

UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE (UAI)  
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**Project 67: China and the Mediterranean World**



BYZANTIUM EAST AND WEST  
FROM ZOSIMUS TO LAONICUS

SELECT BYZANTINE SOURCES ON  
LANDS AND PEOPLES



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## FOREWORD



The material contained in this electronic archive is prepared under the auspices of the “China and the Ancient Mediterranean World before the Tenth Century CE” Project of the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale - UAI). An important landmark for the project was reached with the publication of:

G. COEDÈS, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East, From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, trans. John SHELDON, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* (SAA) 4, (Turnhout: 2009) ISBN: 978-2-503-53366-7

[http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod\\_id=IS-9782503533667-1](http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503533667-1)

and

John SHELDON, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* (SAA) 6, (Turnhout: 2013) ISBN: 978-2-503-54602-5

[http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod\\_id=IS-9782503546025-1](http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503546025-1)

However, there is no similar collection of Greek and Latin sources on the Far East covering the medieval period to that of Coedès' for the Classical save for:

Karl Diereich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde (5-15. Jhd.)*, 2 pts. (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1912).

The work of Diereich has claimed its rightful place in the study of Byzantine historical geography but it has also remained little known to Anglophone Eurasian scholars because both the original and reprint by Ohms Verlag are not easy to find outside Germany and the fact that the translations are in German. An additional lack of incentive for using the work is that Diereich did not give the original Greek texts in his collection.

As Diereich's work covers all geographical information found in the main Byzantine sources, a complete English version will take decades to complete. For this reason, the directors of the project for the UAI have decided to translate select authors and also to include some Early Byzantine authors from the selection of Coedès with additional extracts and commentary. Another important decision is to include Byzantine authors from the Crusading period (11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> C.) such as Anna Comnena as these are often highly informative on onomastics and toponyms. Silimilarly files from the same team's contribution to the sources on the Thracian Chersonese Project (Gallipoli) have also been added. It is the hope the directors that this collection will be used by Early Career Researchers as a 'Reader' in Byzantine texts and for this purpose, a detailed working lexicon will be provided in due course.

The current director would like to thank the late Dr Greg Fox for his very significant contribution to the project and to Ms Camilla Ferrard for her continuing involvement in this ongoing enterprise.

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# ZOSIMUS



## On the Empire of Palmyra

The so-called ‘New History’ (*Historia Nova*) of Zosimus *Comes et Exadvocatus Fisci* is second only in importance as a narrative source on the History of the Later Roman Empire to the ‘History’ (*Res Gestae*) of Ammianus Marcellinus. Like Ammianus, Zosimus was a pagan and the value of his work is particularly felt in the periods covered by the lost first thirteen books of Ammianus (96-353 CE). Zosimus narrative also goes down to 410 CE, thus giving a