the Romans prevented him, declaring that the Apostle Peter had promised them that he would care for the guarding of the wall there. This Apostle is reverenced by the Romans and held in awe above all others. And the outcome of events at this place was in all respects what the Romans contended and expected. For neither on that day nor throughout the whole time during which the Goths were besieging Rome did any hostile force come to that place, nor did any disturbance occur there. And we marvelled indeed that it never occurred to us nor to the enemy to remember this portion of the

1 Murus Ruptus. "Here, to this day, notwithstanding some lamentable and perfectly unnecessary "restorations" of recent years, may be seen some portions of the Muro Torto, a twisted, bulging, overhanging mass of opus reticulatum."—HODGKIN.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὕτη τοῦ περιβόλου ἡ μοῖρα παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἦλθεν, οὔτε τειχομαχούντων οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλεύοντων τῷ τείχει, οία πολλὰ ἐνεχείρησαν. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ὑστερῶν τις ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τούτῳ ἔτολμησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν τὴν οὔτω τὸ ἐκείνη διηρήται τείχος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁδὲ πὴ ἔσχεν.

Εὐν δὲ Σαλαρία πύλη Γότθος ἀνὴρ εὐμήκης τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια θώρακά τε ἐνδιδυσκόμενος καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, ὁν τὸν ἀφανῆς ἐν τῷ Γότθων ἔθνει, οὐκ ἐν τάξει ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δένδρου ἑστάμενος ἐβαλλεὶ.

συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἑπάλξεις. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἄνδρα μηχανὴ ἐν πύργῳ κατὰ μέρος τὸ λαιὸν οὐσά τόντη τινὶ ἐβαλε. διαβὰ δὲ τὸν τε θώρακα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸ βέλος ὑπὲρ ἡμισὺ ἐς τὸ δένδρον ἐδυ, ἐνέργει τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα.

ξυνάδησαν νεκρὸν ἡρτησεν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι κατείδου, κατορρωδήσαντες καὶ βελῶν ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμενον μὲν ἐτὶ ἐν τάξει, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐκέτι ἐλύτουν.

Βέσσας δὲ καὶ Περάνιος, Οὐσττήγιδος ἐν Βι-

βαρίῳ ἵσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου σφίστι, Βελισάριον μετεπέμπηστα. ὁ δὲ δεῖσας περὶ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τείχει (ἡν γὰρ ταύτη ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὁπερ ἐνεχισταὶ) κατὰ τάχους ἐβοήθει αὐτὸς, τῶν τινα

1 ὁτι... περιβόλου Κ. ὁτι ὅτι μνήμην ἡκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἢ ἔστειραν αὕτη ὅ τοῦ περιβόλου μοῖρα L.
2 ἐβαλλε L. ἐβαλε K. 3 συχνὰ K: σχοῖνον L.
fortifications during the whole time, either while they were making their assaults or carrying out their designs against the wall by night; and yet many such attempts were made. It was for this reason, in fact, that at a later time also no one ventured to rebuild this part of the defences, but up to the present day the wall there is split open in this way. So much, then, for this.

And at the Salarian Gate a Goth of goodly stature and a capable warrior, wearing a corselet and having a helmet on his head, a man who was of no mean station in the Gothic nation, refused to remain in the ranks with his comrades, but stood by a tree and kept shooting many missiles at the parapet. But this man by some chance was hit by a missile from an engine which was on a tower at his left. And passing through the corselet and the body of the man, the missile sank more than half its length into the tree, and pinning him to the spot where it entered the tree, it suspended him there a corpse. And when this was seen by the Goths they fell into great fear, and getting outside the range of missiles, they still remained in line, but no longer harassed those on the wall.

But Bessas and Peranius summoned Belisarius, since Vittigis was pressing most vigorously upon them at the Vivarium. And he was fearful concerning the wall there (for it was most assailable at that point, as has been said\(^1\)), and so came to the rescue himself with all speed, leaving one of his friends at

\(^1\) Chap. xxii. 10.

\(^4\) εβαλε K : ἐβαλλε L.
\(^5\) αὐτὸς Christ : αὐτὸς ἐνα MSS.
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14 ἐπιτηδείων λιπῶν ἐν Σαλαρίᾳ. καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρών ἐν Βιβαρίῳ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πεφοβημένους, μεγάλην τε οὕσαν καὶ πολυνάθρωπον, ὑπερφρονεῖν τε τῶν πολεμίων

15 ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη. ἦν δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ χῶρος ὁμαλὸς κομιδῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐφόδοις τῶν προσιόντων ἐκκείμενος.2 τῦχη τε τινὶ τὸ ἐκείνην τείχος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διερρήκει ὡς τῶν πλίνθων μὴ λίαι τὴν εξυνθήκην

16 ξυνίστασθαι. τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο βραχὺ περιέβαλλον ἐξωθεὶν αὐτῷ οἱ πάλαι Ὁρμαιοί, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐνεκα (οὐ γὰρ οὐν οὐδὲ πύργων ὅχυρωμα εἶχεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπάλξεις τινὲς ἐνταῦθα πεποίητο οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ὄθεν ἀν καὶ ἀπώσασθαι οἶνον τῇ ἤ τῇ ἐς τῶν περίβολον ἐπιβουλή τῶν πολεμίων), ἀλλὰ τρυφῆς τινὸς οὐκ εὑρεστοὺς χάριν, ὅπως δὴ λέοντάς τε καὶ τάλλα θηρία καθεξαντες ἐνταῦθα τηροῖεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ Βιβάριον τοῦτο ὄνομασται: οὕτω γὰρ Ὁρμαιοί καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον οὐ ἄν τῶν ξάφων τὰ μὴ χειροπῆθη τρέφεσθαι εἰσώθεν. Ὁυίττωσι μὲν οὐν μηχανάς τε ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους ἡτοίμαζε καὶ ὀρύσσεων 3 τὸ ἔξω τείχισμα τοὺς Γοῦθους ἐκέλευν,4 οἴμοιος, ἂν τοῦτον ἐντός γένωνται, πόνῳ οὖδεὶν τοῦ τείχους κρατήσειν, ὅπερ οὐδαμὴ ἐχυρῶν

18 ξυνηπιστάτο εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ὃρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ τε Βιβάριον διορύσσοντας καὶ πολλαχῇ τοῦ περίβολου προσβάλλοντας, οὕτε

1 εὐρών K: ὀρών L.
2 ἐκκείμενος Haury: ἐγκείμενος MSS.
3 ὀρύσσεων K: κατὰ L.
4 ἐκέλευν K: ἰέναι ἐκέλευν L.
the Salarian Gate. And finding that the soldiers in
the Vivarium dreaded the attack of the enemy,
which was being pressed with great vigour and by
very large numbers, he bade them look with con-
tempt upon the enemy and thus restored their con-
dience. Now the ground there\(^1\) was very level, and
consequently the place lay open to the attacks of
any assailant. And for some reason the wall at that
point had crumbled a great deal, and to such an
extent that the binding of the bricks did not hold
together very well. Consequently the ancient Romans
had built another wall of short length outside of it
and encircling it, not for the sake of safety (for it was
neither strengthened with towers, nor indeed was
there any battlement built upon it, nor any other
means by which it would have been possible to
repulse an enemy's assault upon the fortifications),
but in order to provide for an unseemly kind of
luxury, namely, that they might confine and keep
there lions and other wild animals. And it is for
this reason that this place has been named the
Vivarium; for thus the Romans call a place where
untamed animals are regularly cared for. So Vit-
tigis began to make ready various engines at dif-
ferent places along the wall and commanded the
Goths to mine the outside wall, thinking that, if
they should get inside that, they would have no
trouble in capturing the main wall, which he knew
to be by no means strong. But Belisarius, seeing
that the enemy was undermining the Vivarium and
assaulting the fortifications at many places, neither

\(^1\) The exact location is hard to determine; the majority
of the authorities agree on the location given in the plan
(opposite p. 185), near the Porta Labicana.
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ἀμύνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ούτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι μένειν, ὅτι μῆ λίαν ὁλίγους, εἴα, καίπερ ἀπαν ἔξεν αὐτῷ ἔχων εἰ τι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγιμον ἤν.

19 κάτω δέ ἂπαντας ἀμφὶ τὰς πῦλας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἰχε τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ ἔβη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι, διελόντες τὸν τοίχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν ἔξεν ἄλλους τις κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἑσβιβάσας

20 ἐργον ἐκέλευεν ἑχεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐσπεστωκότας ἂπαντας ἕκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους καὶ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαφθειρομένους ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν ἐξοδον στενοχωρία. τῶν δὲ πολεμῶν τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καταπλαγέντων καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει συντεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλον ἄλλῃ φερομένον, τοῦ περιβόλου τὰς πῦλας ἀνακλίνας ἐξαπινάως

21 ἂπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἠφίει τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι ἐστὶν ἡκίστα ἐβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν, ὅπῃ ἐκαστὸς ἐτυχεν, ἀρμοντο- ἔπιστο- μενοι δὲ Ἡρωμαι τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐν ποσὶ βαρστά ἐκτείνων, ἢ τε δίωξες πολλῇ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι μακρῶν ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σφετέρων χαρά-

22 κωμάτων τῆς ἐτειχομάχου. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμῶν μηχανὰς καὶ εἰς ἐκέλευεν, ἐπὶ πλεί-

23 στῶν τε ἡ φλοξ αἱρομένη μείζονα τὴν ἐκπληξίν, ἀς τὸ εἶκός, τοῖς φεῦγονσιν ἐποίει.

24 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ πύλην Σαλαρίαν ἐμ-

peseiin tìn ὁμοίαν τύχην ἐνυβίη. τὰς τὰ χάρπλα ἐξαπινάως ἀνέφων καὶ ἐσ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐνέπιπτον, τούτοις τε οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ τὰ νῦτα στρέφαντας ἕκτεινον,

1 ἐκέλευεν Κ.: ἑλα Λ. 2 μὲν K.: μὲν τῷ φόβῳ Λ.
3 τοὺς ἐσπεστωκότας K.: πεπτωκότας Λ.
4 ἐποίει K.: ἐνεποίει Λ.
allowed the soldiers to defend the wall nor to remain at the battlement, except a very few, although he had with him whatever men of distinction the army contained. But he held them all in readiness below about the gates, with their corselets on and carrying only swords in their hands. And when the Goths, after making a breach in the wall, got inside the Vivarium, he quickly sent Cyprian with some others into the enclosure against them, commanding them to set to work. And they slew all who had broken in, for these made no defence and at the same time were being destroyed by one another in the cramped space about the exit. And since the enemy were thrown into dismay by the sudden turn of events and were not drawn up in order, but were rushing one in one direction and one in another, Belisarius suddenly opened the gates of the circuit-wall and sent out his entire army against his opponents. And the Goths had not the least thought of resistance, but rushed off in flight in any and every direction, while the Romans, following them up, found no difficulty in killing all whom they fell in with, and the pursuit proved a long one, since the Goths, in assaulting the wall at that place, were far away from their own camps. Then Belisarius gave the order to burn the enemy's engines, and the flames, rising to a great height, naturally increased the consternation of the fugitives.

Meanwhile it chanced that the same thing happened at the Salarian Gate also. For the Romans suddenly opened the gates and fell unexpectedly upon the barbarians, and, as these made no resistance but turned their backs, slew them; and they
ΠΡΟΚΟΙΟΥΣ ΟF ΚΑΣΕΡΕΑ

25 καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς μηχανήματα ἔκαιον. καὶ ἡ
tε φλὸς πολλαχή τοῦ τεῖχους ἐπὶ μέγα ἡρθη ἡ
tοῦ Γόθθων ὑπαγωγῆ κατὰ κράτος ἡθη ἐκ παντὸς
tοῦ περιβόλου ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τείχει τοῖς διώ-
kουσιν ἐγκελευσμένων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς χαρακῶμαι

26 τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν ὀδυρομένων. ἀπέ-
θανον δὲ Γόθθων ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρισμύριοι, ὡς
αὐτῶν οἱ ἁρχοντες ἱσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τραυματίαι
πλείους ἐγένοντο· ἀτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει πολλῷ οἶ
τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὰ πλείστα ἐτύγχανον εἰς
αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ἑπεκδρομὰς ποιοῦ-
μενοι πάμπολυ τῇ χρήμα καταπετληγμένων τε

27 καὶ φευγόντων ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρον. ἦ τοῦ τεῖχο-
μαχία πρὸς ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς δείλην ὄψιν.
ταῦτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νῦκτα ἡπίλσαντο ἑκάτεροι,
Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ παιανίζοντες καὶ
Βελσάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ τῶν
νεκρῶν σκυλεύματα ἑχοντες, Γόθθων δὲ τοὺς τε
τραυματίας σφῶν θεραπεύοντες καὶ τοὺς τελευτη-
σαντας ὀδυρομένοι.

XXIV

Βελσάριος τε γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν·
ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευς, χωρὰν τε αὐτῆς
περιβεβλημένου πολλῆν καὶ Ῥώμην κατελάβο-
μεν, ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ταύτης βαρβάρους, ὥσπερ
ἐναγχος τῶν ἁρχοντα Δεύδερων εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐπεμψα.

2 συμβέβηκε δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐν

1 τείχει Haury: τείχει Ῥωμαίων MSS.
burned the engines of war which were within their reach. And the flames at many parts of the wall rose to a great height, and the Goths were already being forced to retire from the whole circuit-wall; and the shouting on both sides was exceedingly loud, as the men on the wall urged on the pursuers, and those in the camps bewailed the overwhelming calamity they had suffered. Among the Goths there perished on that day thirty thousand, as their leaders declared, and a larger number were wounded; for since they were massed in great numbers, those fighting from the battlement generally hit somebody when they shot at them, and at the same time those who made the sallies destroyed an extraordinary number of terrified and fleeing men. And the fighting at the wall, which had commenced early in the morning, did not end until late in the afternoon. During that night, then, both armies bivouacked where they were, the Romans singing the song of victory on the fortifications and lauding Belisarius to the skies, having with them the spoils stripped from the fallen, while the Goths cared for their wounded and bewailed their dead.

XXIV

And Belisarius wrote a letter to the emperor of the following purport: “We have arrived in Italy, as thou didst command, and we have made ourselves masters of much territory in it and have taken possession of Rome also, after driving out the barbarians who were here, whose leader, Leuderis, I have recently sent to you. But since we have stationed
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te Σικελία καὶ Ἰταλία ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὄχυρω-
mάτων καταστησάμενοι ὁππερ δυνατοὶ κατα-
κεκρατηκέναι γεγόναμεν, τὸ στρατεύμα ἐς πεντα-
κισχιλίους ἀπολελείφθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἤκουσιν
ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ὡς μυριάδας πεντεκαϊδέκα συνειλεγμένοι.
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπή τῶν ἀνδρῶν
γενομένοις παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν, ἡνναγκασμέ-
νοις τε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν,
μικροῦ κατακεχώσθαι δοράτων συμβέβηκε πλή-
θει. ἔπειτα δὲ τείχομαχήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηχαναῖς τισι προσβα-
λόντες πανταχόσε τοῦ τείχους, ὅλιγον ἐδέσαν
ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοβοεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, εἰ
5 μῆ τις ἡμᾶς ἀνήρπασε τύχη. τὰ γὰρ τῶν
πραγμάτων νικῶντα τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως
ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἄλλ’ ἐς τὸ κρεῖσσον, ἀναφέ-
6 ρεσθαί πρέποι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν
πεπραγμένα, εἰτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἰτε ἀρετῇ, ὡς
ἀριστα ἔχει. τὰ δὲ ἐνθεόνδε βουλοῖμην ἂν ἀμείων
7 τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς σοῖς ἐσεσθαί. ὡς μὲν-
τοι προσήκει ἐμὲ τε εἰπείν καὶ ἡμᾶς πρᾶξαι, οὐ
μὴποτε ἀποκρύψομαι, ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶς, ὡς πρόεισι
μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπῃ ἂν βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ
ἐη, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀπάντων προστάται ἐκ
τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων τὰς αἰτίας ἢ
8 τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐς ἀεὶ φέρονται. οὐκοῦν ὅπλα τε
καὶ στρατιῶται στελλέσθων ἐς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτοι
τὸ πλῆθος ὡστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν
ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε
9 καθίστασθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαντα χρεῶν πιστεύ-
ειν τῇ τύχῃ, ἔπει οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὸν
a great number of soldiers both in Sicily and in Italy to guard the strongholds which we have proved able to capture, our army has in consequence been reduced to only five thousand men. But the enemy have come against us, gathered together to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. And first of all, when we went out to spy upon their forces along the Tiber River and were compelled, contrary to our intention, to engage with them, we lacked only a little of being buried under a multitude of spears. And after this, when the barbarians attacked the wall with their whole army and assaulted the fortifications at every point with sundry engines of war, they came within a little of capturing both us and the city at the first onset, and they would have succeeded had not some chance snatched us from ruin. For achievements which transcend the nature of things may not properly and fittingly be ascribed to man's valour, but to a stronger power. Now all that has been achieved by us hitherto, whether it has been due to some kind fortune or to valour, is for the best; but as to our prospects from now on, I could wish better things for thy cause. However, I shall never hide from you anything that it is my duty to say and yours to do, knowing that while human affairs follow whatever course may be in accordance with God's will, yet those who are in charge of any enterprise always win praise or blame according to their own deeds. Therefore let both arms and soldiers be sent to us in such numbers that from now on we may engage with the enemy in this war with an equality of strength. For one ought not to trust everything to fortune, since fortune, on its part, is not given to following the same course.
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χρόνον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἀλλὰ σὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκεῖνο εἰσίτω, ὡς ἦν 1 νῦν ἡμῶν οἱ βάρβαροι περιέστησαν, Ἰταλίας τε τῆς σῆς ἐκπεσούμεθα καὶ προσαποβαλούμεν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ προσέσται ήμῖν τοσαύτῃ τις οὐσα ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν 10 πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνη. εὖ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀπολείνω δόξαιμεν, οἳ γε περὶ ἐλάσσονος τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἢ τήν σὴν βασιλείαν πεποί- 11 ηται πίστεως. ὡστε ήμῖν καὶ τήν ἄχρι τοῦ ἄνω 12 τετελευτηκέναι ξυμβήσεται. εἰ γὰρ Ῥώμης ἡμῖν καὶ Ἐκαστανίας καὶ τὸ πολὺ πρότερον Σικελίας ἀποκεκροῦσθαι τετύχη, τὸ πάντων ἀν ἡμᾶς κονφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλο- 13 τρίοις δεδυνήσται πλούτεις. καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἅξιον, ὡς Ῥώμην πὼποτε πλεῖον τινα χρόνου ὅπερ μνηματίζεται, ὡς Ῥώμην πὼποτε πλεῖον τινα χρόνου ὅπερ μνηματίζεται, τῶν δὲ κακῶν αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μηκυνομένων, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς κονφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλο- 14 τρίοις δεδυνήσται πλούτεις. καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἅξιον, ὡς Ῥώμην πὼποτε πλεῖον τινα χρόνου ὅπερ μνηματίζεται, τῶν δὲ κακῶν αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μηκυνομένων, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς κονφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλο- 15 τρίοις δεδυνήσται πλούτεις. καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἅξιον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μηκυνομένων, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς κονφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλο- 16 τρίοις δεδυνήσται πλούτεις. καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἅξιον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μηκυνομένων, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς κονφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλο-

1 ἄς ἦν L: ἦν γὰρ K.
2 νῦν μὲν Haury: μὲν, νῦν μὲν K, μὲν νῦν L.
forever. But do thou, O Emperor, take this thought to heart, that if at this time the barbarians win the victory over us, we shall be cast out of Italy which is thine and shall lose the army in addition, and besides all this we shall have to bear the shame, however great it may be, that attaches to our conduct. For I refrain from saying that we should also be regarded as having ruined the Romans, men who have held their safety more lightly than their loyalty to thy kingdom. Consequently, if this should happen, the result for us will be that the successes we have won thus far will in the end prove to have been but a prelude to calamities. For if it had so happened that we had been repulsed from Rome and Campania and, at a much earlier time, from Sicily, we should only be feeling the sting of the lightest of all misfortunes, that of having found ourselves unable to grow wealthy on the possessions of others. And again, this too is worthy of consideration by you, that it has never been possible even for many times ten thousand men to guard Rome for any considerable length of time, since the city embraces a large territory, and, because it is not on the sea, is shut off from all supplies. And although at the present time the Romans are well disposed toward us, yet when their troubles are prolonged, they will probably not hesitate to choose the course which is better for their own interests. For when men have entered into friendship with others on the spur of the moment, it is not while they are in evil fortune, but while they prosper, that they are accustomed to keep faith with them. Furthermore, the Romans will be compelled by hunger to do many things they would prefer not to do.
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17 ἄν βούλουντο πράξαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδα θάνατον ὀφείλων τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζῶντα με οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐνθένδε ἔξελαν ἡ δύνατον· σκόπει δὲ ὅποιαν ποτὲ σοι δόξαν ἢ τοιαύτη Βελισαρίου τελευτὴ φέρειν.

18 Τοσαύτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἐγράψε. βασιλεύς δὲ λινὸς εὐνυταραχθεῖς στρατευμά τε καὶ ναῦς σπουδῆ ήγειρε καὶ τοῖς ἁμφί Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ

19 Μαρτύνον ἐπέστελλε κατὰ τάχος ιέναι. σταλέντες γὰρ ἔην στρατεύματι ἄλλο ἁμφί τὰς κειμερινὰς τροπὰς ἐτυχον, ἐφ’ θ’ πλεύσουσιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν.

20 οἱ δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα (περαιτέρω γὰρ βίαζον οίκτων πλοῦν οὐχ οἰον θανατόν) διεσκέιμαζον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰτωλίας τε καὶ Ἁκαρ-νανίας χωρίας. ταῦτα τε Βελισαρίω δηλώσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεύς ἐτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τε καὶ Ἅρμαίοις ἀπάντας ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπέρρωσεν.

21 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Νεαπόλει τοιώδες γενέσθαι. Θεωδερίχον τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ ἐτύχαν οὐσά, ἐκ ψηφίδων θυσίων ξυγκειμένη, μικρών μὲν ἔς ἅγαν, χρωιαίς

22 δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσαις. ταῦτης τῆς εἰκώνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρήματι ζώντος Θεωδερίχου ξυμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπι-βολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου εὐνυταραχθείσης, καὶ Θεωδερίχῳ ξυνηνέχθη τελευτήσαι τῶν βίων αὐτίκα

23 δὴ μάλα. ἐναυτοῖς δὲ ὀκτὼ ὦστερον αἰ τὴν τῆς εἰκώνος γαστέρα ποιοῦσα ψηφίδες διερρήκαραν εξαιτιῶν, καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θεωδερίχου

24 θυγατρίδοις εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτα. χρόνον τε τριβέντος

1 ἔξελαν K.: ἔξελειν L.

2 δὲ λινὸν K.: τε L.
Now as for me, I know I am bound even to die for thy kingdom, and for this reason no man will ever be able to remove me from this city while I live; but I beg thee to consider what kind of a fame such an end of Belisarius would bring thee."

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. And the emperor, greatly distressed, began in haste to gather an army and ships, and sent orders to the troops of Valerian and Martinus\(^1\) to proceed with all speed. For they had been sent, as it happened, with another army at about the winter solstice, with instructions to sail to Italy. But they had sailed as far as Greece, and since they were unable to force their way any farther, they were passing the winter in the land of Aetolia and Acarnania. And the Emperor Justinian sent word of all this to Belisarius, and thus filled him and all the Romans with still greater courage and confirmed their zeal.

At this time it so happened that the following event took place in Naples. There was in the market-place a picture of Theoderic, the ruler of the Goths, made by means of sundry stones which were exceedingly small and tinted with nearly every colour. At one time during the life of Theoderic it had come to pass that the head of this picture fell apart, the stones as they had been set having become disarranged without having been touched by anyone, and by a coincidence Theoderic finished his life forthwith. And eight years later the stones which formed the body of the picture fell apart suddenly, and Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, immediately died. And after the passage of a short time, the

\(^1\) Leaders of foederati; see Book III. xi. 4–6; they had been recalled from Africa to Byzantium, cf. Book IV. xix. 2.
ολίγου πίπτουσι μὲν ἐς γῆν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοία ψηφίδες. Ἀμαλασούνθα δὲ ἡ Θευδερίχου παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡμάνιστο. ταῦτα μὲν οὐν τῇ δε

26 ἐξώρησε. Γότθων δὲ 'Ρώμης ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθισταμένων τὰ ἐκ τῶν τῆς εἰκόνος μηρῶν ἄχρι

27 ἐς ἄκρους πόδας διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκε, ταύτῃ τε ἀπασα ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ἐξίτηλος ἡ εἰκὼν γέγονεν·

οὗ τε Ῥωμαίοι τὸ πράγμα τοῦτο ξυμβαλόντες περιέσεθαι τῷ πολέμῳ ἱσχυρίζοντο τὸν τοῦ

βασιλέως στρατόν, οὐκ ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἶναι τοὺς Θευδερίχου πόδας ἢ τῶν Γότθων λεῶν ὡν ἐκεῖνος

ἡρχεν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐθελπίδες ἐτι

μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο.

28 'Εν μέντοι 'Ρώμη τῶν τινες πατρικίων τὰ

Σιβύλλης λόγια προὔφερον, ἱσχυρίζομεν τὸν κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα

29 γεγενηθαι μόνον. χρήναι γὰρ τότε βασιλέα

Ῥωμαίοις καταστήματι τινα, ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν

30 οὐδὲν 'Ρώμη τὸ λοιπὸν δεῖσει. Γετικὸν γὰρ

φαίνει ἔθνος τοὺς Γότθους εἶναι. εἰς ό ὅ

τὸ λόγιον ὅδε. Quintili mense * * rege nihil

31 Geticum iam * 2. πέμπτον δὲ μῆνα τῶν Ἰούλιον

ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Μαρτίου ἱστα-

μένου τὴν πολιορκία κατ' ἀρχάς γέγονεν, ἀφ' οὗ

δὴ πέμπτον Ἰούλιον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, οἱ δὲ, ὅτι

Μάρτιον πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς Νομαβασιλείας ἐνό-

μίζου μῆνα, ὅτε δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς δέκα μῆνας

ὸ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ χρόνος ξυνηθείς, 3 Ἰούλιος τε ἀπ'

1 μέντοι Κ. μὲν τῇ Λ.

2 The original Greek characters of this oracle may be read in Hauray, note a. It is very difficult to decipher. Bury proposes Quintili mense si regnum stat in urbe nihil Geticum iam (metuat ?). 3 ξυνηθεὶς: ξυνηθεὶς Κ, ξυνηθὸς δ Λ.
stones about the groin fell to the ground, and Amalsuntha, the child of Theoderic, passed from the world. Now these things had already happened as described. But when the Goths began the siege of Rome, as chance would have it, the portion of the picture from the thighs to the tips of the feet fell into ruin, and thus the whole picture disappeared from the wall. And the Romans, divining the meaning of the incident, maintained that the emperor’s army would be victorious in the war, thinking that the feet of Theoderic were nothing else than the Gothic people whom he ruled, and, in consequence, they became still more hopeful.

In Rome, moreover, some of the patricians brought out the Sibylline oracles,\(^1\) declaring that the danger which had come to the city would continue only up till the month of July. For it was fated that at that time someone should be appointed king over the Romans, and thenceforth Rome should have no longer any Getic peril to fear; for they say that the Goths are of the Getic race. And the oracle was as follows: “In the fifth (Quintilis) month ... under ... as king nothing Getic longer ...” And they declared that the “fifth month” was July, some because the siege began on the first day of March, from which July is the fifth month, others because March was considered the first month until the reign of Numa, the full year before that time containing ten months and our July for this reason

\(^1\) The story of the origin of these oracles is given in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* IV. ixii. They were burned with the Capitol in 83 B.C. The second collection was burned by Stilicho in 405 A.D. The oracles Procopius saw (cf. § 35 of this chapter) were therefore a third collection.
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αὐτοῦ Κυντίλιος ὄνομαζετο. ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα τοῦ-
32 τῶν οὐδὲν ὑγιές. οὔτε γὰρ βασιλεὺς τότε Ἡρω-
μαίοις κατέστη, καὶ ἡ πολιορκία ἐναιτὸ 1 ὑστερον διαλυθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ-
Τούτιλα Γόθων ἄρχοντος ἐς τοὺς ὁμόιους Ἡρω-
μην κυνδύνους ἴναι, ὡς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπίσθε λελέξε-
33 ται λόγοις. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι οὐ ταύτην δὴ τὴν-
τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφοδον τὸ μαντεῖον δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ ἡ ἡδὴ ἔξωβῆσαι ἡ ὑστερον ποτε-
34 ἑσομένῃ. τῶν γὰρ Σιβύλλης λογίων τὴν διά-
νοιαν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἔξευρεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ οἶμαι-
35 ἀδύνατον εἶναι. αὐτὸν δὲ ὃπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα-
δηλῶσο εἰκὲν ἀναλεξάμενος ἀπαντᾷ. ἡ Σιβύλλη-
36 οὐχ ἀπαντᾷ ἐξής τα πράγματα λέγει οὔτε ἀρμο-
νίαι τινὰ ποιουμένη τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἔτος εἰποῦσα ὃ τι δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Διβύνος κακοῖς ἀπεπήδησεν-
37 εὔθυς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ήθη, ἐνθέουν δὲ τὴ Ἡρω-
μαίων ἐς μνήμην ἔλθουσα μεταβιβάζει ἐς τοὺς Ἄσσυρίοις-
38 τὸν λόγον. καὶ πάλιν ἀμφὶ Ἡρωμαίοις μαντευο-

1 ἐναιτό K: om. L.
having its name Quintilis. But after all, none of these predictions came true. For neither was a king appointed over the Romans at that time, nor was the siege destined to be broken up until a year later, and Rome was again to come into similar perils in the reign of Totila, ruler of the Goths, as will be told by me in the subsequent narrative.¹ For it seems to me that the oracle does not indicate this present attack of the barbarians, but some other attack which has either happened already or will come at some later time. Indeed, in my opinion, it is impossible for a mortal man to discover the meaning of the Sibyl's oracles before the actual event. The reason for this I shall now set forth, having read all the oracles in question. The Sibyl does not invariably mention events in their order, much less construct a well-arranged narrative, but after uttering some verse or other concerning the troubles in Libya she leaps straightway to the land of Persia, thence proceeds to mention the Romans, and then transfers the narrative to the Assyrrians. And again, while uttering prophecies about the Romans, she foretells the misfortunes of the Britons. For this reason it is impossible for any man soever to comprehend the oracles of the Sibyl before the event, and it is only time itself, after the event has already come to pass and the words can be tested by experience, that can shew itself an accurate interpreter of her sayings. But as for these things, let each one reason as he desires. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

¹ Book VII. xx.
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XXV

Ἐπειδὴ Γότθοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν τειχομαχοῦντες, ἡνίκαντο τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην οὕτως ὡσπερ

2 ἔρρηθῃ ἐκάτεροι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Βελισάριος πάντας Ρωμαίοις ἐκέλευε παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας

ἐς Νεάπολιν ὑπεκκομίζειν, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅσους

μὴ ἀναγκαίους σφέσιν ἐς τοῦ τείχους τὴν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι φοντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐς ἀπορίαν τῶν

3 ἐπιτηδείως καθιστῶνται. ταῦτὰ δὲ τούτῳ ποιεῖν

καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπήγγελλεν, εἰ τινὶ οἰκέτης

ἡ θεράπαινα ἤν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οἶδος τε εἶναι τὰς

σιτήσεις αὐτοῖς ἔφασκεν ἐν πολιορκία κατὰ τὰ

εἰσόδα τα παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν ἥμισυν ἐς

ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπι-

τηδείοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ λειτόμενον ἐν

4 ἀργυρῷ. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ πλῆθος

πολὺ αὐτίκα ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦν. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ οἱ

μὲν πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντες ἀπερ ἐν τῷ Ρώμης λιμένι

ώρμιζεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ ὅδῷ τῇ καλομένῃ

5 Ἀππία ἱόντες. κίνδυνός τε οúdeις ἢ δέος ἐκ τῶν

πολιορκούντων ἐγίνετο οὔτε τοῖς ταύτῃ βαδί-

6 ξοσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἱόσιν. οὐ γὰρ

πολέμιοι οὔτε Ἐρωμῆν ἔμπτασαν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν

περιβάλεσθαι διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οἷοί τε

ἡσαν οὔτε κατ' ὀλίγους ἐτόλμων μακρὰν ἀπο-

λείπεσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων, φοβοῦμεν τὰς

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XXV

When the Goths had been repulsed in the fight at the wall, each army bivouacked that night in the manner already described. But on the following day Belisarius commanded all the Romans to remove their women and children to Naples, and also such of their domestics as they thought would not be needed by them for the guarding of the wall, his purpose being, naturally, to forestall a scarcity of provisions. And he issued orders to the soldiers to do the same thing, in case anyone had a male or female attendant. For, he went on to say, he was no longer able while besieged to provide them with food to the customary amount, but they would have to accept one half their daily ration in actual supplies, taking the remainder in silver. So they proceeded to carry out his instructions. And immediately a great throng set out for Campania. Now some, who had the good fortune to secure such boats as were lying at anchor in the harbour of Rome, secured passage, but the rest went on foot by the road which is called the Appian Way. And no danger or fear, as far as the besiegers were concerned, arose to disturb either those who travelled this way on foot or those who set out from the harbour. For, on the one hand, the enemy were unable to surround the whole of Rome with their camps on account of the great size of the city, and, on the other, they did not dare to be found far from the camps in small

1 Chap. xxiii. 27.
2 At this time the town of Portus, on the north side of the Tiber's mouths, Ostia, on the south side, having been long neglected. Cf. chap. xxvi. 7, 8.
7 ἔπεκδρομᾶς τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ δὴ αὐτὸ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ πολλὴ ἐξουσία ἐγίνετο τῆς τε πόλεως ἀπαντᾶσθαι καὶ τὰ 8 ἐπιτήδεια ἐξώθεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. μάλιστα δὲ γύκτωρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς δέος τε ἀεὶ μέγα καθίσταντο καὶ φυλακᾶς ποιούμενοι ἐν τοῖς 9 στρατοπέδοις ἰσύχαζον. ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι συνυόκλη ἐξίοντες, ὅπη τοὺς πολεμίους ἡ καθεύδοντας ἡ ὄδοι ἱόντας καὶ ὁλίγους εὐρήσειαν (οία πολλὰ ἐν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ γίνεσθαι εἴσθεν, ἀλλων τε ἀναγκαῖων χρειῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ βόσκειν ὑπ'πονες τε καὶ ἡμίόνους καὶ ἕδα ὃς ἐς βρώσων ἐπιτήδεια ἔτι ἐκτεινών τε καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐσκυλευκότες, πλειώνων σφίσιν, ἀν οὔτω τύχω,1 πολεμίων ἐπεισεσόντων ᾧ ὑπε- χώρουν δρόμῳ, ἄνδρες φύσει τε ποδόκειας καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ προλαμβά- νοντες. οὔτω μὲν ἐκ Ρώμης ὑποχωρεῖν ὁ πολύς ὄμιλος ἵσχυν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἔσαι, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ῥάων τε σφίσιν 11 ἐνομίσθη καὶ βέλτιον εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ὁ ῥῶν τοῦ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμῶν ἱκεστα ἐς τὴν τοῦ τείχους περίοδον ἐξικνούμενον, ὅλγου τε γὰρ ἢσαι, ὅσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεῖν εἰρηταί, καὶ οὐκ ἀεὶ φυλάσσειν οἱ αὐτῶν ἀὕπνιο ἵσχυν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὑπνον, ἡς τὸ εἰκός, ἠροῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν φυλακῆν ἔτετάχατο, καὶ τοῦ ὁμοῦ τὸ πλείστον μέρος πενία τε πιεζομένους 2 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανί-
companies, fearing the sallies of their opponents. And on this account abundant opportunity was afforded for some time to the besieged both to move out of the city and to bring provisions into it from outside. And especially at night the barbarians were always in great fear, and so they merely posted guards and remained quietly in their camps. For parties were continually issuing from the city, and especially Moors in great numbers, and whenever they found their enemies either asleep or walking about in small companies (as is accustomed to happen often in a large army, the men going out not only to attend to the needs of nature, but also to pasture horses and mules and such animals as are suitable for food), they would kill them and speedily strip them, and if perchance a larger number of the enemy should fall upon them, they would retire on the run, being men swift of foot by nature and lightly equipped, and always distancing their pursuers in the flight. Consequently, the great majority were able to withdraw from Rome, and some went to Campania, some to Sicily, and others wherever they thought it was easier or better to go. But Belisarius saw that the number of soldiers at his command was by no means sufficient for the whole circuit of the wall, for they were few, as I have previously stated, and the same men could not keep guard constantly without sleeping, but some would naturally be taking their sleep while others were stationed on guard. At the same time he saw that the greatest part of the populace were hard pressed by poverty and in want of the necessities of life;

1 Five thousand; cf. chap. xxiv. 2.

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ζοντας,¹ ἀτε γὰρ βαναύσους ἀνθρώπους ἐφήμερά τε ἀπαντά ἐχουσι καὶ ἄργειν διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡναγκασμένοις πόροις οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐγώνετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἰδιώτας ξυνέμιξε καὶ φυλακτήριῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐνείμε.² Ῥητὸν τινα μισθὸν ἠδιώτη ἀνδρὶ τάξας ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. ὄν δὴ ἐγώνοτο μὲν ξυμμορίαι ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἰκανῶς ἐχουσαι, νῦκτα δὲ τακτὴν ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέκειτο ξυμμορίᾳ ἐκάστη, ἐφύλασσον τὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀπαντες. καὶ ταῦτῃ Βελυσάριος ἐκατέρω τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλευν.

13 Τυπψίας δὲ ἐς Σιλβέριον τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεά γεγενημένος, ὡς δὴ προδοσίαν ἐς Γότθουσ πράσσοι, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμψειν αὐτίκα, ἔτερον δὲ ἀρχιερεά ὅλιγρον ὑστερον, Βυζίλιουν ὄνομα, κατεστήσατο. τινάς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐτ' αἰτία τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθέντας τινα ἐπείδη τὴν πολιορκίαν οἱ πολέμιοι διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐς τὰ οἰκεία κατηγαγον αὖθις. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὐ δὴ ὁ προπάτωρ Μάξιμος τὸ ἐς Βαλεωπιναῖον βασιλέα πάθος ἐγραφώτο. δείσας δὲ μὴ τὶς πρὸς φυλάκων τῶν κατὰ πύλας ἐπιβουλή γένηται, καὶ τις ἐξοθεν χρήμασί τι ⁴ αὐτοὺς κακουργήσων ἵον, διὸ ἐκάστου μηνὸς τὰς τὸ κλεῖδος ἀπάσας ἀφαινών ἀνενεφότο ἀεὶ ἐς ἔτερον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐς φυλακτήριον ἔλλαμ μακράν ποὺν ἀποθεν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντι-

¹ σπανίζοντας Κ: σπανίζον Λ
² φυλακτήριῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐνείμεν Κ: φυλακτήριον ἐνείμε Λ
³ τῇ αὐτῇ Κ: τοιαύτῃ Λ
⁴ χρήμασί τε MSS.: χρήμασιν Christ.
for since they were men who worked with their hands, and all they had was what they got from day to day, and since they had been compelled to be idle on account of the siege, they had no means of procuring provisions. For these reasons Belisarius mingled soldiers and citizens together and distributed them to each post, appointing a certain fixed wage for an unenlisted man for each day. In this way companies were made up which were sufficient for the guarding of the wall, and the duty of keeping guard on the fortifications during a stated night was assigned to each company, and the members of the companies all took turns in standing guard. In this manner, then, Belisarius did away with the distress of both soldiers and citizens.

But a suspicion arose against Silverius, the chief priest of the city, that he was engaged in treasonable negotiations with the Goths, and Belisarius sent him immediately to Greece, and a little later appointed another man, Vigilius by name, to the office of chief priest. And he banished from Rome on the same charge some of the senators, but later, when the enemy had abandoned the siege and retired, he restored them again to their homes. Among these was Maximus, whose ancestor Maximus had committed the crime against the Emperor Valentinian. And fearing lest the guards at the gates should become involved in a plot, and lest someone should gain access from the outside with intent to corrupt them with money, twice in each month he destroyed all the keys and had new ones made, each time of a different design, and he also changed the guards to other posts which were far removed from those they

1 Book III. iv. 36.
καθιστῇ, τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακῆν εἶχοσιν ἔστερον ἐφίστη.

16 οἷς δὴ ἐπέκειτο μέτρῳ τι τοῦ τείχους περιούσιον ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀναγράφεσθαι τα συν φυλάκων ὄνομα, καὶ ἦν τις ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖσα, ἐστέρον μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσασθαι ἐν τῷ παραντίκα, ἀναφέρειν δὲ τῇ υπεραίᾳ ἐφ' ἐαυτόν, ὡστ' ἂν ὁ ἀπολειφθεὶς εἶν, ὅπως δὴ κόλασις ἡ προσή-κουσα ἐς αὐτὸν γίνοιτο. καὶ μουσικοῖς μὲν ὅργα-νοις χρήσασθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ νῦκτωρ ἕκλευεν, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινῶν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἔζω ἔπεμπτεν, οὐ-άμφι τὴν τάφρον διανυκτερεύσειν ἄει ἐμελλον, καὶ ξύν αὐτοῖς κύνας ἥψει, ὅπως δὴ μηδέ ἀποθέν τις ἐπὶ τῶν περιβολοῦν ἰῶν διαλάθην.

18 Τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεὼ τὰς θύρας τῶν τινών Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλίναι λάθρα ἐπειρά-σαντο. 2 δὲ Ἰάνους οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἢ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων γλώσσῃ τῇ σφε-τέρᾳ Πένατες ἐκάλουν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν νεὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὕπερβαντι τὰ Τρία Φάτα οὗτος γὰρ Ῥωμαίοί τῶν Μωίρας νεομίκασι καλεῖν. δ' ἠ τὸ νεὼς ἅτα χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ πετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἐστήκε, τοσοῦτοι μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοὺς οὐχ ἦσον ἢ πηχῶν

1 φυλακὴν ἐξοσιν K: ἄρχοντας L.
2 ἐπειράσαντο Haury: ἐπειράσαν MSS.

1 Janus was an old Italian divinity, whose worship was said to have been introduced by Romulus. We are not told by anyone else that he was included among the Penates, but the statement is doubtless true.
had formerly occupied, and every night he set different men in charge of those who were doing guard-duty on the fortifications. And it was the duty of these officers to make the rounds of a section of the wall, taking turns in this work, and to write down the names of the guards, and if anyone was missing from that section, they put another man on duty in his stead for the moment, and on the morrow reported the missing man to Belisarius himself, whoever he might be, in order that the fitting punishment might be given him. And he ordered musicians to play their instruments on the fortifications at night, and he continually sent detachments of soldiers, especially Moors, outside the walls, whose duty it was always to pass the night about the moat, and he sent dogs with them in order that no one might approach the fortifications, even at a distance, without being detected.

At that time some of the Romans attempted secretly to force open the doors of the temple of Janus. This Janus was the first of the ancient gods whom the Romans call in their own tongue "Penates." And he has his temple in that part of the forum in front of the senate-house which lies a little above the "Tria Fata"; for thus the Romans are accustomed to call the Moirai. And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square, but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue is of bronze, and

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2 "This temple of Janus—the most celebrated, but not the only one in Rome—must have stood a little to the right of the Arch of Septimius Severus (as one looks toward the Capitol) and a little in front of the Mamertine Prison."—HODGKIN. The "Tria Fata" were three ancient statues of Sibyls which stood by the Rostra. 3 i.e. the Fates.
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πέντε τὸ ἀγαλμα τούτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποι τάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνύσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἦλιον

22 τέτραπταί. θύραι τε χαλκαὶ ἐφ’ ἐκατέρφω προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἀς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγάθοις πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν Ἦρωμαιον ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέφγον.

23 ἔπει δὲ τὸ Χριστιανὸν δόγμα, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἦρωμαιοι ἐτίμησαν, ταῦτας δὲ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι

24 οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. ἀλλὰ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἴμαι, δόξαν ἐν υἱῷ ἑχόντες ἐγκεχειρίκασι μὲν αὐτὰσ ἀνοιγῆναι λάθρᾳ, ὁμ μέντοι παντάπασιν ἵσχυσαν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὁσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὀςπερ τὸ πρὸτερον,

25 μεμυκέναι1 τὰς θύρας. καὶ ἔλαθον γε οἱ τούτοι

.δρᾶν ἐγκεχειρηκότες. ξῆτησις δὲ τοῦ ἔργου οὐδεμία ἄτε ἐν μεγάλῳ θορύβῳ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τοῖς ἄρχοισιν ἐγνώσθη, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὀλύγους κομίδη, ἦλθεν.

XXVI

Οὐάτεχως δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θυμῷ τε καὶ ἀπορία ἐχόμενος τῶν δορυφόρων τινὸς ἐς Ἁβενναν πέμψας, Ἦρωμαιον τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀπαντᾷ σύστερ κατ’ ἄρχας τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα

2 ἡγαγε κτεῖνειν ἐκέλευς. καὶ αὐτῶν τινὲς μὲν προμαθόντες φυγεῖν ἵσχυσαν, ἐν οἷς Βαγγελευτὸς τε ἦν καὶ Ἐπάρατος, Βαγγελίου ἁδελφός, τοῦ Ἦρωμης ἄρχερέως, οὔτε ἄμφω ἐς Δειγούρους

1 μεμυκέναι Hoesechel : δεδυκέναι MSS.
not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces, one of which is turned toward the east and the other toward the west. And there are brazen doors fronting each face, which the Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and prosperity, but when they had war they opened them. But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly. And those who had attempted to do this escaped detection; and no investigation of the act was made, as was natural in a time of great confusion, since it did not become known to the commanders, nor did it reach the ears of the multitude, except of a very few.

XXVI

Now Vittigis, in his anger and perplexity, first sent some of his bodyguards to Ravenna with orders to kill all the Roman senators whom he had taken there at the beginning of this war. And some of them, learning of this beforehand, succeeded in making their escape, among them being Vergentinus and Reparatus, the brother of Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, both of whom betook them-
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κομμέντατε αυτού ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπαντεῖς
3 διεφθάρησαν. μετὰ δὲ Οὐλτίνης πολλὴν ἁδειαν ὁ ὅρων τοῖς πολέμωσι οὕσαν ἐκφορεῖν τε εἰ τι ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως βούλωντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία κατὰ τε
gῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐσκομμένης, τῶν λιμένα, δι

dὴ Πόρτων Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι, καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω.

4 ὁς δὴ ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔξ καὶ εἰκοσὶ
καὶ ἐκατὸν σταδίους· μέτρῳ γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ μῆ
5 ἐπιθαλασσία εἶναι διείργηται 'Ῥώμη· ἐστὶ δὲ ἢ
ἀ ποταμὸς Τίβερις τὰς ἑκβολὰς ἔχει, δὲ δὴ ἐκ
Ῥώμης φερόμενος, ἑπειδὰν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγυ
τέρω γένηται ὃςον ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα,
ῥίχα σχιζόμενος τὴν ἱερὰν νῆσον καλουμένην
6 ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ. προϊὸντος τε τοὺ ποταμοῦ εὐ

πυτέρα ἡ νῆσος γίνεται, ὡς τῷ μήκει τὸ τοῦ
ἐγροὺς μέτρον κατὰ λόγον εἶναι, σταδίους γὰρ

πεντεκαίδεκα ἑφύμα ἐκάτερον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχει·
7 ναυσίπορος τε ὁ Τίβερις ἀμφοτέρωθι μένει. τὸ
μὲν οὖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος ἐς τὸν λιμένα

τὰς ἑκβολὰς ποιεῖται, δὲν ἐκτὸς πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ
Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐδείμαντο, τείχος περιβε
βλημένην ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα, Πόρτων τε ἀυτὴν τῷ
8 λιμένι ὄμωνυμος καλοῦσιν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πρὸς
tῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ Τίβερίδος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑκβολής
tὸς Ὀστία κεῖται, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡἰόνου
ἐκτὸς, λόγου μὲν πολλοὺ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξία, νῦν
9 δὲ ἀπείχεστος παντάπασιν οὕσα. ὁδὸν τούτων, ἦ

1 πρὸς τῇ ἐτέρᾳ... ἑκβολή Haury, coll. πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ
(above): πρὸ τῆς ἐτέρας... ἑκβολῆς MSS.
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selves into Liguria and remained there; but all the rest were destroyed. After this Vittigis, seeing that the enemy were enjoying a large degree of freedom, not only in taking out of the city whatever they wished, but also in bringing in provisions both by land and by sea, decided to seize the harbour, which the Romans call "Portus."

This harbour is distant from the city one hundred and twenty-six stades; for Rome lacks only so much of being on the sea; and it is situated where the Tiber River has its mouth.\(^1\) Now as the Tiber flows down from Rome, and reaches a point rather near the sea, about fifteen stades from it, the stream divides into two parts and makes there the Sacred Island, as it is called. As the river flows on the island becomes wider, so that the measure of its breadth corresponds to its length, for the two streams have between them a distance of fifteen stades; and the Tiber remains navigable on both sides. Now the portion of the river on the right empties into the harbour, and beyond the mouth the Romans in ancient times built on the shore a city,\(^2\) which is surrounded by an exceedingly strong wall; and it is called, like the harbour, "Portus." But on the left at the point where the other part of the Tiber empties into the sea is situated the city of Ostia, lying beyond the place where the river bank ends, a place of great consequence in olden times, but now entirely without walls. Moreover, the Romans

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\(^1\) The northern mouth.

\(^2\) The Emperor Claudius cut the northern channel for the river, in order to prevent inundations of Rome, and made the "Portus Claudii," opening to the sea, near its mouth; a second enclosed harbour, adjoining that of Claudius, was built by Trajan.
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ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου φέρει, ὡμαλὴν τε καὶ ἐμπόδιον οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαιοὶ
10 πεποίηται. βάρεις τε ἀεὶ πολλαὶ ἐξεπλήθηδες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὁμίζονται, καὶ βόες οὐκ ὅλγοι ἐν
11 παρασκευῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ ἑστάσιν. ἔπειδαν οὖν οἱ ἐμποροὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἀφίκονται,
ἀραντες τὰ φορτία ἐνθένδε καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθέμενοι ἐν
tαῖς βάρεσι, πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ Τεβέριδος ἐπὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην, ἵστιοι μὲν ἡ κώπαις ἦκεστα χρώμενοι,
ἐπεὶ οὐτε ἀνέμω τῳ ἑνταύθα οἰα τὲ ἐστὶ τὰ
πλοῖα ὠδεῖσθαι συχνατα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
1 στον ἐλισσομένου καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθεος ἱόντος,
οὐδὲ τι ἐνεργεῖν αἰ κώπαι δύνανται, τῆς τοῦ ὑδα-
τος, ρύμης ἀπ’ ἑναντίας αὐταῖς ἀεὶ φερομένης.
12 βρόχους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βάρεων ἐς τῶν βοῶν τοὺς
αὐχένας ἀρτήσαντες ἔλκοουσιν αὐταῖς ὤσπερ ἀμά-
13 ξας ἄχρι ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐτέρωθι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ
πόλεως Ὀστίας ἐς Ῥώμην ἐντειν τὸ ὕλος τη ὠδός
ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ
Τεβέριδος ἤλιον ἐγγύς, ἀτε τῆς τῶν βάρεων
ἀνολκής ἑνταύθα οὐκ ὤσς.
14 Ἀφύλακτων οὖν τὴν πρὸς τῷ λιμένι πόλιν
εὐρόντες οἱ Γότθοι αὐτὴν τε αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλον καὶ
Ῥωμαιῶν τῶν ταύτης φηκήμενων πολλοὺς ἐκτειναν,
15 καὶ τῶν λιμένα ἐξίν αὐτῇ ἔσχοι. χιλίους τε σφῶν
ἐνταύθα φρούρους καταστήσαμεν ἐς τὰ στρατό-
16 πεδα οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνεχόρησαν, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς
πολιορκομένοις τὰ ἐκ ταλάσσης ἐσκομίζεσθαι
ἀδύνατα ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς Ὀστίας πόνῳ τε, ὡς
17 τὸ εἰκός, καὶ κινήματος μεγάλῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ καταί-

1 ἐπὶ πλείστον K: om. L.
at the very beginning made a road leading from Portus to Rome, which was smooth and presented no difficulty of any kind. And many barges are always anchored in the harbour ready for service, and no small number of oxen stand in readiness close by. Now when the merchants reach the harbour with their ships, they unload their cargoes and place them in the barges, and sail by way of the Tiber to Rome; but they do not use sails or oars at all, for the boats cannot be propelled in the stream by any wind since the river winds about exceedingly and does not follow a straight course, nor can oars be employed, either, since the force of the current is always against them. Instead of using such means, therefore, they fasten ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen, and so draw them just like waggons up to Rome. But on the other side of the river, as one goes from the city of Ostia to Rome, the road is shut in by woods and in general lies neglected, and is not even near the bank of the Tiber, since there is no towing of barges on that road.

So the Goths, finding the city at the harbour unguarded, captured it at the first onset and slew many of the Romans who lived there, and so took possession of the harbour as well as the city. And they established a thousand of their number there as guards, while the remainder returned to the camps. In consequence of this move it was impossible for the besieged to bring in the goods which came by sea, except by way of Ostia, a route which naturally involved great labour and danger besides. For the
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ρειν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων νής τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ ὄψιν ξημερίζοντο, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ τῆς Ὀστίας ἀπέχοντι. ἐνθένδε τὸ τὰ φορτία αἱρόμενοι ἐκόμιζον μόλις αὐτίον δὲ ἡ ὀλγανθρωπία ἐγίνετο. Βελισάριος γὰρ περὶ τῷ Ῥώμης περιβόλῳ δείσας τὸν λιμένα κρατύνασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ φυλακῇ ἵσχυσεν. οἱμαί γὰρ ἄν εἰ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσον, οὐ ποτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποπειράθηκαί τοῦ χωρίου, ἐχυροῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος.

XXVII

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τρίτη ἡμέρα οἱ Γόθοι ἔδρασαν. ἡμέραις δὲ υστερον εἴκοσιν ἡ ὁ Πόρτος ἦ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ λιμήν ἐάλω, Μαρτίνος τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἦκον, ἔξακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιῶτας ἵππεοι ἐπαγομένῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Οὐν- νοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Άνται, οἱ υπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκείνης ὀχθῆς ἵδρυνται. Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε αὐτῶν τῇ παρουσίᾳ καὶ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε- μίους εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν φέτος. τῇ γοῦν υστερᾷ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἑνα, θυμοειδῆ τε καὶ δραστήριων, Τραϊανὸν ὄνομα, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν διακοσίους ἵππεας λαβόντα, ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺ τῶν βαρβάρων ἅν, καὶ ἐπείδαι τῶν χαρακομάτων ἔγγυτέρω ἱκωνται, ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ λόφου υψηλοῦ

1 φυλακῇ Κ: μηχανῇ Λ.
Roman ships were not even able to put in there any longer, but they anchored at Anthium, a day’s journey distant from Ostia. And they found great difficulty in carrying the cargoes thence to Rome, the reason for this being the scarcity of men. For Belisarius, fearing for the fortifications of Rome, had been unable to strengthen the harbour with any garrison at all, though I think that if even three hundred men had been on guard there, the barbarians would never have made an attempt on the place, which is exceedingly strong.

XXVII

This exploit, then, was accomplished by the Goths on the third day after they were repulsed in the assault on the wall. But twenty days after the city and harbour of Portus were captured, Martinus and Valerian arrived, bringing with them sixteen hundred horsemen, the most of whom were Huns and Scaleni and Antae, who are settled above the Ister River not far from its banks. And Belisarius was pleased by their coming and thought that thenceforth his army ought to carry the war against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, he commanded one of his own bodyguards, Trajan by name, an impetuous and active fighter, to take two hundred horsemen of the guards and go straight towards the enemy, and as soon as they came near the camps to go up on a high hill (which he pointed out to him)

1 i.e. Antium.
2 i.e. Slavonians, described in Book VI. xxvi. and Book VII. xiv. ff.
3 A Slavic people, described in Book VII. xiv.

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5 ἡσυχάζειν, δεῖξας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. ἂν δὲ οἱ πολέμωι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤσσιν, ἐκ χειρός μὲν τὴν μάχην οὐκ ἔαν γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ξίφους ἢ ὅρολίον τινὸς ἀπεσθαί, χρῆσθαι δὲ μόνοις τοξεύμασιν, ἥνικα τέ οἱ τὴν φαρέτραν οὐδὲν ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν ὕδη,¹ φεύγειν τε κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντα

6 καὶ ἐς τὸν περὶβολον ἀναχωρεῖν δρόμῳ. ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας, τῶν τε τοξεύματων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ ταῦτας τεχνύτας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. Τραίανός δὲ ἦν τοῖς διακοσίοις ἑκ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἔγετε ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολέμων στρατόπεδον.

7 καὶ οἱ μὲν, καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ αἱφνίδιῳ, ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἐκ τῶν δυνάτων ἐσσεκνάσθαι τετυχηκέν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τραίανὸν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ὄντες αὐτοῖς Ἱεροσάριος ἔδειξεν, ἐνθέντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμῶν

8 νοῦτο βάλλοντες. καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀτράχτους ἢτε ἐς πολὺν ἐμπτύπτουτας ὄμιλον ἀνθρώπου ἢ ὑππου ἐπὶ πλείστου ἐπιτυχώματα ἤλεβανε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπάντησα σφᾶς τὰ βέλη ἣδη ἠτελελοίπει, οὐδὲ κατὰ τάχος ὡπίσω ἀπῆλανον, διώκοντες τε οἱ Γότθοι

9 ἐνεκεῖντο. ὡς δὲ τοῦ περὶβολον ἐγχύτερῳ ἱκοντο, τὰ τε ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν τοξεύματα οἱ τεχνύται ἐνήργουν, καὶ τῆς διώκεος οἱ βάρβαροι κατωρροδηκότες ἀπέσχοντο. λέγοντας δὲ Γότθοι οὐχ ἦσσον ἡ χεῖλος ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. ἡμέραις δὲ ὀλίγαις ύπτερον Ἱεροσάριος Μονυδίλαν τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐτερον,³ καὶ Διογένην, διαφερόντως ἀγάθους τὰ πολέμια, ἔχων

1 ἢδη Ηοσεχέλι: διοίει Κ, ηδει λ.
2 τούτω Λ: ομ Κ.
3 τῶν δορ. . . ἐτερον Κ: τὸν δορυφόρον τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐταῖρον Λ.

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and remain quietly there. And if the enemy should come against them, he was not to allow the battle to come to close quarters, nor to touch sword or spear in any case, but to use bows only, and as soon as he should find that his quiver had no more arrows in it, he was to flee as hard as he could with no thought of shame and retire to the fortifications on the run. Having given these instructions, he held in readiness both the engines for shooting arrows and the men skilled in their use. Then Trajan with the two hundred men went out from the Salarian Gate against the camp of the enemy. And they, being filled with amazement at the suddenness of the thing, rushed out from the camps, each man equipping himself as well as he could. But the men under Trajan galloped to the top of the hill which Belisarius had shewn them, and from there began to ward off the barbarians with missiles. And since their shafts fell among a dense throng, they were for the most part successful in hitting a man or a horse. But when all their missiles had at last failed them, they rode off to the rear with all speed, and the Goths kept pressing upon them in pursuit. But when they came near the fortifications, the operators of the engines began to shoot arrows from them, and the barbarians became terrified and abandoned the pursuit. And it is said that not less than one thousand Goths perished in this action. A few days later Belisarius sent Mundilas, another of his own bodyguard, and Diogenes, both exceptionally capable warriors, with three hundred guardsmen,
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υπασπισταῖς τριακόσιοις στείλας, ταύτα ποιεῖν τοῖς προτέρων ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίοιν. ὑπαντισάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ξυνη- νέχθη αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦσσους, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλείους, ἢ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔργῳ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολωλέναι.

πέμψας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἔτι ἦπεισὶ τριακόσιοις Ἰὸλαν τὸν δορυφόρον, ἐφ’ ὃ τὰ ὄμοια τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσονται, ταύτα ἔδρασε. τρεῖς τε, καθάπερ μοι ἔρρηθη, ἐπεκδρομᾶς ποιησάμενος τῶν ἐναντίων ἀμφὶ τετρακισχίλιους διέφθειρεν.

Οὐίττυγις δὲ (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσῆκε τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τῆς τε ὀπλίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἔργα μελέτης) ῥάστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἄντι τὰ ἀνήκεστα τους πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι, ἵνα γε στρατῷ ὅλῳ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐφοδίαν ποιοίᾳ. ἔπαγγεῖσαν οὕν ἦπεισὶ πεντακόσιοις, ἀνγχιστὰ τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἴναι κελεύσας, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὅλῳν πολλάκις πολεμίων πεπόθθαι, ταύτα δὴ ἐς ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐκείνην στρατιὰν ἐπιδείξασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ γενόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐξω βελῶν, ἱσταντο. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀνδρὰς τε ἀπολέξας χιλίους καὶ Βέσσαν αὐτοῖς ἀρχοντα ἐπιστήματος ὁμός χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέστελλεν. οἱ δὲ κύκλωσιν τὲς βαρβάρους ποιησάμενοι καὶ κατὰ νότου ἠεὶ βάλλοντες κτείνοντο τε συνχοῦ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βιασά- μενοι κατελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἦνάγκασαν. ἐνθά δὴ τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἔξε ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης, τῶν Γότθων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, ὅλῳ δὲ τινὲς μόλις διαφυγόντες

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commanding them to do the same thing as the others had done before. And they acted according to his instructions. Then, when the enemy confronted them, the result of the encounter was that no fewer than in the former action, perhaps even more, perished in the same way. And sending even a third time the guardsman Oilas with three hundred horsemen, with instructions to handle the enemy in the same way, he accomplished the same result. So in making these three sallies, in the manner told by me, Belisarius destroyed about four thousand of his antagonists.

But Vittigis, failing to take into account the difference between the two armies in point of equipment of arms and of practice in warlike deeds, thought that he too would most easily inflict grave losses upon the enemy, if only he should make his attack upon them with a small force. He therefore sent five hundred horsemen, commanding them to go close to the fortifications, and to make a demonstration against the whole army of the enemy of the very same tactics as had time and again been used against them, to their sorrow, by small bands of the foe. And so, when they came to a high place not far from the city, but just beyond the range of missiles, they took their stand there. But Belisarius selected a thousand men, putting Bessas in command, and ordered them to engage with the enemy. And this force, by forming a circle around the enemy and always shooting at them from behind, killed a large number, and by pressing hard upon the rest compelled them to descend into the plain. There a hand-to-hand battle took place between forces not evenly matched in strength, and most of the Goths were destroyed, though some few with difficulty
21 εἰς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. οὖς δὴ ὁ Ὀὐλίττυς ἀτέ τῷ ἀνάνδρῳ ἡσσμένους ἐκά-
κιζε, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐτέρως τις ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἡ-
σύχαζε, τρισὶ δὲ ύστερον ἡμέραις ἐκ πάντων τῶν χαρακτημάτων ἄνδρας ἀπολεξάμενος πεντα-
κοσίους ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπι-
22 δείξασθαι ἄρετής ἁξια. οὖς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριος ἐγγυτέρω ἡκοντας εἴδε, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ 
χιλίους καὶ ἄρχοντας Μαρτίνων τε καὶ Βαλε-
ριανὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐστελλεν. ἱππομαχίας τε ἐκ 
τοῦ εὐθεὸς γεγενημένης, τῷ πλήθει Ρωμαίου παρὰ 
πολὺ ὑπεραιρόντες τῶν πολεμίων, τρέπουσι τε 
αὐτοὺς ὑδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ σχεδὸν τι ἀπαγόρα 
diaφθείροντοι.
23 Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους δεινὸν τε καὶ τύχης 
ἐναντίωμα παντάπασιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, εἰ πολλοὶ 
tε ὄντες πρὸς ὁλίγων πολεμίων ἐπιτόντων σφίσιν 
ἡσσώνται καὶ κατ’ ὁλίγους αὕτης ἰόντες ἐπ’ 
24 αὐτοὺς διαφθείρονται. Βελισάριον δὲ δημοσίᾳ 
μὲν τῆς ἐννέας Ἁρμαίοι ἐπήνουν, ἐν θαύματι 
αὐτήν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μεγάλῳ ποιούμενο, ἱδιὰ δὲ 
αὐτὸν ἥρωτον οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ὅταν ποτὲ τεκμαίρο-
μενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἕτοι πολεμίων ὡτός 
25 ἡσσημένος διέφυγε, εὐέλπις ἐγεγόρι τῷ πολέμῳ 
κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν περιέσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς 
ἐλεγεν ὡς αὐτοίς κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἔστιν ὁλίγων τισὶν 
ἐς χείρας ἐθάνων κατενώθησεν ὅτι ποτὲ τὸ διαφέρον

1 αὐτήν Κ.: αὐτὸν Ι.
made their escape and returned to their own camp. And Vittigis reviled these men, insisting that cowardice had been the cause of their defeat, and undertaking to find another set of men to retrieve the loss after no long time, he remained quiet for the present; but three days later he selected men from all the camps, five hundred in number, and bade them make a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. Now as soon as Belisarius saw that these men had come rather near, he sent out against them fifteen hundred men under the commanders Martinus and Valerian. And a cavalry battle taking place immediately, the Romans, being greatly superior to the enemy in numbers, routed them without any trouble and destroyed practically all of them.

And to the enemy it seemed in every way a dreadful thing and a proof that fortune stood against them, if, when they were many and the enemy who came against them were few, they were defeated, and when, on the other hand, they in turn went in small numbers against their enemy, they were likewise destroyed. Belisarius, however, received a public vote of praise from the Romans for his wisdom, at which they not unnaturally marvelled greatly, but in private his friends asked him on what he had based his judgment on that day when he had escaped from the enemy after being so completely defeated,¹ and why he had been confident that he would overcome them decisively in the war. And he said that in engaging with them at the first with only a few men he had noticed just what the difference was between the two armies, so

¹ Referring to the battle described in chap. xviii.
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ἐν ἑκατέρα στρατιά εἰη, ὡστε ἢν κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνάμεως τᾶς ἐξυμβολᾶς ποιοῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ὀλυγανθρωπίᾳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων λυμή-27νασθαί πλῆθος. διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι Ἦρωμαιοι μὲν σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντες καὶ οἱ ἔμμαχοι Οὔνοι ἰπποτὸξοται εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ. Γόθων δὲ τὸ ἔργον τούτῳ οὐδεν ἠσκηται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς αὐτοῖς μόνοις δορᾶτοις τε καὶ ξίφοις εἰώθασι χρήσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοξότα πεζοὶ τε ὄπλες καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὀπλι-28τῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἐς μάχην καθίστανται. οὓς τε ὅνων ἰππεῖς, ἢν μὴ ἐκ χειρὸς ἡ ἐξυμβολὴ εἰη, οὐκ ἔχοντες καθ' ὅ τι ἀμυνοῦσι πρὸς τῶν ἐναν-29τίων τοξεύμασι χρωμένων, εὐπέτως ἃν οἷος Βαλλό-μενοι διαφθείρονται, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ κατ' ἀνδρῶν ἰππεῶν ἐπεκδρομάς ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε Ἰκανοὶ εἶναι. διὰ ταύτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἱσχυρίζετο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐξυμβολαῖς πρὸς Ἦρωμαιοι ήσσησθαι. Γόθων δὲ τῶν σφίσι ξυμ-βεβηκότων τὸ παράλογον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες οὕτε κατ' ὀλίγος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἦρωμης περίβολον ἔχωρον οὕτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἔνοχλυντας ἐδίω-κον πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἀπώσασθαι.

XXVIII

“Τοστερον δὲ Ἦρωμαιοι μὲν ἀπαντες, ἑπαρθέντες τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐτυχήμασι, παυτὶ τε τῷ Γόθων στρατεύματι ὁργῶν διὰ μάχης ίναι καὶ πολεμητέα εἰναι εκ τοῦ ἐμφανούς σφίσιν φοντο.

1 διαφέρειν δὲ Ηαυγυ: διαφέρειν μὲν Κ, καὶ διαφέρειν μὲν Λ. 2 μὲν Κ: om. Λ. 3 ἃν Κ: om. Λ. 4 διαφθείρονται L: διαφθείρονται K.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xxvii. 26–xxviii. 1

that if he should fight his battles with them with a force which was in strength proportionate to theirs,¹ the multitudes of the enemy could inflict no injury upon the Romans by reason of the smallness of their numbers. And the difference was this, that practically all the Romans and their allies, the Huns, are good mounted bowmen, but not a man among the Goths has had practice in this branch, for their horsemen are accustomed to use only spears and swords, while their bowmen enter battle on foot and under cover of the heavy-armed men. So the horsemen, unless the engagement is at close quarters, have no means of defending themselves against opponents who use the bow, and therefore can easily be reached by the arrows and destroyed; and as for the footsoldiers, they can never be strong enough to make sallies against men on horseback. It was for these reasons, Belisarius declared, that the barbarians had been defeated by the Romans in these last engagements. And the Goths, remembering the unexpected outcome of their own experiences, desisted thereafter from assaulting the fortifications of Rome in small numbers and also from pursuing the enemy when harassed by them, except only so far as to drive them back from their own camps.

XXVIII

But later on the Romans, elated by the good fortune they had already enjoyed, were with one accord eager to do battle with the whole Gothic army and thought that they should make war in the open field.

¹ i.e. smaller, but equal in strength.
2 Βελισάριος δὲ, πάμπολυ ἔτι εἶναι τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οἰόμενος, ὥσπερ, τὸ ἄει τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεύειν στρατεύματι καὶ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐσπούδαζε τῇ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἔπενοεί ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς λεμίους. ἔπει δὲ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τῷ στρατοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείπε, παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ μάχεσθαι ἦθελε, τῇ δὲ ἐξυμβολὴν ἔξεπι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατήγων ἄποθέσατο, ἐπεὶ προγνόντας τὰ ἐσόμενα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ παρὰ δόξαν εὐθε. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμαχῆσατο τὸ λοιπὸν ἦθελε, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἁμένοι ές τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. καὶ ἔπει ἀμφοτέρος τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐξυμβολὴν ὡς ἀριστὰ ἁκακίας, Βελισάριος μὲν ἀγείρας τὸ στράτευμα δὸλον τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο.

6 "Οὐ μαλακίαν τινὰ καταγγοὺς ὑμῶν, ἀνδρὲς συστρατιῶται, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων κατορρωδήσας τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτούς συμβολὴν ὄκνουν, ἀλλ' ἔπει τῶν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἔξεπι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιδορμῆς διαφέρουσιν εὐ καθεστῆκε τὰ πράγματα, διασώσασθαι φύην δεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τὴν τῆς εὐπραξίας αἰτίαν. οἷς γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ παρούτα χωρεῖ, ἐφ' ἔτερον metabálλεσθαι ἁξύμφορον οἶμαι. ὅρων μὲντοι ἐς τὸν ἐμὸς προθυμομένους τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπελπᾶς τὲ εἴμι καὶ οὕποτε ὑμῶν τῇ 1 ἐφ' ἔτερον Κ: ὡφ' ἔτερον L, ἐφ' ἔτερον V₁.
Belisarius, however, considering that the difference in size of the two armies was still very great, continued to be reluctant to risk a decisive battle with his whole army; and so he busied himself still more with his sallies and kept planning them against the enemy. But when at last he yielded his point because of the abuse heaped upon him by the army and the Romans in general, though he was willing to fight with the whole army, yet nevertheless he wished to open the engagement by a sudden sally. And many times he was frustrated when he was on the point of doing this, and was compelled to put off the attack to the following day, because he found to his surprise that the enemy had been previously informed by deserters as to what was to be done and were unexpectedly ready for him. For this reason, then, he was now willing to fight a decisive battle even in the open field, and the barbarians gladly came forth for the encounter. And when both sides had been made ready for the conflict as well as might be, Belisarius gathered his whole army and exhorted them as follows:

"It is not because I detected any cowardice on your part, fellow-soldiers, nor because I was terrified at the strength of the enemy, that I have shrank from the engagement with them, but I saw that while we were carrying on the war by making sudden sallies matters stood well with us, and consequently I thought that we ought to adhere permanently to the tactics which were responsible for our success. For I think that when one's present affairs are going to one's satisfaction, it is inexpedient to change to another course of action. But since I see that you are eager for this danger, I am filled with con-
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

8 ὀρμὴ ἐμποδῶν στήσομαι. 1 οἶδα γὰρ ὡς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥοπῆς ἢ τῶν μαχομένων κεκλήρωται γνώμη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ
9 τούτων προθυμία κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. ὡς μὲν ὁμόν ὁλόγοι μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τεταγμένου πλῆθους περιείναι οἷοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐξεπίστηται ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸς, οὐκ ἀκοῇ λαβών, ἀλλὰ ἐς πείραν
10 ἀγώνοις τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἥκοιν. ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατασκύνητε μὴτε τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἐμῶν στρατηγημάτων δόξαν μὴτε τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν
11 τῆς προθυμίας ἐλπίδα, ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν κείσεται. ἡ πάντα ἡκὸ ὥσα ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ πεπράχθαι ἤμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν κρίνεσθαι τῆς
12 παρούσης ἡμέρας ἀνάγκη. ὅρω δὲ καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἡμῖν ξυλλαμβάνοντα, ὡς ἡμῖν δεδουλωμένου τοῖς φθάσασι τῶν πολεμίων φρονήματος ῥάδιον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τὴν ἐκείνων
13 ἐπικράτησθιν θήσεται. τῶν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡτυχη-
κότων ἥκιστα ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυνῶ-
14 μαί. ἵπτον δὲ ἡ τόξου ἡ ἄλλου ὅτοι γίνοιν ὅπλον
15 ὑμῶν φειδέσθω μηδεῖς. ἐγώ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παραυτικῇ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἔτερα τῶν κατὰ τὴν
16 μάχην διαφθειρόμενων ἀνθυπουργῆς."

15 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσάτα παρακελευσάμενος ἔξηγε τὸ στρατεύμα διὰ τὲ πυλίδος Πλακιανῆς καὶ Σαλαρίας πύλης, ὁλόγος δὲ τὰς διὰ πύλης
16 Αὐρηλίας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. ὁὶς
δὴ Βαλεντίου ἐπέστησε καταλόγον ἵππικοῦ ἀρχοῦν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέστειλε μάχης μὲν μηδε-
1 ἐμποδῶν στήσομαι Κ.: ἐμποδῶν ἔστομαι Λ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xxviii. 7–16

confidence and shall never oppose your ardour. For I know that the greatest factor in the decision of war is always the attitude of the fighting men, and it is generally by their enthusiasm that successes are won. Now, therefore, the fact that a few men drawn up for battle with valour on their side are able to overcome a multitude of the enemy, is well known by every man of you, not by hearsay, but by daily experience of fighting. And it will rest with you not to bring shame upon the former glories of my career as general, nor upon the hope which this enthusiasm of yours inspires. For the whole of what has already been accomplished by us in this war must of necessity be judged in accordance with the issue of the present day. And I see that the present moment is also in our favour, for it will, in all probability, make it easier for us to gain the mastery over the enemy, because their spirit has been enslaved by what has gone before. For when men have often met with misfortune, their hearts are no longer wont to thrill even slightly with manly valour. And let no one of you spare horse or bow or any weapon. For I will immediately provide you with others in place of all that are destroyed in the battle."

After speaking these words of exhortation, Belisarius led out his army through the small Pincian Gate and the Salarian Gate, and commanded some few men to go through the Aurelian Gate into the Plain of Nero. These he put under the command of Valentinus, a commander of a cavalry detachment, and he directed him not to begin any fighting, or to go too close to the camp of the enemy, but constantly to give the appearance of being
αὐτίκα προσβάλλειν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα
πολεμίων τινὲς τὴν ἐκείνη γέφυραν διαβαίνοντες
ἐπιβοθείειν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χαρακωμάτων
οὐλοὶ τε ὁσι. πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ὥσπερ μοι
προδεδήλωται, τῶν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ στρατο-
πεδευομένων βαρβάρων ἰκανῶν οἱ ἐφαίνετο τοῦ-
τος δὴ ἀπαντας οὐ μεταλαχόντας τῆς ξυμβολῆς
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ κεχωρίσθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ
Ῥωμαίων τοῦ δήμου ἐθελούσιοι τινες ὅπλα ἀνε-
λόμενοι εἶποντο, ἐσ μὲν τὴν ξυμβολὴν αὐτοὺς
ξυντετάχθαι σφίσιν οὐκ εἶσαι, δείσας μὴ ἐν τῷ
ἀγώνι γενόμενοι κατορρωδήσωσί τε τὸν κίνδυνον
καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσιν ὄλον, βάναυσοί
tε ἄνδρες καὶ πολέμου ἀμελέτητοι παυτάπασιν
ὄντες. ἐκτὸς δὲ πυλῶν Παγκρατιανῶν, αἱ ὑπὲρ
Τίβεριν ποταμὸν ἔσι, φάλαγγα ποιησαμένους
ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν ἔως αὐτὸς σημῆνη, λογισά-
μενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὡς, εἴπερ αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς
ἀμφὶ Βαλεντῖνον ἵδωσιν οἱ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ
πολέμου, οὐ ποτὲ θαρσήσουσι τὸ σφέτερον
ἀπολυόντες χαράκωμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ξύν τῷ ἄλλῳ
στρατῷ ἐς μάχην ἕναι. ἔρμαιον δὲ καὶ λόγῳ
πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι ἄνδρας τοσοῦτος τὸ πλῆθος
tοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου ἀποκεκρίθαι.

Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἱππομαχίαν μόνον ἐκείνη τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι ἦσθελεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεζῶν
οἱ πλείστοι ξῆν ἡμεῖν ἐν τοῖς καθεστώσιν οὐκ
ἀξιοῦντες, ἱπποὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων λησσαμένοι
καὶ τοῦ ἰππεύειν οὐκ ἀμελέτητοι γεγενημένοι,
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about to attack immediately, so that none of the enemy in that quarter might be able to cross the neighbouring bridge and come to the assistance of the soldiers from the other camps. For since, as I have previously stated, the barbarians encamped in the Plain of Nero were many, it seemed to him sufficient if these should all be prevented from taking part in the engagement and be kept separated from the rest of the army. And when some of the Roman populace took up arms and followed as volunteers, he would not allow them to be drawn up for battle along with the regular troops, fearing lest, when they came to actual fighting, they should become terrified at the danger and throw the entire army into confusion, since they were labouring men and altogether unpractised in war. But outside the Pancratian Gate, which is beyond the Tiber River, he ordered them to form a phalanx and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal, reasoning, as actually proved to be the case, that if the enemy in the Plain of Nero should see both them and the men under Valentinus, they would never dare leave their camp and enter battle with the rest of the Gothic army against his own forces. And he considered it a stroke of good luck and a very important advantage that such a large number of men should be kept apart from the army of his opponents.

Such being the situation, he wished on that day to engage in a cavalry battle only; and indeed most of the regular infantry were now unwilling to remain in their accustomed condition, but, since they had captured horses as booty from the enemy and had become not unpractised in horsemanship, they were

1 Chap. xix. 12, xiii. 15.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

22 ἵπποται ἦσαν. τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς, ὀλύνους τε ὄντας καὶ οὕτε φάλαγγα ἐχοντας λόγον ἀξίαν ποιήσασθαι οὕτε τοῖς βαρβάροις τραγήσαντάς πω ἐσεχίρας ἵέναι, ἂλλ' ἐσ φυγήν ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁμὴ καθισταμένους, οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἀποθεον τοῦ περιβόλου παρατάσσεσθαι, ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀγχιστὰ τῆς τάφρου ἐν τάξιν μένειν, ὅπως, εἰ γε σφῶν τοὺς ἵππεις τρέπεσθαι ξυμβαίνοι, δεχεσθαί τε οἷοί τε ὦσι τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐξεπράξεν ἀντίοις ἀκμήτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνεσθαι.

23 Πρωγκίπος δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις, ἀνήρ δόκιμος, Πισίδης γένος, καὶ Ταρμὸστος Ἰσαυρος, Ἐννοοῦ τοῦ Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγοῦ ἀδελφός, Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: 

24 "Στρατηγῶν ἂριστε, μήτε τὸ στρατευμά σοι, ὀλύνον τε ὅν καὶ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς μαχησόμενον, ἀποτέμνεσθαι ἄξιον τῇ πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μήτε χρήνα τὸ Ρωμαίων πεζικὸν ὑβρίζεσθαι οἶνον, δὲ οὐ τῆν ἀρχὴν τοῖς πάλαι Ρωμαίοις ἐς τόδε μεγέθους κεχωρηκέναι ἀκούομεν. εἰ γάρ τι οὐκ ἄξιόλογον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ πολέμῳ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακίας τεκμηρίου τούτου, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντες τῆς αὐτίας φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι, ἰτποῖς μὲν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μοῦν χούμενοι, κοινῷ δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀξιούντες τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ φυγὴ αὐτῶν μόνον ἔκαστος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας τὰ πολλά χρώμενοι. σὺ δὲ

1 αὐτῶν μόνος ἔκαστος Ηεγώγι: αὐτῷ μόνῳ Κ, αὐτῶν μόνη ἔκαστος Λ.
2 τὰ πολλὰ Κ: πολλῆ Λ.

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now mounted. And since the infantry were few in number and unable even to make a phalanx of any consequence, and had never had the courage to engage with the barbarians, but always turned to flight at the first onset, he considered it unsafe to draw them up at a distance from the fortifications, but thought it best that they should remain in position where they were, close by the moat, his purpose being that, if it should so happen that the Roman horsemen were routed, they should be able to receive the fugitives and, as a fresh body of men, help them to ward off the enemy.

But there were two men among his bodyguards, a certain Principius, who was a man of note and a Pisidian by birth, and Tarmutus, an Isaurian, brother of Ennes who was commander of the Isaurians. These men came before Belisarius and spoke as follows: "Most excellent of generals, we beg you neither to decide that your army, small as it is and about to fight with many tens of thousands of barbarians, be cut off from the phalanx of the infantry, nor to think that one ought to treat with contumely the infantry of the Romans, by means of which, as we hear, the power of the ancient Romans was brought to its present greatness. For if it so happens that they have done nothing of consequence in this war, this is no evidence of the cowardice of the soldiers, but it is the commanders of the infantry who would justly bear the blame, for they alone ride on horseback in the battle-line and are not willing to consider the fortunes of war as shared by all, but as a general thing each one of them by himself takes to flight before the struggle begins. But do you keep all the commanders of
πάντας μὲν τοὺς πεζῶν ἄρχοντας, ἵππεας γὰρ ὁ ἀρχοντάς σφῶν ὕπηκοοις ἐθέλοντας, ξύνν ὁ ἄλλος τῶν ἵππων στρατεύματι ἔχων ἐς τὴν ἄμβολὴν τύμψε καθίστασο, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἤγείρει ἐν γγεκαρέ. πεζοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ξύν αὐτοῖς οὐσο- μεν, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὅσα ἀν ὁ θεὸς διδὸ τοὺς πολέμους ἐργάσασθαι.

28 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελσάριος κατ’ ἄρχος μὲν οὐ ἄπειρος ἄρχος μὲν οὐ ξυνεκαρήσειν αὐτὸ γὰρ ἄνδρες μακάμω ἐς 3 ἂγαν ὅπερ τῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ πεζοὺς ὅλους διαικινδυ- νεύειν ὅπερ ἠθέλε. τέλος δὲ τῇ τῶν ἄνδρων προ- θυμίας βιαζόμενος ὅλους μὲν τίνας ἐς τὰς πύλες καὶ ἄνω ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξύν Ρωμαίοιν τῷ δήμῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς μηχανῶς εἰσε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Πρυγκίπιον τε καὶ Ταρμοῦτον ἐπιστήσας ὑπνοθέν αὐτοῖς ἵστασθαι ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευε, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε μὴ τῶν κίνδυνον κατορρώδησαντες τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἔνταρξον, καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ὅτι τοῖς προτὲ μοῖρα τρέποντο, μὴ ὡς ἀπωτάτω χωρίσασιν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφεύγοντες τοὺς διώκοντας οἱ οἱ τε ὁσι ξύν ἔκεινοι ἀμίνεσθαι.

1 ἵππεας γὰρ Ηαυργ.: ἵππεας MSS., οὗ γε δὴ ἵππεας Comparetti. 2 ξύν Κ.: οὗ γε δὴ ξύν L. 3 ξυνεκαρήσειν αὐτὸ ἄνδρες μαχίμω ἐς Κ., ξυνεκαρήσειν. αὐτῶ γὰρ ἄνδριμάξω ἐς L.
infantry, since you see that they have become cavalry and that they are quite unwilling to take their stand beside their subordinates, and include them with the rest of the cavalry and so enter this battle, but permit us to lead the infantry into the combat. For since we also are unmounted, as are these troops, we shall do our part in helping them to support the attack of the multitude of barbarians, full of hope that we shall inflict upon the enemy whatever chastisement God shall permit."

When Belisarius heard this request, at first he did not assent to it; for he was exceedingly fond of these two men, who were fighters of marked excellence, and he was unwilling to have a small body of infantry take such a risk. But finally, overborne by the eagerness of the men, he consented to leave only a small number of their soldiers, in company with the Roman populace, to man the gates and the battlement along the top of the wall where the engines of war were, and to put the rest under command of Principius and Tarmutus, ordering them to take position in the rear in regular formation. His purpose in this was, in the first place, to keep these troops from throwing the rest of the army into confusion if they themselves should become panic-stricken at the danger, and, in the second place, in case any division of the cavalry should be routed at any time, to prevent the retreat from extending to an indefinite distance, but to allow the cavalry simply to fall back upon the infantry and make it possible for them, with the infantry's help, to ward off the pursuers.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XXIX

'Ρωμαίοις μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν παρεισκευάστο ὅδε. Οὐκίτυνις δὲ Γότθος ἐξωπλίσειν ἀπαντάς, οὐδένα ἐν τοῖς χαρακῶμασιν, οἴμη μὴ 2 τοὺς ἀπομάχον, ἀπολιπόν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Μαρκίαν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ μένειν ἐκέλευε, φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐν γεφύρα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡποῖς ὅ ἂ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἱσωσίν αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

3 "Ἰσως ἄν ὑμῶν τισί περὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ δεδιέναι δοκοῖν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τῇ ἄλλην ἐς ὑμᾶς φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ εὐ- 4 τολμίας ὑμῖν ἐπαγωγὰ φθέγγεσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου λογίζονται. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἁμαθεῖς ἀνθρωποί, ὅπερ ἄν δέοντο, πραότητι ἐς αὐτοῦς χρησθαι, καὶ πολλῇ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεστεροῖ τύχωσιν οὔτες, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δυσπρόσωδοι ἐστιν, ὅ ἂν τῆς 5 ὑπουργίας οὐ χρησίουσιν. ἔμοι μέντοι οὐτε βίου καταστροφῆς οὔτε ἄρχῆς στερῆσεσις μέλει. εὐ- ἤξιμην γὰρ ἀν καὶ τὰ τὴν πορφύριδα ταύτην ἀπο- δύσασθαι τήμερον, εἰ Γότθος ἀνήρ αὐτὴν ἐνδιδύ- 6 σκεσθαι μέλλοι. καὶ τὸ Θευδάτου πέρας ὅλιθιον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγενήσθαι γενόμικα, ὃς γε ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων χέρσι τὴν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἀφεὶ- 7 ναι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμα τετύχηκε. συμφορὰ γὰρ ἰδία προστίπτουσα μὴ συμφθειρομένου τοῦ γένους τοίς γε οὐκ ἀνοήτους παραψυχής οὐκ

¹ δυσπρόσωδοι Κ: δυσπρόσωποι Λ.
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In this fashion the Romans had made their preparations for the encounter. As for Vittigis, he had armed all the Goths, leaving not a man behind in the camps, except those unfit for fighting. And he commanded the men under Marcias to remain in the Plain of Nero, and to attend to the guarding of the bridge, that the enemy might not attack his men from that direction. He himself then called together the rest of the army and spoke as follows:

"It may perhaps seem to some of you that I am fearful about my sovereignty, and that this is the motive which has led me, in the past, to shew a friendly spirit toward you and, on the present occasion, to address you with seductive words in order to inspire you with courage. And such reasoning is not out of accord with the ways of men. For unenlightened men are accustomed to shew gentleness toward those whom they want to make use of, even though these happen to be in a much humbler station than they, but to be difficult of access to others whose assistance they do not desire. As for me, however, I care neither for the end of life nor for the loss of power. Nay, I should even pray that I might put off this purple to-day, if a Goth were to put it on. And I have always regarded the end of Theodatus as one of the most fortunate, in that he was privileged to lose both his sovereignty and his life at the hands of men of his own nation. For a calamity which falls upon an individual without involving his nation also in destruction does not lack an element of consolation, in the view, at least, of men who are not wanting in

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8 ἑστέρηται. ἐνυσσοῦντά με δὲ τὸ τε Βανδίλων πάθος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γελύμερος τέλος οὐδὲν εἰσέρχεται μέτριον, ἀλλὰ Γότθους μὲν ὅραν μοι δοκῶ δύν τοῖς παισὶ δεδουλωμένους, γυναικας δὲ ύμετέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐχθίστος τὰ πάντων αἰσχυστα ὑπηρετοῦσας, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ἀγόμενον καὶ τὴν τῆς Θεουδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὅπη ποτὲ τοὺς νῦν πολεμίους ἀρέσκει, ταῦτα βουλοῖμην δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὅπως μὴ προσπέσωσι δείσαντας ἐς μάχην τήν ἔλεγε 9 καθίστασθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἕμβολης χωρῷ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν περὶ πλείονος τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἤτταν σωτηρίας ποιήσασθε. ἐνι γὰρ μόνῳ κακοτυχεῖν ἀνδρές γενναίοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι νομίζουσι. θάνατος δὲ, ἀλλος τε καὶ ταχὺς ἥκων, εὐδαίμονας ἄει τοὺς πρόσθεν οὖς εὐτυχοῦστας ἐργάζεται. εὐδηλῶν τε ὡς, ἂν μετὰ τούτων ύμεὶς τῶν λογισμῶν τῆς τῆς ἐμβολῆς διενεχθηκέ, βᾶστα μεν τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσετε, ὅλογος τε ὄντας καὶ Γραικοὺς, 1 κολάσετε δὲ αὐτοῦς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῆς τε ἅδικας καὶ ὕβρεως ἦς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἡρξαν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἁρέτη τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν υπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν, οἱ δὲ θρασύνονται καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλυγορίαν. βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν εὐτύχημα.

12 κιὰς καὶ ὕβρεως ἦς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἡρξαν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἁρέτη τε καὶ πλῆθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν υπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν, οἱ δὲ θρασύνονται καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλυγορίαν. βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν εὐτύχημα.

13 Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐλττιγις παρακελευσάμενος διεκόμει τὸ στράτευμα ἡ παρατάξεων, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς μέσον καταστησάμενος, τοὺς ἱππεάς δὲ ἐς ἁμφώ τὰ κέρατα. οὐκ ἀποθελεῖν μέντοι τῶν χαράκωμάτων

1 γραικοὺς Κ : γραικοὺς ἦ Ἰσοὺς Λ, ἦ Ἰσαύρους Grotius.
wisdom. But when I reflect upon the fate of the Vandals and the end of Gelimer, the thoughts which come to my mind are of no ordinary kind; nay, I seem to see the Goths and their children reduced to slavery, your wives ministering in the most shameful of all ways to the most hateful of men, and myself and the granddaughter of Theodoric led wherever it suits the pleasure of those who are now our enemies; and I would have you also enter this battle fearing lest this fate befall us. For if you do this, on the field of battle you will count the end of life as more to be desired than safety after defeat. For noble men consider that there is only one misfortune—to survive defeat at the hands of their enemy. But as for death, and especially death which comes quickly, it always brings happiness to those who were before not blest by fortune. It is very clear that if you keep these thoughts in mind as you go through the present engagement, you will not only conquer your opponents most easily, few as they are and Greeks, but will also punish them forthwith for the injustice and insolence with which they, without provocation, have treated us. For although we boast that we are their superiors in valour, in numbers, and in every other respect, the boldness which they feel in confronting us is due merely to elation at our misfortunes; and the only asset they have is the indifference we have shewn. For their self-confidence is fed by their undeserved good fortune.”

With these words of exhortation Vittigis proceeded to array his army for battle, stationing the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the two wings. He did not, however, draw up his phalanx far from the

1 Matasuntha. 2 Cf. Book IV. xxvii. 38, note.
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tήν φάλαγγα διέτασσεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα, ὡς ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ τροπὴ γένηται, εὐπετῶς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλαμβάνομενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐν χώρῳ πολλῷ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοῖς γινομένης. ἦλπιζε γάρ, ἣν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἡ μάχη συστάδον γένηται, αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἀνθέξειν, τεκμαιρόμενος πολλῷ γε ὃντι τῷ παραλόγῳ διτοὐκ ἀντίπαλον τῷ σφετέρῳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα εἶναι.

16 Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιώται προὶ ἀρξάμενοι ἔργον ἐκατέρωθεν εἴχοντο. Οὐίττιγις δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ὑπίσθεν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἀμφοτέρους ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὠρμων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καθυπέρτερα ἦν τὰ 'Ρωμαίων, οἱ τε βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων συχνοὶ ἐπιπτον, διαξίος μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεμία ἐγένετο. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει μεγάλῳ οἱ Γόθοι καθεστώτες ράστα δὴ ἐς τῶν διαφθειρόμενων τὴν χώραν ἐτεροὶ ἱσταντο, αἰσθησίν τε οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀπολλυμένων παρεῖχοντο. καὶ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἵκανον ἐφαίνετο λιαν ὁλίγοις οὖσιν ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁγιωτάτην ἀποκεκρίσθαι. την τε μάχην ἄχρι ἐς τά τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδα διενεγκοῦσιν ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν, καὶ πολλάς ἤδη διαφθείρασι τῶν πολεμίων θυμομένοις ἥν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανείπει, ἂν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γένηται σκάβησι.

17 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἄνδρες 'Ρωμαίων ἁγαθοὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐγένοντο τρεῖς, Ἀθηνόδωρος, τε ἄνηρ Ἰσαυρος, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδοκίμως, καὶ Θεοδωρίκος τε καὶ Γεώμγιος.

18 Μαρτίνου δορυφόροι, Καππαδόκαι γένος. ἀεί γὰρ τοῦ τῆς φάλαγγος εξίοντες μετώπου διήρασι

1 γε ὃντι Κ.: τούτο Λ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, V. xxix. 14–21

camps, but very near them, in order that, as soon as the rout should take place, the enemy might easily be overtaken and killed, there being abundance of room for the pursuit. For he expected that if the struggle should become a pitched battle in the plain, they would not withstand him even a short time; since he judged by the great disparity of numbers that the army of the enemy was no match for his own.

So the soldiers on both sides, beginning in the early morning, opened battle; and Vittigis and Belisarius were in the rear urging on both armies and inciting them to fortitude. And at first the Roman arms prevailed, and the barbarians kept falling in great numbers before their archery, but no pursuit of them was made. For since the Gothic cavalry stood in dense masses, other men very easily stepped into the places of those who were killed, and so the loss of those who fell among them was in no way apparent. And the Romans evidently were satisfied, in view of their very small number, that the struggle should have such a result for them. So after they had by midday carried the battle as far as the camps of their opponents, and had already slain many of the enemy, they were anxious to return to the city if any pretext should present itself to them. In this part of the action three among the Romans proved themselves brave men above all others, Athenodorus an Isaurian, a man of fair fame among the guards of Belisarius, and Theodoriscus and George, spearmen of Martinus and Cappadocians by birth. For they constantly kept going out beyond the front of the phalanx, and there
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dieirγάζοντο τῶν βαρβάρων πολλούς. ταύτα μὲν ἔφερετο τῆδε.

22 Ἔν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ χρόνον μὲν συχνὸν ἀντικάθηντο ἐκάτεροι ἄλληλοις, καὶ οἱ Μαυροῦσιοι ἐπεκδρομᾶς τε ἀεὶ ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐσακοντίζοντες τοὺς Γότθους ἐλύπουν. ἐπεξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἤκιστα θέλειν, δεδιότες τοὺς ἔκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου οὐκ ἀποδεχθὲν ὄντας, οὐδὲ δὲ στρατιώτας τε ὄντος εἶναι καὶ τινα ἐνέδραν ἐς σφᾶς ποιομένους ἑσυχὴ μένειν, ὅπως κατὰ νότου ἰόντες ἀμφιβόλους τε ποιησάμενοι διαφθείροσιν. ἢδη δὲ τῆς ἤμερας μεσούσης ὀρμᾶ μὲν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκ τοῦ αἰθριόδου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους, τρέπονται δὲ παρὰ δόξαν τὸν Γότθοι τῇ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καταπλαγέντες. καὶ οὐδὲ ὅσ τὸ χαράκωμα φυγεῖν ἵσχυσαν, ἀλλ’ ἕσ τοὺς ἐκείνης λόφους ἀναβάντες ἥσυχαζον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσαν, οὐ στρατιῶται δὲ πάντες, ἀλλ’ οἱ πλείστοι γυμνοὶ ὁμιλοῦσαν. ἢν γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπέρωθι ὄντος πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ναύται καὶ οἰκέται τοῦ 2 πολέμου μεταλαχείν ἐφείμενοι ἀνεμώγυντο τῷ ταύτῃ στρατῷ, καὶ πλήθει μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκπλήξαντες, ὡσπερ ἔρημη, ἐς φυγὴν ἔστρεψαν, ἀκοεὶ μία δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐσφῆλαν. ἐπιμέξεια γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνων ἔς ἀταξίαν πολλὴν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐμπεπτωκότες, καίπερ σφίς Βαλεντίνου πολλὰ ἐγκελευμένου, τῶν παραγγέλλομένων ἤκιστα ἥκουν. διόπερ οὖδὲ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπιστόμενοι

1 αὐτοῖς K: πρὸς αὐτοὺς L.
2 τοῦ K: τοῦτον τοῦ L.
despatched many of the barbarians with their spears. Such was the course of events here.

But in the Plain of Nero the two armies remained for a long time facing one another, and the Moors, by making constant sallies and hurling their javelins among the enemy, kept harrying the Goths. For the Goths were quite unwilling to go out against them through fear of the forces of the Roman populace which were not far away, thinking, of course, that they were soldiers and were remaining quiet because they had in mind some sort of an ambush against themselves with the object of getting in their rear, exposing them to attack on both sides, and thus destroying them. But when it was now the middle of the day, the Roman army suddenly made a rush against the enemy, and the Goths were unexpectedly routed, being paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. And they did not succeed even in fleeing to their camp, but climbed the hills near by and remained quiet. Now the Romans, though many in number, were not all soldiers, but were for the most part a throng of men without defensive armour. For inasmuch as the general was elsewhere, many sailors and servants in the Roman camp, in their eagerness to have a share in the war, mingled with that part of the army. And although by their mere numbers they did fill the barbarians with consternation and turn them to flight, as has been said, yet by reason of their lack of order they lost the day for the Romans. For the intermixture of the above-mentioned men caused the soldiers to be thrown into great disorder, and although Valentinus kept constantly shouting orders to them, they could not hear his commands at all. For this reason they did not even follow up the
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tina\(^1\) ἐκτείνων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἡσυχάζοντας
30 ἀδεῶς τὰ ποιούμενα θεάσθαι ξυνεχώρησαν. οὐδὲ
τὴν ἐκείνην διελείν γέφυραν ἐν υἱῷ ἐποιήσαντο, ὅπως τὸ λαυτὸν ἡ πόλις μὴ ἐκατέρωθεν πολιορ-
κοῦτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτί ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν
31 ἐνστρατοπεδεύσεθαί οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων. οὐ μὴν
οὐδὲ τὴν γέφυραν διαβάντες κατὰ νότον τῶν
ἐναντίων ἐγένοντο οὐ τοῖς ἄμφι Βελισάριον ταύτης
ἐμάχοντο. ὅπερ εἰ ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν ἦτο, οἷμαι, οἱ
Γότθοι πρὸς ἅλκην ἐβλεποῦν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν
αὐτίκα μάλα ἐτράποντο, ὡς ἐκαστὸς τὴ ἐδύνατο.
32 νῦν δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα
ἐς ἀρπαγήν τῶν χρημάτων ἐτράποντο, καὶ πολλὰ
μὲν ἐνθέντες ἀργυρώματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρή-
ματα ἐφεροῦν. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ χρόνου μὲν τινα
θεώμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἡσυχαζόν τε καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐμενον, τέλος δὲ ἐξυμφρονήσαντες θυμὸ τε πολλῷ
καὶ κραυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἑτὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώ-
ρησαν. εὑρόντες δὲ ἀνθρώπους κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς τὰ
σφέτερα ληζομένους ἐκτείναν τε συνχοῦσι καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐξῆλασαν. ὅσοι γὰρ
ἐγκαταλφθέντες αὐτῶν οὖ 3 διεφθάρσαν, ἀπὸ
tῶν ὁμών τὰ χρήματα ρύψαντες ἀσμενοὶ ἐφευροῦν.
34 Ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἐγίνετο, ἐν
tούτῳ ὁ ἄλλος τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἀγχίστα
τῶν σφετέρων στρατοπεδῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραξά-
μενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους καρτερῶς ἡμύναντο, καὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ πολλῷ πλείους
dιεφθειροῦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾿Ῥωμαίοι οἱ μὲν τραυματίαι
γεγενημένοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἵππων σφίσι διαφθαρέντων

1 tina Hoeschel: tinas MSS.
2 γὰρ L: γὰρ οὐκ K.
3 οὐ L: om. K.

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fugitives or kill a man, but allowed them to stand at rest on the hills and in security to view what was going on. Nor did they take thought to destroy the bridge there, and thus prevent the city from being afterwards besieged on both sides; for, had they done so, the barbarians would have been unable to encamp any longer on the farther side of the Tiber River. Furthermore, they did not even cross the bridge and get in the rear of their opponents who were fighting there with the troops of Belisarius. And if this had been done, the Goths, I think, would no longer have thought of resistance, but they would have turned instantly to flight, each man as he could. But as it was, they took possession of the enemy’s camp and turned to plundering his goods, and they set to work carrying thence many vessels of silver and many other valuables. Meanwhile the barbarians for some time remained quietly where they were and observed what was going on, but finally by common consent they advanced against their opponents with great fury and shouting. And finding men in complete disorder engaged in plundering their property, they slew many and quickly drove out the rest. For all who were caught inside the camp and escaped slaughter were glad to cast their plunder from their shoulders and take to flight.

While these things were taking place in the Plain of Nero, meantime the rest of the barbarian army stayed very near their camps and, protecting themselves with their shields, vigorously warded off their opponents, destroying many men and a much larger number of horses. But on the Roman side, when those who had been wounded and those whose horses had
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ἐξέλιπον τὴν παράταξιν, ἐν ὀλίγῃ καὶ πρότερον τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔσῃ ἐτεί μᾶλλον ἡ ὀλγανθρωπία διαφανῆς ἦν, πολὺ τε τὸ διαλλάσσον τοῦ τῶν

37 Γότθων ὀμίλου ἐφάνη. ἀπερ ἐν ψυχαίοντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἔχωρσαν δρόμοι. ὡν δὴ τὰ δόρατα οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ ταυτὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς φυγὴν ἀρμηντο καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πεζῶν

38 τῆς φάλαγγα ἦκον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑφίσταντο, ἀλλὰ ἔξω τοῖς ἱππεύσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐφευρον. αὐτικὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ῥω-

μαίων στράτευμα ὑπεχώρει, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἡ τροπὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐγίνετο.

39 Προγκιπίος δὲ καὶ Ταρμοῦτος ἔπιν ὅλγως τισι τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς πεζῶν ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἁρετὴς

40 ἄξια εἰς αὐτοὺς. μαχομένους τε γὰρ καὶ 2 τρέπε-

θαι ξύν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκιστα ἄξιοντας τῶν Γότθων

οἱ πλείστοι ἐν θαῦματι τοῦτο μεγάλω ποιύμενοι ἐστησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τὸ οὖν πεζοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλείστοι ἀδεέστερον διεσώθησαν.

41 Προγκιπίος μὲν οὖν, κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον, αὐτοῦ ἐπεσε, καὶ πεζοὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεσσαράκοντα

42 καὶ δύο. Ταρμοῦτος δὲ δύο ἀκόντια Ἰσαυρίκα ἐν ἀμφισύρως ταῖς χερσῖν ἐχων, νῦττων τε ἀεὶ 

τοὺς ἐπίόντας ἐπιστροφιῶθην, ἐπειδὴ κοπτόμενος τὸ σῶμα ἀπείπεν, ἦννοι τάδελφοι ξύν ἰππεῦσι τοῖς ἐπιβεβοθηκότοις, ἀνέπνευσε τε καὶ δρόμων

ὁξεὶ λύθρου τε καὶ πληγῶν ἐμπλέως ἐπὶ τῶν 

περίβολων οὐδέτερον τῶν ἀκούτων ἀποβαλῶν

43 ἡμ. τοὐδώκης δὲ ὥν φύσει διαφυγεῖν ἰσχὺς, 1 τοὺς... πολεμίους: τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς πολεμίους Κ, τῶν κατ' 

αὐτοὺς πολεμίους Λ. 2 ἄξια... καὶ Κ: ἄξια. ἐς αὐτοὺς γὰρ μαχομένους τέ καὶ Λ.

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been killed left the ranks, then, in an army which had been small even before, the smallness of their numbers was still more evident, and the difference between them and the Gothic host was manifestly great. Finally the horsemen of the barbarians who were on the right wing, taking note of this, advanced at a gallop against the enemy opposite them. And the Romans there, unable to withstand their spears, rushed off in flight and came to the infantry phalanx. However, the infantry also were unable to hold their ground against the oncoming horsemen, and most of them began to join the cavalry in flight. And immediately the rest of the Roman army also began to retire, the enemy pressing upon their heels, and the rout became decisive. But Principius and Tarmutus with some few of the infantry of their command made a display of valorous deeds against the Goths. For as they continued to fight and disdained to turn to flight with the others, most of the Goths were so amazed that they halted. And consequently the rest of the infantry and most of the horsemen made their escape in greater security. Now Principius fell where he stood, his whole body hacked to pieces, and around him fell forty-two foot-soldiers. But Tarmutus, holding two Isaurian javelins, one in each hand, continued to thrust them into his assailants as he turned from side to side, until, finally, he desisted because his body was covered with wounds; but when his brother Ennes came to the rescue with a detachment of cavalry, he revived, and running swiftly, covered as he was with gore and wounds, he made for the fortifications without throwing down either of his javelins. And being fleet of foot by
καὶ περ ὦτω τοῦ σῶματος ἔχων, παρ’ αὐτάς τε 
τὰς Πιγκιανᾶς πύλας ἐλθὼν ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτὸν 
tetelentηκέναι δόξαντα ὑπὲρ ἀστίδος ἀραντες 
tῶν τινω εταίρων ἐκόμμαν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο 
épiβιος ἐτελεύηςε, λόγου αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἐν τε 
Ἰσαύροις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.

45 Πεφθημένοι τε ἦδη Ῥωμαῖοι φρουρᾶς τῆς ἐν 
tῷ τείχει ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐπιθέντες 
ζῶν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τῇ πόλει τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐκ 
ἐδέχοντο, διδότες μη ξυνεισβάλλωσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ 
pολέμοι. καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν τοῦ 
περιβόλου ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι, τὴν τάφρον διαβάνιν 
tες καὶ τῷ τείχει τὰ νώτα ἐρείσαντες, ἔτρεμον 
tε καὶ πάσης ἀλκῆς ἐπιλεξθημένοι εἰστήχειαν, ἀμύνεσθαι τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢκιστα ἱσχύον 
καὶ περ ἐγκεκαμένους τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον ὑπερβῆναι

47 ἐπ’ αὐτούς μέλλοντας. αὐτίον δὲ ἤδη ὅτι τοῖς μὲν 
pολλοῖς τὰ δόρατα ἐν τῇ ἐμβολῇ καὶ τῇ 
φυγῇ κατασκοτα ἐτύγχανε, τα δὲ τὸξα ἐνέργειῶν 
στενοχωρίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἷοι τε ἰσαν.

48 ἐως μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεις καθὼ 
rωντο, οἱ Γότθοι ἐνεκείστω, ἐπιῶδα ἔχοντες τοὺς 
tε ἀποκεκλεισμένους ἀπαντας διαφθείραι καὶ 
toüs ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ βιάσασθαι. ἐτεί δὲ στρα 
tιωτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἀμυνομένων 
pολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις εἴδου, αὐτίκα δὴ 
ἀπογνώτες ἐνθένδε ὅπισω ἀπῆλαυνα, πολλά 
toús ἐναντίον κακίσαντες. ἢ τε μίχη ἐν τοῖς 
toûs βαρβάρων χαρακόμασιν ἀρξαμένη ἐν τῇ 
tάφρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐτελεύητης τείχει.
nature, he succeeded in making his escape, in spite of the plight of his body, and did not fall until he had just reached the Pincian Gate. And some of his comrades, supposing him to be dead, lifted him on a shield and carried him. But he lived on two days before he died, leaving a high reputation both among the Isaurians and in the rest of the army.

The Romans, meanwhile, being by now thoroughly frightened, attended to the guarding of the wall, and shutting the gates they refused, in their great excitement, to receive the fugitives into the city, fearing that the enemy would rush in with them. And such of the fugitives as had not already got inside the fortifications, crossed the moat, and standing with their backs braced against the wall were trembling with fear, and stood there forgetful of all valour and utterly unable to ward off the barbarians, although they were pressing upon them and were about to cross the moat to attack them. And the reason was that most of them had lost their spears, which had been broken in the engagement and during the flight, and they were not able to use their bows because they were huddled so closely together. Now so long as not many defenders were seen at the battlement, the Goths kept pressing on, having hopes of destroying all those who had been shut out and of overpowering the men who held the circuit-wall. But when they saw a very great number both of soldiers and of the Roman populace at the battlements defending the wall, they immediately abandoned their purpose and rode off thence to the rear, heaping much abuse upon their opponents. And the battle, having begun at the camps of the barbarians, ended at the moat and the wall of the city.
HISTORY OF THE WARS:
BOOK VI

THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)
ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΚΤΟΣ

1

Μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διακιν- 
δυνεύειν οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων· ἦπιπομαχίας δὲ ποιού- 
μενοί ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πολλὰ 
2 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ 
ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι, 
3 ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐπόμενοι. καὶ ποτὲ Βέσσας 
ἐν πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπν τῷ δόρατι 
ἐσπηδῆσας τρεῖς τε τῶν ἄριστων ἰππέων ἐκτείνε 
4 καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψεν. αὐθίς δὲ 
Κωνσταντῖνος τοῦ Οὐννοῦ ἐπαγόμενος ἐν 
Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ὤφιαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ 
πλήθει ὑπερβιαζόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίοις εἶδεν, 
5 ἐποίησι τοιάδε. στάδιον μέγα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ 
ἐστιν, οὐ δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μονομάχοι τὰ πρῶτα 
ἡγοῦντο, πολλὰ τὰ ἄλλα 1 οἱ πάλαι ἀνθρωποὶ 
ἀμφὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦτο ἐδείμαντο, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ 
στενώτερος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πανταχόθι τοῦ χωρίου 
6 ἐξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τότε οὖν Κωνσταντῖνος, 3 ἐπεὶ 
οὔτε περιέστεθα τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὀμίλου ἐχεν 
οὔτε κυνδύνου μεγάλου ἔκτος φεύγειν οἷος τε ἦν,

1 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS. 2 ἄλλα Κ: om. L. 3 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.
THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

I

After this the Romans no longer dared risk a battle with their whole army; but they engaged in cavalry battles, making sudden sallies in the same manner as before, and were generally victorious over the barbarians. Foot-soldiers also went out from both sides, not, however, arrayed in a phalanx, but accompanying the horsemen. And once Bessas in the first rush dashed in among the enemy carrying his spear and killed three of their best horsemen and turned the rest to flight. And another time, when Constantinus had led out the Huns in the Plain of Nero in the late afternoon, and saw that they were being overpowered by the superior numbers of their opponents, he took the following measures. There has been in that place from of old a great stadium where the gladiators of the city used to fight in former times, and the men of old built many other buildings round about this stadium; consequently there are, as one would expect, narrow passages all about this place. Now on the occasion in question, since Constantinus could neither overcome the throng of the Goths nor flee without great danger, he caused

1 Perhaps the Stadium of Caligula.
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ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς Ούννοις ἀποβιβάσας πεζὸς ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνη
7 στενωπῶν ἔστη. ὄθεν δὴ βάλλοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τοὺς πολεμίους συχνοὺς ἐκτεινοῦν. καὶ
χρόνον μὲν τινὰ οἱ Γότθοι βαλλόμενοι ἀντείχον.
8 ἡλπιζον γὰρ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τῶν Ούννων τὰς φαρέτρας ἐπιλείψῃ τὰ βέλη, κύκλωσιν τε αὐτῶν
οὐδένι πῶς ποιήσασθαι καὶ δῆσαντες ἐς στρατό-
9 πεδον αὐτοὺς τὸ σφέτερον ἄξειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
Μασσαγέται, τοξόται μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐς πολὺν
δὲ ὅμιλον βάλλοντες, τοξεύματι σχεδὸν τι ἐκά-
στῳ πολεμίῳ ἀνδρός ἐπετύχανον, ἦσθοντο μὲν
ὑπὲρ ἡμισὺ ἀπολωλότες, ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐς δυσμᾶς
ίωντος ἡλιόν οὐκ ἔχοντες ὦ τι γένωνται ἐς φυγήν
10 ὀρμήσατο. ἦνθα δὴ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐπεσον. ἔπι-
στόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπεὶ τοξεύειν ὡς
ἀριστα καὶ πολλοὶ χρώμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπίστανται,
oὐδὲν τι ἢςουν ἐς νῶτα1 βάλλοντες ἐκτεινοῦν.
oὔτω τε ἐς ἩΡώμην Κωνσταντῖνος 2 ξὺν τοῖς
Ούννοις ἐς νῦκτα ἦκε.
11 Περανῖον δὲ ἡμέρας οὗ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἩΡω-
μαίων τισὶ διὰ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἔπὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἤγισσαμένου ἐφευγον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ
Γότθοι, παλινδοξέως 3 δὲ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐκ
τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένης, τῶν τις ἩΡωμαίων
πεζὸς ὡς μέγαν καταστὰς θόρυβον ἐς βαθεῖαν
τινα κατώρχυα ἐμπίπτει, οἷα πολλαὶ τοῖς πάλαι
ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σῖτον παρακαταθῆκην ἐνταῦθα,
12 οἴμαι, πεποίηται. οὔτε δὲ κραυγὴ χρῆσθαι

1 νῶτα Κ: αὐτῶς Ι.
2 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντινός MSS.
3 παλινδοξέως Κ, πάλιν. δἰαξέως Ι.
all the Huns to dismount from their horses, and on foot, in company with them, took his stand in one of the narrow passages there. Then by shooting from that safe position they slew large numbers of the enemy. And for some time the Goths withstood their missiles. For they hoped, as soon as the supply of missiles in the quivers of the Huns should be exhausted, to be able to surround them without any trouble, take them prisoners, and lead them back to their camp. But since the Massagetae, who were not only good bowmen but also had a dense throng to shoot into, hit an enemy with practically every shot, the Goths perceived that above half their number had perished, and since the sun was about to set, they knew not what to do and so rushed off in flight. Then indeed many of them fell; for the Massagetae followed them up, and since they know how to shoot the bow with the greatest accuracy even when running at great speed, they continued to discharge their arrows no less than before, shooting at their backs, and kept up the slaughter. And thus Constantinus with his Huns came back to Rome at night.

And when Peranius, not many days later, led some of the Romans through the Salarian Gate against the enemy, the Goths, indeed, fled as hard as they could, but about sunset a counter-pursuit was made suddenly, and a Roman foot-soldier, becoming greatly confused, fell into a deep hole, many of which were made there by the men of old, for the storage of grain, I suppose. And he did not dare to cry out,
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tολμήσας, ἀτε που ἔγνυς στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν
πολέμων, οὔτε τοῦ βῆθρον τρόπῳ ὄτροφον ἀπαλ-
λάσσεσθαι οἶος τε ὢν, ἔπει ἀναβασιν οὐδαμῇ
13 εἰχεν, αὐτοῦ διανυκτερεύειν ἡμάγκαστο. τῇ δὲ
ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τροπῆς αὔτης τῶν βαρβάρων
γεγενημένης, τῶν τοῖς Γόθθους ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν κατώ-
ρυχα ἐμπίπτει. ἐνθα δὴ ἄμφω ἐς τε φιλο-
φοσύνην καὶ εὐνοιαν ἐξυνθλέτην ἀλλήλοιον,
ἐναγούσῃς αὐτοῦς τῆς ἀνάγκης, τά τε πιστὰ
生产总α, ἡ μὴ κατεσπουδασμένη ἐκατέρῳ τῇ
θατέρου σωτηρίαν εἶναι, καὶ τότε δὴ μέγα καὶ
15 ἕξαισινον ἄμφω ἐβόων. Γόθθοι μὲν οὖν τῇ τε
φωνῇ ἐπιστὸμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατώρυχος δια-
kύγαντες ἐπινυθάνουτο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ βοῶν εἴη.
16 οὔτω δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν δεδογμένου, σιωπῶν μὲν ὁ
Ῥωμαῖος εἰχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ
ἐναγνος ἐθαρσκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτω-
κέναι, βρόχον τε αὐτούς, ὁπως ἀναβαίνοι, ἡξίου
17 καθεῖναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὃς τάξιστα τῶν κάλων
τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπορρίγαντες τοῦ Γόθθου ποιεῖσθαι
τὴν ἀνολὴν φῶντο, λαβόμενοι δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῶν
βρόχων ἐκλεκτὸ ἄνω, τοιοῦτον εἰπόν, ὡς, ἣν μὲν
αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνοι πρῶτος, οὔποτε τοῦ ἐταίρου
ἀμελήσειν τοὺς Γόθθους, ἢν δὲ γε τὸν πολέμιον
πῦρωνται μόνον ἐνταύθα εἶναι, οὔδενα ἀν αὐτοῦ
18 ποιοῦντο λόγον. ταῦτα εἰπὸν ἀνέβη. καὶ αὐτῶν
ἐπει ὁ Γόθθοι εἰδον, ἐθαυμάζον τε καὶ ἀμηχανία
πολλῇ εἴχοντο, πάντα τε πάρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον
ἀκούσαντες ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐταίρου ἀνεῖλκουν,
ὅς δὴ αὐτῶς τά τε ἐξυγκείμενα σφισὶ καὶ τα δεδο-

1 αὐτοῦς Κ: αὐτῶ L. 2 τῶν βρόχων L: τῶν βρόχων Κ.
3 ἐταίρου Κ: ἐτερον L.
supposing that the enemy were encamped near by, and was not able in any way whatever to get out of the pit, for it afforded no means of climbing up; he was therefore compelled to pass the night there. Now on the next day, when the barbarians had again been put to flight, one of the Goths fell into the same hole. And there the two men were reconciled to mutual friendship and good-will, brought together as they were by their necessity, and they exchanged solemn pledges, each that he would work earnestly for the salvation of the other; and then both of them began shouting with loud and frantic cries. Now the Goths, following the sound, came and peered over the edge of the hole, and enquired who it was who shouted. At this, the Roman, in accordance with the plan decided upon by the two men, kept silence, and the Goth in his native tongue said that he had just recently fallen in there during the rout which had taken place, and asked them to let down a rope that he might come up. And they as quickly as possible threw down the ends of ropes, and, as they thought, were pulling up the Goth, but the Roman laid hold of the ropes and was pulled up, saying only that if he should go up first the Goths would never abandon their comrade, but if they should learn that merely one of the enemy was there they would take no account of him. So saying, he went up. And when the Goths saw him, they wondered and were in great perplexity, but upon hearing the whole story from him they drew up his comrade next, and he told them of the agreement
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19 μένα 1 πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων πιστὰ ἐφρασε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀπὶ ὅρκο, τόν δὲ Ῥωμαίον κακῶν ἀπαθῆ ἦσ τὴν πόλιν ἄφηκαν ἱέναι.
20 ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν πολλάκις ἐκατέρωθεν οὐ πολλοὶ ὡς ἔσ Manuel ὀπλίζοντο, ἐσ μοιομαχίαν δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας αὐτοῖς ἔτελεύτα καὶ πάσας Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐνίκων. ταύτα μὲν δὲ ὄδε πτ ἔσχεν.
21 Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὑπερού χρόνῳ ξυμβολῆς ἐν Νέρωνος γυνομένης πεδίῳ, διώξεις τε ἅλλων ἄλλῃ κατ’ ἐλγοὺς 2 ἱππεῖς ποιομένων, Χορσάμαντις, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίῳ δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμοι, Μασσαγέτης γένος, ἦν ἑτέρος τισίν ἄνδρας ἐβδομῆ-
22 κοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐδιῶκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ πεδίου πόρρω ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἅλλοι Ῥωμαιοὶ ὁπίσω ἀπῆλαυν, Χορσάμαντις δὲ μόνος ἐτι ἐδιῶκεν. ὅπερ 3 κατιδόντες οἱ Γότθοι στρέψαντες
23 τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἤπεσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς μέσους χωρῆσαν, ἔνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων δόρατι 4 κτείνας, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ἤπει, οἱ δὲ αὐθεὶς τραπό-
24 μενοὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμητο. αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν καθόρασθαι ὑπώπτευον) πάλιν ἤνεα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν
25 ἥθελον. ταῦτῳ δὲ παθόντες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἦν τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐς φυγήν οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἐτράποντο, μέχρι τε τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν διώξειν ὁ Χορσάμαντις ποιησάμενος ἀνέ-
26 στρεψε μόνος. ὅλιγὼ δὲ ὑπερού ἐν μάχῃ ἑτέρα κυνήμα τὴν ἀριστερὰν βληθέντι 5 τοῦτο 6 ἐνο.

1 δεδομένα Haury : δεδεγμένα K, δεδομένα L.
2 κατ’ ἐλγοὺς Classen : καταλόγους MSS.
3 ὅπερ K : ὅπερ L. 4 δόρατι K : om. L.
5 βληθέντι L : βάλλεται K.
6 τοῦτο Haury : τοῦτο K, om. L.

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they had made and of the pledges both had given. So he went off with his companions, and the Roman was released unharmed and permitted to return to the city. After this horsemen in no great numbers armed themselves many times for battle, but the struggles always ended in single combats, and the Romans were victorious in all of them. Such, then, was the course of these events.

A little after this an engagement took place in the Plain of Nero, wherein various small groups of horsemen were engaged in pursuing their opponents in various directions; in one group was Chorsamantis, a man of note among the guards of Belisarius, by birth a Massagete, who with some others was pursuing seventy of the enemy. And when he had got well out in the plain the other Romans rode back, but Chorsamantis went on with the pursuit alone. As soon as the Goths perceived this, they turned their horses about and came against him. And he advanced into their midst, killed one of the best of them with his spear, and then went after the others, but they again turned and rushed off in flight. But they were ashamed before their comrades in the camp, who, they suspected, could already see them, and wished to attack him again. They had, however, precisely the same experience as before and lost one of their best men, and so turned to flight in spite of their shame, and after Chorsamantis had pursued them as far as their stockade he returned alone. And a little later, in another battle, this man was wounded in the left shin, and it was his
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μισθη εἶναι ἀκρον ὁστέου τὸ βέλος ἀψάμενον.
27 ἀπόμαχος μέντοι ἠμέρας ὅσας δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτην
γεγονως τῇ πληγῇ ἄτε ἄνηρ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἦμενεικε
πρᾶσις, ἀλλ' ἤπειλησε τῆς ἐς τὸ σκέλος ὕβρεως
28 τοὺς Γότθους ὅτι τάχιστα τίσασθαι. ῥᾴδας οὖν
οὐ πολλῶς ύπερον ἐν τῇ ἀρίστῳ οἰνωμένοις, ὡσπερ
εἰόθει, μόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐβούλευσεν
ἀναῖναι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν πόδα ὕβρεως τίσασθαι, ἐν
τῇ Πυγκιανῇ γενόμενος πυλίδι, στέλλεσθαι πρὸς
Βελισαρίου ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρα-
29 τόπον. οἱ δὲ ταύτην φρονοῦν (οὐ 1 γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν
ἀνδρὶ τῶν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων ἀρίστῳ εἶχον)
tὰς τὲ πύλας ἀνέφεξαν καὶ ὀὴ φυλάκιοτο ἀφήκαν
30 ἰέναι. κατειόνες τε αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ μὲν
πρώτα αὐτόμολον σφίξι τινὰ προσχορεῖν φῶς,
ἐπει δὲ ἄγχοι γενόμενος τοῦ τόξου εἴχετο, οὐκ εἰ-
δότες ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐκκοσιν.
31 οὗς δὴ εὐπετῶς ἀπωσάμενος ἀπῆλαυνε βάδην,
πλαῖον τε Γότθων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἴωντων οὐκ ἔφυγεν.
32 ὡς δὲ πλήθους πολλοῦ ἐπιρρέουντος ἀμύνεσθαι
ἡξίου, Ῥωμαίοι ἐκ τῶν πύργων θεώμενοι μαίνεσθαι
μὲν τὸν ἀνδρα υπόπτευου, οὐς δὲ Χρυσάμαντις
33 εἰς οὐπο ἧπισταντο. ἔργα μὲν ἐπὶδειξάμενος
μεγάλα τε καὶ λόγον πολλοῦ ἀξία, ἐς τῇ κύκλω-
σιν ἐμπεπτωκῶς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατεύ-
ματος, ποινὰς ἄλογου θράσους ἔξετίσεν. ἀπερ
ἐπειδὴ Βελισαρίου τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός
ἐμαθον, ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι, ἀτε τῆς
πάντων ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διαφθαρείσης,
ὁδύρουντο.

1 οὗ Κ.; οὔδ' εὐ.
opinion that the weapon had merely grazed the bone. However, he was rendered unfit for fighting for a certain number of days by reason of this wound, and since he was a barbarian he did not endure this patiently, but threatened that he would right speedily have vengeance upon the Goths for this insult to his leg. So when not long afterwards he had recovered and was drunk at lunch time, as was his custom, he purposed to go alone against the enemy and avenge the insult to his leg; and when he had come to the small Pincian Gate he stated that he was sent by Belisarius to the enemy's camp. And the guards at the gate, who could not doubt the word of a man who was the best of the guards of Belisarius, opened the gates and allowed him to go wherever he would. And when the enemy spied him, they thought at first that some deserter was coming over to them, but when he came near and put his hand to his bow, twenty men, not knowing who he might be, went out against him. These he easily drove off, and then began to ride back at a walk, and when more Goths came against him he did not flee. But when a great throng gathered about him and he still insisted upon fighting them, the Romans, watching the sight from the towers, suspected that the man was crazy, but they did not yet know that it was Chorsamantis. At length, after making a display of great and very noteworthy deeds, he found himself surrounded by the army of the enemy, and paid the penalty for his unreasonable daring. And when Belisarius and the Roman army learned this, they mourned greatly, lamenting that the hope which all placed in the man had come to naught.
II

Ευθάλιος δὲ τις ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐς Ταρακίναν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκε, χρήματα ἔχον ἀπερ
2 τοῖς στρατιώταις βασιλεὺς ὕψι. δείσας τε μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντες πολέμιοι τὰ χρήματά
τε ἀφέλωνται καὶ αὐτοὶ κτείνοσι, γράφει πρὸς Βελισάριον ἁσφαλῆ οἰ ἐς Ῥώμην τὴν πορείαν
3 ποιήσασθαι. ὅ δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν ἐκατὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν δοκίμους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐὰν δορυ-
φόροις δύο πέμπει ἐς Ταρακίναν οὐπερ αὐτῷ 1
4 τὰ χρήματα ξυγκομίσασεν, δόκησιν δὲ αἰὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρείχετο ὡς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μαχε-
σόμενος, ὅπως μὴ ἐνθάνδε τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἢ τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἐνεκα ἢ ἀλλον ὅτονοιν
5 ἰὼσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ υστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Εὐθάλιον ἔγνω παρέσεσθαι, διεἰπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμησι ὡς ἐς
μάχην τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν παρα-
6 σκευῇ ἤσαν. δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πρωίαν κατείχεν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἤδει 2
γὰρ Εὐθάλιον τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξαν αὐτῷ ἐς νύκτα
7 ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐς δὲ ἡμέραν μέσην ἁριστον ἐκέλευν
tὸ στράτευμα αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ οἱ Γόθοι ταῦτα
tοῦτο ἐποίουν, ἐς τὴν υστεραίαν αὐτῶν οἴομενοι
8 τὴν εὐμβολὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι. ὅλως δὲ ὅστερον
Μαρτίνου μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανοῦ ἐξ ὑπὸ ἐπομένους
ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον Βελισάριος ἐπεμψε, εὐνταράσ-
σειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιστεῖλας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων

1 οὐπερ αὐτῷ Κ.: ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λ.
2 ξυγκομίσασεν Ἡαυγ.: ξυγκομίσει Κ., ξυγκομίσαι Λ.
3 ἤδει: ἡδη ΜΦΜ.

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II

Now a certain Euthalius, at about the spring equinox, came to Taracina from Byzantium with the money which the emperor owed the soldiers. And fearing lest the enemy should come upon him on the road and both rob him of the money and kill him, he wrote to Belisarius requesting him to make the journey to Rome safe for him. Belisarius accordingly selected one hundred men of note from among his own bodyguards and sent them with two spearmen to Taracina to assist him in bringing the money. And at the same time he kept trying to make the barbarians believe that he was about to fight with his whole army, his purpose being to prevent any of the enemy from leaving the vicinity, either to bring in provisions or for any other purpose. But when he found out that Euthalius and his men would arrive on the morrow, he arrayed his army and set it in order for battle, and the barbarians were in readiness. Now throughout the whole forenoon he merely held his soldiers near the gates; for he knew that Euthalius and those who accompanied him would arrive at night. Then, at midday, he commanded the army to take their lunch, and the Goths did the same thing, supposing that he was putting off the engagement to the following day. A little later, however, Belisarius sent Martinus and Valerian to the Plain of Nero with the troops under their command, directing them to throw the enemy's camp into the
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9 στρατόπεδου. ἐκ δὲ πυλίδος Πυγκιανῆς ἱππεάς ἐξακοσίους ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ χαρακώματα
10 ἐστελλεν· οἷς δὴ τρεῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων ἐπέστησεν, Ἀρτασίρην τε ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ
Βώχαν Μασσαγέτην γένος καὶ Κουτίλαν Θρᾶκα. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπήντησαν.
11 χρόνον δὲ πολὺν ἡ μάχη ἐν¹ χερσῖν οὐκ ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐπιοῦσι τε ὑπεχώρουν ἄλληλοις καὶ τὰς
dιώξεις ἐκάτεροι ἀγχιστρόφους ποιούμενοι ἔφ-κεισαν βουλομένοις² ἐς τούτο σφίσι δαπανᾶσθαι
12 τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον. προϊόντες μέντοι ὀργῇ
ἐς ἄλληλους εἰχοντο ἡδ' καρτερὰς τε γεγενη-μένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς, ἐκατέρων μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ
ἀριστοὺ ἔπεσον, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως
13 καὶ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπίκουροι ἦλθον. ὄν δὴ
ἀναμυνυμένοι τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὁ
πόνος ἐπὶ μέγα ἡρετο. καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τὴν τε
πόλιν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περιλαμβοῦσα τοὺς
14 μαχομένους ἐξέπλησσε.³ τέλος δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ
ἀρέτη ὁσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο.
Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Κουτίλας μέσην τήν κεφα- λὴν ἀκοντίῳ πλήγεις καὶ ταύτῃ τῷ δοράτῳ
15 ἐμτεπηκός ἔχων ἐδίωκε. τῆς τε τροπῆς γενο-μένης ἀμα τοῦ περιουσίν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀμφὶ
ηλίου δύσων ἐσήλασε, κραδαινομένου οἱ ἐν τῇ
κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀκοντίου, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον.
16 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρχήν, τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασ- πιστῶν ἕνα, τῶν τῆς Θότθων τοξότης μεταξὺ τῆς

¹ ἐν Herwerden: om. MSS.
² Βουλομένοι: Βουλόμενοι K, Βουλομένοις L.
³ ἐξέπλησε Dindorf: ἐξέπλησε K, ἐπλησε L.
greatest possible confusion. And from the small Pincian Gate he sent out six hundred horsemen against the camps of the barbarians, placing them under command of three of his own spearmen, Artaspers, a Persian, and Bochas, of the race of the Massagetae, and Cutilas, a Thracian. And many of the enemy came out to meet them. For a long time, however, the battle did not come to close quarters, but each side kept retreating when the other advanced and making pursuits in which they quickly turned back, until it looked as if they intended to spend the rest of the day at this sort of thing. But as they continued, they began at last to be filled with rage against each other. The battle then settled down to a fierce struggle in which many of the best men on both sides fell, and support came up for each of the two armies, both from the city and from the camps. And when these fresh troops were mingled with the fighters the struggle became still greater. And the shouting which filled the city and the camps terrified the combatants. But finally the Romans by their valour forced back the enemy and routed them.

In this action Cutilas was struck in the middle of the head by a javelin, and he kept on pursuing with the javelin still embedded in his head. And after the rout had taken place, he rode into the city at about sunset together with the other survivors, the javelin in his head waving about, a most extraordinary sight. During the same encounter Arzes, one of the guards of Belisarius, was hit by one of the Gothic
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te ῥίνδης καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βάλλει.

17 καὶ τοῦ μὲν τοξεύματος ἡ ἀκίς ἄχρι ἐς τὸν αὐχένα ὁπίσω διήλθεν, οὐ μὲντοι διεφάνη, τοῦ δὲ ἀτράκτου τὸ λειπόμενον ἐπήν τε τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ἰππευνομένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσείτο. ὅν δὴ ξύν τῷ Κουτίλα θεώμενοι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποι- ούντο Ὁρωμαίοι ὅτι δὴ ἰππεύσοντο, συνεμίαν ἐπίστροφὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἔχοντες. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

19 Ἔν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ τὰ βαρβάρων πράγματα καθυπέρτερα ἦν. οὐ τε ἅμφι Βαλεριανὸν καὶ Μαρτίνον, πλήθει πολλῷ πολεμίων μαχόμενοι, καρτερῶς μὲν ὕφισταντο, ἐπασχον δὲ τὰ δεινότατα, καὶ κινδύνου ἐς μέγα τι ἄφικοντο χρῆμα.

20 καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βώχαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς ξύν αὐτῷ ἀκραίφνεσθαι σῶματι τε καὶ ἱπποῖς ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἐπανήκοντας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον ἑναί. ἡδὴ δὲ ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψε. καὶ Ὁρωμαῖος τῶν ἅμφι Βώχαν ἐπιβεβοθηκότων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφυδίου τροπῆ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίνετο, ἡν ἐπὶ πλείστον Βώχας ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν δυνοκαίδεκα πολεμίων ὄρατα φερόντων ἄφικετο.

21 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπαισάν αὐτοῦ ὅμοιος δόρασιν ἄπαντες. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ὕφισταμένον αἰ ἦν ἁλλαὶ πλη- γαλ οὐ σφόδρα ἐλύτουν, εἰς δὲ τῶν Γοθῶν ἐξόπισθεν ὑπὲρ μασχάλην τὴν δεξιὰν γυμνὸν τοῦ σώματος ἄγχιστα τοῦ ὅμου ἐπιτυχών ἐπιλήξε τὸν νεανιᾶν, οὐ καριάν μεντοι, οὐδὲ ἑς θανάτου κίνδυνου ἄγονταν. ἐμπροσθεὶς δὲ ἁλλος μηρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν εὐώνυμον νύξας τὸν τάυτῃ μυώνα οὐκ 22 εὔθεια τινὶ, ἀλλ’ ἐγκαρσίᾳ πληγή ἐτεμε. Βαλε- 1 ὕφισταντο Herwerden: ὕφισταντο K, ὕφισταντο L.
archers between the nose and the right eye. And the point of the arrow penetrated as far as the neck behind, but it did not shew through, and the rest of the shaft projected from his face and shook as the man rode. And when the Romans saw him and Cutilas they marvelled greatly that both men continued to ride, paying no heed to their hurt. Such, then, was the course of events in that quarter.

But in the Plain of Nero the barbarians had the upper hand. For the men of Valerian and Martinus, fighting with a great multitude of the enemy, withstood them stoutly, to be sure, but suffered most terribly, and came into exceedingly great danger. And then Belisarius commanded Bochas to take his troops, which had returned from the engagement unwearied, men as well as horses, and go to the Plain of Nero. Now it was already late in the day. And when the men under Bochas had come to the assistance of the Romans, suddenly the barbarians were turned to flight, and Bochas, who had impetuously followed the pursuit to a great distance, came to be surrounded by twelve of the enemy, who carried spears. And they all struck him at once with their spears. But his corselet withstood the other blows, which therefore did not hurt him much; but one of the Goths succeeded in hitting him from behind, at a place where his body was uncovered, above the right armpit, very close to the shoulder, and smote the youth, though not with a mortal stroke, nor even one which brought him into danger of death. But another Goth struck him in front and pierced his left thigh, and cut the muscles there; it was not a straight blow, however, but only a slanting cut. But Valerian and Martinus saw what
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ριανὸς δὲ καὶ Μαρτίνος τὰ ποιούμενα κατείδον τε καὶ οἱ ἐπιβεβοθηκότες ὡς τάχιστα ἔτρεψάν τε τὸν πολέμιον καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ Βώχα ἵππου ἀμφω λαβομένω εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο. νῦξ τε ἐπεγένετο καὶ ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Εὐθάλιος ἦλθεν.

25 "Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένοντο, τῶν τραυμάτων ἐπεμελοῦντο. Ἀρξο ἀρτέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἀφέλκεσθαι ¹ βουλώμενοι οἱ ἱατροὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἔχασαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ ὕψιθμοῦ ἐνέκεν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ σωθησθαι ὑπετόπαξον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ἐμένων τε καὶ νεύρων τρῆσεσίν, οἵα πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐστίν, ἀνδρὰ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ἀριστον διαφθείροντες.

26 ἔπευχ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τις ἱατρῶν, Θεόκτιστος ὄνομα, ὅπισθεν ἐστὶ τον αὐχένα ἐρείσας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐι λιαν ἀλγοῖ. τού δὲ ἀλγείων φήσαντο, "Οὐκοῦν αὐτός τε σωθήσῃ," εἶπε, "καὶ τὴν ὁψίν οὐκ ἂν βλαβῆσῃ." ταῦτα δὲ ἱσχυρίσατο τεκμηράμενος ὅτι τοὺς βέλους ή ἄκις τοῦ δέρματος οὐ πόρρω διήκει. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀτράκτου ὅσον ἐξὼ ἐφαίνετο ἐκτεμῶν ἔρριψε, διελὸν δὲ τῶν ἵνων τὸ δέρμα ² οὐ μάλιστα ἦ ἀνήρ πολυώδυνος ἦν, ἐντευθὲν πόνῳ οὔδεν τῆς ἀκίδα ἐφείλκυσε, τρισὶ τε προύχουσαν ὁπίσω δεξιῶς καὶ μοίραιν τοῦ βέλους τὴν λειπομένην ἐνυ ἀυτῇ

28 φέρουσαν. οὕτω τε "Αρξὲς κακῶν τε παντάπασιν ἀπαθὴς ἐμεῖνε ³ καὶ οὔδε ἐχνας αὐτοῦ τῆς πληγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπελείπτετο. Κοιτάζας δὲ βιαίοτερον τοῦ δοράτου ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρέθεντος (ἐπετήγαε γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείστον) ἐς λειποθυμίαν ἐξέ-

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¹ ἀφέλκεσθαι K.: ἀφέλέσθαι L.
² δέρμα Haury: σώμα MSS., σώστημα Herwerden.
³ ἐμεῖνε K.: διέμεινε L.
was happening, and coming to his rescue as quickly as possible, they routed the enemy, and both took hold of the bridle of Bochas' horse, and so came into the city. Then night came on and Euthalius entered the city with the money.

And when all had returned to the city, they attended to the wounded men. Now in the case of Arzes, though the physicians wished to draw the weapon from his face, they were for some time reluctant to do so, not so much on account of the eye, which they supposed could not possibly be saved, but for fear lest, by the cutting of membranes and tissues such as are very numerous in that region, they should cause the death of a man who was one of the best of the household of Belisarius. But afterwards one of the physicians, Theoctistus by name, pressed on the back of his neck and asked whether he felt much pain. And when the man said that he did feel pain, he said, "Then both you yourself will be saved and your sight will not be injured." And he made this declaration because he inferred that the barb of the weapon had penetrated to a point not far from the skin. Accordingly he cut off that part of the shaft which shewed outside and threw it away, and cutting open the skin at the back of the head, at the place where the man felt the most pain, he easily drew toward him the barb, which with its three sharp points now stuck out behind and brought with it the remaining portion of the weapon. Thus Arzes remained entirely free from serious harm, and not even a trace of his wound was left on his face. But as for Cutilas, when the javelin was drawn rather violently from his head (for it was very deeply
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31 πεσεν. ἐπει δὲ οἱ φλεγμαίνειν αἱ τῆς μῆνυγγες ἡρξαντο, φρενίτιδι νόσῳ ἀλοὺς οὐ πολλῷ ἱστερον
32 ἐτελεύτησε. Βῶχαν μὲντιοι αὐτίκα ἀματός τε ῥύσις ἄφατος ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ ἔσχε καὶ τεθνηξο-
μένῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἠρκεῖ. αὐτίον δὲ τοῦτον ἐναι ἱατρὸν ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείᾳς, ἀλλὰ
ἐγκαρσίᾳ ἐντομῇ τὸν μυώνα ἡ πληγὴ ἐκοψεν.
33 ἡμέραις γοῦν ἀπέθανε τρισὶν ἱστερον. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἡρωμαίοι τὴν νύκτα δὴν ἐκεῖνην ἐν πένθει
μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Γότθων δὲ θρηνοὶ τε πολλοὶ καὶ κωκυτοί μεγάλοι ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἥκου-
34 οντο. καὶ ἐθαύμαξον γε Ἡρωμαίοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν
ἐδόκει πάθος ξυμβῆ nirai tois πολεμίωι λόγου ἄξιον
τῇ προτεραίᾳ, πλὴν γε ἐς ὅτι οὐκ ὀλύγοι αὐτῶν
35 ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς διεφθάρησαν. ὅπερ καὶ πρό-
τερον αὐτοῖς οὐδέν τι ἦν σου, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον,
ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ λίαι γε αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πολυν-
36 θρωπίαν ἐτάραξεν. ἐγνώσθη μέντοι τῇ ἱστεραίᾳ
ὡς ἄνδρας δοκίμους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος
πεδίῳ στρατοπέδου Γότθου ἐθρήνουν, οὐς δὴ ὁ
Βῶχας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὅρμῃ ἔκτεινε.
37 Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι οὖν ἀξιόλογοι ξυμ-
βολαῖ, ἀσπερ μοι ξυγγράψασι οὕτι ἀναγκαῖον
ἐδοξέν εἶναι. πάσας μέντοι ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα
ἐν τῇ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυμηνέχθη γενέσθαι, καὶ
δύο δὴ ἄλλας ὑστάτας, αἳ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν
38 λόγους εἰρήσονται. τότε δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν ἔληγε
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῇ,
ἵνα Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.
embedded), he fell into a swoon. And since the membranes about the wound began to be inflamed, he fell a victim to phrenitis¹ and died not long afterwards. Bochas, however, immediately had a very severe hemorrhage in the thigh, and seemed like one who was presently to die. And the reason for the hemorrhage, according to what the physicians said, was that the blow had severed the muscle, not directly from the front, but by a slanting cut. In any event he died three days later. Because of these things, then, the Romans spent that whole night in deep grief; while from the Gothic camps were heard many sounds of wailing and loud lamentation. And the Romans indeed wondered, because they thought that no calamity of any consequence had befallen the enemy on the previous day, except, to be sure, that no small number of them had perished in the encounters. This had happened to them before in no less degree, perhaps even to a greater degree, but it had not greatly distressed them, so great were their numbers. However, it was learned on the following day that men of the greatest note from the camp in the Plain of Nero were being bewailed by the Goths, men whom Bochas had killed in his first charge.

And other encounters also, though of no great importance, took place, which it has seemed to me unnecessary to chronicle. This, however, I will state, that altogether sixty-seven encounters occurred during this siege, besides two final ones which will be described in the following narrative. And at that time the winter drew to its close, and thus ended the second year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

¹ Inflammation of the brain.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑ

ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥ

"Η δε της θερινης τροπης άρξαμενης λιμος τε ομοιου και λοιμος τοις ευ τη πολει έπεπεσε. και τοις στρατιωταις σιτος μεν 1 ετι εκλειπετο, τοις δε τοιν επιτηδειων ουδεν, ρωμαιους δε τοις αλλως ο τε σιτος επελευθεται και ο λοιμος 2 ακριβως ειπ το λοιμω επειεξεν. ον δη οι Γάπθοι αισθόμενοι μαχη μεν διακινδυνευεν προς τους πολεμίους ουκετι ήθελον, εφυλασσον δε οπως 3 αυτοις μηδεν του λοιπου εσκομιζοτο. εστον 2 δε 3 υδατος οχετω δυο μεταξυ λατινης τε και Άππιας ὅδον, υψηλα ες άγαν, κυρτωμασι τε έπι 4 πλειστον ανεχομενω. τουτω δη τω οχετω εν χώρω διεχοντι ρώμης σταδιως πευτηκοντα ξυμ-βαλλετον τε άλληλοι και την έναντιαν ὅδον δε 5 ολιγου τρέπεσθον. ο γαρ έμπροσθεν χωραν λαχών την εν δεξια την καυτα χωρει φερομενος 6 τα ευώνυμα. παλιν δε ξυπνοντε και χωραν την προτεραν απολαβοντε το λοιπον διακεκρισθον, και απ' αυτοι χωρον τον μεταξυ όχυρωμα ξυμ- 7 βανει το εκ των οχετων περιβαλλεσθαι. τουτων δε τα κατω κυρτωματα οι βαρβαροι λιθοι τε και πηλι φραζαντες φρουριον σχημα πεποιηνται κανταύθα ουχ ήσουν ή ες ἐπτακισχίλους εν-ιαστρατοπεδευσαμενοι φυλακην ειχον τοι μηκετι τοις πολεμιους ες την πολιν τι των επιτηδειων εσκομιζεσθαι.

1 σιτος μεν Κ: μεν σιτος Λ. 
2 εστον Κ: εστι Λ. 3 δε Κ: δε ες τόδε Λ.

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III

But at the beginning of the spring equinox famine and pestilence together fell upon the inhabitants of the city. There was still, it is true, some grain for the soldiers, though no other kind of provisions, but the grain-supply of the rest of the Romans had been exhausted, and actual famine as well as pestilence was pressing hard upon them. And the Goths, perceiving this, no longer cared to risk a decisive battle with their enemy, but they kept guard that nothing in future should be brought in to them. Now there are two aqueducts between the Latin and the Appian Ways, exceedingly high and carried on arches for a great distance. These two aqueducts meet at a place fifty stades distant from Rome and cross each other, so that for a little space they reverse their relative position. For the one which previously lay to the right from then on continues on the left side. And again coming together, they resume their former places, and thereafter remain apart. Consequently the space between them, enclosed, as it is, by the aqueducts, comes to be a fortress. And the barbarians walled up the lower arches of the aqueducts here with stones and mud and in this way gave it the form of a fort, and encamping there to the number of no fewer than seven thousand men, they kept guard that no provisions should thereafter be brought into the city by the enemy.

1 Torre Fiscale; but it is only about thirty stades from Rome.
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8 Tότε δὴ Ἄρωμαίος πάσα μὲν ἐλπὶς ἀγαθοῦ ἔπελελοίτει, πάσα δὲ ἱδέα κακοῦ περιεστήκει. τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ σίτης ἥκεμαξε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ εὐτολμότατοι ἐναγούσης αὐτούς τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίας τοῖς ὑποιος τε ὄχυμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ἐφέλκουντες ἐν τοῖς ληύσεις ἐγίνοντο υύκτωρ τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακράν ἀπόθεν. τέμυντες τε τοὺς ἀστάρμας καὶ τοῖς ὑποιοις οὐς αὐτοῖς ἐφείλ- κου ἐνθέμενοι, ἐς τὴν πόλιν λαυθάνουντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκόμιζον χρημάτων τε μεγάλων Ἄρω- μαῖων τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν ἀπεδίδουντο. οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι βοτάναις τισὶν ἀπέξων, οἱ δὲ πολλαὶ ἀμφί τε τὰ προϊστεία καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γίνονται. βοτάνη γὰρ γῆν τὴν Ἄρωμαῖον οὔτε χειμῶνος ὥρα οὔτε ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπιλείπει καίρον, ἀλλ’ ἀνθέντε τε ἀεὶ καὶ τέθηκεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

9 ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἱπποφορβεῖν ἑνταῦθα τοὺς πολιορ- κομένους τετύχηκε. τινές δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμιώνων τῶν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ θυσικότων ἀλλήλας ποιούμενοι ἀπεδίδουντο λάθρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτον τὰ ληδία οὐκέτι εἶχε καὶ ἐς μέγα κακὸν ἄπαντες Ἄρωμαῖοι ἀφί- κοντο, Βελισαρίων τε περιστατοῦ καὶ μάχη μᾶ θ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμάγκαξον, Ἄρωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ἠμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορομένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λάν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑλεξάν τινες τοιάδε.

10 Ἔνοικοι δέν ἔντεκεν ἡμᾶσιν ἡ παροῦσα, ὥστε κατάλαβον τὴν τοῦ μέγα κακὸν ἄπαντες Ἀρωμαίοι ἀφίκοντο, Βελισαρίων τε περιστατοῦ καὶ μάχη μᾶ θ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμάγκαξον, Ἄρωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ἠμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορομένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λάν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑλεξάν τινες τοιάδε.

11 Ὁ ‘Ομήσεις ἠμᾶσιν ἡ παροῦσα, ὥστε κατάλαβον τὴν τοῦ μέγα κακὸν ἄπαντες Ἀρωμαίοι ἀφίκοντο, Βελισαρίων τε περιστατοῦ καὶ μάχη μᾶ θ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμάγκαξον, Ἄρωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ἠμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορομένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λάν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑλεξάν τινες τοιάδε.

12 Ὁ ‘Ομήσεις ἠμᾶσιν ἡ παροῦσα, ὥστε κατάλαβον τὴν τοῦ μέγα κακὸν ἄπαντες Ἀρωμαίοι ἀφίκοντο, Βελισαρίων τε περιστατοῦ καὶ μάχη μᾶ θ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμάγκαξον, Ἄρωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ἠμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορομένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λάν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑλεξάν τινες τοιάδε.
Then indeed every hope of better things abandoned the Romans, and every form of evil encompassed them round about. As long as there was ripe grain, however, the most daring of the soldiers, led on by lust of money, went by night to the grainfields not far from the city mounted on horses and leading other horses after them. Then they cut off the heads of grain, and putting them on the horses which they led, would carry them into the city without being seen by the enemy and sell them at a great price to such of the Romans as were wealthy. But the other inhabitants lived on various herbs such as grow in abundance not only in the outskirts but also inside the fortifications. For the land of the Romans is never lacking in herbs either in winter or at any other season, but they always flourish and grow luxuriantly at all times. Wherefore the besieged also pastured their horses in those places. And some too made sausages of the mules that died in Rome and secretly sold them. But when the corn-lands had no more grain and all the Romans had come into an exceedingly evil plight, they surrounded Belisarius and tried to compel him to stake everything on a single battle with the enemy, promising that not one of the Romans would be absent from the engagement. And when he was at a loss what to do in that situation and greatly distressed, some of the populace spoke to him as follows:

"General, we were not prepared for the fortune which has overtaken us at the present time; on the contrary, what has happened has been altogether the opposite of our expectations. For after achieving what
ταῦτα ἐσ τὴν παρούσαν ἡμιφορὰν ἤκομεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡμῶν ἡ προλαβοῦσα δόξα τὸ καλῶς τῆς βασιλείας προμηθείας ἐφίεσθαι, νῦν ἀνοιά τε ὁὐσα καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόθεσις. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς τὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης ἀφίγμεθα ὡστε ἐν τῷ παρόντι έτι βιάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀπλίζεσθαι τετολμήκαμεν. καὶ συγγρώμη μὲν εἰ πρὸς Βελισάριον θρασυνόμεθα, γαστὴρ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἀποροῦσα τῶν ἀναγκαίων αἰσχύνεσθαι,

17 ἀπολελογήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς προπετείας ἡ τύχη. πάντων γὰρ εἰκότως ἀνιαρότατος εἶναι δοκεῖ μηκυνόμενος τοῖς οὐκ εὐ ϕερομένου ὁ βίος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ξυμπεσόντα ἡμῖν ὀρᾶς δῆτονεθεν. ἀγροὶ μὲν οὗτοι καὶ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑποπέπτωκε ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων χερσίν 'ἡ πόλις δὲ αὐτὴ τῶν ἄγαθῶν ἀποκέκλειστα πάντων οὐκ ἵσμεν ἐξ ὅτου δὴ χρόνου. Ἦρωμαι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡδη κεῖνται, τὸ μὴδὲ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι κληροσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ περιόντες, ὡς ἀν συλληβδήν εἰπωμένεν ἄπαντα τὰ δεινὰ, ξυντετάχθαι τοῖς οὕτω.

18 κειμένοις εὐχόμεθα. πάντῃ γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὁ λιμός τὰ κακὰ φορητὰ ἔδικνυσιν, εἵθα τε ἀν φαινηταί, μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέρχεται λήθης καὶ θανάτους ἄπαντας, πλὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν προσιόντος πρὸς ἡδονῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται. ἐξως τούτων ἐτι μὴ κεκράτηκεν ἡμῶν τὸ κακὸν, δός ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελεσθαι τὴν ἄγωνιαν, εξ ἡς ἡμῖν ἡ περιέναι τῶν πολεμίων ἡ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐυμβή-

1 ἡμῶν Krašeninnikov: ἡμῶν MSS.
2 τῆς K: ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν τῆς L.
3 φορητὰ K: φορητά L.
4 προσιόντος: προσιόντος Κ, προσιόντας L.
we had formerly set our hearts upon, we have now come into the present misfortune, and we realize at length that our previous opinion that we did well to crave the emperor's watchful care was but folly and the beginning of the greatest evils. Indeed, this course has brought us to such straits that at the present time we have taken courage to use force once more and to arm ourselves against the barbarians. And while we may claim forgiveness if we boldly come into the presence of Belisarius—for the belly knows not shame when it lacks its necessities—our plight must be the apology for our rashness; for it will be readily agreed that there is no plight more intolerable for men than a life prolonged amid the adversities of fortune. And as to the fortune which has fallen upon us, you cannot fail to see our distress. These fields and the whole country have fallen under the hand of the enemy; and this city has been shut off from all good things for we know not how long a time. And as for the Romans, some already lie in death, and it has not been their portion to be hidden in the earth, and we who survive, to put all our terrible misfortunes in a word, only pray to be placed beside those who lie thus. For starvation shews to those upon whom it comes that all other evils can be endured, and wherever it appears it is attended by oblivion of all other sufferings, and causes all other forms of death, except that which proceeds from itself, to seem pleasant to men. Now, therefore, before the evil has yet mastered us, grant us leave on our own behalf to take up the struggle, which will result either in our overcoming the enemy or in deliverance
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22 σεται. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἔλπιδα σωτηρίας ἡ μέλλησις
φέρει, πολλῇ ἀνοιᾳ ἃν εἰπή προτερῆσασιν ἐς κινδυ-νον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων καθίστασθαι, οἷς δὲ τῇ
βραδυτῆτι δυσκολότερος ὁ ἄγων γίνεται, τὸ καὶ
πρὸς οἷς ὄλγον ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνον τῆς παραυτίκα
προπετείας μεμπτότερον."

23 Ῥωμαίοι μὲν τοσαύτα εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ
ἀμείβεται ὅδε: "Ἀλλ’ ἐμοινε καὶ λίαν προσδε-
χομένῳ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν γεγένηται πάντα, ἐκβέβηκε
δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οὐδὲν. ἐγὼ γὰρ πάλαι οίδα δήμον
ὅτι πράγμα ἀβουλότατον ἔστι, καὶ οὗτο τὰ
παρόντα φέρειν πέφυκεν οὕτε τὰ μέλλοντα προ-
βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν εὐπετώς ἂεὶ
tοῖς ἀμηχάνοις, διαφθείρεσθαι δὲ ἀνεπισκέπτως

25 ἐπίσταται μόνον. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ποτε διὰ
tὴν ὑμετέραν ὀλγορίαν οὕτε ὑμᾶς ἀπολέσαιμι
ἐκών γε εἶναι οὕτε ὑμῖν τὰ βασιλέως συνδιᾳθεί-

26 ραιμι πράγματα. πόλεμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλογιστοῦ
σπουδῆς κατορθοῦσαν φιλεῖ, ἀλλ’ εὐβοιλία τε
καὶ προμηθεία τὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἂεὶ σταθμώμενος

27 ῥοτὴν. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐν πεπεεύς εἴσομενοι τὸν ἔνα
βουλευθεῖ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀναρρίπτειν κύβον, ἔμοι
δὲ οὐ σύνθες αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ εὐμφόρου τὸ σύν-

tομον. εἰτα σὺν ἡμῖν ἔπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῖς πολε-

28 μοῖς διὰ μάχης ἱέναι, πότε τάς μελέτας τοῦ πολέ-

μου πεποιημένοις; ἡ ποίος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκμαθῶν

toῖς ὀπλοῖς οὐκ οἴδαν ὅτι οὐ χωρεῖν ἄχρι τῆς

29 διαπε-

ρας ἡ μάχη; οὐδὲ αὐτός οἱ ἐμελεταν ὁ πολέμος

ἐν τοῖς ἄγοις παρέχεται. 4 νῦν μὲν τὴν προσθυμίαν

1 σπουδῆς KL: βουλής V₁. 2 ποίος L: πολείοις K.

3 ἐκμαθῶν ... χωρεῖ L: ἐκμαθάντες ἀπολοίοι; οὐκ οἴδα χωρεῖν
K, ἐκμαθάντες ἀπολοίοι; οὐ γὰρ οἴδα χωρεῖν Krašeninnikov.

4 οἴδα ... παρέχεται L: om. K.
from our troubles. For when delay brings men hope of safety, it would be great folly for them prematurely to enter into a danger which involves their all, but when tarrying makes the struggle more difficult, to put off action even for a little time is more reprehensible than immediate and precipitate haste."

So spoke the Romans. And Belisarius replied as follows: "Well, as for me, I have been quite prepared for your conduct in every respect, and nothing that has happened has been contrary to my expectation. For long have I known that a populace is a most unreasoning thing, and that by its very nature it cannot endure the present or provide for the future, but only knows how rashly in every case to attempt the impossible and recklessly to destroy itself. But as for me, I shall never, willingly at least, be led by your carelessness either to destroy you or to involve the emperor's cause in ruin with you. For war is wont to be brought to a successful issue, not by unreasoning haste, but by the use of good counsel and forethought in estimating the turn of the scale at decisive moments. You, however, act as though you were playing at dice, and want to risk all on a single cast; but it is not my custom to choose the short course in preference to the advantageous one. In the second place, you promise that you will help us do battle against the enemy; but when have you ever taken training in war? Or who that has learned such things by the use of arms does not know that battle affords no room for experiment? Nor does the enemy, on his part, give opportunity, while the struggle is on, to practise on him. This
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υμῶν ἀγαμαί καὶ συγγρώμων εἰμὶ ταραχῆς τῆς ἀφοῦ
30 ὡς δὲ υμῖν τάντα οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν γέγονε καὶ
ημεῖς μελλὴσει προμηθεῖ τρώμεθα ἐγὼ δηλῶσοι.
στράτευμα ἡμῖν ἄριστον κρείσσου ἕκ πάσης γῆς
ἀθροίσας βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε καὶ στόλος ὃσος οὐ
πῶστε ὅ τι Ῥωμαίοις ἀνακάλυψατη τήν τε Καμπάνιας
ἀκτῆς καὶ κύκλου τοῦ Ἰονίου τὰ πλείστα κα-
31 λύπτει. ὅλίγων τα ἡμερῶν ἔναν πάσιν τοῖς ἐπιτη-
δείοις παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤξουσι, τῆς τε ἀπορίαι ημῶν
dιαλύσουτε καὶ πλήθει βελῶν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων
32 στρεφότεθα καταχώσουσε. ἐλογισάμην οὖν ἕν
τὸν ἑκείνων παρουσίαν τὸν τῆς ξυμβολῆς μᾶλλον
ἀποθέσθαι καιρὸν καὶ ξυν πῇ ἀσφαλεί τῷ τοῦ
πολέμου πορίζεσθαι κράτος, ἢ σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ
θρασυνόμενος τήν τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν προτέσθαι.
ὅπως δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἤξουσι καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω
μελλὴσουσιν, ἐγὼ προνοὶς.

IV

Τούτοις μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν δῆμον παραθρασύνας
Βελισαρίου ἀπετέμψατο, Προκόπιον δὲ, δς τάδε
ξυνέγραψεν, αὐτίκα ἐς Νεάπολιν ἐκέλευσιν ἱέναι.
φήμη γὰρ τις περιήγησεν ὡς στράτευμα ἔν-2
ταῦθα βασιλεὺς πέμψειε. καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε ναῦς
τὲ ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλήσασθαι καὶ στρα-
τιώτας ἀγείραι ἀπαντάς ὅσους ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐκ
Βυζαντίου ἴκειν τετύχκεν, ἡ ὅππων φυλακῆς
ἐνεκα ἡ ἄλλον ὅτουον ἐνταῦθα λελείφθαι, σίους δὴ
πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐν Καμπάνια χωρία ἤκηκόει ἱέναι,
1 ἐλογισάμην οὖν Κ.: ἀνθ’ ἐν καὶ ἐλογισάμην Λ.

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time, indeed, I admire your zeal and forgive you for making this disturbance; but that you have taken this action at an unseasonable time and that the policy of waiting which we are following is prudent, I shall now make clear. The emperor has gathered for us from the whole earth and despatched an army too great to number, and a fleet such as was never brought together by the Romans now covers the shore of Campania and the greater part of the Ionian Gulf. And within a few days these reinforcements will come to us and bring with them all kinds of provisions, to put an end to our destitution and to bury the camps of the barbarians under a multitude of missiles. I have therefore reasoned that it was better to put off the time of conflict until they are present, and thus gain the victory in the war with safety, than to make a show of daring in unreasoning haste and thus throw away the salvation of our whole cause. To secure their immediate arrival and to prevent their loitering longer shall be my concern."

IV

With these words Belisarius encouraged the Roman populace and then dismissed them; and Procopius, who wrote this history, he immediately commanded to go to Naples. For a rumour was going about that the emperor had sent an army there. And he commissioned him to load as many ships as possible with grain, to gather all the soldiers who at the moment had arrived from Byzantium, or had been left about Naples in charge of horses or for any other purpose whatever—for he had heard that many such were coming to the various places in
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tiων δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύτη φρουρῶν ἅφελέσθαι, ἥξειν τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον παρακομίζοντι ἐς
3 Ὅστιαν, θά τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ξὺν τῷ Μουνδίλα τῷ δορυφόρῳ καὶ ὅλοιοις
ιππεύσι διὰ πύλης ἦ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου
ἐπάνυμος ἐστι, νῦκτωρ διήλθε, λαθῶν τὸ τῶν
πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ὅπερ ἅγχιστα ὅδοι τῆς
4 Ἀππίας ἐφυλάσσει. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ
ἀμφὶ Μουνδίλαν ἐπανήκοντες ἀφίκθαι ἦδη Προ-
κόπιον ἦς Καμπανίαν οὐδεὶς ἐνυχώντα τῶν βαρ-
βάρων ἀπῆγγελλον, νῦκτωρ γὰρ οὕποτε τοὺς
πολεμίους ἔξω τοῦ στρατόπεδου πορεύεσθαι,
εὐθείας μὲν γεγένηται πάντες, Βελισάριος δὲ
5 θαρσήσας ἦδη ἐπενόει τάδε. τῶν ἵππεων πολλοὺς
ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐξέπεμπεν ὅχυρωματα, ἐπιστείλας,
ἡν τινας τῶν πολεμίων ταύτη ἴσων, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐσκόμισονται, ἐνθὲν
αὐτοῖς ἐπεκδρομᾶσ τε καὶ ἐνέδρας πανταχόθι
τῶν τῇ ποδί χαρίων ἅει ποιομένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν,
ἀλλὰ παινὴ σὺνει ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἦ τε πόλις
ἐλασόνως ἢ πρότερον τῇ ἀπορία πιέζοιτο καὶ
οἱ βάρβαροι πολιορκεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοὶ
6 πολιορκεῖν Ῥωμαίους δόξειαν. Μαρτίνου μὲν
οὖν καὶ Τραίανον ξύν χιλίων ἦς Ταρακίαν ἐκέ-
λευσεν ἤναί. οἷς δὴ καὶ Ἀντωνίαν τὴν γυναῖκα
ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος ἢ τε Νεάπολιν αὐτῆν
στέλλεσθαι ξύν ὅλγοις τις καὶ τύχῃ ἐκ τῷ
ἀσφαλεῖς τὴν σφίσι ξυμβησσόμενην καραδοκεῖν.
7 Μάγνου δὲ καὶ Σινθούην τὸν δορυφόρον 2 πεντα-

1 πορεύεσθαι ἦ ναι Κ: ἤ ναι Λ.
2 τὸν δορυφόρον: τὸν δορυφόρων Λ rec. m. corr., τῶν δορυφόρων Κ, Λ pr. m.

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Campania—and to withdraw some of the men from the garrisons there, and then to come back with them, convoying the grain to Ostia, where the harbour of the Romans was. And Procopius, accompanied by Mundilas the guardsman and a few horsemen, passed out by night through the gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul,\textsuperscript{1} eluding the enemy's camp which had been established very close to the Appian Way to keep guard over it. And when Mundilas and his men, returning to Rome, announced that Procopius had already arrived in Campania without meeting any of the barbarians,—for at night, they said, the enemy never went outside their camp,—everybody became hopeful, and Belisarius, now emboldened, devised the following plan. He sent out many of his horsemen to the neighbouring strongholds, directing them, in case any of the enemy should come that way in order to bring provisions into their camps, that they should constantly make sallies upon them from their positions and lay ambushes everywhere about this region, and thus keep them from succeeding; on the contrary, they should with all their might hedge them in, so that the city might be in less distress than formerly through lack of provisions, and also that the barbarians might seem to be besieged rather than to be themselves besieging the Romans. So he commanded Martinus and Trajan with a thousand men to go to Taracina. And with them he sent also his wife Antonina, commanding that she be sent with a few men to Naples, there to await in safety the fortune which would befall the Romans. And he sent Magnus and Sinthues the guardsman, who took with them

\begin{footnote}{The Porta Ostiensis.}\end{footnote}

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κοσίους μάλιστα ἐπαγομένους ἐς Τίβουριν τὸ φρούριον ἔστεψε, σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν Ἦρωμης διέχοι. ἐς μέντοι τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα, σταδίους μὲν τοσούτους ἀπέχοι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ ὀδῷ κείμενον, πρότερον ἢδη Γόνθαριν ἐν' Ἐρυύλοις τισὶ πέμψας ἔτυχεν, οὐς δὴ οἱ Γόθθοι βιασάμενοι ἐξῆλασαν ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον.

9 Ἐστι δὲ τις νεὼς Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, Ἦρωμης τοῦ περιβόλου τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπέχοι, ὅ τε ποταμὸς αὐτὸν παραρρέει Τίβεριος. ἐνταῦθα ὁχύρωσα μὲν οὐδαμὴ ἐστὶ, στοὰ δὲ τις ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς νεόν διήκουσα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλαὶ τε πολλαὶ οἰκοδομίαι ἀμφῇ αὐτῶν οὐσαι οὐκ εὐέφοδον ποιοῦσι τὸν χώρον. Ἐστι δὲ τις καὶ αἴδως πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς Γόθθοις. ἐς οὐδέτερον γοῦν τῶν ἀποστόλων νεὼν παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ἀχαρὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν, ἡπερ εἰώθει, ἔξοσιον βῆσαν ἐμβέβηκεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ Βαλεριανόν, τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἀπαντάς ἀπαγαγόντα, χαράκωμα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβέριος τὴν ὁχθὴν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἄν αὐτοὶς τε ἄδεστερον οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοντο καὶ οἱ Γόθθοι μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀναστέλλοντο τοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἀπωτῶ τῶν στρατεύτων τῶν σφετέρων έναι.

11 ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπόλει. ἔπεεδή τε οἱ Οὐννοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οὐπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐντετάλλετο, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆλαυσαν.

12 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισάριος διαπέπαγμένος ἡσύχαζε, μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἄρχον, ἔκ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἀμίνεσθαι προθυμούμενος, ἢν τις ἔξωθεν ἐπ'
about five hundred men, to the fortress of Tibur, one hundred and forty stades distant from Rome. But to the town of Albani,¹ which was situated on the Appian Way at the same distance from the city, he had already, as it happened, sent Gontharis with a number of Eruli, and these the Goths had driven out from there by force not long afterward.

Now there is a certain church of the Apostle Paul,² fourteen stades distant from the fortifications of Rome, and the Tiber River flows beside it. In that place there is no fortification, but a colonnade extends all the way from the city to the church, and many other buildings which are round about it render the place not easy of access. But the Goths shew a certain degree of actual respect for sanctuaries such as this. And indeed during the whole time of the war no harm came to either church of the two Apostles³ at their hands, but all the rites were performed in them by the priests in the usual manner. At this spot, then, Belisarius commanded Valerian to take all the Huns and make a stockade by the bank of the Tiber, in order that their horses might be kept in greater security and that the Goths might be still further checked from going at their pleasure to great distances from their camps. And Valerian acted accordingly. Then, after the Huns had made their camp in the place where the general directed, he rode back to the city.

So Belisarius, having accomplished this, remained quiet, not offering battle, but eager to carry on the defence from the wall, if anyone should advance

¹ See Book V. vi. 7, note.
² The Basilica of St. Paul stood south of the city, outside the Porta Ostiensis which is still called Porta S. Paolo.
³ St. Peter and St. Paul.
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14 αὐτὸν κακουργήσων ίοι. καὶ σίτου μέντοι τισὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου παρείχετο. Μαρτύνως δὲ καὶ Τραϊανὸς διελθόντες υύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ταρακήνῃ ἐγένοντο, Ἀντωνίνων μὲν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἔδω ὀλίγος τισὶν ἐπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ταύτῃ ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες, ἐνθεν τε ὄρμωμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ποιοῦμενοι, τῶν Γότθων τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία περιόντας ἀνέστελλον. Μάγνος δὲ καὶ Σινθοῦς τοῦ τε φρουρίου ὅσα κατατειπτό- κεί ἐν βραχεί ἀνοφειδομήσαντο χρύφω καὶ ἐπειδή ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἐγένοντο, ἦδη μᾶλλον ἐλύσουν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀτε αὐτῶν τὸ ἔπιτείχισμα οὐκ ἀποθεν δυν συχνὰ τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσ- δοκήτω ἐκπλήσσοντες ἀεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας, ἔως Σινθοῦς ἐν μάχῃ δὴ τούς ὀρατοὶ πληγεῖς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τῶν τε νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων ἀπόμαχοι τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε. καὶ Οὐννοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν γειτόνων, ὃσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, πεποιημένοι οὐκ ἐλάσσω κακὰ τοὺς Γότθους ἐποίουν, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἢδη, οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἄδειας οὐσίας τὰς τροφὰς ὃσπερ τὸ πρότερον

15 ἐσκομίζεται. καὶ λοιμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεισπεσῶν πολλοὺς ἐφθείρει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἄγχοι τῆς Ἀππίας ὅδοι ὄστατον,

16 ὃσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, γεγονὼς ἐτυχε. καὶ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι ἐνθένδε ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν ἐς τὰλλα χαρακώματα ὑπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ

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1 ἐπ‘ αὐτῷ Haury : ἐπ‘ αὐτῷ K, ἀν‘ αὑτῇ L.
2 χωρία περιόντας K, περιόντας χωρία L.
3 λιμῷ K : λοιμῷ L. 4 λοιμὸς L : λιμὸς K.
against it from outside with evil intent. And he also furnished grain to some of the Roman populace. But Martinus and Trajan passed by night between the camps of the enemy, and after reaching Taracina sent Antonina with a few men into Campania; and they themselves took possession of the fortified places in that district, and using them as their bases of operations and making thence their sudden attacks, they checked such of the Goths as were moving about in that region. As for Magnus and Sinthues, in a short time they rebuilt such parts of the fortress\(^1\) as had fallen into ruin, and as soon as they had put themselves in safety, they began immediately to make more trouble for the enemy, whose fortress was not far away, not only by making frequent raids upon them, but also by keeping such of the barbarians as were escorting provision-trains in a constant state of terror by the unexpectedness of their movements; but finally Sinthues was wounded in his right hand by a spear in a certain battle, and since the sinews were severed, he became thereafter unfit for fighting. And the Huns likewise, after they had made their camp near by, as I have said, were on their part causing the Goths no less trouble, so that these as well as the Romans were now feeling the pressure of famine, since they no longer had freedom to bring in their food-supplies as formerly. And pestilence too fell upon them and was destroying many, and especially in the camp which they had last made, close by the Appian Way, as I have previously stated.\(^2\) And the few of their number who had not perished withdrew from that camp to the other camps. The Huns also

\(^1\) Tibur. \(^2\) Chap. iii. 7.
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tótō kai Ὅννοι παθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθον.

19 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε. Προκόπιος δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε οὖχ ἦσσον ἢ πεντακοσίων ἐνταύθα ἤγειρε, καὶ νεῶν πολὺ τι χρῆμα σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε.

20 παρὴν δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀυτωνία οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τοῦ στόλου ἦδη ξυν αὐτῷ ἐπεμελεῖτο.

21 Τότε καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βέβιος ἐμνηκήσατο μὲν, οὗ μέντοι ἤρευξατο, καὶ τοῖς γε καὶ λίαν ἐπίδοξος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει δι' ἐρέσεσται. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίωις ἔννεπθη ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκέναι.

22 τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο Νεαπόλεως μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίως διέχει, τετραμμένον αὐτής πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνεμον, ἀπότομον δὲ ἀτεχνώς ἐστι, τὰ κάτω μὲν ἄμφιλαφες κύκλῳ, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεν κρημνώδες τε

23 καὶ δεινῶς ἅβατον.1 ἔν δὲ τῇ τοῦ Βεβίου ὑπερ- βολὴ σπῆλαιον κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα βαθὺ φαινεται, ὡστε εἰκάζειν αὐτὸ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ἐσχάτα τοῦ ὄρους διήκειν. καὶ πῦρ ἐνταύθα ὅραν πάρεστιν, ἢν τις ὑπερκύπτειν τολμήσει, καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τῷ ἄλλῳ ἢ φλόγε ἔφ' ἐαυτῇν στρέφεται,2 πράγματα οὔδειν παρεχομένη τῶν ταύτην ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κτύπου τινὰ μυκηθμὸ ἐμφερῆ τὸ ὄρος ἀφῇ, κόνεως μέγα τι χρῆμα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τοῦ

25 ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνίσης. καὶ ἢν μὲν τινὰ ὅδ' τὸ κακόν τοῦτο βαδίζοντα λάβῃ, τοῦτον δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔδεμεν μηχανή.<sup>3</sup> βιώσεσθαι ἐστιν, ἢν δὲ οἰκίαις τισὶν ἐπιπέσῃ, πύπτουσι καὶ αὐτὰλ τῷ τῆς

26 κόνεως πλήθει αὐχνομεναι. ἀνέμου δὲ σκληροῦ,

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1 ἅβατον K: ἁγριον L.
2 στρέφεται Hoeschel: τρέφεται MSS.
3 οὔδεμα μηχανή: οὔδεμα μηχανή MSS.
suffered in the same way, and so returned to Rome. Such was the course of events here. But as for Procopius, when he reached Campania, he collected not fewer than five hundred soldiers there, loaded a great number of ships with grain, and held them in readiness. And he was joined not long afterwards by Antonina, who immediately assisted him in making arrangements for the fleet.

At that time the mountain of Vesuvius rumbled, and though it did not break forth in eruption, still because of the rumbling it led people to expect with great certainty that there would be an eruption. And for this reason it came to pass that the inhabitants fell into great terror. Now this mountain is seventy stades distant from Naples and lies to the north\(^1\) of it—an exceedingly steep mountain, whose lower parts spread out wide on all sides, while its upper portion is precipitous and exceedingly difficult of ascent. But on the summit of Vesuvius and at about the centre of it appears a cavern of such depth that one would judge that it extends all the way to the bottom of the mountain. And it is possible to see fire there, if one should dare to peer over the edge, and although the flames as a rule merely twist and turn upon one another, occasioning no trouble to the inhabitants of that region, yet, when the mountain gives forth a rumbling sound which resembles bellowing, it generally sends up not long afterward a great quantity of ashes. And if anyone travelling on the road is caught by this terrible shower, he cannot possibly survive, and if it falls upon houses, they too fall under the weight of the great quantity of ashes. But whenever it so

\(^1\) This is an error on the part of Procopius. In point of fact it lies to the south-east of Naples.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀν οὕτω τίχη, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἀνιέναι μὲν αὐτὴν ἄνυμβαίνει εἰς ὑψος μέγα, ὡς μηκέτι ἀνθρώπωφ ὀρα
tὴν εἶναι,1 φέρεσθαι δὲ ὅπη ἀν αὐτῇ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ίοι,2 ἐμπίπτειν τὲ ἐς γῆν ἢ ὡς ἐκαστάτω
tυχχάνει οὐσα. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν φασίν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιπεθοῦσαν οὕτως ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώ
pοὺς ὥστε πανδημεῖ εξ έκείνων δὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ χρόνου λιταῖς εἰναιςίοις ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
ἐγνωσαν, ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Λιβύης χρόνῳ ἔτερῳ
ἐμπεπτωκέναι. καὶ πρότερον μὲν εὐιατῶν ἔκα
tῶν δὴ καὶ πλείονοι τὸν μυκηθροῦ τοῦτον φασι
gενέσθαι, ὅστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι θάσσων εὐμ
βήναι. τοῦτο μὲντοι ἀπεισχυμόμενοι λέγουσιν,
ὅτι δὴ ἐπειδὰν τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτῃ ἐρεύξασθαι τὴν
κόσμον ἄνυμβαίη, εὑρηκεν ανάγκη τὴν ἐκείνην
χώραν καρποὺς ἀπασιν. ἀπὸ δὲ λεπτότατος ἐστὶ
καὶ πρὸς ύγείαν ἰκανός πεθυμοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ
πάντων μάλιστα. ἐς τοῦτο ἀμέλει τοὺς φθόν
ἀλόντας ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθέν χρόνων ἰατροῖ πέμπουσι.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄμφι τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτῃ ἐπὶ ἔχει.

V

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου
κατέπλευσεν, Ἡσαύρων μὲν ἐς τὸν Νεαπόλεως
λιμήνα τρισχίλιοι, ὁν Παῦλος καὶ Κόνων ἡγοῦν
tο, ἐς Δρυόντα δὲ Ῥακες ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι,
ὁν Ἰωάννης ἠρχεν ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ τοῦ πρῶτον
tετυρανηκότος ἀδελφίδοὺς καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτεροι

1 εἶναι Κ: γίνεσθαι Λ.
2 ίοι Λ: εἰ δι Κ.

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happens that a strong wind comes on, the ashes rise to a great height, so that they are no longer visible to the eye, and are borne wherever the wind which drives them goes, falling on lands exceedingly far away. And once, they say, they fell in Byzantium and so terrified the people there, that from that time up to the present the whole city has seen fit to propitiate God with prayers every year; and at another time they fell on Tripolis in Libya. Formerly this rumbling took place, they say, once in a hundred years or even more, but in later times it has happened much more frequently. This, however, they declare emphatically, that whenever Vesuvius belches forth these ashes, the country round about is bound to flourish with an abundance of all crops. Furthermore, the air on this mountain is very light and by its nature the most favourable to health in the world. And indeed those who are attacked by consumption have been sent to this place by physicians from remote times. So much, then, may be said regarding Vesuvius.

V

At this time another army also arrived by sea from Byzantium, three thousand Isaurians who put in at the harbour of Naples, led by Paulus and Conon, and eight hundred Thracian horsemen who landed at Dryous, led by John, the nephew of the Vitalian who had formerly been tyrant, and with them a

1 During the eruption of 472 A.D.
2 Since the great eruption of 79 A.D.—the first in historical times—eruptions have succeeded one another at intervals varying from one to more than one hundred years.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

στρατιῶται ἐκ καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ χίλιοι; ὅν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄλεξανδρός τε καὶ Μαρκέντιος

2 ἥρξον. ἔτυγχανε δὲ ἡδὲ καὶ Ζήνων ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἱππεύσιν ἐς Ἀρώμην διὰ τε Σαμνίον καὶ Δατίνης ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενος. ἔστει δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἠλθεν, ἄμαξας πολλὰς ἐκ Καλαβρῶν ἔχων, ἀνεμίγυντο 1 αὐτοῖς πεντακόσιοι ἡθροισμένοι 2 ἐκ Καμπανίας,

3 ὥσπερ μοι εἰρήται. οὕτωι μὲν ὡδὸν 3 τὴν παραλίαν ξὺν ταῖς ἄμαξαῖς ἔσταν ἐν ψηφί έχουντες, ἢν τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιοι σφίγε, κύκλου τε τινα καὶ χαρακώματος σχῆμα ταῖς ἄμαξας ποιησάμενοι ἐνθένδε τους ἐπίστας ἁμύσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄμφι Παύλων τε καὶ Κόνωνα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον, καὶ σφίγεις ἐς Ὀστίαν συμμίξαι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον, σίτου μὲν ἤκαθον ἐν ταῖς ἄμαξαις ἐνθέμενοι, ναῦς δὲ ἀπάσαι σὺν σίτου μόνον ἐμπλησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων

4 ἀπαντῶν. καὶ αὐτοῖ μὲν τοὺς ἄμφι Μαρτῖνον τε καὶ Τραῖνον δοῦντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταρακίνης χωρία εὐρήσειν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ἑναν γεγονότες δὲ ἀγχιστα ἐμαθὼν ὡς ὅλῳ πρότερον ἐς Ἀρώμην μεταπεμπτοι ἀνεχώρησαν.

5 Βελοσάριος δὲ τοὺς ἄμφι τὸν Ἰωάννην προσέ-ναι 4 μαθὼν καὶ δείσας μὴ σφάς οἱ πολέμιοι πλήθει πολλῷ ἀπαντήσαντες διαφθείρωσιν ἐποίει

6 τάδε. πῦλην τὴν Φλαμπρίαν, ὦ δὴ αὐτῆς ἁγ-χιστα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τετυχηκε, λίθων οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχάς

1 ἀνεμίγυντο K: ἀνεμίγυντο L.
2 αὐτοῖς... ἡθροισμένοι K: τοῖς πεντακόσιοι ἡθροισμένοι L.
3 ὡδὸν Haury: ὡδὸν έχουντες MSS.
4 προσέναι Herwerden: προσέναι MSS.
thousand other soldiers of the regular cavalry, under various commanders, among whom were Alexander and Marcentius. And it happened that Zeno with three hundred horsemen had already reached Rome by way of Samnium and the Latin Way. And when John with all the others came to Campania, provided with many waggons by the inhabitants of Calabria, his troops were joined by five hundred men who, as I have said, had been collected in Campania. These set out by the coast road with the waggons, having in mind, if any hostile force should confront them, to make a circle of the waggons in the form of a stockade and thus to ward off the enemy; and they commanded the men under Paulus and Conon to sail with all speed and join them at Ostia, the harbour of Rome; and they put sufficient grain in the waggons and loaded all the ships, not only with grain, but also with wine and all kinds of provisions. And they, indeed, expected to find the forces of Martinus and Trajan in the neighbourhood of Taracina and to have their company from that point on, but when they approached Taracina, they learned that these forces had recently been recalled and had retired to Rome.

But Belisarius, learning that the forces of John were approaching and fearing that the enemy might confront them in greatly superior numbers and destroy them, took the following measures. It so happened that the enemy had encamped very close to the Flaminian Gate; this gate Belisarius himself had blocked up at the beginning of this war by a

1 The regular harbour, Portus, was held by the Goths.
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toûde toû polémon ápέφραζεν, ὡσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρήθη, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμοι εὐπετῶς ἔχωσιν ἡ βιάζεσθαι ἢ τινα ἕπιβουλήν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξυμβολήν οὐδεμιὰν ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, οὐδ’ ἂν τι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσεσθαι

8 σφίσι πολέμον ἐνθένδε υπόπτευον. ταύτῃ τῆς πύλης νῦκτωρ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν περελὼν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένων, τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἑνταῦθα ἶτοιμαζεν. ἅμα τε ἡμέρα διὰ πῦλης Πιγκιανῆς Τραϊανὸν τε καὶ Διογένην ἔξω ἰππεῦσιν χυλίοις ἐπεμψεν, οὐδὲ ἐν τε τοῖς χαρακώμαισι βάλλειν ἐκέλευσε καί, ἐπειδὰν οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔσωσι, φεύγειν τε ἦκιστα αἰδομένους καὶ

9 μέχρι ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀπελαύνειν δρόμῳ. τὶνὰς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐντὸς τῆς πυλίδος ἐστησεν. οἱ μὲν ὁνὸν ἀμφὶ Τραϊανὸν, καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστειλε Βελισάριος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥρεθους, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἰ Γότθοι ἐκ πάντων ἀγειρόμενοι τῶν χαρακομάτων ἡμύσσοντο. ἀμφότεροι τε ὁς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἔσαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι φεύγουσι δόξαν παρέχοντες, οἱ δὲ διώκειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰκεύοντες

10 ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἐναντίον ἐς τὴν δίωξιν καθισταμένους εἰδε, πύλην τε τὴν Φλαμμίαν ἀνοίγνυσι καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐ προσδεχομένους ἀφίησιν, ἐν δὲ τῶν Γότθων στρατόπεδον παρὰ τὴν ταύτη ὅδον ἐτύγχανεν ὅν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐμπροσθεν ἡν στενοχορία κρημνώδῃς τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατος. ἑνταῦθα τῶν τούς βαρβάρων τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ σωματος ἐς ἄγαν εὐ ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ εἰδε προϊόντας

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structure of stone, as has been told by me in the previous narrative,\footnote{Book V. xix. 6.} his purpose of course being to make it difficult for the enemy either to force their way in or to make any attempt upon the city at that point. Consequently no engagement had taken place at this gate, and the barbarians had no suspicion that there would be any attack upon them from there. Now Belisarius tore down by night the masonry which blocked this gate, without giving notice to anyone at all, and made ready the greatest part of the army there. And at daybreak he sent Trajan and Diogenes with a thousand horsemen through the Pincian Gate, commanding them to shoot missiles into the camps, and as soon as their opponents came against them, to flee without the least shame and to ride up to the fortifications at full speed. And he also stationed some men inside this gate. So the men under Trajan began to harass the barbarians, as Belisarius had directed them to do, and the Goths, gathering from all the camps, began to defend themselves. And both armies began to move as fast as they could toward the fortifications of the city, the one giving the appearance of fleeing, and the other supposing that they were pursuing the enemy.

But as soon as Belisarius saw the enemy take up the pursuit, he opened the Flaminian Gate and sent his army out against the barbarians, who were thus taken unawares. Now it so happened that one of the Gothic camps was on the road near this gate, and in front of it there was a narrow passage between steep banks which was exceedingly difficult of access. And one of the barbarians, a man of splendid physique and clad in a corselet, when he saw the enemy
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touc polemious, protetisasa eisstikei kai touc etairaous ekalei te kai tin stevnochorian xumvphi-
15 lasseis heziou. Moundilas de phasaas auton te etceine kai ton allon barbaroun oudeva es tou-
16 ton dielthein ton stenopon xunechorise. dielethei-
tes oin, oudevos sfinon antistatontos, es te to
plhson charakwma 1 ıkouvo kai autov tines di'
oligos apoteirastameno ouk eschon eliein ischi
17 ton charakwmatoj, kaipe oj pollon entaiha
enkatelaleiemvenon barbaroun. he te gar taphos
es megan ti badoj xorofukto krima 2 kai chous des
enthende afyrito, es tin etpos aei entidemenoj
moiran es ypsos te ıretos kai auti teikous eglineto,
tois te skolopisi periestaurwto upefwnos, ózsi
18 te livan kai suxnoj oujvoin. ois de tharsoinotes oi
barbaroi karteros touc polemious hemvonoj.
xis de ton velissarioj upassteinov, 'Akulwos
19 onoma, drasteriros anhe en tois malista, lovrou 3
labomevos ıppon, enthende xin ton ıpfor es meson
to charakwma ılatos, kai tinas ton evantion
autov etceine. peristatontov de autov 4 suxna te
akoontzontov ton evantion o men ıppos plhgeis
epesene, autov de para doxan dija meson ton pol-
20 mou diéfuye. pezos de xin tois etairaous epi
pilas Pugianas ımei. eti te diokontas tois
barbarous katallabontes kai kata voton bála-
lontes etceinav.

1 charakwma L: om. K. 2 krima K: om. L.
3 lovrou Hoeschel: om. K, charou L.
4 autov L: autow K.
advancing, reached this place before them and took his stand there, at the same time calling his comrades and urging them to help in guarding the narrow passage. But before any move could be made Mundilas slew him and thereafter allowed none of the barbarians to go into this passage. The Romans therefore passed through it without encountering opposition, and some of them, arriving at the Gothic camp near by, for a short time tried to take it, but were unable to do so because of the strength of the stockade, although not many barbarians had been left behind in it. For the trench had been dug to an extraordinary depth, and since the earth taken from it had invariably been placed along its inner side, this reached a great height and so served as a wall\(^1\); and it was abundantly supplied with stakes, which were very sharp and close together, thus making a palisade. These defences so emboldened the barbarians that they began to repel the enemy vigorously. But one of the guards of Belisarius, Aquilinus by name, an exceedingly active man, seized a horse by the bridle and, bestriding it, leaped from the trench into the middle of the camp, where he slew some of the enemy. And when his opponents gathered about him and hurled great numbers of missiles, the horse was wounded and fell, but he himself unexpectedly made his escape through the midst of the enemy. So he went on foot with his companions toward the Pincian Gate. And overtaking the barbarians, who were still engaged in pursuing Roman horsemen,\(^2\) they began to shoot at them from behind and killed some of them.

\(^1\) Cf. Book V. xix. 11.
\(^2\) These were the forces of Trajan and Diogenes.
"Ὅτερ δὴ οἱ ἄμφι Τραϊανὸν κατιδώντες, ἐπιβεβησθηκότων σφίσι καὶ τῶν ταύτη ἐν παρασκευῇ καθεστώτων ἵππεών, ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντις δρόμῳ ἐξάχρονον. τότε δὴ οἱ Γότθοι καταστρατηγηθεῖτος τε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἀπειλημμένου, οὖν ἔργῳ κόσμῳ ἐκτεῖνοντο. 

τολύς τε αὐτῶν γέγονε φῶς καὶ ὀλίγοι κομιδὴ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα διέφυγον μόνις, οἱ τε λοιποὶ περὶ πάσι τοῖς χαρακόμασι δείσαντες αὐτοῦ φραξάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμενον, αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα ἐπεῖναι σφίσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἴόμενοι. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐργῷ τῶν τις βαρβάρων Τραϊανοῦ βάλλεις ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, ὕφθαλμοι μὲν τοῦ δραχόν ἄνωθεν, ὁλίγῳ δὲ τῆς μινὸς ἀπόθεν. καὶ σίδηρος μὲν ἀπασ ἐντὸς τε ἐπάγη καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανὶς γέγονε, καὶ περὶ μεγάλην τῇ τὴν ἀκίδα ἔχων καὶ μακρὰν κομιδὴ, τοῦ δὲ βέλους τὸ λειπόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν οὖν ἐν αὐτῶν βιασαμένου εὐθὺς ἐπεσε δοκεὶ γάρ μοι οὖν ἄσφαλῶς ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ σίδηρος πη ἐρημείσθαι. τῷ Τραϊανῷ μέντοι αἰσθησις τούτου οὐδεμία ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ οὖν τις ἐν κτεῖσι τε καὶ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίως διέμεινε. πέμπτῳ δὲ ὑστερον ἐναινυφι αὐτοματον ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ προῦχον τὸ τοῦ σιδήρου ἄκρον ἐφάνῃ. τρίτων τε τούτω ἔτος ἐξ οὐ κατὰ βραχῦ πρόεισιν ἔξω ἂεί. ἐπίδοξος οὖν ἐστι πολλῷ ὑστερον χρόνῳ ἔξω γενόσεται ἢ ἀκῖς ἡμπασα. ἐμπόδιος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδαμῇ γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐσχεν.
Now when Trajan and his men perceived this, since they had meanwhile been reinforced by the horsemen who had been standing near by in readiness, they charged at full speed against their pursuers. Then at length the Goths, being now outgeneraled and unexpectedly caught between the forces of their enemy, began to be killed indiscriminately. And there was great slaughter of them, and very few escaped to their camps, and that with difficulty; meanwhile the others, fearing for the safety of all their strongholds, shut themselves in and remained in them thereafter, thinking that the Romans would come against them without the least delay. In this action one of the barbarians shot Trajan in the face, above the right eye and not far from the nose. And the whole of the iron point penetrated the head and disappeared entirely, although the barb on it was large and exceedingly long, but the remainder of the arrow immediately fell to the ground without the application of force by anyone, in my opinion because the iron point had never been securely fastened to the shaft. Trajan, however, paid no heed to this at all, but continued none the less killing and pursuing the enemy. But in the fifth year afterward the tip of the iron of its own accord began to project visibly from his face. And this is now the third year since it has been slowly but steadily coming out. It is to be expected, therefore, that the whole barb will eventually come out, though not for a long time. But it has not been an impediment to the man in any way. So much then for these matters.
VI

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκὸν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅπως ἐνθέντε ἀναχωρῆσωσιν ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πρὸς τέ τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διεφθαρμένου, ἐς ὅλιγους τε ἢδη ἐκ μυριάδων περιεστηκότες πολλῶν, οὐχ ἰκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ λμῷ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πολιορκοῦντες, ἐργῷ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πάντων 2 ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στράτευμα ἔτερον ἐλθεὶν τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπύθησατο, οὐχ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὁ, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ τῆς φήμης ἐξουσία ποιεῖν ἴσχυε, κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον 3 τὴν ἀναχώρησίν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔπεμψαν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην, Ῥωμαίοις ἀνδρὰ ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμον τρίτον αὐτὸν, ὅς παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε τοιᾶδε·

4 "Ὡς μὲν οὐδετέροις ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ ἕμφερον τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεχώρηκεν ἐξεπίσταται ἡμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἦκου τῶν ἐνθέντε δυσκόλων τὴν πείραν. 5 τὴ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐκατέρων ἀρνηθείς τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπερ οὑ οὐδετέροις ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κεῖσθαι σύμπεπτωκεν; ὡς δὲ ἀξιούντων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεραντά τε ταλαιπωρεῖν βούλεσθαι, φιλονεκίας ἐνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα, καὶ λύσιν τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων μηδεμίαν εὐρείων, οὐδέσι ἄν, οὕτως τῶν γε οὐκ ἄντων ἀνόητων 2 ἀντείποι. ὅταν δὲ ταύτα οὕτως

1 κίνδυνον Κ: πόλεμον Λ.
2 τῶν ... ἀνόητον Ηαυγγ: τῶν γε οὐκ ὄντα ἀνόητον Κ, τοῦτον γε οὐκ ὄντως ἀνόητος διὰ Λ.
VI

Now the barbarians straightway began to despair of winning the war and were considering how they might withdraw from Rome, inasmuch as they had suffered the ravages both of the pestilence and of the enemy, and were now reduced from many tens of thousands to a few men; and, not least of all, they were in a state of distress by reason of the famine, and while in name they were carrying on a siege, they were in fact being besieged by their opponents and were shut off from all necessities. And when they learned that still another army had come to their enemy from Byzantium both by land and by sea—not being informed as to its actual size, but supposing it to be as large as the free play of rumour was able to make it,—they became terrified at the danger and began to plan for their departure. They accordingly sent three envoys to Rome, one of whom was a Roman of note among the Goths, and he, coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

"That the war has not turned out to the advantage of either side each of us knows well, since we both have had actual experience of its hardships. For why should anyone in either army deny facts of which neither now remains in ignorance. And no one, I think, could deny, at least no one who does not lack understanding, that it is only senseless men who choose to go on suffering indefinitely merely to satisfy the contentious spirit which moves them for the moment, and refuse to find a solution of the troubles which harass them. And whenever this situation arises, it
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ἐχθ, τοὺς ἐκατέρων ἠγουμένους προσήκει μὴ δόξης τῆς οἰκείας τῆς τῶν ἁρχομένων σωτηρίαν προίσθαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα οὐ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σφῶν ἐναντίοις ἐλέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν

8 παρόντων ποιεῖσθαι δυσκολῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετρίων ἐφίσθαι πᾶσι χαλεπῶς δίδωσι πόρον, τῷ δὲ φιλονεῖκῳ τὸ μηδὲν περαινεῖσθαι τῶν δεόν-

9 τῶν συμπέφυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καταστροφῆς πέρι τοῦτο βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ξύμ-

φορὰ ἐκατέρως προτειόμενοι, ἐν οἷς τι καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι οἴομεθα, παρ’ ὕμας ἠκομεν.

10 ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς χρώμενοι ξυνδιαφθείρεσθαι 1 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ξυνοί-

11 σοντα ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι βουλεύσασθε. προσή-

κεῖ δὲ μὴ ξυνεχεὶ ρήσει τῶν λόγων ἄμφοτέρους ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπολαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ παραμ-

12 τικα, ἢν τι μὴ ἐπιτηδείως εἰρήσθαι δοκῇ. οὕτω

γὰρ ἐκατέρως εἰρηκέναι τε διὰ βραχέως ὅσα σφίσι κατὰ νοῦν ἔστι καὶ τὰ δεόντα πεπραχέναι

13 ξυμβῆσται.” ἀπεκρίνατο Βελισάριος: “Οὕτω

µὲν, ὅπως φατέ, προϊέναι τὸν διάλογον οὐδὲν

κωλύσει, ὅπως δὲ εἰρηναία τε καὶ δίκαια πρὸς

ὑμῶν λέγοιτο.”

14 Αὕτης οὖν Γότθων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον: “Ἡ-

κήκατε ἡμᾶς, ἀνδρεὶς Ἱρωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ φίλους τε καὶ

ξυμμάχους ἄντας ὅπλα οὐ δέον ἄραμεν. ἔρουμεν

dὲ ἀπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸν οἰόμεθα ξυνεπίστα-

1 ξυνδιαφθείρεσθαι K: διαφθείρεσθαι L.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. vi. 7-14

is the duty of the commanders on both sides not to sacrifice the lives of their subjects to their own glory, but to choose the course which is just and expedient, not for themselves alone, but also for their opponents, and thus to put an end to present hardships. For moderation in one's demands affords a way out of all difficulties, but it is the very nature of contentiousness that it cannot accomplish any of the objects which are essential. Now we, on our part, have deliberated concerning the conclusion of this war and have come before you with proposals which are of advantage to both sides, wherein we waive, as we think, some portion even of our rights. And see to it that you likewise in your deliberations do not yield to a spirit of contentiousness respecting us and thus destroy yourselves as well as us, in preference to choosing the course which will be of advantage to yourselves. And it is fitting that both sides should state their case, not in continuous speech, but each interrupting the other on the spur of the moment, if anything that is said shall seem inap propriate. For in this way each side will be able to say briefly whatever it is minded to say, and at the same time the essential things will be accomplished.” Belisarius replied: “There will be nothing to prevent the debate from proceeding in the manner you suggest, only let the words spoken by you be words of peace and of justice.”

So the ambassadors of the Goths in their turn said: “You have done us an injustice, O Romans, in taking up arms wrongfully against us, your friends and allies. And what we shall say is, we think, well known to each one of you as well as to ourselves.
15 σθαί. Γότθων γὰρ οὖ βία Ρωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι
γῆν τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐκτήσαντο, ἀλλ' Ὀδοάκρος
ποτὲ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθελὼν ἐς τυραννίδα τὴν
16 τῇ δὲ πολιτείαν μεταβαλὼν εἰχὲ. Ζήνων δὲ τότε
τῆς έφασις κρατῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖν μὲν τῷ ἐμβεβαςι-
λευκοτὶ βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦ τυράννου τῆν
χώραν ἑλευθεροῦν, Ὀδοάκρος δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν
δύναμιν οὐκ οἶσι τε ὧν, Θευδερίχου ἀναπείθει
τῶν ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τε καὶ Ἡβάντιων
πολιορκεῖν μέλλοντα, καταλῦσαι μὲν τὴν πρὸς
αὐτῶν ἑπτάραν τιμῆς ἀναμνησθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ
ὁς τετυχθεὶς ἦδη, πατρικός τε καὶ Ρωμαίων
γεγονός ὑπατός, Ὀδοάκρος δὲ ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς
Ἀγούστουλον τίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν
τε καὶ Γότθων τὸ λοιπὸν κρατεῖν ὀρθὸς καὶ
dικαίως. οὖτῳ τοῖνυν παραλαβόντες τὴν τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἀρχὴν τούς τε νόμους καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
διεσωσάμεθα τῶν πόστετε βεβασιλευκότων οὖν
dενδὸς ἡσυχον, καὶ Θευδερίχου μὲν ἡ ἅλλον ὅτονοὺν
διαδεξαμένου τὸ Γότθων κράτος νόμος τὸ παρά-
pαν οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν, οὐκ ἀγραφὸς ἐστὶ.
18 τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς θεὸν εὑσεβείας τε καὶ πίστεως
οὕτω 'Ρωμαίοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐφυλάξαμεν, ὡστε
Ἰταλιωτῶν μὲν τὴν δόξαν οὐδεὶς οὐχ ἑκὼν οὐκ
ἀκούσιος ἐς τήντε τῆν ἡμέραν μετέβαλε, Γότθων
dὲ μεταβεβλημένων ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν οὐδαμῶς γέ-
γονε. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἔρα τιμῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τετύχηκεν οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἰς τι

1 καὶ Κ.: κατὰ Λ.

1 476 A.D. Cf. Book V. i. 6–8 and note.
2 Cf. Book V. i. 10, 11.
For the Goths did not obtain the land of Italy by wresting it from the Romans by force, but Odoacer in former times dethroned the emperor, changed the government of Italy to a tyranny, and so held it.\textsuperscript{1} And Zeno, who then held the power of the East, though he wished to avenge his partner in the imperial office and to free this land from the usurper, was unable to destroy the authority of Odoacer. Accordingly he persuaded Theoderic, our ruler, although he was on the point of besieging him and Byzantium, not only to put an end to his hostility towards himself, in recollection of the honour which Theoderic had already received at his hands in having been made a patrician and consul of the Romans,\textsuperscript{2} but also to punish Odoacer for his unjust treatment of Augustulus, and thereafter, in company with the Goths, to hold sway over the land as its legitimate and rightful rulers. It was in this way, therefore, that we took over the dominion of Italy, and we have preserved both the laws and the form of government as strictly as any who have ever been Roman emperors, and there is absolutely no law, either written or unwritten, introduced by Theoderic or by any of his successors on the throne of the Goths. And we have so scrupulously guarded for the Romans their practices pertaining to the worship of God and faith in Him, that not one of the Italians has changed his belief, either willingly or unwillingly, up to the present day, and when Goths have changed,\textsuperscript{3} we have taken no notice of the matter. And indeed the sanctuaries of the Romans have received from us the highest honour; for no one who has taken refuge

\textsuperscript{3} The Goths were Christians, but followed the Arian heresy.
τούτων καταφυγών πώποτε πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώ-πων βεβίασται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσας τὰς τῆς πολι-τείας ἀρχὰς αὐτοῦ μὲν διαγεγόνασιν ἔχοντες,
20 Γόθθος δὲ αὐτῶν μετέσχεν οὐδείς. ἡ παρελθόν τις ἡμᾶς ἔλεγχετο, ἢν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἡμῶν εἰρησθαι οἴηται. προσθείη δ’ ἂν τις ὁς καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα Γόθθοι ξυνεχόρουν Ὥρωμαιών πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐφῶν βασιλέως ἐς ἑκαστὸν ἐτος
21 κομίζεσθαι. ὡμεῖς δὲ, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων, Ἰταλίας μὲν οὐ προσεποιεῖσθε κακομένης ὑπὸ τῶν Ὥδοακροῦ βαρβάρων, καίπερ οὐ δι’ ὅλγον, ἀλλ’ ἐς δέκα ἐνιαυτοὺς τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένου, νῦν δὲ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτὴν κεκτημένους, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
22 προσήκουν, βιάζεσθε. οὐκοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐκ-ποδῶν ἑστασθε, τά τε ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσα λησάμενοι τετυχήκατε.”

Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος.¹ “Ἦ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις ὑμῶν βραχέα τε εἰρήσθαι καὶ μέτρια προϋλεγει, ἢ
de ῥήσις μακρὰ τε καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀλαζονείας υμῖν
23 γέγονε. Θευδέριχον γὰρ βασιλεῖς Ζήνων Ὥδο-άκρον πολεμήσοντα ἐπεμψεν, οὐκ ἐφ’ ὃ Ἰταλίας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοι· τά γὰρ ἄν καὶ τύραννον τυράννου διαλλάσσεις βασιλεὶ ἐμελεν; ἀλλ’ ἐφ’
24 ὃ ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ βασιλεί κατήκους ἔσται. ὁ
de τὰ περὶ τὸν τύραννον εὐ διαθέμενος ἀγνομο-σύνη ἐς τἀλλα οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἐχρήσατο· ἀπο-δίδοναι γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν γῆν οὐδαμῇ ἐγνω.
25 οἷμαι δὲ ἐγώγε τόν τε βιασάμενον καὶ ὅς ἄν τὰ

¹ Βελισάριος Κ.: Βελισάριος ἐφη Λ.
in any of them has ever been treated with violence by any man; nay, more, the Romans themselves have continued to hold all the offices of the state, and not a single Goth has had a share in them. Let someone come forward and refute us, if he thinks that this statement of ours is not true. And one might add that the Goths have conceded that the dignity of the consulship should be conferred upon Romans each year by the emperor of the East. Such has been the course followed by us; but you, on your side, did not take the part of Italy while it was suffering at the hands of the barbarians and Odoacer, although it was not for a short time, but for ten years, that he treated the land outrageously; but now you do violence to us who have acquired it legitimately, though you have no business here. Do you therefore depart hence out of our way, keeping both that which is your own and whatever you have gained by plunder."

And Belisarius said: "Although your promise gave us to understand that your words would be brief and temperate, yet your discourse has been both long and not far from fraudulent in its pretensions. For Theodoric was sent by the Emperor Zeno in order to make war on Odoacer, not in order to hold the dominion of Italy for himself. For why should the emperor have been concerned to exchange one tyrant for another? But he sent him in order that Italy might be free and obedient to the emperor. And though Theodoric disposed of the tyrant in a satisfactory manner, in everything else he shewed an extraordinary lack of proper feeling; for he never thought of restoring the land to its rightful owner. But I, for my part, think that he who robs
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tou pélasis ékoušiws μη ἀποδίδῃ ἵσον¹ ge eínai. 
ἔγω μὲν οὖν χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐτέρῳ τῷ οὐποτε 
οὐκ ἄν παραδοίην. εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ τυχεῖν 
βούλεσθε, λέγειν ἀφίημι.”

27 Oi dè bárβaroi: “Ώς μὲν οὖν ἀληθὴ πάντα 
ήμιν εὑρηται οὐδὲ οὐκ εἶναι, καλεῖς 
δὲ ὅπως ἡκιστα ποιοικεῖν δόξημεν, καὶ Σικε-
λίας, τοσαῦτης τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιαύτης τὸν 
πλούτον οὕσης, ήμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα, ἢς δὴ ἐκτὸς 
Διβὴν οὐμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσθαι οὐ δυνάτων.”

28 Kál o béllisárion: “Kai ἡμεῖς δὲ Γόθους 
Βρεττανίαν οἶλη εὐγχωροῦμεν ἔχειν, μείζω, 
τοὺς γάρ εὐεργεσίας ἢ χάριτος τινος ἄρξανται 
τοῖς ἵσοις ἡμεῖς ἴδοι οὖσιν.

29 Bárβaroi: “Oúk oýn, ἢν τι καὶ περὶ 
Καμπανίας ήμῖν ἡ Νεαπόλεως αὐѣ ἐπιομαι, οὐκ 
ἀν δέξασθε;”

30 Béllisárion: “Ou γὰρ ἐσμὲν κύριοι τὰ 
βασι-
lēws πράγματα διοικήσασθαι οὐχ ὅπῃ αὐτῷ 
Βούλισμεν ἐστίν.”

Bárβaroi: “Oúδ’ ἢν χρήματα ἡντὰ 
βασιλεῖ 
ἐφ’ ἔκαστον ἔτος ἠμᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξω-
μεν;”

31 Béllisárion: “Ouí δήτα, οὐ γὰρ 
ἀλλοι τὸν 
ἡμεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἢ ὡστε τῷ κεκτημένῳ 
Λαξία τῆς χώραν.”

Bárβaroi: “Φέρε δὴ, στέλλεσθαι ἠμᾶς παρὰ

¹ ἵσον K: τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκὼν L.
³ kai o béllisárion K: om. L, o béllisárion L in margin.

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another by violence and he who of his own will does not restore his neighbour's goods are equal. Now, as for me, I shall never surrender the emperor's country to any other. But if there is anything you wish to receive in place of it, I give you leave to speak."

And the barbarians said: "That everything which we have said is true no one of you can be unaware. But in order that we may not seem to be contentious, we give up to you Sicily, great as it is and of such wealth, seeing that without it you cannot possess Libya in security."

And Belisarius replied: "And we on our side permit the Goths to have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and was subject to the Romans in early times. For it is only fair to make an equal return to those who first do a good deed or perform a kindness."

The barbarians: "Well, then, if we should make you a proposal concerning Campania also, or about Naples itself, will you listen to it?"

Belisarius: "No, for we are not empowered to administer the emperor's affairs in a way which is not in accord with his wish."

The barbarians: "Not even if we impose upon ourselves the payment of a fixed sum of money every year?"

Belisarius: "No, indeed. For we are not empowered to do anything else than guard the land for its owner."

The barbarians: "Come now, we must send

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4 βδρβαροι: this and the five titles following are supplied by Maltretus.
5 οὐχ Λ: καὶ Κ.
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βασιλέα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὰς ξυνθήκας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι. δεὶ δὲ καὶ τακτὸν τινὰ ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον καθ’ ὑπὸ προσήκει τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς ἐκεχειρίαν παρίστασθαι.

34 Βελισάριος. "Εστώ γινέσθω ταύτα. οὐ γὰρ ποτὲ ὑμῖν εἰρηναία βουλευομένους ἐμποδῶν στή-σομαι.

35 Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησάν τε ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐκάτεροι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Γότθων ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἡμέρας δὲ ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις συχνὰ παρ’ ἄλληλοις φοι-τώντες τά τε ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ διετίθεντο καὶ ὅπως δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν τινῶν ἐπισήμων ἐκάτεροι ἄλληλοις ἐν ὀμήρων λόγῳ παρέχονται.

VII

'Εν ὃ δὲ ταύτα ἐπράσετο τῇδε, ἔν τούτῳ οὐ τε τῶν Ἰσαύρων στόλος τῷ Ρωμαίων λιμένι προσέσχε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἢς Ὁστίαν ἤλθον, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὔδεὶς ὡστε καταί-ρουσιν ὡστε στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐμπόδιος σφίσιν 2 ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. ὅπως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διανυκ-τερεύειν οἷοῖ τε ὅσων ἔξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ τῷ Ἰσαυροὶ τάφρον βαδείαν ἄγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος ὄρυξαντες φυλακᾶς ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἢς ἐποιοῦστο καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ταῖς ἀμά-ξαις φραξάμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱσυχίαν εἶχον. 3 ἐπειδὴ τε τῷ ἡ ἐπεγένετο, Βελισάριος ἢς Ὁστίαν ξὺν ἰππεῦσιν ἐκατὸν ἢλθεν καὶ τὰ τῇ ἐμπεπτω-

1 ἀνάγκη Κ: ἕνγχωρει Λ.
envoys to the emperor and make with him our treaty concerning the whole matter. And a definite time must also be appointed during which the armies will be bound to observe an armistice."

Belisarius: "Very well; let this be done. For never shall I stand in your way when you are making plans for peace."

After saying these things they each left the conference, and the envoys of the Goths withdrew to their own camp. And during the ensuing days they visited each other frequently and made the arrangements for the armistice, and they agreed that each side should put into the hands of the other some of its notable men as hostages to ensure the keeping of the armistice.

VII

But while these negotiations were in progress at Rome, meanwhile the fleet of the Isaurians put in at the harbour\(^1\) of the Romans and John with his men came to Ostia, and not one of the enemy hindered them either while bringing their ships to land or while making their camp. But in order that they might be able to pass the night safe from a sudden attack by the enemy, the Isaurians dug a deep trench close to the harbour and kept a constant guard by shifts of men, while John's soldiers made a barricade of their waggons about the camp and remained quiet. And when night came on Belisarius went to Ostia with a hundred horsemen, and after telling what had taken place in the engagement

\(^1\) Ostia, since the regular harbour, Portus, was held by the Goths.
κότα ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τά τε εὐγκείμενα σφίσι τε καὶ Γόθθοις εἵπτων καὶ τά ἄλλα παραθαρασύνας, τά τε φορτία πεμπεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ξυν προθυμίᾳ ἐς Ἡρωμην ἴναι. "‟Οπως γάρ," ἐφη, „ἀνευ 4 κινδύνου ἢ ὁδὸς ἐσται ἔγω προνοήσω." αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁρθρον βαθέος ἐς τῆν πόλιν ἀπήλαυνε, Ἀντώνια δὲ ξύν τοῖς ἁρχοντιν ἁμα ἡμέρα τῶν φορτίων τῆν παρακομιδὴν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. 5 ἑδόκει δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ δεινῶς ἀπορον τὸ πράγμα ἐλαίναι. οἱ τε γὰρ βῶς οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἠμηθύνητε ἀπαντεῖ ἑκεῖνοτ, ἦν δὲ οὖδε ἀκίνδυνον στενήν τινα ὁδὸν ξύν ταῖς ἀμάξαις πορεύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ 1 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς βάρεις ἀνέλκεω, καθά- 6 περ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐθήσοτο, ἄδυνατα ἦν. ἦ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς ὁ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀμιστερᾷ ἐστίν, ἀστερ 7 μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχομένη Ἡρωμαιοὶ τηνικαίτα ἀπὸρευτος ἦν, ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, ὅσα γε παρ’ ὄχθην, ἀστίβητος παντάπασι τυγχάνει ὀνάσα. 8 διὸ δὴ τοὺς λέμβους νηών τῶν μειζόνων ἀπολεξάμενοι, σανίσσε τε αὐτοὺς ἴψηλαίς κύκλῳ τειχίσαντες, ὅπως οἱ πλέοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα βάλλονται, τοξότας τε καὶ ναῦτας ἐσε- 348

1 διὰ Haury: om. MSS.
2 Ὺώμης K: Ὺώμης ἤθελον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ δὴ L.
and the agreement which had been made between the Romans and the Goths and otherwise encouraging them, he bade them bring their cargoes and come with all zeal to Rome. "For," he said, "I shall take care that the journey is free from danger." So he himself at early dawn rode back to the city, and Antonina together with the commanders began at daybreak to consider means of transporting the cargoes. But it seemed to them that the task was a hard one and beset with the greatest difficulties. For the oxen could hold out no longer, but all lay half-dead, and, furthermore, it was dangerous to travel over a rather narrow road with the waggons, and impossible to tow the barges on the river, as had formerly been the custom. For the road which is on the left\(^1\) of the river was held by the enemy, as stated by me in the previous narrative,\(^2\) and not available for the use of the Romans at that time, while the road on the other side of it is altogether unused, at least that part of it which follows the river-bank. They therefore selected the small boats belonging to the larger ships, put a fence of high planks around them on all sides, in order that the men on board might not be exposed to the enemy's shots, and embarked archers and sailors on them in numbers suitable for each boat. And after they had loaded the boats with all the freight they could carry, they waited for a favouring wind and set sail toward Rome by the Tiber, and a portion of the army followed them along the right\(^1\) bank of the river to support them. But they left a

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\(^1\) i.e. facing upstream.
\(^2\) Book IV. xxvi. 14.
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 phílássoντας. ἐνθά 1 μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ 2 ποταμὸς ἤει, 3 πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπλευν, ἀράμενοι τὰ τῶν λέμβων ἱστία. ἣ δὲ ὁ ροῦς ἐλισσόμενος ὁδὸν 4 πλαγίαν 5 εἴρητο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεὶ τὰ ἱστία τῷ πνεύματι οὐδαμῇ ἐνηργείτο, ἐρέσσοντες τέ καὶ τὸν ροῦν βιαζόμενοι πόνου οἱ ναῦται οὐ μέτριον εἶχον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καθήμενοι ἐμπόδιοι γίνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡκιστὰ ἤθελον, ἡ κατωρρηνδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ἡ οὔκ ἄν πότε ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους ἐσκομίζεσθαι τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἰόμενοι, αἰτία τε οὐ λόγου ἀξία διακολύειν τὴν τῆς ἑκεχειρίας ἐλπίδα, ἡ ὑποσχέσει Βελισάριος ἐκρατύνατο, ἄξιομφρον σφίς εἶναι ἤγοιμενοι. Γότθοι μέντοι ὅσοι ἐν Πόρτῳ ἦσαν, ἐν χρῷ ἀεὶ παραπλέοντα τοὺς πολεμίους θεώμενοι, οὐδαμῇ ἤπτοντο, ἀλλὰ τεθητότες ἐκάθηντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἐννοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ πολλάκις ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπαντα κατ' ἐξουσιάν ἐσκομίσαντο τὰ φορτία, οἱ μὲν ναῦται ξύν ταῖς ναυσίν ἀνεχόρησαν κατὰ τάχος (ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινᾶς ἦν), τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στράτευμα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσῆλθε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Παύλος ἐν Ὁστίᾳ ἦν τῶν Ἰσαύρων τισιν ἐμείνε.

13 Μετὰ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τῇ ἑκεχειρίᾳ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, Ζήνωνα μὲν Ῥωμαίοι, Γότθοι δὲ Ὀύλιαν, οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἄνδρα, ἐφ’ ὃ δὴ ἐν τρισὶ μηθοὶ μηδεμία ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφόδῳ χρῖσονται, ἐως οἱ πρέσβεις

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1 ἐνθά K : om. L.
2 μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ Ἐκβασινηνικὸν : om. MSS.
3 ποταμὸς ἤει K : ἐν ποταμῷ οὗτος καὶ τοιοῦν L.
4 ὁδὸν K : εἰς ὁδὸν L.
5 πλαγίαν Haury : πλατεῖαν MSS.
large number of Isaurians to guard the ships. Now where the course of the river was straight, they found no trouble in sailing, simply raising the sails of the boats; but where the stream wound about and took a course athwart the wind, and the sails received no impulse from it, the sailors had no slight toil in rowing and forcing the boats against the current. As for the barbarians, they sat in their camps and had no wish to hinder their enemy, either because they were terrified at the danger, or because they thought that the Romans would never by such means succeed in bringing in any provisions, and considered it contrary to their own interest, when a matter of no consequence was involved, to frustrate their hope of the armistice which Belisarius had already promised. Moreover, the Goths who were in Portus, though they could see their enemy constantly sailing by almost near enough to touch, made no move against them, but sat there wondering in amazement at the plan they had hit upon. And when the Romans had made the voyage up the river many times in the same way, and had thus conveyed all the cargoes into the city without interference, the sailors took the ships and withdrew with all speed, for it was already about the time of the winter solstice; and the rest of the army entered Rome, except, indeed, that Paulus remained in Ostia with some of the Isaurians.

And afterwards they gave hostages to one another to secure the keeping of the armistice, the Romans giving Zeno, and the Goths Ulias, a man of no mean station, with the understanding that during three months they should make no attack upon one
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ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπανῆκοντες γνώμην τὴν βασιλέως ἰαγγείλωσιν. ἦν δὲ τινες καὶ ἅδικας οἱ ἐτεροί ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπάρξωσι, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἀποδοθήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σφῶν ἔθνος. τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων οἱ πρέσβεις Ὀρωμαῖον παραπεμπόντων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤσσαν, Ἱλίδιγερ δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀντωνίης γαμβρός, ἦν ἐπιπεύσων οὐκ ὑλίγως ἐκ Διβύς ἐς Πρωμή ἤλθε. Γότθοι τε οὐ τὸ ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον εἶχον, ἐπιλευκότοτον σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξελίπτων τε αὐτὸ Ὀυιττίγιδος γνώμης, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεταπεμπτοί ἤλθον. Παύλος δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξὶ τοῖς Ἡσαύροις ἐξ Ὠστίας καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν. αὐτίοι δὲ μάλιστα τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς ἀπορίας ἐγένοντο θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ὀρωμαῖοι, καὶ τι αὐτοῖς ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ ξυγχωροῦντες. διὸ δὴ καὶ πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιαν, Κεντουκέλλας ὄνομα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξελιποῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυνάθρωπος, ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη, σταδίοις αὐτῆς ὄγδοκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἅπε- χουσα. καὶ αὐτὴ Ῥωμαίοι καταλαβόντες ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως ἥθους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα ἔσχον, Ῥώμης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον κείμενον, ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐνθεύσει διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου τηνικαῦτα τῶν πολεμῶν, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἡ ἱκυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον. διὸ δὴ Γότθοι διαλύειν τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα καὶ τι ἐς Ὀρωμαῖος κακουργεῖν ὁργων. πέμψαντες οὖν παρὰ Βελισάριον πρέσβεις ἕτει καὶ ΚΩ: τῖνος Λ. ἕτει πολεμῶν Κ: ἐναντίων Λ.
another, until the envoys should return from Byzantium and report the will of the emperor. And even if the one side or the other should initiate offences against their opponents, the envoys were nevertheless to be returned to their own nation. So the envoys of the barbarians went to Byzantium escorted by Romans, and Ildiger, the son-in-law of Antonina, came to Rome from Libya with not a few horsemen. And the Goths who were holding the stronghold at Portus abandoned the place by the order of Vittigis because their supplies were exhausted, and came to the camp in obedience to his summons. Whereupon Paulus with his Isaurians came from Ostia and took possession of it and held it. Now the chief reason why these barbarians were without provisions was that the Romans commanded the sea and did not allow any of the necessary supplies to be brought in to them. And it was for this reason that they also abandoned at about the same time a sea-coast city of great importance, Centumcellae\(^1\) by name, that is, because they were short of provisions. This city is large and populous, lying to the west of Rome, in Tuscany, distant from it about two hundred and eighty stades. And after taking possession of it the Romans went on and extended their power still more, for they took also the town of Albani, which lies to the east of Rome, the enemy having evacuated it at that time for the same reason, and they had already surrounded the barbarians on all sides and now held them between their forces. The Goths, therefore, were in a mood to break the agreement and do some harm to the Romans. So they sent envoys to Belisarius

\(^1\) Modern Civita Vecchia.
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22 ἡδικήσατε σφᾶς ἐν σπουδαῖς ἔφασαν. Οὐπτίγχος γὰρ Γόθος τοὺς ἐν Πόρτῳ μετατεμφαμένου κατὰ τινὰ χρείαν Παύλον τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους τὸ ταύτη φρούριον λόγῳ οὐδεὶς καταλαβόντας ἔχειν.

23 ταῦτα δὲ τούτο ἀμφὶ τε Ἀλβανὸ καὶ Κεντω-κέλλαις δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἦτιόντο, ἦπείλουν τε, ἤν μὴ ταύτα σφίσιν ἀποδιδό, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν.

24 Βελισάριος δὲ ξύν γέλωτι αὐτοὺς ἀπετέμψατο, παραπέτασα μὲν εἶναι ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπὼν, ἄγνοειν δὲ οὐδένα ὅτον δὴ ἕνεκα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Γόθοι ἑκλύποιην. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποψία τινι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο.

25 Ἕπειτα δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην εἴδε στρα-τιωτῶν πλήθει ἀκμάζουσαν, ἄλλους τε ἱππέας ἐς χωρία Ῥώμης μακράν ποὺ ἀποθεν περιέπεμπτε καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ τὸν ἀδελφίδου Ἰώαννην ἐκέλευε ξύν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἱππεύσιν, ὀκτακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀλβαν διαχειμάζειν, ἐν Πικηνοῖς

26 κειμένην καὶ οἱ τῶν τε Βαλεριανὸ ἐπομένων τετρακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, δὲν Δαμιανὸς ὁ Βαλε-ριανὸ ἀδελφίδους ἥρχε, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπα-στιστῶν ὀκτακοσίους ἅδρας, διαφερόντως ἀγα-θοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ δὲ δορυφόρους δύο, Σοῦνταν τε καὶ Ἀδηνι, ἑπέστησε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Ἰωάννη ἐπεσεθαί, ὅτι ἀν αὐτῶς ἐξηγοῦτο, ἐκέλευε· τῷ δὲ Ἰωάννη ἐπήγγελλε, τέως μὲν τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσι φυλάττοντας ὅρα τοὺς πολέμιους, ἡσυχὴ μένειν· ὅταν δὲ οἱ 1 τὴν ἐκεχερίαν αὐτοῖς λελύσθαι.

27 ἕμβαλη, 2 ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε· παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρα-τῷ ἀρνών τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καταθεῖν τὴν Πικηνῶν χώραν, ἀπαντά τε ἐξῆς περιόντα τὰ

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1 οἱ Κ: om. L. 2 ἕμβαλη L: σημαίνῃ K.
and asserted that they had been unjustly treated during a truce; for when Vittigis had summoned the Goths who were in Portus to perform some service for him, Paulus and the Isaurians had seized and taken possession of the fort there for no good reason. And they made this same false charge regarding Albani and Centumcellae, and threatened that, unless he should give these places back to them, they would resent it. But Belisarius laughed and sent them away, saying that this charge was but a pretext, and that no one was ignorant of the reason why the Goths had abandoned these places. And thereafter the two sides were somewhat suspicious of one another.

But later, when Belisarius saw that Rome was abundantly supplied with soldiers, he sent many horsemen to places far distant from Rome, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian, and the horsemen under his command, eight hundred in number, to pass the winter near the city of Alba, which lies in Picenum; and with him he sent four hundred of the men of Valerian, whom Damianus, the nephew of Valerian, commanded, and eight hundred men of his own guards who were especially able warriors. And in command of these he put two spearmen, Suntas and Adegis, and ordered them to follow John wherever he should lead; and he gave John instructions that as long as he saw the enemy was keeping the agreement made between them, he should remain quiet; but whenever he found that the armistice had been violated by them, he should do as follows: With his whole force he was to make a sudden raid and overrun the land of Picenum, visiting all the districts of that region and reaching
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29 μουντα. ταυτης γαρ σχεδον τι ἀπάσης της χωρας ἄνδρας μὲν οὐδαμή ἀπολελειφθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ Ρώμην ὡς φαίνεται οἱ στρατευσαιμένων, παίδας δὲ καὶ γυναικας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χρήματα
30 πανταχῇ είναι. ἔξανδραποδίζειν οὖν καὶ ληξεσθαι τα ἐν τοσίν ἄπαντα φυλασσόμενον μὴ ποτε Ῥωμαίων τινι τῶν ταύτη ψηκμένων λυμήνυται. ἢν δὲ τη χωρίᾳ ἑντύχῃ, ἄνδρας τε καὶ ὁχύρωμα, ὡς το εἰκός, ἔχοντι, πάση αὐτοῦ δυνάμει
32 ἀποπειράσσασθαι. καὶ ἢν μὲν ἐλείν δύνηται, ἐς τα πρόσω ἴναι, του πράγματος δὲ οἱ, ἂν οὐτω τῆς χοι, ἀντιστατοῦντο, ἀπελαύνειν ὅτιος, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένειν. προιόντι γαρ οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὁχύρωμα κατὰ ἡστόν ἀπολύοντι κίνδυνος πολὺς ἐπὶ πλεοίστον ἔσται, ἐπεὶ οὐποτ' ἀμύνειν σφίσειν εὐπετῶν ξένοσιν, ἢν που ἐνοχλοῖντο πρὸς τῶν ἐναυτῶν. τὴν δὲ λείαν φυλάσσειν ἄπασαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως η στρατιὰ διανέμησεν. εἶτα ξὺν γέλωτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπείπεν. "Οὐ γαρ δίκαιον ὅφ' ἔτέρων μὲν τοὺς κηφήνας πόνῳ μεγάλῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος οὐδεμια ταλαιπωρία ὄνωσθαι." τοσαύτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπεμψεν.
35 Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων ὁ τε Μεδιολάνων ἱερεὺς Δάτιος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἐς Ρώμην ἁφικόμενοι Βελισαρίου ἐδέοντο φρονούς
36 ὅλγους σφίσει χυμπέμψαι. αὐτοὶ γαρ ἢκανόν ἱσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οὐ Μεδιολανοῦ μόνην, ἀλλὰ

1 ὡς φαίνεται K: om. L.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. vii. 28–36

each one before the report of his coming. For in this whole land there was virtually not a single man left, since all, as it appeared, had marched against Rome, but everywhere there were women and children of the enemy and money. He was instructed, therefore, to enslave or plunder whatever he found, taking care never to injure any of the Romans living there. And if he should happen upon any place which had men and defences, as he probably would, he was to make an attempt upon it with his whole force. And if he was able to capture it, he was to go forward, but if it should so happen that his attempt was unsuccessful, he was to march back or remain there. For if he should go forward and leave such a fortress in his rear, he would be involved in the greatest danger, since his men would never be able to defend themselves easily, if they should be harassed by their opponents. He was also to keep the whole booty intact, in order that it might be divided fairly and properly among the army. Then with a laugh he added this also: “For it is not fair that the drones should be destroyed with great labour by one force, while others, without having endured any hardship at all, enjoy the honey.” So after giving these instructions, Belisarius sent John with his army.

And at about the same time Datus, the priest of Milan, and some notable men among the citizens came to Rome and begged Belisarius to send them a few guards. For they declared that they were themselves able without any trouble to detach from
καὶ Διογορίαν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ Γότθων τε ἀπο- 
στῆσαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. αὕτη δὲ ἡ 
πόλις φύκισται μὲν ἐν Διογορία, μέση ποὺ μά-
λιστα Ῥαβένης τε πόλεως καὶ Ἀλπεων τῶν ἐν 
Γάλλων ὀρίοις κειμένη ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν 
οἴκτω ἡμερῶν ὅδος ἀνδρὶ εὐζωνῳ ἑστὶ. πρώτῃ δὲ 
πόλεως τῶν ἐσπερίων μετὰ γε Ρώμην μεγέθει τε 
kαὶ πολυναυρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαμονίᾳ ἑτύγ-
χανεν οὐσά. καὶ αὐτοὶς Βελισάριος ὑποσχόμενος 
tὴν δέσιν ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν κατεῖχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν 
tοῦ χειμῶνος ὀραν.

VIII

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὅδε πῃ εἰχε. τῆς δὲ τύχης ὁ 
φθόνος φύδαινεν ἦδη ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἐπεὶ τὰ 
πράγματα εὑ τὲ καὶ καλῶς σφίσων ἐπὶπροσθεὶ 
προίοντα ἑώρα, κακῷ τὲ κεραυνύναι τινὶ ταῦτα 
ἐθέλουσα, ἐρω ἐξ οὐδεμίας αἰτίας λόγου ἀξίας 
ἐπενεῴει Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἢ ὅπως 
tε ἕφι καὶ ἐς ὁ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρω ἔρχομαι.

2 Πρεσίδιος ἦν τις, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, φιλήμενος μὲν 
ἐπὶ Ῥαβένης, δὲν δὲ οὐκ ἀφανῆς. οὕτος ὁ Πρε-
σίδιος, ὁτι δὴ Γότθως προσκεκρουκὼς, ἤνικα 
Οὐττίγις ἐπὶ Ρώμην στρατεύειν ἔμελλε, ἐνυ 
ὁλίγοις τιε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ κυνηγείον δηθέν 
tο λόγῳ στελλόμενον φεύγει, οὔτε τῷ τὴν βου-
λὴν κοινωσάμενος οὔτε τι τῶν χρημάτων ἐχι 
αὐτῷ ἔχων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ξιφίδια δύο αὐτοῦ 
ἐφερεν, ὁν τῷ κουλεώ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ 
λίθοις ἐντύμοις κεκαλλωτεσμένω ἐτυχέτην. καὶ

1 Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανῷ MSS.

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the Goths not only Milan, but the whole of Liguria also, and to recover them for the emperor. Now this city is situated in Liguria, and lies about half way between the city of Ravenna and the Alps on the borders of Gaul; for from either one it is a journey of eight days to Milan for an unencumbered traveller; and it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and in population and in general prosperity. And Belisarius promised to fulfil their request, but detained them there during the winter season.

VIII

Such was the course of these events. But the envy of fortune was already swelling against the Romans, when she saw their affairs progressing successfully and well, and wishing to mingle some evil with this good, she inspired a quarrel, on a trifling pretext, between Belisarius and Constantinus; and how this grew and to what end it came I shall now go on to relate. There was a certain Presidius, a Roman living at Ravenna, and a man of no mean station. This Presidius had given offence to the Goths at the time when Vittigis was about to march against Rome, and so he set out with some few of his domestics ostensibly on a hunting expedition, and went into exile; he had communicated his plan to no one and took none of his property with him, except indeed that he himself carried two daggers, the scabbards of which happened to be adorned with much gold and
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επειδή ἐν Σπολιτίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐς νεόν τινα ἔξω
3 τοῦ περιβόλου κατέλυσεν. ὁ δὴ Κωνσταντῖνος ἁκούσας (ἔτυγχαν γὰρ ἐτι ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν ἔχων), τῶν τινα ὑπασπιστῶν Μαξεντίολον πέμψας ἀμφοὶ ἀφαίρεται λόγῳ οὐδεὶ τῷ ἄκινάκα.

4 περιαλγῆς δὲ γεγονὼς τοῖς ἐμπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἢς Ῥώμην ὅτι τάχιστα παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεται, οὗ δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀφίκετο. ᾠδὴ γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς
5 οὐκ ἀποθεῖν ἐναὶ ἥγγέλλετο. ἔως μὲν οἷς ἐν τῇ θορύβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ Ῥωμαῖοι καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, σιωπῇ ὁ Πρεσίδιος ἐμενεν ὃς δὲ τά τῷ Ῥωμαίων καθυπέρτερα εἰδε καὶ Γότθων πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέα σταλέντας, καθάπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν εἰρήται, Βελισαρίῳ συνχὰ προσώποι τὴν τὰ ἀδικίαν ἀπήγγελλε καὶ οἱ τὰ δίκαια
6 βοήθειν ἥξιον. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος πολλὰ μὲν αὐτός, πολλὰ δὲ δὲν ἔτερον μεμφόμενον, παρήνει ἐργον τὲ ἀδίκου καὶ δόξης αἰσχρᾶς ἀπαλλάσσειν,
7 σεσθαί. ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος χρήμ χαρὸς οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τοὺς τε λόγους αἰεὶ ἐρεσχέλων
8 διεκρούετο καὶ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἑτῶθαζε. Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ποτὲ, ὕππφρ ἐν τῇ ἁγορὰ ὁχυμένῳ, ἐντυχὸν ὁ Πρεσίδιος τοῦ τε χαλινοῦ τοῦ ὑππου ἐλάβετο καὶ μέγα ἀναβοῶν ἤρωτα εἰ ταῦτα λέγοντων οἱ βασιλέως νόμου, ἵνα ἐπειδὰν τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγῶν ἱκέτης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἱκοίτο, οἶδε ἀφέλωνται 3 βία ὅσα ἐν τούχῃ ἐν χερσῶν ἔχων.
9 πολλῶν δὲ περιεστηκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ

1 κωνστ. Maltretus here and below: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.
2 οἶδε: οἶ δὲ K, om. L.
3 ἀφέλωνται K: ἀφέληται τις L.

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precious stones. And when he came to Spolitium, he lodged in a certain temple outside the fortifications. And when Constantinus, who happened to be still tarrying there,¹ heard of this, he sent one of his guards, Maxentiolus, and took away from him both the daggers for no good reason. The man was deeply offended by what had taken place, and set out for Rome with all speed and came to Belisarius, and Constantinus also arrived there not long afterward; for the Gothic army was already reported to be not far away. Now as long as the affairs of the Romans were critical and in confusion, Presidius remained silent; but when he saw that the Romans were gaining the upper hand and that the envoys of the Goths had been sent to the emperor, as has been told by me above, he frequently approached Belisarius reporting the injustice and demanding that he assist him in obtaining his rights. And Belisarius reproached Constantinus many times himself, and many times through others, urging him to clear himself of the guilt of an unjust deed and of a dishonouring report. But Constantinus—for it must needs be that evil befall him—always lightly evaded the charge and taunted the wronged man. But on one occasion Presidius met Belisarius riding on horseback in the forum, and he laid hold of the horse’s bridle, and crying out with a loud voice asked whether the laws of the emperor said that, whenever anyone fleeing from the barbarians comes to them as a suppliant, they should rob him by violence of whatever he may chance to have in his hands. And though many men gathered about and commanded him with threats to

¹ Cf. Book V. xvi. 1 ff.
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χαλινοῦ ἡμῶν ἀπειλῆς κελεύοντων ἡμᾶς, οὐ πρότερον ἀφήκε, πρὶν δὴ αὐτῷ υπέσχετο Βελισάριος τὰ ξυφίδια δώσειν. τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ Κωνσταντίνον τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ἐς οἰκίσκον τινὰ ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῶν μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ξυμπτωτικῶν ὑπέμνησε, παρῆκε δὲ ὦν ᾧδον τοῦ χρόνου τούς ἀκινάκας ἀποδιδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὖκ ἐφη δώσειν· ἦδιον γὰρ ἄν αὐτοὺς ἔσοντο τοῦ Τιβέρίδος τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι ἢ τῷ Πρεσιδίῳ διδοῖν. θυμῷ τε ἦδι έχομενος Βελισάριος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οὖκ οἴοιτο Κωνσταντῖνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὠμολόγει ἀπαντάν τεῖσθαι· βουλομένως γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι· τότε μέντοι, ἡ ἐν τῷ παροῦ ἐπιτάττοι, ὦ μήτοτε δράσειν. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εἰσέναι τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε, Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ "Οπως μὲ δηλαδή ἀποκτενοῦσιν," ἐφη. "Οὕδαμως γε," ὁ Βελισάριος ἐπεν, "ἂν τὸν σὸν ὑπαστιστὴν Μάξεντιολον, ὅς σοι τὰ ξυφίδια βιασάμενος ἤνεγκεν, ἀναγκάσωσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποδιδόναι ἄπερ αὐτοῦ. βία λαβὼν ἔτυχεν." ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος τεθυνῄεσθαι παραντίκα οἴομενος δρᾶσαί τι μέγα, πρὶν τι αὐτὸς πάθοι, ἐβούλετο. διὸ δὴ τὸ ξυφίδιον εἰλκεν ὅπερ οἱ πρὸς τὸ μηρὸ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφινὸ τε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Βελισαρίου γαστέρα ὡσεν. οὐ δὲ καταπλαγείς ὁπλὸν τε ἀπέστη καὶ Βέσσα ἐγγὺς που ἔστηκοτι περιπλάκεις διαφυγεῖν ἰσχυ- σε. Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἐτι τῷ θυμῷ ξέων, ἐπήει, κατιδότες δὲ Ἰλδύγερ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς

1 ξυν ἀτ. κελευόντων ἡμᾶς, οὐ πρότερον ἀφήκε, πρὶν δὴ αὐτῷ υπέσχετο Βελισάριος τὰ ξυφίδια δώσειν. τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ Κωνσταντίνον τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ἐς οἰκίσκον τινὰ ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῶν μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ξυμπτωτικῶν ὑπέμνησε, παρῆκε δὲ ὦν ᾧδον τοῦ χρόνου τούς ἀκινάκας ἀποδιδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὖκ ἐφη δώσειν· ἦδιον γὰρ ἄν αὐτοὺς ἔσοντο τοῦ Τιβέρίδος τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι ἢ τῷ Πρεσιδίῳ διδοῖν. θυμῷ τε ἦδι έχομενος Βελισάριος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οὖκ οἴοιτο Κωνσταντῖνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὠμολόγει ἀπαντάν τεῖσθαι· βουλομένως γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι· τότε μέντοι, ἡ ἐν τῷ παροῦ ἐπιτάττοι, ὦ μήτοτε δράσειν. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εἰσέναι τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε, Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ "Οπως μὲ δηλαδή ἀποκτενοῦσιν," ἐφη. "Οὕδαμως γε," ὁ Βελισάριος ἐπεν, "ἄλλα ἴνα τὸν σὸν ὑπαστιστὴν Μάξεντιολον, ὅς σοι τὰ ξυφίδια βιασάμενος ἤνεγκεν, ἀναγκάσωσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποδιδόναι ἄπερ αὐτοῦ. βία λαβὼν ἔτυχεν." ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος τεθυνῄεσθαι παραντίκα οἴομενος δρᾶσαί τι μέγα, πρὶν τι αὐτός πάθοι, ἐβούλετο. διὸ δὴ τὸ ξυφίδιον εἰλκεν ὅπερ οἱ πρὸς τὸ μηρὸ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφινὸ τε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Βελισαρίου γαστέρα ὡσεν. οὐ δὲ καταπλαγείς ὁπλὸν τε ἀπέστη καὶ Βέσσα ἐγγὺς που ἔστηκοτι περιπλάκεις διαφυγεῖν ἰσχυ- σε. Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἐτι τῷ θυμῷ ξέων, ἐπήει, κατιδότες δὲ Ἰλδύγερ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς

2 ἐπήει Κ.: ἀπὸ L.
let go his hold of the bridle, he did not let go until at last Belisarius promised to give him the daggers. On the following day, therefore, Belisarius called Constantinus and many of the commanders to an apartment in the palace, and after going over what had happened on the previous day urged him even at that late time to restore the daggers. But Constantinus refused to do so; nay, he would more gladly throw them into the waters of the Tiber than give them to Presidius. And Belisarius, being by now mastered by anger, enquired whether Constantinus did not think that he was subject to his orders. And he agreed to obey him in all other things, for this was the emperor’s will; this command, however, which at the present time he was laying upon him, he would never obey. Belisarius then commanded his guards to enter, whereupon Constantinus said: “In order, plainly, to have them kill me.” “By no means,” said Belisarius, “but to have them compel your bodyguard Maxentiolus, who forcibly carried away the daggers for you, to restore to the man what he took from him by violence.” But Constantinus, thinking that he was to die that very instant, wished to do some great deed before he should suffer anything himself. He accordingly drew the dagger which hung by his thigh and suddenly thrust it at the belly of Belisarius. And he in consternation stepped back, and by throwing his arms around Bessas, who was standing near, succeeded in escaping the blow. Then Constantinus, still boiling with anger, made after him; but Ildiger and Valerian, seeing what was
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tο ποιούμενον ὁ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ χειρὸς λαμβανόμενος ὀπίσω ἀνθείλκων. 17 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσελθόντες οἱ δορυφόροι οὐς δὴ ὁλίγῳ πρότερον ἐκάλεσε Βελισάριος, Κωνσταντίνου τε τὸ ξιφίδιον ξὺν βία πολλή ἐκ χειρὸς αἱροῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀρπάσαντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἀχαρί ἐν τῷ παραυτικῇ εἰργάσαντο, παρόντας αὐτούμενοι τοὺς ἀρχοῦτας, οἷς, ἐσ ὁικήμα δὲ ἄλλο ἀπαγαγόντες, Βελισαρίου κελεύσαντος, χρόνῳ τινὶ ὑστερον ἔκτεναν. τούτῳ Βελισαρίῳ εἰργασται μόνον οὐχ ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ ἥθους τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῶς ἄξιον ἐπιεἰκεῖα γὰρ πολλῇ ἐσ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχρήτο. ἀλλὰ 1 ἔδει, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, Κωνσταντίνῳ γενέσθαι κακῶς.

IX

Γότθῳ τε οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐς Ρώμης τὸν περίβολον κακουργεῖν Ἱθελον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τινας ἐς τῶν όχετῶν ἐνα νύκτωρ καθήκαν, διὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ ύδωρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου 2 ἀφήρητο. οἱ δὲ λύχνα τε καὶ δαδας ἐν χεραν ἕχουτε ἀπεπειρώντο τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθεύενε ἐισόδου. ἔτι χει τινα διώρυκα οὐ μακράν Πιγκιανῆς πυλίδος τοῦ όχετού τοῦτον κύρτωμα 3 ἕχον, ὅθεν δὴ τῶν τις φυλάκων τὸ πύρ κατιδῶν τοῖς ἐμπυμφυλάσσουσιν ἐφρασεν οἱ δὲ λύκων αὐτοῦ 4 παρίοντα ἰδείν ἐφασαν. ² ταύτῃ γὰρ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπερέχειν τὴν τοῦ όχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ἐσώμεθανεν, πυρὶ δὲ εἰκάζεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ λύκου ὀφθαλμοὺς

1 ἀλλὰ Λ: ἀλλὰ γὰρ Κ. ² ἐφασαν Κ: ἐφρασαν Λ.
being done, laid hold of his hands, one of the right and the other of the left, and dragged him back. And at this point the guards entered whom Belisarius had summoned a moment before, snatched the dagger of Constantinus from his hand with great violence, and seized him amid a great uproar. At the moment they did him no harm, out of respect, I suppose, to the officers present, but led him away to another room at the command of Belisarius, and at a somewhat later time put him to death. This was the only unholy deed done by Belisarius, and it was in no way worthy of the character of the man; for he always shewed great gentleness in his treatment of all others. But it had to be, as I have said, that evil should befall Constantinus.

IX

And the Goths not long after this wished to strike a blow at the fortifications of Rome. And first they sent some men by night into one of the aqueducts, from which they themselves had taken out the water at the beginning of this war. And with lamps and torches in their hands they explored the entrance into the city by this way. Now it happened that not far from the small Pincian Gate an arch of this aqueduct had a sort of crevice in it, and one of the guards saw the light through this and told his companions; but they said that he had seen a wolf passing by his post. For at that point it so happened that the structure of the aqueduct did not rise high above the ground, and they thought that the guard had imagined the wolf's eyes to be fire. So

1 Book V. xix. 13.  2 The Aqua Virgo.
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5 ἡμῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὅσοι τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπειδή ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἑγένοντο, ἠνθα δὴ ἀνοδός τις ἦν ἐκ παλαίου ἐστὶν ποιῆσαι τὸ Παλάτιον φέρονσα, οἰκοδομία τινὶ ἐνταῖθα ἐνέτυχον οὕτε πρὸςῶ ἱέναι τὸ λουπὸν συγχωροῦσιν

6 οὕτε τῇ ἀναβάσει τὸ παράπαν χρήσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν Βελισάριος προμιθείᾳ τῷ κατ’ ἄρχας τῆς δη τῆς πολυρκίας πεποίησαι, ὡσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. λέθων οὖν ἕνα βραχὺν ἐνθένδε ἀφελόντες ὀπίσω τε ἀναστρέφειν εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττη-γιαν ἐπανήκοιτε τὸν τε λέθων ἐνδεικνύμενοι πάντα ἀπήγγελλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀμα τοὺς Γόθθων ἀρίστοις ἐν βουλῇ ἐίχε, Ρωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι φρουράν ἀμφι πυλίδα Πυγιανῆ ἔιχον, μνήμη τῆς τοῦ λύκου ὑποψίας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς

8 ἐπουροῦντο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. ἔπει δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς Βελισάριον ἦλθεν, οὐ παρέγραψο ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἱκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρας τε αὐτίκα τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δοκίμων ξὺν Διογένει τῷ δορυφόρῳ ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν καθῆκε καὶ διερευνήσασθαι ἀπαντά ξὺν πολλῷ τάχει ἐκε- λευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὰ λύχνα τῶν πολεμῶν καὶ τῶν δάδων ὅσα διερρήκει πανταχου τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εὕρον, καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἦ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τῶν Γόθθων ἀφήρητο κατανεοψηκότες Βελισαρίῳ ἀπήγγελλον.

9 διὸ δὴ αὐτὸς τε τῶν ὀχετῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ φυλακῇ ἔσχε καὶ οἱ Γόθθων αἰσθόμενοι ταύτης δὴ τῆς πείρας ἀπέσχοντο.

10 Ἔστειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐφοδιαὶ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμπαφλαμοῦ ὁ βάρβαρος. τηρῆ- σαντες οὖν τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κλῖμακας τε 366
those barbarians who explored the aqueduct, upon reaching the middle of the city, where there was an upward passage built in olden times leading to the palace itself, came upon some masonry there which allowed them neither to advance beyond that point nor to use the ascent at all. This masonry had been put in by Belisarius as an act of precaution at the beginning of this siege, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative.\(^1\) So they decided first to remove one small stone from the wall and then to go back immediately, and when they returned to Vittigis, they displayed the stone and reported the whole situation. And while he was considering his scheme with the best of the Goths, the Romans who were on guard at the Pincian Gate recalled among themselves on the following day the suspicion of the wolf. But when the story was passed around and came to Belisarius, the general did not treat the matter carelessly, but immediately sent some of the notable men in the army, together with the guardsman Diogenes, down into the aqueduct and bade them investigate everything with all speed. And they found all along the aqueduct the lamps of the enemy and the ashes which had dropped from their torches, and after observing the masonry where the stone had been taken out by the Goths, they reported to Belisarius. For this reason he personally kept the aqueduct under close guard; and the Goths, perceiving it, desisted from this attempt.

But later on the barbarians went so far as to plan an open attack against the fortifications. So they waited for the time of lunch, and bringing up ladders

\(^1\) Book V. xix. 18.
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καὶ πῦρ ἐπαγόμενοι, ἦκιστα τῶν πολεμίων προσ-
δεχομένων, ἐπὶ πυλῶν πυγμαῖα τῆς ἱεσαυ, ἐπὶ τίθιντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν, ἀτεν οὗ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα λειφθέντων.

13 ἐτυχε δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τηνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυλακῆς ἔχων· ἔκαστοι γὰρ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν ἐτετάχατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἴδε προσιόν-
τας οὐκ ἐν τάξιν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπῆλθε τε οὗ ἐννοεταγένοις ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν πολλῇ ἄκοσμίᾳ ἱούσι, καὶ τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν πόνῳ

14 τρεφάμενοι συχνοὺς ἐκτευνε. κραυγῆς δὲ με-
γάλης καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγενημένης Ῥωμαῖοι τὲ ὡς τάχιστα πανταχῶς τοῦ περιβόλου ξυνερρεον καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπρα-

κτοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔχω-

rhεσιν.

16 Οὐάττισι δὲ αὖθις ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ περιβόλου καθίστατο. καὶ, ἤν γὰρ τις αὐτῷ ἐπιμαχωτάτη μάλιστα μοῖρα, ἥ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡ ὤχθη ἑστίν, ἐπεὶ ταῦτῃ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες τὸν ὕδατος τὸ ὀχυρώματι τὸ τείχος ἀπημελημένως ἐδείμαντο, βραχὺ τε αὐτὸ καὶ πῦργων ἔρημον παντάπασι ποιησάμενοι, ῥὰν ἐνθάνῃ ἤπιει τὴν

πόλιν αἱρήσειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδὲ τι φυλακτήριον

17 λόγον ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα τετυχίκειν εἶναι. δύο οὖν Ῥωμαίους ἀμφί τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν ὀκημένους χρήμασιν ἀναπείθεις οἰνοῦ ἄσκον ἐχου-

τας παρὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνην φρουρὸν ἴναι περὶ λύχών ἄφας, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἴνον τρόπῳ ὁτῷ ἰὴ φιλο-

φροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους χαρίζεσθαι, ἐταὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν καθημένους πίνειν,

1 συχνοὺς Κ: om. L.
and fire, when their enemy were least expecting them, made an assault upon the small Pincian Gate, emboldened by the hope of capturing the city by a sudden attack, since not many soldiers had been left there. But it happened that Ildiger and his men were keeping guard at that time; for all were assigned by turns to guard-duty. So when he saw the enemy advancing in disorder, he went out against them before they were yet drawn up in line of battle and while they were advancing in great disarray, and routing those who were opposite him without any trouble he slew many. And a great outcry and commotion arose throughout the city, as was to be expected, and the Romans gathered as quickly as possible to all parts of the fortifications; whereupon the barbarians after a short time retired to their camp baffled.

But Vittigis resorted again to a plot against the wall. Now there was a certain part of it that was especially vulnerable, where the bank of the Tiber is, because at this place the Romans of old, confident in the protection afforded by the stream, had built the wall carelessly, making it low and altogether without towers; Vittigis therefore hoped to capture the city rather easily from that quarter. For indeed there was not even any garrison there of any consequence, as it happened. He therefore bribed with money two Romans who lived near the church of Peter the Apostle to pass along by the guards there at about nightfall carrying a skin full of wine, and in some way or other, by making a show of friendship, to give it to them, and then to sit drinking with them well on into the night; and they were to throw
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ἐκάστῳ τε ἐς τὴν κύλικα ὑπνωτικὸν ἐμβαλεῖν
18 φάρμακον ὅπερ σφίσιν αὐτὸς ἔδεδωκεν. ἀκάτων
δὲ λάθρα ἐν τῇ ἔτερῃ ὀχθῇ ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιη-
σάμενος εἴχεν, ἀλὰ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινῶς, ἐπει-
δάν τάχιστα οἱ φύλακες ὥπωρ ἐχώντο, ξύν
κλίμαξι ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβαί-
νοντας τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι.
19 τό τε στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ἠτομαζεῖν ὅλου, ὅπως
20 ἀπάσα κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἀλφή. τούτων δὲ
οὕτω δημιουμένων σφίσι, τοῖν ἀνδρῶν ἄτερος
tοῖν Ὀυίττιγιδι ἐς ταύτην δὴ παρεσκευασμένων
tὴν ὑποργίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἔδει Ὄρωμαίους τούτῳ
tῷ Γόθῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἀλώναι) αὐτεπάγγελτος
ἔλθων Βελισαρίου τῇ ἀπαντᾷ φράζει καὶ τὸν
21 ἔτερον ἐνδείκνυσιν. δὲ δὴ αἰκίζομενος ἐς φῶς τε
ἀπαντᾷ ἢνεγκεν ὡσα δρᾶν ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ φάρ-
μακον ἐπεδείκνυν ὅπερ Ὀυίττιγις αὐτῷ ἔδεδωκεν.
22 καὶ αὐτοῦ 1 Βελισάριος τὴν τε ρίνα καὶ τὰ ὠτα
λωβησάμενος ἐς τῶν πολέμιων τὸ χαράκωμα ἐνώφ
23 ὠχούμενον ἐπεμψε. καὶ κατιδόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ
βάρβαροι ἐγνώσαν ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐώῃ σφὼν τὰ
βουλεύματα ὁδὸν ἱέναι, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄν ποτε
ἡ πόλις σφίσιν ἀλώσιμος εἰη.

X

Ἐν ό δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος
γράψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἐχεσθαί
ό δὲ ξῦν τοῖς δισχίλιοις ἰππεύσι τὴν Πικηνῶν
περιομένων χώραν τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἐληφείτο πάντα,
1 αὐτοῦ K: αὐτὸν L.

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into the cup of each guard a sleep-producing drug which Vittigis had given them. And he stealthily got ready some skiffs, which he kept at the other bank; as soon as the guards should be overcome by sleep, some of the barbarians, acting in concert, were to cross the river in these, taking ladders with them, and make the assault on the wall. And he made ready the entire army with the intention of capturing the whole city by storm. After these arrangements were all complete, one of the two men who had been prepared by Vittigis for this service (for it was not fated that Rome should be captured by this army of the Goths) came of his own accord to Belisarius and revealed everything, and told who the other man was. So this man under torture brought to light all that he was about to do and displayed the drug which Vittigis had given him. And Belisarius first mutilated his nose and ears and then sent him riding on an ass into the enemy’s camp. And when the barbarians saw him, they realised that God would not allow their purposes to have free course, and that therefore the city could never be captured by them.

X

But while these things were happening, Belisarius wrote to John and commanded him to begin operations. And he with his two thousand horsemen began to go about the land of Picenum and to
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παιδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἀνδρα- 2 πόδων ποιούμενος λόγῳ. Οὐλίθεων τε, τοῦ Οὐσι- τίγιδος θείον, ξῦν Γότθων στρατῷ ὑπατιάσαντα μάχῃ νικήσας αὐτὸν τε κτείνει καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν 3 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν. διὸ δὴ οὐδές οἱ ἔτολμα ἔτι ἐς χεῖρας ἴναι. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκτο ἐς Αὐξίμου πόλιν, Γότθων μὲν ἐνταῦθα φορυρᾶν ὡς ἀξιόχρεως τινα ἐμαθεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰς δὲ ὄχυρον τε καὶ ἀνάλωσον κατενόησε τὸ χωρίον. 4 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσεδρέειν μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔνθενδε ὅτι τάχιστα πρόσω 5 ἔλαινε. ταῦτο δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Οὐρβίνων ἀμφὶ πόλιν ἔποιει, ἐς τε Ἄριμον Ῥωμαιῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων ἐσῆλαινε, ἢπερ μᾶς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν 6 Ραβέννης διέχει. οἱ μὲν οὐν βάρβαροι ὡςοι φορυρῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰχον, ὑποψία ἐς Ῥωμαιῶν τοὺς οἰκήτωρας πολλῇ χρώμενοι, ἐπειδὴ προϊέναι τὸ στράτευμα τούτῳ ἐπύθοντο, ἀπεχώρησαν τε 7 καὶ δρόμῳ ἱόντες εν Ραβέννῃ ἐγένοντο. οὐτω 8 δὲ Ἰωάννης Ἀριμίνων ἐσχή πολεμίων φορυρᾶν ὅπισθεν εν τε Αὐξίμῳ καὶ Οὐρβίνῳ ἀπολύπων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Βελσαρίου ἐντολῶν ἐς λήθην ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ θράσει ἄλογότερον ἐχόμενος, ἐπεὶ ξὺν τῷ δραστηρίῳ τὸ ξυνετὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος, ὤπερ ἐγένετο, ὡς ὅτι Γότθοι πύθωνται τὸν Ῥω- μαίων στρατὸν ἀγχιστά πτη Ραβέννης εἶναι, αὐτίκα μᾶλα τὴν εν Ῥώμῃ διαλύσουσι προσε- 8 δρείαν, ἀμφὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ δείκαντες. καὶ ἔτυχε γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Οὐλίττι- 1 ἔνθενδε Κ: om. L. 2 ἔνθεν Κ: επὶ L.
plunder everything before him, treating the women and children of the enemy as slaves. And when Ulitheus, the uncle of Vittigis, confronted him with an army of Goths, he defeated them in battle and killed Ulitheus himself and almost the whole army of the enemy. For this reason no one dared any longer to engage with him. But when he came to the city of Auximus,1 though he learned that it contained a Gothic garrison of inconsiderable size, yet in other respects he observed that the place was strong and impossible to capture. And for this reason he was quite unwilling to lay siege to it, but departing from there as quickly as he could, he moved forward. And he did this same thing at the city of Urbinus,2 but at Ariminum,3 which is one day's journey distant from Ravenna, he marched into the city at the invitation of the Romans. Now all the barbarians who were keeping guard there were very suspicious of the Roman inhabitants, and as soon as they learned that this army was approaching, they withdrew and ran until they reached Ravenna. And thus John secured Ariminum; but he had meanwhile left in his rear a garrison of the enemy both at Auximus and at Urbinus, not because he had forgotten the commands of Belisarius, nor because he was carried away by unreasoning boldness, since he had wisdom as well as energy, but because he reasoned—correctly, as it turned out—that if the Goths learned that the Roman army was close to Ravenna, they would instantly break up the siege of Rome because of their fears regarding this place. And in fact his reasoning proved to be true. For as

1 Modern Osimo.  
2 Modern Urbino.  
3 Modern Rimini.
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γίς τε καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατὸς Ἀρίμμων ἐχεσθαὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἠκουσαν, ἐς μέγα δὲς ἄμφι Ῥαβένη ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλλο τε ὑπολογισμοῦ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, εἰδοῦρον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποίησαντο, ὡς μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται. καὶ μέγα τι
κλέος ἐκ τοῦ ἐργοῦ τοῦτον Ἰωάννης ἔσχε, δια-
βόητος καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὁν. τολμητὴς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ αὐτουργὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐς τε τοὺς κινδύνους ἀοκνος, διαίταν τε σκληρὰν καὶ ταλαι-
πωρίαν τινὰ ὡς ἄει εἰχε βαρβάρους ὄσονον ἡ
στρατιωτῶν οὐδένος ἡσόν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης
tοιόσδε τις ἦν. Ματασοῦθα δὲ, ἡ τοῦ Οὐιττι-
γιδος γυνὴ, δεινῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀχθομένη, ὡτι δὴ
οἱ βία τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦς κοίτην ἠλθεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν
Ἰωάννην ἐς Ἀρίμμων ἦκεν ἐπύθετο, περιχαρῆς
τε ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε καὶ πέμψασα παρ’ αὐτὸν
λάβρα γάμου τε καὶ προδοσίας πέρι ἐς λόγους
ήλθε.

12 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πέμπτοντες ἀεὶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων
tαῦτα ἔπρασσον. Γότθων δὲ ἔπει τά τε ἄμφι
Ἀρίμμων ἐμαθὼν καὶ ἄμα ξύμπαντα σφᾶς τὰ
ἀναγκαία ἐπελελούθησε, ὦ τε τῶν τριῶν μηνῶν
χρόνος ἐξῆκεν ἡδη, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο,
καίτερ οὔπω τι τῶν πρέσβεων ἑνεκα πεπυσμένην.

13 τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔτους ἄμφι τροπὰς ἐρωτάτα ἦν, τῇ δὲ
πολιορκία ἐναντός τε ἐτέτριπτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ
ἡμέρα ἐννέα, ὅτε οἱ Γότθοι ἀπαντά σφῶν τὰ
χαρακώματα καύσαντες, ἀμα ἡμέρα ὁδὸν εἰχοῦντο.

14 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ φεύγοντας ὀρώντες τοὺς ἐναντίους
ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχον ὡ τὸ παρὸν θήσουσι. τῶν τε

1 καὶ μέγα τι: μέγα τι Κ, καὶ μέγα Λ.
soon as Vittigis and the army of the Goths heard that Ariminum was held by him, they were plunged into great fear regarding Ravenna, and abandoning all other considerations, they straightway made their withdrawal, as will be told by me directly. And John won great fame from this deed, though he was renowned even before. For he was a daring and efficient man in the highest degree, unflinching before danger, and in his daily life shewing at all times a certain austerity and ability to endure hardship unsurpassed by any barbarian or common soldier. Such a man was John. And Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, who was exceedingly hostile to her husband because he had taken her to wife by violence in the beginning, upon learning that John had come to Ariminum was absolutely overcome by joy, and sending a messenger to him opened secret negotiations with him concerning marriage and the betrayal of the city.

So these two kept sending messengers to each other without the knowledge of the rest and arranging these matters. But when the Goths learned what had happened at Ariminum, and when at the same time all their provisions had failed them, and the three months' time had already expired, they began to make their withdrawal, although they had not as yet received any information as far as the envoys were concerned. Now it was about the spring equinox, and one year had been spent in the siege and nine days in addition, when the Goths, having burned all their camps, set out at daybreak. And the Romans, seeing their opponents in flight, were at a loss how to deal with the situation. For it

1 Cf. Book V. xi. 27.
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γὰρ ἵππεων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ παρεῖναι τηνικά τα ἐνυέβαινεν, ἀλλὰν ἄλλῃ τῇ ἐσταλμένῳ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν εἰρηταί, αὐτοὶ τε ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πολεμίων οὐκ ὄντο εἶναι. ἀπαντας μέντοι πεζοὺς τε καὶ Ἰππεάς Βελισάριος ὁτισα. καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ ἡμιν διαβάντας τὴν γέφυραν είδεν, ἔξηγε διὰ Πυγκιανῆς πύλης τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ τε μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονεν τῶν προτέρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἤσσουν. καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν καρτέρως τῶν βαρβάρων τους πολεμίους υφισταμένων, πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξυμβολῇ ἔπεσον. ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ Γότθοι τραπόμενοι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυές σφίσων αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος ἐποίουν αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐκαστος τὴν γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἤπειγετο πρῶτος. ἀφ’ οὐ δὴ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπασχον πρὸς τε γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ἔξειπττον ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὀπλοῖς καταδύομενοι ἐθνησκον. οὔτω δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες ὦ λοιποὶ τοῖς πρότερον διαβάσας ἐνυέμεξαν. Δογγίνος δὲ Ἰσαυρος καὶ Μουνδίλας, οἱ Βελισαρίου δορυφόροι, διαφερόντως εν ταύτη τῇ μάχῃ ἤριστευσαν. ἀλλὰ Μουνδίλας μὲν τέτρας βαρβαρος καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐς χείρας ἐλθὼν ἐκτεινε δὲ ἀπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐσώθη. Δογγίνος δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆς αἰτιώτατος γεγονός αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.

1 δὲ Λ: γε Κ.
so happened that the majority of the horsemen were not present at that time, since they had been sent to various places, as has been stated by me above,¹ and they did not think that by themselves they were a match for so great a multitude of the enemy. However, Belisarius armed all the infantry and cavalry. And when he saw that more than half of the enemy had crossed the bridge, he led the army out through the small Pincian Gate, and the hand-to-hand battle which ensued proved to be equal to any that had preceded it. At the beginning the barbarians withstood their enemy vigorously, and many on both sides fell in the first encounter; but afterwards the Goths turned to flight and brought upon themselves a great and overwhelming calamity; for each man for himself was rushing to cross the bridge first. As a result of this they became very much crowded and suffered most cruelly, for they were being killed both by each other and by the enemy. Many, too, fell off the bridge on either side into the Tiber, sank with all their arms, and perished. Finally, after losing in this way the most of their number, the remainder joined those who had crossed before. And Longinus the Isaurian and Mundilas, the guards of Belisarius, made themselves conspicuous for their valour in this battle. But while Mundilas, after engaging with four barbarians in turn and killing them all, was himself saved, Longinus, having proved himself the chief cause of the rout of the enemy, fell where he fought, leaving the Roman army great regret for his loss.

¹ Chap. vii. 25.
XI

Οὐίττεγις μὲν οὖν στρατῷ τῷ καταλοίπῳ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἰὼν τῶν χωρίων τὰ ὀχυρώματα πλήθει φρουρῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐν Κλουσίῳ μὲν τῇ Τούσκων πόλει χιλίους τε ἄνδρας καὶ ἄρχοντα Γιβίμερα ἀπολυτῶν, ἐν τῇ Οὐρβιβεντῷ τοσούτους, οἳ δὴ ἄρχοντα Ἀλβίλαν ἄνδρα Γόθθου ἑπέστησε. καὶ Οὐλγίσαλον ἐν τῇ Τούδερᾳ ήν τετρακοσίοις 2 κατέληπεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ Πικηνών τῇ χώρᾳ τετρακοσίοις μὲν ἐς Πέτραν τὸ φρούριον είασεν, οἳ καὶ πρότερον ταύτη ἀκημνυτο, ἐν Αὐξίμῳ δὲ, ἡ πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐκείνη πόλεων ἔστι, Γόθθους τε ἁριστόνδην ξυνειληγμένος τετρακοσιχιλίους κατέληπε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἀγαν δραστήριον Οὐίσανδον ἄνομα, ἐν τῇ Μώρα δισχιλίους ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ τῇ 3 πόλει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια δύο, Καισῆνα τε καὶ Μοντεφέρετρα, δώ δὴ ἐν ἐκατέρφῳ φρουρίῳ ὁχὴ ἠσσον ἡ κατὰ πεντακοσίων ἄνδρων κατεστήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ εὔθω 'Αριμίνῳ ὡς πολιορκήσωσιν ἔχωρει.

4 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γόθθοι τῆς πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, Ἰλδίγερά τε καὶ Μαρτύνου ἔνν ιππεύσι χιλίοις πέμψας, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ ἔτερας ὅδον θάττων ἱόντες φθάσωσι τους πολέμους ἐς 'Αρίμινον ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ σφίσιν ἐπέστηλεν Ἰωάννην μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἔνν αὐτῷ ἀπαντᾷς ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστήσαι ὡς τάχιστα, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ικανοὺς μάλιστα ἐς τῆς πόλεως τῆς φυλακῆς καταστήσασθαι, ἐκ φρουρίου ἀφελομένους δὴ δὴ 1 δὴ Κ.: δὲ Λ.

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XI

Now Vittigis with the remainder of his army marched toward Ravenna; and he strengthened the fortified places with a great number of guards, leaving in Clusium,\(^1\) the city of Tuscany, one thousand men and Gibimer as commander, and in Urvi-ventus\(^2\) an equal number, over whom he set Albilas, a Goth, as commander. And he left Uligisalus in Tudera\(^3\) with four hundred men. And in the land of Picenum he left in the fortress of Petra four hundred men who had lived there previously, and in Auximus, which is the largest of all the cities of that country, he left four thousand Goths selected for their valour and a very energetic commander, Visandus by name, and two thousand men with Moras in the city of Urbinus. There are also two other fortresses, Caesena and Monteferetra,\(^4\) in each of which he established a garrison of not less than five hundred men. Then he himself with the rest of the army moved straight for Ariminum with the purpose of laying siege to it.

But it happened that Belisarius, as soon as the Goths had broken up the siege of Rome, had sent Ildiger and Martinus with a thousand horsemen, in order that by travelling more quickly by another road they might arrive at Ariminum first, and he directed them promptly to remove John from the city and all those with him, and to put in their place fully enough men to guard the city, taking them

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\(^1\) Modern Chiusi.  
\(^2\) Urbs Vetus, modern Orvieto.  
\(^3\) Tudor or Tudertum, modern Todi.  
\(^4\) Modern Montefeltro.
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πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰούνιῳ ἐστίν, Ἀγκῶν ὄνομα, 5 δυοῦν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Ἀρμίνου διέχον. ἡδη γὰρ 
αὐτὸ οὖ πολλῷ πρότερον κατειλήφει, Κόνωνα 
ἐὰν τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ Ὑπακόων στρατεύματι οὐκ 
6 ὀλίγῳ πέμψας. ἦλπιζε γὰρ, ἢν πεζοὶ τε καὶ 
μόνοι ἄρχοντων οὐκ ἀξιόλογον σφίσα παρόντων 1 
Ἀρμίνου ἔχωσιν, οὕποτε αὐτῆς ἐσ πολιορκίαν 
Γόθων τὴν δύναμιν καταστήσεται, ἀλλ' ὑπερ-
ιόντας ἐπὶ ὘ασένης αὐτίκα ἴναι, ἢν τε Ἀρμῖ-
μνον πολιορκεῖν ἔθελήσωσι, τοῖς τε πεζοῖς τα 
7 ἐπιτήδεια ἐς πλεῖον τινὰ χρόνον ἄρκεσειν καὶ ὡς 
ἵππεις δισχίλιοι ἔξωθεν ἔξιν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ 
ἰόντες πολλὰ τε κακά, ὡς τοῦ ἐκός, τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἐργάσονται καὶ ρᾶον ἐς τῆς προσεδρεῖας 
8 αὐτοῦς τὴν διάλυσιν ἐξυνελάσουσι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν 
γρώμῃ Βελισάριος τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνῷ τε καὶ 
Πελάγερα ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν. ὦ δὲ διὰ Φλα-
μίνας ὅδον πορευόμενοι λίαν τε τοὺς βαρβάρους 
9 προτερήσαντες ἤσεαν. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν πολλῷ ὁμίλῳ 
οἱ Γόθθοι σχολαίτεροι ἐπερεύναντο, καὶ περιόδου 
ἡμαγκάζοντο μακρᾶς τις χρήσθαι τῶν τε ἀναγ-
καῖων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Φλαμίνα ὁμί 
χυρομάτων ἤκιστα ἑθέλουσε ἀγχιστᾶ τὴ ἴναι, 2 
ἐπεὶ αὐτὰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁστὲρ μοι ἐμπροσθὲν 
δεδήλωται, Ναρύναν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Περυ-
σίαν εἰχον.

8 Πομαίων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Πέτρᾳ 
ἐνέτυχον, ὁδὸν ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, ἀπεπερά-
σαντο τοῦ ταύτη φρουρίου. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ὁχύρωμα 
οὐκ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐτεκτήναντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἦ

1 καὶ μόνοι . . . παρόντων Λ.: καὶ μόνοι καὶ ἄρχοντες οὐκ 
ἀξιόλογοι σφ. παρόντων Κ. 2 ἴναι Λ.: εἶναι Κ.

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from the fortress which is on the Ionian Gulf, Ancon by name, two days' journey distant from Ariminum. For he had already taken possession of it not long before, having sent Conon with no small force of Isaurians and Thracians. It was his hope that if unsupported infantry under commanders of no great note should hold Ariminum, the Gothic forces would never undertake its siege, but would regard it with contempt and so go at once to Ravenna, and that if they should decide to besiege Ariminum, the provisions there would suffice for the infantry for a somewhat longer time; and he thought also that two thousand horsemen,¹ attacking from outside with the rest of the army, would in all probability do the enemy great harm and drive them more easily to abandon the siege. It was with this purpose that Belisarius gave such orders to Martinus and Ildiger and their men. And they, by travelling over the Flaminian Way, arrived long before the barbarians. For since the Goths were moving in a great throng, they proceeded in a more leisurely manner, and they were compelled to make certain long detours, both because of the lack of provisions, and because they preferred not to pass close to the fortresses on the Flaminian Way, Narnia and Spolitium and Perusia, since these were in the hands of the enemy, as has been stated above.²

When the Roman army arrived at Petra, they made an attack upon the fortress there, regarding it as an incident of their expedition. Now this fortress was not devised by man, but it was made by the nature of

¹ i.e. the force which John had when he had set out on his raid of Picenum (cf. Chap. x. 1) and with which he was now holding Ariminum.
² Book V. xxix. 3.
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φύσις ἔξευρεν ὄδος γάρ ἐστὶν ἐς ἂγαν κρημνώδης. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὅδου ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ποταμός τις οὐδενὶ ἐσβατός ἐξύπητε τοῦ ροῦ κάτεισιν, ἐν ἀριστερὰ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεὶ πέτρα ἀνέχει ἀπότομος τε καὶ υψός εἰς τόσον διήκουσα, ὡστε τοὺς κάτω οὐσι φαινόμενοι ἀνθρώποι, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἀν οὖν τῖς τύχοι, ἔστηκασιν οὖν τοῖς μικροτάτοις μεγέθους πέρι εἰκάζονται. προϊόντι τε διέξοδος οὐδεμιᾶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν. λήγουσα γάρ ἡ πέτρα ἐς αὐτὸν που μάλιστα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ροῦ διήκει, διάβασιν τοῖς ταύτῃ ἰδιόσων οὐδεμίαν παρεχομένην. διώρυχα τοῖς υἱόν ἐνταῦθα οἱ πάλαι ἀνθρώπους ἐργασάμενοι, πυλίδα τῷ χωρίῳ ταύτῃ πεποίηται. φράξαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας εἰσόδου τὸ πλέστον, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον πυλίδα κἀνταῦθα λειέθαι, φρούριον τε αὐτοφυές ἀπειράσαντο καὶ Πέτραν αὐτὸ λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότῳ ἐκάλεσαν. οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ Μαρτινὸν τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τῶν πυλίδων τὴν ἐτέραν μαχόμενοι τε καὶ πολλὰ βάλλοντες οὐδὲν Ἰωτόν, καίτερ ἤκιστα σφάς ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους κατόπισθεν τὴν ἀνδον βιασάμενοι κατὰ κοφύφην

λύθος ἐξαλὼν ἐνθένδε τοὺς Γόθθους. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας δρόμῳ τε καὶ θρούθως πολλῷ ἐσεληθόντες ἑσύχαζον. καὶ τὸτε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἔπει τῶν πολεμιῶν υἱόν ἐσπυχόντως ἐπιτυγχάνειν οἴοι τε ἰσαν ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, ἐπενόουν τάδε. τμήμα περιγάλα ἐκ τοῦ σκοπεῖν ποιούμενοι πολλοὶ θ᾽ ἀμα ἠθούντες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας σταθμώμενοι ἔρρηστον. τα δὲ ὅπῃ ἀν τῆς οἰκοδομίας καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προσπίπτοντα ψαύοι, κατέσειε τε
the place; for the road passes through an extremely mountainous country at that place. On the right of this road a river descends which no man can ford because of the swiftness of the current, and on the left not far away rises a sheer rock which reaches to such a height that men who might chance to be standing on its summit, as seen by those below, resemble in size the smallest birds. And in olden times there was no passage through as one went forward. For the end of the rock reaches to the very stream of the river, affording no room for those who travel that way to pass by. So the men of ancient times constructed a tunnel at that point, and made there a gate for the place. And they also closed up the greatest part of the other entrance, leaving only enough space for a small gate there also, and thus rendered the place a natural fortress, which they call by the fitting name of Petra. So the men of Martinus and Ildiger first made an attack upon one of the two gates, and shot many missiles, but they accomplished nothing, although the barbarians there made no defence at all; but afterwards they forced their way up the cliff behind the fortress and hurled stones from there upon the heads of the Goths. And they, hurriedly and in great confusion, entered their houses and remained quiet. And then the Romans, unable to hit any of the enemy with the stones they threw, devised the following plan. They broke off large pieces from the cliff and, many of them pushing together, hurled them down, aiming at the houses. And wherever these in their fall did no more than just graze the building,

1 The tunnel was made by the Emperor Vespasian, 76 A.D. This gate was at the southern end.
2 i.e. northern.  3 The upper, or southern, gate.
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ικανῶς ἀπαντα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μέγα
ti δέος καθίστη. διὸ δὴ χεῖρας τε οἱ Γότθοι τοῖς
ti ἁμφὶ τὴν πυλίδα οὕσιν οὐργον καὶ ξύν τῷ
φυρρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ὁμολογία παρέδοσαν, ἐφ’
ὡς κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως τε δοῦλοι
καὶ Βελισαρίου κατήκουσι οὖντες. καὶ αὐτῶν
Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Μαρτίνος τοὺς μὲν πλείστους
ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἱσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ξῦν αὐτοῖς
ηγου, ὡς γόους δέ τινας ξῦν τοῖς παισὶ τε καὶ
γυναιξὶν αὐτοῦ εἰσαγαν. ἐλίποντο δέ τινα καὶ
Ῥωμαίων φυρράν. ἐνθένδε τε ἦς Ἀγκώνα ἐλ-
θόντες καὶ πὸλλοὺς ἀπαγαγόμενοι τῶν ἐκείνη
πεζῶν ἦς Ἀρίμμον τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο, τὴν τε
Βελισαρίου γνώμην ἀπήγγελλον. Ἰωάννης δὲ
οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεσθαί ἢθελε καὶ Δαμανῶν ξῦν τοῖς
tετρακοσίοις κατείχεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ
ἀπολύσοντες κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ξῦν τοῖς Βελι-
σαρίου δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς ἀνεχώ-
ρησαν.

XII

Καὶ Οὐστινιας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν παντὶ τῷ στρα-
tῷ ἦς Ἀρίμμον ἤθελεν, οὐ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμε-
νοι ἐπολιορκοῦν. αὐτίκα τε πῦργον ξύλινον τοῦ
τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καθυπέρτερον τεκτηνάμε-
νοι τροχοῖς τέσσαριν ἀνεχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ηγοῦ, ἡ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχοταιν αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν
2 εἶναι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ πάθωσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖς πρὸ
tοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ξυνηγέχθη παθεῖν, οὐ
διὰ τῶν βοῶν τῶν πῦργον ηγοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐνδον

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they yet gave the whole fortress a considerable shock and reduced the barbarians to great fear. Consequently the Goths stretched out their hands to those who were still about the gate and surrendered themselves and the fort, with the condition that they themselves should remain free from harm, being slaves of the emperor and subject to Belisarius. And Ildiger and Martinus removed the most of them and led them away, putting them on a basis of complete equality with themselves, but some few they left there, together with their wives and children. And they also left something of a garrison of Romans. Thence they proceeded to Ancon, and taking with them many of the infantry in that place on the third day reached Ariminum, and announced the will of Belisarius. But John was not only unwilling himself to follow them, but also proposed to retain Damianus with the four hundred. So they left there the infantry and retired thence with all speed, taking the spearmen and guards of Belisarius.

XII

And not long afterward Vittigis and his whole army arrived at Ariminum, where they established their camp and began the siege. And they immediately constructed a wooden tower higher than the circuit-wall of the city and resting on four wheels, and drew it toward that part of the wall which seemed to them most vulnerable. But in order that they might not have the same experience here which they had before the fortifications of Rome, they did not use oxen to draw the tower, but hid themselves within it and thus

1 Cf. Chap. vii. 28.
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3 κρυπτόμενοι ἐφειλκοῦν. κλίμαξ δὲ Ἰν τις τοῦ πύργου ἑντὸς εὐρεία ἐς ἀγάν, δι' ὡς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἀναβῆσθαι εὑπετῶς ἐμελλον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντε ὡσ, ἐπειδὸν τάχιστα τὸν πύργον τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσιν, ἐνθένδε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπιβήσονται διὸ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ τεῖχος ἐπάλξεις· οὐτω γὰρ οὐτοὶ ἤ τοῦ πύργου ὑπερβολὴ.

4 εἰργαστο. ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀγχιστά πη ἡ δὲ μηχανὴ ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν ἡσυχὴ ἐμενον, ἔπει καὶ ἐννεσκόταξεν ἡδῆ, φύλακας δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν πύργον καταστησάμενοι ἡμίσαντο ἀπαύντες, ἐναντίωμα οὐδὲ ὑπετῶν ἐσεθαὶ σφίσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ ἀλλῳ ἐμπόδουν, οὐδὲ τάφρος ἐν μέσῳ ὑπὲρ βραχεία παντὰ πασῶν ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα.

Οὶ τὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ ξὺν δεῖ πολλῷ ὡς ἡμέρα τῇ ἱσίουση ἀπολούμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ποὺς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον οὐτε τῷ δεῖ εὐνυπαραξίες ἔπενοι πάλι. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις ἀπολειπόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύρων δικέλλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα τοιαύτα ὄχυανα φέρουσιν, ἀνρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν, οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων προερημένον, ἕξο τῷ περιβόλου γενός μεν ἐκέλευσε σιωπὴ τῆς τάφρον ὁρύσσειν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ τὸν ἀρχὸν ὑπερ ἐνθένδε ἀνηροῦντο ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς τάφρον ἐς τὰ πρὸς τῷ τεῖχει ἐς αἰὲ ἐτίθεσαι, δι' ὅσ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοῖχου ἐγένετο. λαθόντες τε ἐπὶ πλείστον τοὺς πολεμίους καθεύδουντας βαθείαν

HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. xii. 2–8

hailed it forward. And there was a stairway of great breadth inside the tower on which the barbarians in great numbers were to make the ascent easily, for they hoped that as soon as they should place the tower against the fortifications, they would have no trouble in stepping thence to the parapet of the wall; for they had made the tower high with this in view. So when they had come close to the fortifications with this engine of war, they remained quiet for the time, since it was already growing dark, and stationing guards about the tower they all went off to pass the night, supposing that they would meet with no obstacle whatever. And indeed there was nothing in their way, not even a trench between them and the wall, except an exceedingly small one.

As for the Romans, they passed the night in great fear, supposing that on the morrow they would perish. But John, neither yielding to despair in face of the danger nor being greatly agitated by fear, devised the following plan. Leaving the others on guard at their posts, he himself took the Isaurians, who carried pickaxes and various other tools of this kind, and went outside the fortifications; it was late in the night and no word had been given beforehand to anyone in the city; and once outside the wall, he commanded his men in silence to dig the trench deeper. So they did as directed, and as they dug they kept putting the earth which they took out of the trench upon the side of it nearer the city-wall, and there it served them as an earthwork. And since they were unobserved for a long time by the enemy, who were sleeping,
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te kai eýrouς ἵκανως ἔχουσαν τήν1 τάφρον δὲ ὀλίγου πεποίηται, οὔ δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατος τε ὁ περίβολος ἦν καὶ προσβάλλειν εἶν τῇ μηχανῇ οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐμελλοῦν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πόρρω ποὺ τῶν νυκτῶν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρυσσοντας ἐβοήθουσι δρόμῳ, καὶ Ἰωάννης ἔξω τοὺς Ἰσαῦροις, ἔπει οἱ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ τάφρῳ ὡς ἀριστα εἶχεν, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο.
10 Οὐστηγίς δὲ ἀμα ἡμέρα τὰ τε πεπραγμένα κατανοήσας καὶ περιαλγήσας2 τοῖς ἔμσπευσόμενοι διεκρήσατο μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τινῶν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦσον ἐπάγειν τὴν μηχανὴν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐκεῖνευ φακέλλων πλήθος τοὺς Γότθους ἐν τῷ τάφρῳ κατὰ τάχος ῥίπτειν, οὕτω τε τῶν πύργον ἐνταῦθα ἐφέλκοντας ἁγείῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτα, ὡσπερ Οὐστήγυς ἐπέτελλεν,3 ἔπρασσον προθύμω τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένοι. οἱ δὲ φάκελλοι, ἐμπεσόντος σφίζου τοῦ πύργου, βαρυμενοι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὑπεχώρουν κάτω. διὸ δὲ οἱ βαρβαροὶ πρὸς ὅντα ἔναι ἕξω τῇ μηχανῇ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἀνατές σφίζει πολλῷ ἑτὶ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο, οὐ δὲ ἕξωνήσατες τῶν χοῦν ἐτυχον, ὡσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη.
12 Ῥωμαῖοι. δείσατες οὖν ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιγινομένης ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν μηχανὴν καύσουσιν, ὅπερ Ἰωάννης κωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων τοὺς τε στρατίωτας ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἔνγκαλες ἀπαντας τούδε παρεκελεύσατο.
13 Ῥωμαῖοι. δείσατες οὖν ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιγινομένης ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν μηχανὴν καύσουσιν, ὅπερ Ἰωάννης κωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων τοὺς τε στρατίωτας ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἔνγκαλες ἀπαντας τούδε παρεκελεύσατο.

1 τῆν K: om. L.
2 περιαλγήσας K: ὑπεραλγήσας L.
3 ἐπέτελεν K, ἐστελλεν L.

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they soon made the trench both deep and sufficiently wide, at the place where the fortifications were especially vulnerable and where the barbarians were going to make the assault with their engine of war. But far on in the night the enemy, perceiving what was being done, charged at full speed against those who were digging, and John went inside the fortifications with the Isaurians, since the trench was now in a most satisfactory condition.

But at daybreak Vittigis noted what had been accomplished and in his exceeding vexation at the occurrence executed some of the guards; however, he was as eager as before to bring his engine to bear, and so commanded the Goths to throw a great number of faggots as quickly as possible into the trench, and then by drawing the tower over them to bring it into position. This they proceeded to do as Vittigis commanded, with all zeal, although their opponents kept fighting them back from the wall with the utmost vigour. But when the weight of the tower came upon the faggots they naturally yielded and sank down. For this reason the barbarians were quite unable to go forward with the engine, because the ground became still more steep before them, where the Romans had heaped up the earth as I have stated. Fearing, therefore, that when night came on the enemy would sally forth and set fire to the engine, they began to draw it back again. This was precisely what John was eager to prevent with all his power, and so he armed his soldiers, called them all together, and exhorted them as follows:

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15 "Andres, ous toûde toû kaiónou xyn hêmê
mêstêsin, eì tò uûmôn pròs hêdonês esti bîônai
tê kai tôus ôkôi apoleleimêinous údein, mh êp'
âllâ tò kexistêmênos tîn toûton épîdêa h ên
tais xerôi taîs autóû grôtoû. hêika mên gâr
Bêlisaîrois hêmê toû 1 eì arxhês éstelle, pollâw
hêmês èlptis te kai èrros es tûn toû érygon pro-
thûmân ènêgon. ouûte gâr ên yê tê parrâlia
poliorkeîôsesthâi upôspetómev, ouûto dê thâ-
lasosokratôuntôn 'Romaîon, ouûte toûtôn hêmôn
pariôsesthâi tôn basilêwv stratón upetôpsev
an tis. xorîs de toûton tôte mêm hêmês es evulômian
ôrma epîdeîxis te tês es tûn politeiân euñoias kai
tô ek tôw âgônôn esômênon klêos es pàntas ân-
thrônous. vûn de ouûte perieînai hêmês, ôti mh dìa
tês euýkhyias, olôn te èstiv, èpângykês te ouû
âllou tûn h tôu biôsesthâi hêmês autôn ènêka
20 toûton upostêtîai tô kîndunon. òoste eì mêm
tisin uûmôn ârêtês ti metapoiêithai euûmbaînei,
pârestiv autôis ândragadîzomênos, eìpeter tisai
kai âllôi, euûðoîs genésthai. kthôntai gâr
eûkleiain ouûc oî tôn toûdakastêrów krateîasantes,
âllôi ouû dûn tê paraskevêni elasosômênoi tô tîs
22 euûkhyas megêthei níkône. ouûc de tô filôuôgu
êmpêfuke mâllon, toûtôi dê màlistà tô euûlô-
mois eînai euûnoûseis, 2 èpetê àpantês ek tôu èppi
pleîstôn, ouûc tà prâgmata èpî xûrou âkmyês,
ôsptê hêm tânûn, èstatai, mônoq dûn tô tôw
kîndunôn upérphronêv diassôgîstô.

23 Tosaûta mêm Iwânûnas eîpôi ènêgon èpî tûs
poleîmous tô strâteuma, âlignous tûnès es tafs

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"My men, who share this danger common to us all, if it would please any man among you to live and see those whom he has left at home, let him realize that the only hope he has of obtaining these things lies in nothing but his own hands. For when Belisarius sent us forth in the beginning, hope and desire for many things made us eager for the task. For we never suspected that we should be besieged in the country along the coast, since the Romans command the sea so completely, nor would one have supposed that the emperor's army would so far neglect us. But apart from these considerations, at that time we were prompted to boldness by an opportunity to display our loyalty to the state and by the glory which we should acquire in the sight of all men as the result of our struggles. But as things now stand, we cannot possibly survive save by courage, and we are obliged to undergo this danger with no other end in view than the saving of our own lives. Therefore, if any of you perchance lay claim to valour, all such have the opportunity to prove themselves brave men, if any men in the world have, and thereby to cover themselves with glory. For they achieve a fair name, not who overpower those weaker than themselves, but who, though inferior in equipment, still win the victory by the greatness of their souls. And as for those in whom the love of life has been more deeply implanted, it will be of advantage to these especially to be bold, for it is true of all men, as a general thing, that when their fortunes stand on the razor's edge, as is now the case with us, they may be saved only by scorning the danger."

With these words John led his army out against the enemy, leaving some few men to guard the
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24 ἔπαλξεις ἀπολυτῶν. ἀνδρείως δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑφισταμένων τῶν πολεμίων γέγονεν καρτέρα ἐσ ἁγαν ἡ μάχη. καὶ τὸν μὲν πῦργον μόλις τε καὶ ὤψε τῆς ἠμέρας ἐσ τὸ σφέτερον οἱ βάρβαροι στρατόπεδον.

25 ἐνεγκεῖν ἵσχυσαν. τοσοῦτοι μὲν τοῦ πλῆθος ἀπέβαλον τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, ὡστε οὐκέτι τειχομαχείν τὸ λουπὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπογνόντες ἥσυχη ἔμενον, λιμῷ πιεζόμενους προσχωρήσειν αὐτοῖς πολεμίους καραδοκοῦντες. λίναν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπάντα ἣδη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελούπτει, ἐπεὶ οὐχ εὔρον ὅθεν αὐτὰ διαρκῶς ἐσκομίσονται.

26 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇ δε. Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἦκουσι χιλίους ἐπεμψεν

27 Ἰσαύροις τε καὶ Ὡράκασ. ἢγεῖτο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων Ἑυνησ. τῶν δὲ Ὡρακὼν Παύλος, Μουνδίλας τε ἄπασιν ἑφειστήκει καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρχεται ὅλογος τινὰς τῶν Βελισαρίων ὑπασπιστῶν ἔχων. ἦννὴν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ Φιδέλιος, ὡς ἐγεγόνει τῆς αὐλῆς

28 ἐπαρχοι. ἐκ Μεδιολάνου γὰρ ὀρμώμενος ἐπιτήδειος τούτω ἔδοξε τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεσθαί ατε δύνα.

29 μὲν τίνα ἐν Διογόρωις ἔχων. πλεύσαντες οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρωαιδίων λιμένος Γενούα προσέσχον, ὃ Ἰουσίας μὲν ἐστιν ἐσχάτη, παράπλου δὲ καλῶς

30 Γάλλων1 τε καὶ Ἰσπανών κεῖται. ἕνθα δὴ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπολιποῦντες καὶ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξις ἐνθέμενοι, ὅτις ἄν Πάδον τῶν ποταμὸν διαβάινοι

31 μηδὲν σφίσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶη. οὖτω γοῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πάδον διαβάντες ἐσ τικην2. πόλιν ἄφικοντο, Γότθοι

1 παραπλοῦ... Γάλλων K: περίπου δὲ τὰς ἀρχαὶ τῆς γάλαν L. 2 Τικην Μαλτρετος: πικην L, πιγκην L.
battlement. But the enemy withstood them bravely, and the battle became exceedingly fierce. And with great difficulty and late in the day the barbarians succeeded in bringing the tower back to their own camp. However, they lost so great a number of their fighting men that they decided thenceforth to make no further attacks upon the wall, but in despair of succeeding that way, they remained quiet, expecting that their enemy would yield to them under stress of famine. For all their provisions had already failed them completely, since they had not found any place from which they could bring in a sufficient supply.

Such was the course of events here. But as for Belisarius, he sent to the representatives of Milan a thousand men, Isaurians and Thracians. The Isaurians were commanded by Ennes, the Thracians by Paulus, while Mundilas was set over them all and commanded in person, having as his guard some few of the guardsmen of Belisarius. And with them was also Fidelius, who had been made praetorian prefect. For since he was a native of Milan, he was regarded as a suitable person to go with this army, having as he did some influence in Liguria. They set sail, accordingly, from the harbour of Rome and put in at Genoa, which is the last city in Tuscany and well situated as a port of call for the voyage to Gaul and to Spain. There they left their ships and travelling by land moved forward, placing the boats of the ships on their waggons, in order that nothing might prevent their crossing the river Po. It was by this means, in any event, that they made the crossing of the river. And when they reached the city of Ticinum, after crossing the Po, the Goths came out against them and

1 Cf. Chap. vii. 35.  
2 Modern Pavia.
32 αὐτοὶς ἀπαντήσαντες ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμώτατα βάρβαροι ἀπαντῶν οὐ ταύτῃ ἤκημοτο ἐν Τικηνῷ καταθέμενοι ἀτε ἐν χωρίῳ ὁχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχοντι, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα λόγου αξίαν ἐλιπόντο. μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκων Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τρεψάμενοι διέφθειράν τε συχνοὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ διόξῃ ἐλείν παρ' ὅλιγον ἦλθον. μόλις γὰρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς πύλας οἱ βάρβαροι ἵσχυσαν, ἐγκεκριμένων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁπίσω ἀπελαυνόντων Φιδέλιος εὐξόμενος ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκείνη νεῶν ύστατος ἐμείενε. τύχη δὲ τινὶ ὁκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ὑπ' όπου ἐπεσε. καὶ αὐτῶν κατιδόντες Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἐπετίκει, ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκτεινάν τε καὶ ἐλαθον τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ δὴ ύστερον Μουνδίλας τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοι αἰσθόμενοι ἢσχάλλον.

36 Ἔνθεν τε ἐς Μεδιόλανον πόλιν ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμαχητί ξίνων Διογορίδα τῇ ἄλλῃ ἔσχον. 

37 ἀπειρ ὑπ' όπου Ὀὐσίνης ἐμαθε, στράτευμα τε πολὺ κατὰ τάχος καὶ Οὐράιαν ἄρχοντα, τὸν αὐτόν ἀδελφίδοις, ἐπέμυς. καὶ Θευδήβερτος δὲ οἱ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, ἀνδρας μυρίους δεηθέντι ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀπέστειλεν, οὐ Φράγγων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ Βουργουζίωνων, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τὰ βασιλεῖς ἀδικεῖν πράγματα. οἱ γὰρ Βουργουζίωνες ἐθελοῦσιν τε καὶ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ, οὐ Θευδήβερτῳ κελεύοντες ἐπακούοντες δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστελλοῦτο. οὐς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς τε Μεδιόλανον Ῥωμαίων ἥκιστα προσδεχομένων

1 Τικηνῷ Maltretus: πικηνῳ K, πιγκηνῳ L.
engaged them in battle. And they were not only numerous but also excellent troops, since all the barbarians who lived in that region had deposited the most valuable of their possessions in Ticinum, as being a place which had strong defences, and had left there a considerable garrison. So a fierce battle took place, but the Romans were victorious, and routing their opponents, they slew a great number and came within a little of capturing the city in the pursuit. For it was only with difficulty that the barbarians succeeded in shutting the gates, so closely did their enemy press upon their heels. And as the Romans were marching away, Fidelius went into a temple there to pray, and was the last to leave. But by some chance his horse stumbled and he fell. And since he had fallen very near the fortifications, the Goths seeing him came out and killed him without being observed by the enemy. Wherefore, when this was afterwards discovered by Mundilas and the Romans, they were greatly distressed.

Then, leaving Ticinum, they arrived at the city of Milan and secured this city with the rest of Liguria without a battle. When Vittigis learned about this, he sent a large army with all speed and Uraias, his own nephew, as commander. And Theudibert, the leader of the Franks, sent him at his request ten thousand men as allies, not of the Franks themselves, but Burgundians, in order not to appear to be doing injury to the emperor's cause. For it was given out that the Burgundians made the expedition willingly and of their own choice, not as obeying the command of Theudibert. And the Goths, joined by these troops, came to Milan, made camp and began a siege

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άφικοντο καὶ ἕνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολύρκουν. ταύτῃ γοῦν οὐδὲ τι ἐσκομίσασθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων Ἱώμαιοι ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ εἰδὸς ἤχοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ. οὔ μὴν οὖν τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ στρατιώται εἰχον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μοντίλιας πόλεις τε καταλαβὼν ἐτυχεν ὅσαι Μειδολάνου ἄγχιστα οὔσαι ἐχυρώματα εἰχον, Βέργυμον τε καὶ Κώμον καὶ Νοβίας καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα πολίσματα, καὶ φρουράς πανταχόθι λόγον ἀξίας καταστηκάμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ τριακοσίων μᾶλιστα ἔχων ἐν Μειδολάνῳ ἔμεινε, καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ Ἑννης τε καὶ Παῦλος. ὥστε ἀνάγκη οί τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀεὶ τῆν φυλακὴν εἰχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Διογούροις ἐφέρετο τῇ δὲ καὶ οἱ χειμών ἔληγε, καὶ τριῶν ἔτους ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῇ δὲ ὁ Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XIII

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐπὶ τε Οὐίττιμῳ καὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατόπεδου ἦει, ὅλιγος μὲν τινὰς φρουράς ἔνεκα ἐν Ἱώμῃ ἀπολιπτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀπαντάς ἐπαγόμενος. 2 πέμψας τὲ τινὰς ἐς Τονδέραν τε καὶ Κλούσιον χαρακώματα ἐπηγγειλε ποιεῖσθαι, ὥστε ἐγκεφαλίζεσθαι τε ἐμελλε καὶ ξυμπολυόρκησειν τοὺς τῇ δὲ βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προσιόντα τοῖς στράτευσι τινὸς ἐμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον πρέσβεις τε παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπέμψαν καὶ παραδόσειν ὀμολογία σφαῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν ἐκατέραυν ὑπέσχοντο, ἓφ’ οὐκ ἂν ἀπαθεῖς µένωσι. παραγενοµένῳ τὲ οἱ ἐπιτελῇ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐποιήσαντο. 396
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when the Romans were least expecting them. At any rate the Romans, through this action, found it impossible to bring in any kind of provisions, but they were immediately in distress for want of necessities. Indeed, even the guarding of the walls was not being maintained by the regular soldiers, for it so happened that Mundilas had occupied all the cities near Milan which had defences, namely Bergomum, Comum, and Novaria,¹ as well as some other strongholds, and in every place had established a considerable garrison, while he himself with about three hundred men remained in Milan, and with him Ennes and Paulus. Consequently and of necessity the inhabitants of the city were regularly keeping guard in turn. Such was the progress of events in Liguria, and the winter drew to its close, and the third year came to an end in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

XIII

And Belisarius at about the time of the summer solstice marched against Vittigis and the Gothic army, leaving a few men to act as a garrison in Rome, but taking all the others with him. And he sent some men to Tudera and Clusium, with orders to make fortified camps there, and he was intending to follow them and assist in besieging the barbarians at those places. But when the barbarians learned that the army was approaching, they did not wait to face the danger, but sent envoys to Belisarius, promising to surrender both themselves and the two cities, with the condition that they should remain free from harm. And when he came there, they fulfilled their

¹ Modern Bergamo, Como, and Novara.
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4 ὁ δὲ Γόθθους μὲν ἀπαντᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ἔπι Σικελίας τε καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἐπεμψεν, ἐν δὲ Κλοουσίῳ καὶ Τουδέρᾳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος πρόσω ἤγε τὸ στράτευμα.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίττιγισ στρατιάν ἄλλῃν καὶ ἄρχοντα Οὐάκιμον ἐς Αὐξίμον πέμψας τοῖς ἐκεῖν Ἐρώτθους ἐκέλευεν ἀναμύγνυσθαι, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπι τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκώνι πολεμίσας ἱόντας ἀποτεί-

6 ράσασθαι τοῦ ταύτη φρουρίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀγκών ὅποιος πέτρα τίς ἐστὶν ἐνγώνιον, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφε ταύτην Ἀγκώνι γάρ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐμφερῆ ἐστίν. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους ὦγδοκοντα πόλεως μάλιστα Αὐξίμον, ἤς δὴ ἐστὶν ἐπίνειον. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου χύρωμα ἐπὶ πέτρας τῆς ἐνγώνιον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀπαντὰ ὀικοδομήματα, καίπερ ὄντα πολλά,

7 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀτείχιστα ἦν. Κώνων δὲ, ὅς τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἁγίωτα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῶν Οὐάκιμον ἦκουσεν ἐπιέναι τε καὶ ἤδη τοῦ ὄντος ἀποθεῖν ἐναι, ἐπίδειξιν πεποίηται ἀλο-

8 γίστου γνώμης. παρὰ φαύλου γὰρ ἡγησάμενος τὸ τε φρουρίου καὶ τοὺς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκίτορας ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς διασώσα-

9 σθαι, τὸ μὲν χύρωμα εἰσέπε ταύτα παντάπασι στρατιω-

10 τῶν ἐρημων, ἀπαντάς δὲ ἀπαγαγών ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε ὡς ἐς παράταξιν διεκόμησεν, οὐ βαθειάν τινα τὴν φάλαγγα ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ’ ὦστε τὴν ὑπώρειαν ὅλην ὑπερ ἐς κυνηγέσιον περιβάλλεσθαι. οὕτε ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίσας πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπεραιρόντας ἐίδον, στρέψαντες

11 τὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον εὐθὺς ἐφυγον. ἐπεδίω-

12 κατές τοι βαρβαροὶ πλεῖστος μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι

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promise. And Belisarius removed all the Goths from these towns and sent them to Sicily and Naples, and after establishing a garrison in Clusium and in Tud-era, he led his army forward.

But meanwhile Vittigis had sent another army, under command of Vacimus, to Auximus, commanding it to join forces with the Goths there, and with them to go against the enemy in Ancon and make an attempt upon that fortress. Now this Ancon is a sort of pointed rock, and indeed it is from this circumstance that it has taken its name; for it is exceedingly like an "elbow." And it is about eighty stades distant from the city of Auximus, whose port it is. And the defences of the fortress lie upon the pointed rock in a position of security, but all the buildings outside, though they are many, have been from ancient times unprotected by a wall. Now as soon as Conon, who was in command of the garrison of the place, heard that the forces of Vacimus were coming against him and were already not far away, he made an exhibition of thoughtless folly. For thinking it too small a thing to preserve free from harm merely the fortress and its inhabitants together with the soldiers, he left the fortifications entirely destitute of soldiers, and leading them all out to a distance of about five stades, arrayed them in line of battle, without, however, making the phalanx a deep one at all, but thin enough to surround the entire base of the mountain, as if for a hunt. But when these troops saw that the enemy were greatly superior to them in number, they turned their backs and straightway fled to the fortress. And the barbarians, following close upon them, slew on the spot
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οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσιέναι,1 αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν, κλίμακας δὲ τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες, τῆς ἀνόδου ἀπεπειράσαντο. τινὲς δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ φρούριον οἰκία ἔκαιον. Ἡρωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ καὶ πρῶτερον τὸ φρούριον ὄκουν, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, προανακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα, κόσμῳ ὁ ὁδευόντως στρατιώτας ἔδεχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄγχοστα ἐγκειμένους τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰδον, ὅπως μὴ συνεισβάλλωσι δεῖσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας κατὰ τάχος ἑπέθεντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπάλξεων βρόχους καθέντες, ἀλλοις τέ τινας καὶ Κόνωνα αὐτὸν ἀνέλκωντες διεσώσαντο. ταῖς μὲντοι κλίμαξιν ἀνίοντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' ὀλίγου ἤλθον τὸ φρούριον κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνδρες δύο, ἔργα θαυμάσια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἦδη αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεις γενομένους ἀρετῇ ὁσαντο, ὅν ὁ μὲν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἦν ἐκ Θράκης, Οὐλιμοῦθ ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ Βαλεριανοῦ, Γουβολγούδου, Μασσαγέτης γένος. τοῦτῳ γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε τύχῃ μὲν τινι καταπεπλευκότε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς τὸν Ἀγκώνα ἐτυχέτην· ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ τοὺς ἀνίοντας τοὺς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ μὲν φρούριον παρὰ δόξαν ἑσσόσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμιθυίτες καὶ τὸ σῶμα κρεουργηθέντες ὅλον ἐνθένδε ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

16 Τότε Βελισαρίῳ Ναρσῆς ξὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἤπειρος καὶ ἐν Πικηνοῖς εἶναι ἠγγέλλετο. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς οὐτὸς εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν καὶ

1 εἰσιέναι Κ: γενέσθαι Λ.
most of their number—those who did not succeed in getting inside the circuit-wall in time—and then placed ladders against the wall and attempted the ascent. Some also began burning the houses outside the fortress. And the Romans who resided habitually in the fortress, being terror-stricken at what was taking place, at first opened the small gate and received the soldiers as they fled in complete disorder. But when they saw the barbarians close at hand and pressing upon the fugitives, fearing that they would charge in with them, they closed the gates as quickly as they could, and letting down ropes from the battlement, saved a number by drawing them up, and among them Conon himself. But the barbarians scaled the wall by means of their ladders and came within a little of capturing the fortress by storm, and would have succeeded if two men had not made a display of remarkable deeds by valorously pushing off the battlements those who had already got upon the wall; one of these two was a bodyguard of Belisarius, a Thracian named Ulimuth, and the other a bodyguard of Valerian, named Gouboulgoudou, a Massagete by birth. These two men had happened by some chance to come by ship to Ancon a little before; and in this struggle, by warding off with their swords those who were scaling the wall, they saved the fortress contrary to expectation, but they themselves were carried from the battlement half dead, their whole bodies hacked with many wounds.

At that time it was reported to Belisarius that Narses had come with a great army from Byzantium and was in Picenum. Now this Narses ¹ was a eunuch

¹ He was an Armenian of Persia; see Book I. xv. 31.
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tων βασιλείκων χρημάτων ταμίας, ἄλλως δὲ ὄξυς
17 καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ εὐνούχον δραστήριος. στρα-
tιῶται δὲ αὐτῷ πεντακισχίλιοι εἶποντο, ὅπως ἄλλοι
τε κατὰ συμμορίας ἤγοιντο καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ τῶν
Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ Ναρσῆς ἔτερος, ἐξ Ἀρ-
μενίων τῶν Πέρσαις κατηκών αὐτόμολος ἐς τὰ
Ῥωμαῖον ἡθη πρότερον εἶν Ἀρατίῳ τάδελφῳ ἦκων,
ὅς ὁλίγος ἐμπροσθεν εἶν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ
18 παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἐτυχεν. εἶποντο δὲ οἱ
καὶ τοῦ Ἐρούλων ἔθνους δισχίλιοι μάλιστα, ὡς
Οὐσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλονίθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἤρχον.

XIV

Οὔτως δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν ὁ Ἐρούλων καὶ ὅθεν
Ῥωμαίοις ἐσ ξυμμαχίαν κατέστησαν ἐρῶν ἔρχο-
μαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰστρων ποταμών ἐκ παλαιοῦ
φικουν πολύν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὅμιλον, οὐχ δὲ
καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι οἴσον αὐτοῖς
2 ἐδόκει εἶναι. νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταύτα
τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐτέροις ἔχρωντο. οὔτε γὰρ γηρά-
σκουσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξήν, ἀλλ’
ἐπειδὰν τις αὐτῶν θὴ γῆρα θ νόσῳ ἀλήθη, ἔπαναγκές
οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αἴτεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα
3 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν ἀφανίζειν. οἱ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ
ἐς μέγα τι ψυκος ξυγγενεῖς καθίσετες τε τῶν
ἀνθρώπων εν τῇ τῶν ξύλων ὑπερβολῆ, τῶν τινα
Ἐρούλων, ἀλλότριοι μέντοι, ἐξὶν ξυφίδιῳ παρ’

1 τάδελφῳ L: om. K.

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and guardian of the royal treasuries, but for the rest keen and more energetic than would be expected of a eunuch. And five thousand soldiers followed him, of whom the several detachments were commanded by different men, among whom were Justinus, the general of Illyricum, and another Narses, who had previously come to the land of the Romans as a deserter from the Armenians who are subject to the Persians; with him had come his brother Aratius, who, as it happened, had joined Belisarius a little before this with another army. And about two thousand of the Erulian nation also followed him, commanded by Visandus and Aluith and Phanitheus.

XIV

Now as to who in the world the Eruli are, and how they entered into alliance with the Romans, I shall forthwith explain. They used to dwell beyond the Ister River from of old, worshipping a great host of gods, whom it seemed to them holy to appease even by human sacrifices. And they observed many customs which were not in accord with those of other men. For they were not permitted to live either when they grew old or when they fell sick, but as soon as one of them was overtaken by old age or by sickness, it became necessary for him to ask his relatives to remove him from the world as quickly as possible. And these relatives would pile up a quantity of wood to a great height and lay the man on top of the wood, and then they would send one of the Eruli, but not a relative of the man, to his side

1 Book I. xv. 31. 2 Cf. Book IV. iv. 30. 3 Modern Danube.
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4 αὐτὸν ἔπεμπτον’ ἔγγυγνη γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν φονέων εἶναι οὐ θέμις. ἔπειδαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἔγγυγνος φονεύς ἐπανήει, ἔμμπαντα ἐκαίον αὐτίκα τὰ
5 ἔνλα, ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀρξάμενοι. παυσάμενης τε αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλογοῦς ξυλλέξαντες τὰ ὡστὰ ἐν τῷ
6 παραυτίκα1 τῇ γῇ ἐκρυπτόν. Ἐρουλοῦ δὲ ἄνδρος τελευτήσατος ἐπάναγκες τῇ γυναικὶ ἀρετῆς τε μεταποιουμένη καὶ κλεός αὐτῆς ἐθελοῦντι λειτε-
σθαι βρόχον ἀναψαμένη παρὰ τοῦ τοῦ ἄνδρος
7 τάφον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν θυνήσειν. οὐ ποιοῦσι τε ταῦτα περιεστῆκει τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδόξῳ τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἄνδρος συγγενεύσει προσκεκρούκεναι.
tοιούτοις μὲν ἐχρόντο Ἐρουλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμοις.
8 Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου δυνάμει τε καὶ πολυαν-
θρωπία τῶν περιοίκων βαρβάρων ἀπάντων καθ-
υπέρτεροι γεγενημένοι, ἐπίστοις τε, ώς το ἐἰκός,
9 ἐκάστους ἐνίκων καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐληφθόντο. καὶ
tελευτῶντες Δαγγοβάρδας τε Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἐθνην ὑπόκοι σφίζειν ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν
φόρου πεποίηται, οὐκ εἰθαμένον τὸ πράγμα
tούτο τοῖς ἐκείνης βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοχρημα-
τίας τε καὶ ἀλάζονειάς ἐνταῦθα ἠγιμένοι. ἡνίκα
μέντοι Ἀναστάσιος Ῥωμαῖος τὴν βασιλείαν παρ-
έλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες Ἐρουλοὶ ἐφ' οὔστινας ἄν-
θρωποὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔλθοιεν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα
ἵσυχη ἐμένον, χρόνος τε αὐτοῖς ἐναυτῶν τριῶν ἐν
tαύτῃ δὴ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐτρίβῃ. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς ἀγα
ἀχθόμενοι Ῥοδούλφον ἀνέδην σφῶν τῶν ἡγεμόνα
ἐκάκιζον, φοιτοῦντες τε ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν μαλθακὸν
tε καὶ γυναικώδη2 ἐκάλουν, ἀλλοις τὲ τισὶν

1 ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα Krašeninnikov: om. K, τῷ παραυτίκα L.
2 γυναικώδη L: γυναίκα K.

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with a dagger; for it was not lawful for a kinsman to be his slayer. And when the slayer of their relative had returned, they would straightway burn the whole pile of wood, beginning at the edges. And after the fire had ceased, they would immediately collect the bones and bury them in the earth. And when a man of the Eruli died, it was necessary for his wife, if she laid claim to virtue and wished to leave a fair name behind her, to die not long afterward beside the tomb of her husband by hanging herself with a rope. And if she did not do this, the result was that she was in ill repute thereafter and an offence to the relatives of her husband. Such were the customs observed by the Eruli in ancient times.

But as time went on they became superior to all the barbarians who dwelt about them both in power and in numbers, and, as was natural, they attacked and vanquished them severally and kept plundering their possessions by force. And finally they made the Lombards, who were Christians, together with several other nations, subject and tributary to themselves, though the barbarians of that region were not accustomed to that sort of thing; but the Eruli were led to take this course by love of money and a lawless spirit. When, however, Anastasius took over the Roman empire, the Eruli, having no longer anyone in the world whom they could assail, laid down their arms and remained quiet, and they observed peace in this way for a space of three years. But the people themselves, being exceedingly vexed, began to abuse their leader Rodolphus without restraint, and going to him constantly they called him cowardly and effeminate, and railed at him in a
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αὐτὸν ἔρεσχελοῦντες ὀνόμασι κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς ἔλεος ἔδοροῦντο. Ὁ Ῥοδούλφος τε τὴν ὦβριν ὡς ἦκιστα φέρων ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε τινὰ σφίσιν ἀμαρτάδα ἐπενεγκὼν οὔτε λύσιν τινὰ τῶν ξυγκεμένων σκηψάμενος.1

13 ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπιφέρων αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἀκοῇ ἐλαβοῦν, πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Ὁ Ῥοδούλφον ἀνεπιγνάσαντο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἥξιον εἰπεῖν ἦς ὡς ἔνεκα Ἑρούλου ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἱσοῖς, ὁμολογοῦντες, εἰ μὲν τι ἀπεστερήκασι τοῦ φόρου,2 ἀλλὰ αὐτῖκα μάλα ἄννοι μεγάλοι αὐτὸ ἀποτίσειν εἰ δὲ μέμφονται μέτροιν σφίσι τετάχθαι τὸν φόρον, ἀλλὰ μεῖξω ποιήσειν αὐτὸν οὐ μῆποτε Λαγγοβάρδαι ὁκνηροὶ ἔσονται.

14 ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς πρέσβεις προτεινόμενους ἔδω ἀπειλὴ ὡς Ῥοδούλφος ἀποτιμήσαμεν πρόσω ἠλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθίς πρέσβεις ἐτέρους πρὸς αὐτῶν στείλαντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰ λιπαροῦντες ἢκέτευν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἀπαλλαγέντων τρίτοι πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτῶν ἠκούντες ἀπείπον3 Ἑρούλους πόλεμον ἀποφάσιστον μηδαμός σφίσιν ἐπενεγκείν. ἤν γὰρ ἔκεινοι γνώμη τοιαύτῃ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἱσοῖ, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς μάλιστα ἡγακασμένοι, ἀντιτάξονται τοὺς ἐπιούσι, μαρτυράμενοι τὸν θεὸν, οὐπερ τῆς Ῥωμῆς καὶ βραχεία τῆς τὸ παράπαν ἰκμᾶς πάση τῆς ἀνθρώπων δυνάμει ἀντίξους ἔσται αὐτὸν τε εἰκὸς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαις ἠγμένον ἀμφοτέροις πρυτανεύσαι τῆς μάχης τὸ πέρας. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐίπον, διδόσεσθαι ταύτῃ τούς ἐπιούντας

1 σκηψάμενος K: σκηψάμενος L.
2 τοῦ φόρου K: τῆς εἰσφορᾶς L.
3 ἀπείπον Kraženinnnikov: ἀπείπειν K, ἀπείπουν L.
most unruly manner, taunting him with certain other names besides. And Rodolphus, being quite unable to bear the insult, marched against the Lombards, who were doing no wrong, without charging against them any fault or alleging any violation of their agreement, but bringing upon them a war which had no real cause. And when the Lombards got word of this, they sent to Rodolphus and made enquiry and demanded that he should state the charge on account of which the Eruli were coming against them in arms, agreeing that if they had deprived the Eruli of any of the tribute, then they would instantly pay it with large interest; and if their grievance was that only a moderate tribute had been imposed upon them, then the Lombards would never be reluctant to make it greater. Such were the offers which the envoys made, but Rodolphus with a threat sent them away and marched forward. And they again sent other envoys to him on the same mission and supplicated him with many entreaties. And when the second envoys had fared in the same way, a third embassy came to him and forbade the Eruli on any account to bring upon them a war without excuse. For if they should come against them with such a purpose, they too, not willingly, but under the direst necessity, would array themselves against their assailants, calling upon God as their witness, the slightest breath of whose favour, turning the scales, would be a match for all the strength of men; and He, in all likelihood, would be moved by the causes of the war and would determine the issue of the fight for both sides accordingly. So they spoke, thinking in this way to terrify their assailants,
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οἴμενοι, Ἐρούλοι δὲ, ὑποστειλάμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, Δαγγοβάρδαις ἤγνωσαν ἐς χεῖρας ἴέναι. 18 ἥνικα δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἀγχιστά πη ἅλληλων ἐγένοντο, τῶν μὲν ὑπερθεν Δαγγοβαρδῶν ἀέρα ξυνέβαινε μελαίνη τῷ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐς ἄγαν παχείᾳ καλύπτεσθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Ἐρούλους αἰθρίαν ὑπερφυῶς εἶναι. οἷς δὴ τεκμηριούμενος εἴκασεν ἀν τις ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν Ἐρούλους ἴέναι· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο πικρότερον βαρβάρους τέρας εἰς μάχην καθιστάμενοι οἴον τε εἶναι. ὦ μὲντοι οὐδὲ τούτῳ Ἐρούλοι προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ παυτάπασιν ἀφρουτιστήσαντες πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν, πλήθει ὀμίλου τὸ τοῦ πολέμου σταθμῶ-

20 μενοι πέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γέγονε, θυόντους μὲν τῶν Ἐρούλων πολλοῖ, θυνῆσοντες πολλadiens, ᾗ τέ ἄλλοι πάντες φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμημένοι.

21 καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σφίσσιν ἐπισπομένων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, ὅλγοι δὲ τῖνες διεσώθησαν.

22 23 Διὸ δὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν θέσει τοῖς πατρόφοις οὐκέτι εἴχον, ἀλλ’ ἐνθένε διὶ τὰχιστα ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ ἐχώρουν, τὴν γῆν ἐξύμπασαν ἡ ἐκτὸς 1 Ἰστρον ποταμοῦ ἔστι ξύν τε παισὶ καὶ

24 γυναιξὶ περιόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς χώραν οὐ δὴ Ὦγοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄχθυτο, οὐ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρησαν, ἐν-

25 ταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἄτε ἐν χώρᾳ ἑρήμῳ ἐνθένε ὡς πολλῷ ύστερον ἐξαναστάντες, ἀγχιστά που τῆς Γηπαίδων χώρας

1 ἐκτὸς Maltretus: ἐν τοῖς K, ἐκτὸς L.

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but the Eruli, shrinking from nothing whatever, decided to meet the Lombards in battle. And when the two armies came close to one another, it so happened that the sky above the Lombards was obscured by a sort of cloud, black and very thick, but above the Eruli it was exceedingly clear. And judging by this one would have supposed that the Eruli were entering the conflict to their own harm; for there can be no more forbidding portent than this for barbarians as they go into battle. However, the Eruli gave no heed even to this, but in absolute disregard of it they advanced against their enemy with utter contempt, estimating the outcome of war by mere superiority of numbers. But when the battle came to close quarters, many of the Eruli perished and Rodolphus himself also perished, and the rest fled at full speed, forgetting all their courage. And since their enemy followed them up, the most of them fell on the field of battle and only a few succeeded in saving themselves.

For this reason the Eruli were no longer able to tarry in their ancestral homes, but departing from there as quickly as possible they kept moving forward, traversing the whole country which is beyond the Ister River, together with their wives and children. But when they reached a land where the Rogi dwelt of old, a people who had joined the Gothic host and gone to Italy, they settled in that place. But since they were pressed by famine, because they were in a barren land, they removed from there not long afterward, and came to a place close to the country of the
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26 ἀφίκοντο. καὶ αὐτοῖς Γῆπαιδες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἴκτας γενομένους ἐνοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ προσοίκους
27 σφίσι ξυνεχώρων εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἦρξαντο ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμᾶς ἀνόσια ἐργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυ-
σθαι. γυναῖκας τε γὰρ ἐβιώζοντο καὶ βοῶς τε καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα ἦρπαζον, καὶ ἄδικας οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν
ὑπελείποντο, καὶ τελευτώντες ἄδικων χειρῶν ἐς
28 αὐτοὺς ἠρχον. ἀπερ Ἕρουλοι φέρειν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅνει τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ίστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες
καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις προσοίκειν ἐγνώσαν, Ἀναστάσιον τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, διὸ εἰρθένθαι αὐτοῦ εἰς μέσον ἐς
29 ἔργον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον προσκεκρούκασθι αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπότοι, ἀνόσια ἐργα ἐργασάμενοι τοὺς ταύτην Ῥω-
μαίους· διὸ δὴ στράτευμα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπέμψε
e. 30 νυκταίνειν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίοι πλείστους μὲν ἐκτειναν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ξύμπαντας δια-
31 θείας γεγόνασιν. ἀλλ' εἰς ἱκετεῖαν τῶν στρα-
τηγον οἱ καταλοίποι αὐτῶν γεγονότες ἐδέοντο
dιασώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυμμάχους τε καὶ
32 βασιλεῶς ὑπηρέτας τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχειν. ταύτα τα
μαθόντα τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἦρσεκε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
λειφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς Ἕρουλῳ ξυνέβη, οὐ μέντοι
οὕτε ξύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις γεγένηται οὕτε τι εἰρ-
γάσαστον αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν.
33 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε,
χώρα τε ἁγαθή καὶ ἅλλας χρήματι αὐτοῦς
δωρησάμενος, ἐταίριζεσθαί 2 τε παντελῶς ἵσχυσε
34 καὶ Χριστιανοῦς γενέσθαι ἀπαντᾶς ἐπεισε. διὸ-

1 αὐτοκράτορα Λ: αὐτοκράτορος Κ.
2 ἐταίριζεσθαί Κ: ἐταίριαν λέγεσθαί Λ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. xiv. 25–34

Gepaedes.¹ And at first the Gepaedes permitted them to dwell there and be neighbours to them, since they came as suppliants. But afterwards for no good reason the Gepaedes began to practise unholy deeds upon them. For they violated their women and seized their cattle and other property, and abstained from no wickedness whatever, and finally began an unjust attack upon them. And the Eruli, unable to bear all this any longer, crossed the Ister River and decided to live as neighbours to the Romans in that region; this was during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, who received them with great friendliness and allowed them to settle where they were. But a short time afterwards these barbarians gave him offence by their lawless treatment of the Romans there, and for this reason he sent an army against them. And the Romans, after defeating them in battle, slew most of their number, and had ample opportunity to destroy them all. But the remainder of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the generals and begged them to spare their lives and to have them as allies and servants of the emperor thereafter. And when Anastasius learned this, he was pleased, and consequently a number of the Eruli were left; however, they neither became allies of the Romans, nor did they do them any good.

But when Justinian took over the empire, he 527 a.d. bestowed upon them good lands and other possessions, and thus completely succeeded in winning their friendship and persuaded them all to become

¹ Cf. Book III. ii. 2–6, VII. xxiv. 10.
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περ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες
toῖς Χριστιανῶν νόμοις ἐπὶ πλείστων προσχωρέων
ἔγνωσαν, καὶ Ρωμαίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὰ
πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ξυνάσσονται. ἔτι
μέντοι αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ἀπίστου καὶ πλεονεκία ἐχὸ-
μενοι βιάζονται τοὺς πέλας ἐν σπουδῇ ἐξουσίαν,
οὐ̄ φέροντοι αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ
μίξεις οὐ̄ χ ὁσίας τελούσιν, ἀλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν
καὶ ὅνων, καὶ εἰς πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάν-
tων καὶ κακὸν κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι.

37 Ὁστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλῳ μὲν τινες ἐνσυπνοῦν
cαὶ μεταβαλομεν, ὃστερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὅπισθὲν ἐν
λόγοις γεγραμεθα: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπαντοῦν ἀπέστη-
sαν ἐς αἰτίας τοιάσθε. Ἑρουλοί τὸ τοῦ τρό-
που θηριώδους τε καὶ μανιὼδες ἐνδειξάμενοι ἐς τοῖς
αὐτῶν ρήγα (ὁ δὲ οὖτος ἄνηρ Ὀχος ὅνομα),
ἐξαπιναίως τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ὄντειμας αἰτίας
ἐκτειναν, ἄλλο οὖν ἐπενεγκόντες ἢ ὅτι ἄβασι-
λευτοί τὸ λοιπὸν βούλονται εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς καὶ
πρότερον ὅνομα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν,
ἰδιώτου δὲ οὐτοὺς οὐδὲν τι σχεδὸν ἐφέρετο πλέον.
38 ἀλλα καὶ ἔννοιαθεῖσθαι αὐτῶ ἀπαντῆς καὶ ἔννοια-
tοι εἶναι ἠξίους, καὶ ἀνέδην ὅστις βούλοιτο ἐς
41 αὐτῶν ὑβριζεῖν ἀσυνθετότεροι γὰρ ἡ ἀσταθμη-
tότεροι Ἑρουλῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες. τοῦ
δὲ κακοῦ σφίσιν ἐξειργασμένοι μετέμελον ἦδη.
42 ἐφασκοῦν γὰρ ἀναρχοὶ τε καὶ ἀσταθήτητοι βιο-
tεύειν οὐ̄ χ οἶοι τε εἶναι πολλὰ γοῦν σφίσι βου-
λευσμένοις ἀμεινοῦν τῷ παντὶ ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι τῶν
τινα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου μεταπέμφασθαι ἐκ
Θούλης τῆς νῆσος. ο τι δὲ τούτῳ ἐστὶν αὐτίκα
dηλόσω.  

1 ὅπισθὲν Ηαυγ: ἐμπροσθὲν MSS.
Christians. As a result of this they adopted a gentler manner of life and decided to submit themselves wholly to the laws of the Christians, and in keeping with the terms of their alliance they are generally arrayed with the Romans against their enemies. They are still, however, faithless toward them, and since they are given to avarice, they are eager to do violence to their neighbours, feeling no shame at such conduct. And they mate in an unholy manner, especially men with asses, and they are the basest of all men and utterly abandoned rascals.

Afterwards, although some few of them remained at peace with the Romans, as will be told by me in the following narrative, all the rest revolted for the following reason. The Eruli, displaying their beastly and fanatical character against their own “rex,” one Ochus by name, suddenly killed the man for no good reason at all, laying against him no other charge than that they wished to be without a king thereafter. And yet even before this, while their king did have the title, he had practically no advantage over any private citizen whomsoever. But all claimed the right to sit with him and eat with him, and whoever wished insulted him without restraint; for no men in the world are less bound by convention or more unstable than the Eruli. Now when the evil deed had been accomplished, they were immediately repentant. For they said that they were not able to live without a ruler and without a general; so after much deliberation it seemed to them best in every way to summon one of their royal family from the island of Thule. And the reason for this I shall now explain.

1 Book VII. xxxiv. 42.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XV

Ἡπάκα Ἕρωλου Δαγγοβαρδῶν ἠσσηθὲντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνέστησαν, 1 οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, ψευδαρχεῖ τοι εἰς τὰ ἔν Ἰλλυριοῖς χωρία, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι Ἰστρού ποταμῶν διαβαίνειν οὖδαμὶ ἐγνώσαν, ἀλλ' ἐστιν αὐτὰς ποὺ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης 2 ἰδρύσαντες οὕτω γοῦν πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ἤγομένων σφίς ἤμειγαν μὲν τὰ Ἐκλαβηνῶν ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς ἀπαντά, ἔρημον δὲ χώραν διαβάντες ἐνθένδε πολλὴν 2 ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους 3 καλομένους ἑρωρησάν. μεθ' οὐδ' δὴ καὶ Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον οὐ βιαζομένων σφᾶς τῶν 4 τῇ δὲ βαρβάρων. ἐνθένδε τε ἐς ὠκεανὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐναυτίλλοντο, Θούλη τε προσχόντες τῇ νήσῳ αὐτοῦ ἐμείναν.

'Εστι δὲ ἡ Θούλη μεγίστη ἐς ἀγαν. Βρεττανίας γὰρ αὐτὴν πλέον ἡ δεκαπλασίαν ἔμ- 5 βαίνει εἰναι. καίται δὲ αὐτής πολλῷ ἀποθεν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνέμους, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νῆσῳ γῇ μὲν ἔρημος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τυχχάναι οὕσα, ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένη ἔθνη τριακαίδεκα πολυανθρωπότατα ἰδρυται. βασιλεῖς τε εἰς 6 κατὰ έθνος ἐκαστὸν. ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι ἀνὰ

1 ἀνέστησαν Herwerden: ἀνέστησαν Κ, ἐστησαν Λ.
2 πολλὴν Λ: πολλὸν Κ.

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1 This has not been stated before by Procopius.
2 Or Varini, a tribe living on the coast near the mouth of the Rhine.
3 A group of tribes inhabiting the Danish Peninsula.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. xv. 1-6

XV

When the Eruli, being defeated by the Lombards in the above-mentioned battle, migrated from their ancestral homes, some of them, as has been told by me above,¹ made their home in the country of Illyricum, but the rest were averse to crossing the Ister River, but settled at the very extremity of the world; at any rate, these men, led by many of the royal blood, traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni,² as they are called. After these they passed by the nations of the Dani,³ without suffering violence at the hands of the barbarians there. Coming thence to the ocean, they took to the sea, and putting in at Thule,⁴ remained there on the island.

Now Thule is exceedingly large; for it is more than ten times greater than Britain. And it lies far distant from it toward the north. On this island the land is for the most part barren, but in the inhabited country thirteen very numerous nations are settled; and there are kings over each nation. In that place a very wonderful thing takes

¹ Probably Iceland or the northern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula, which was then regarded as an island and called "Scanza." The name of Thule was familiar from earlier times. It was described by the navigator Ætheas in the age of Alexander the Great, and he claimed to have visited the island. It was variously placed, but always considered the northernmost land in the world—"ultima Thule."
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πάν ἐτος θαυμάσιον ὁλον. ὁ γὰρ ἠλιός ἀμφὶ θερινὰς μὲν τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα οὐδαμὴ δύει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπὲρ γῆς φαίνεται. μησὶ δὲ οὖν ἡσσου ἦ ἔξ φύτερον ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς ποὺ τροπὰς ἠλιός μὲν ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα τῆς νῆσου ταύτης οὐδαμὴ φαίνεται, νῦν δὲ αὐτής ἀπέραντος κατακέχυται κατήφειά τε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔχει πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τοὺς τῇ δὲ ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι μεταξὺ οὐδεμᾶ 8 μηχανή ἔχουσιν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἴδειν τὴν νῆσον τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτοτῆς γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλυχομένῳ, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἕνοικη ἐνυπνήκηθ. 9 τῶν μέντοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐνθέδε αἰφικομένων ἐπνυσανόμην ὅπῃ ποτὲ οἷοί τε εἰς τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζεσθαι τὸ μέτρον οὕτε 1 ἀνίσχοντος οὕτε 2 δύοντος τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις ἐνταῦθα ἠλίου. οὔτε 10 ἐμοὶ λόγον ἀληθῆ τε καὶ πιστῶν ἔφρασαν. τὸν γὰρ ἠλίον 3 φασὶ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας οὖν δύειν μὲν, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις 4 πῇ μὲν πρὸς ἐω, πῇ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐπανίων αὖθις ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀνίσχοντα τὴν γνώμενος ἐς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀφίκηται χῶρον, οὔτε τοῦτον ἀνίσχοντα τὰ πρότερα ἑώρων, ἡμέραν οὖτω καὶ νῦκτα μίαν παρφ- 12 χῆκεναι διαριθμοῦνται. καὶ ἡνίκα μέντοι ὁ τῶν νυκτῶν χρόνος ἀφίκηται, τῆς τε σελήνης τῶν τε ἀστρῶν 5 ἀεὶ τοῖς δρόμοις τεκμηριούμενοι τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζονται μέτρον. ὁποῖνικα δὲ πέντε

1 εἰς τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζεσθαι τὸ μέτρον οὕτε Haury : om. MSS. 
2 οὕτε K : εἰς L. 3 ἠλίον L: om. K. 
4 φαίνεσθαι . . . ἀνθρώποις K : φῶς δὲ τ. τ. ἀνθρ. ἐνέναι L. 

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place each year. For the sun at the time of the summer solstice never sets for forty days, but appears constantly during this whole time above the earth. But not less than six months later, at about the time of the winter solstice, the sun is never seen on this island for forty days, but never-ending night envelops it; and as a result of this dejection holds the people there during this whole time, because they are unable by any means to mingle with one another during this interval. And although I was eager to go to this island and become an eyewitness of the things I have told, no opportunity ever presented itself. However, I made enquiry from those who come to us from the island as to how in the world they are able to reckon the length of the days, since the sun never rises nor sets there at the appointed times. And they gave me an account which is true and trustworthy. For they said that the sun during those forty days does not indeed set just as has been stated, but is visible to the people there at one time toward the east, and again toward the west. Whenever, therefore, on its return, it reaches the same place on the horizon where they had previously been accustomed to see it rise, they reckon in this way that one day and night have passed. When, however, the time of the nights arrives, they always take note of the courses of the moon and stars and thus reckon the measure of the days. And when a time amounting to thirty-five

\[5 \text{ te selēnhs tōn te dōtrωn Haury: te selēnhs tōn te} \]
\[\text{καλων K, ge selēnhs tō drāsωn L.}\]
καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ μακρᾷ ταύτη διαδράμοι νυκτί, στέλλονταί τινες ἐς τὸν ὀρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, εἰθισμένοι αὐτοῖς τοῦτο γε, τὸν τε ἢλιον ἀμηγηστὴ ἐνθένδε ὀρῶντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς κάτω ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἦλιος αὐτοὺς καταλάμψαν. οἱ δὲ πανδημεῖ πανηγυρίζουσιν εὐαγγέλια καὶ ταύτα ἐν σκότῳ. αὐτὴ τε

14 Θουλίταις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐστιν δοκοῦσι γὰρ μοι περιδεεῖς αἰὲ γίνεσθαι οἱ νησίωται οὗτοί, καὶ περ ταῦτο συμβαίνον φόσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἐτος, μή ποτε αὐτοῖς ἐπιλείποι τὸ παρᾶπαν ὁ ἦλιος.

16 Τῶν δὲ ἱδρυμένων ἐν Θούλη βαρβάρων ἐν μόνον ἔδνος, οἱ Σκριθίφνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, θηρίῳ τινα βιοτὴν ἐχουσιν. οὗτε γὰρ Ἱματία ἐνεδυσκονται οὕτε ὑποδεξεῖς βαδίζουσιν οὔτε ὁλον πένουσιν ἐν τῷ ἡράν μόνην ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. θηρίῳ τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων ἄριστον μέγα τα δρῆμα αἱ τε ᾿Υλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλαι ὑπερφυῶς οὖσαι, καὶ τὰ ὅρη ἄ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. καὶ κρέασι μὲν θηρίων αἰὲ τῶν ἀλησκομένων στίξονται, τὰ δέρματα δὲ ἀμφιέγγεται, ἔπει τε αὐτοὺς οὕτε λύνον οὕτε ὁρανόν ὅτῳ ῥάπτοιεν ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν θηρίων τοῖς νεύροις τὰ δέρματα ἐς ἄλληλα ταύτα ξυνδέουσι οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀμπεσχονται. οὐ μὴν οὕδε τὰ βρέφη αὐτοῖς κατὰ ταύτα τιθη-νόυμαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. οὐ γὰρ στίζουν-ται Σκριθίφνων παιδία γυναικῶν γάλακτι οὐδὲ μητέρων ἀποτελεῖ τιτθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἥρων τῶν ἀλι-

1 τὰ ὅρη ἄ ταύτῃ L: ταύτη τὰ ὅρη K.
days has passed in this long night, certain men are sent to the summits of the mountains—for this is the custom among them—and when they are able from that point barely to see the sun, they bring back word to the people below that within five days the sun will shine upon them. And the whole population celebrates a festival at the good news, and that too in the darkness. And this is the greatest festival which the natives of Thule have; for, I imagine, these islanders always become terrified, although they see the same thing happen every year, fearing that the sun may at some time fail them entirely.

But among the barbarians who are settled in Thule, one nation only, who are called the Scythiphi, live a kind of life akin to that of the beasts. For they neither wear garments of cloth nor do they walk with shoes on their feet, nor do they drink wine nor derive anything edible from the earth. For they neither till the land themselves, nor do their women work it for them, but the women regularly join the men in hunting, which is their only pursuit. For the forests, which are exceedingly large, produce for them a great abundance of wild beasts and other animals, as do also the mountains which rise there. And they feed exclusively upon the flesh of the wild beasts slain by them, and clothe themselves in their skins, and since they have neither flax nor any implement with which to sew, they fasten these skins together by the sinews of the animals, and in this way manage to cover the whole body. And indeed not even their infants are nursed in the same way as among the rest of mankind. For the children of the Scythiphi do not feed upon the milk of women nor do they touch their mother's breast, but they are nourished upon
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22 σκομένων τοῖς μυελοῖς ἐκτρέφονται μόνοις. ἐπει-
δαν οὖν γυνὴ τάχιστα τέκοι, δέρματι τὸ βρέφος ἐμβαλο\nμένη κρεμᾶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δένδρου τε
νὸς, μυελόν δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνθεμένη ξῦν τῷ ἀν\nδρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰωθυναί στέλλεται θῆραν. 1 ἐπὶ κοινῆ γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα δρόσι καὶ 2 τὸ ἐπιτήδειον
23 μετίασι τοῦτο. τοῦτοι μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρ\nβάροις τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
Οἱ μὲν τοὶ ἄλλοι Θουλῖται ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπαντεῖς
οὖν ὑπὸ τοῖς μέγας διαλλάσσουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώ\nπων, θεοὺς μὲντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσι,
συχρόνους τε καὶ ἀερίους, ἐγγείους τε καὶ
θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὡδαί
24 πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα. θύουσι
δὲ ἐνεδειχέστατα ἱερεία πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι,
τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπός
ἐστιν ὁμπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτων.
25 τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἀρεὶ θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτῶν
νομίζουσιν μέγιστον εἶναι. ἱερεύονται δὲ τῶν
αἰχμάλωτων οὗ θύνοντες μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ
ξύλου κρεμῶντες, καὶ 3 ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ρίπτο\nντες, ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ἰδέαις οἰκτι\nσταίς. 4 οὖτω μὲν Θουλῖται βιοῦσιν. δὴ ἐθνος
ἐν πολυάνθρωπον οἱ Γαυντοὶ εἰσὶν, παρ' οὗ δὴ
Ἐριούλων τότε οἱ ἐπηλύσαντο ἱδρύσαντο.
26 Νῦν δὲ Ἐρουλοὶ οἱ δὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὃκηνται,
φόνοι σφίσι τοῖς βασιλέωσ ἐξειργασμένου, ἐπεμ\nψαν τῶν λογίμων τινάς ἐς Θουλήν τὴν νῆσον,

1 ξῦν . . . θῆραν Κ: εὐθὺς στέλλεται ἐκ 	θῆραν Λ.
2 τὰ τὲ . . . καὶ Κ: τοῖς ἀνδράσι Λ.
3 καὶ Κ: ἶ Λ.
4 οἰκτισταῖς Κ: om. Λ.

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the marrow of the animals killed in the hunt, and upon this alone. Now as soon as a woman gives birth to a child, she throws it into a skin and straightway hangs it to a tree, and after putting marrow into its mouth she immediately sets out with her husband for the customary hunt. For they do everything in common and likewise engage in this pursuit together. So much for the daily life of these barbarians.

But all the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ very much from the rest of men, but they reverence in great numbers gods and demons both of the heavens and of the air, of the earth and of the sea, and sundry other demons which are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers. And they incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices, and make oblations to the dead, but the noblest of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war; for they sacrifice him to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god. And the manner in which they offer up the captive is not by sacrificing him on an altar only, but also by hanging him to a tree, or throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some of the other most cruel forms of death. Thus, then, do the inhabitants of Thule live. And one of their most numerous nations is the Gauti, and it was next to them that the incoming Eruli settled at the time in question.

On the present occasion,¹ therefore, the Eruli who dwelt among the Romans, after the murder of their king had been perpetrated by them, sent some of

¹ Cf. Chap. xiv. 42.
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toûs diereunûsouménous te kai komiônntas, ën tina éntaûtha eûreîn aîmatoû toû bâsilêioun oioû te òwson. êpei te oî ândres oûtoi èn tê nêsôw êgê-
nunto, polloûs mèn èntaûtha gênous toû bâsilêioun eûroun, èna mèntoi âpolêzantes ësper auûtoûs màlista ërêseeken, òpîsos ãnastrôphontes ëxiw auûtoû ësasvan. ðs ðê êpei èn Dávoûs ëgêneto,1 têleutâ-
nôsû. ðið ðê aûdis oî ândres oûtoi èn tê nêsôw gênoûmenoi èteron èpignágonîto Dâtiou ãnôma. òì ðê ò te âdelîfôs 'Aroûdos èîpeto kai tòuèn èn Òouûlê

30 'Eroûloûs neanîai diakûsioû. ÷rhoûn dê auûtoûs èn tê porpeia taûtê trîbêntos súnkhôu 'Eroûloûs toûs àmfî ùggidônou ènûnoa ñêgonên wos òû tà ãmîfrosa sñûsîn auûtoûs pûoûen èk Òouûlês ãrkhî-
gôn èpágoûmenoi 'Ioustînianôu bâsîlews ouûtì èthelousìon. têmûsantès ouûn ès Bûzântiou bâsi-
lews èdeûnto ãrkhonta sñûsî pémpnai, ðn ðû auûtoû

32 bëuloûmenw ouî. ð dê auûtoûs tòuèn tina 'Eroûloûn èk palaioû diatrefiîn èntaûtha èçonta ènûthûs

33 èpempnai, Sounartônian ãnôma. 'ûnptè 'Eroûloû eiûdon mèn tà ðrûta kai prosekûnûsan ãsmônî
eîstelûlonî te tà èiðhôta èpûkhônou ãmêraîs
dê ou pôllaiûs ùsteron ãkê tis ãngêllou toûs

34 èk Òouûlês nêtou àghchiîta òî èïnai. kai Soun-

35 ènûthûs èîpntoû. êpei dê ãmêraîs ðîð ìlûlîw

36 ès Bûzântiou àpôdras ãûketo. kai bâsîleus mèn

1 ëpei . . . ëgêneto K: èpetiðan ëgûs ëgêneto L

2 òs àpolêson K: tòus àpolêsantas L.
their notables to the island of Thule to search out and bring back whomsoever they were able to find there of the royal blood. And when these men reached the island, they found many there of the royal blood, but they selected the one man who pleased them most and set out with him on the return journey. But this man fell sick and died when he had come to the country of the Dani. These men therefore went a second time to the island and secured another man, Datus by name. And he was followed by his brother Aordus and two hundred youths of the Eruli in Thule. But since much time passed while they were absent on this journey, it occurred to the Eruli in the neighbourhood of Singidunum that they were not consulting their own interests in importing a leader from Thule against the wishes of the Emperor Justinian. They therefore sent envoys to Byzantium, begging the emperor to send them a ruler of his own choice. And he straightway sent them one of the Eruli who had long been sojournig in Byzantium, Suartuas by name. At first the Eruli welcomed him and did obeisance to him and rendered the customary obedience to his commands; but not many days later a messenger arrived with the tidings that the men from the island of Thule were near at hand. And Suartuas commanded them to go out to meet those men, his intention being to destroy them, and the Eruli, approving his purpose, immediately went with him. But when the two forces were one day's journey distant from each other, the king's men all abandoned him at night and went over of their own accord to the newcomers, while he himself took to flight and set out unattended for Byzantium. There-
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πάση δυνάμει κατάγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Ἕρουλοι δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Γῆπαισί προσχωρεῖν ἐγνωσαν. αὕτη μὲν Ἕρουλοις αἰτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως γέγονε.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, VI. xv. 36

upon the emperor earnestly undertook with all his power to restore him to his office, and the Eruli, fearing the power of the Romans, decided to submit themselves to the Gepaedes. This, then, was the cause of the revolt of the Eruli.¹

¹ Chap. xiv. 37 introduces this topic.
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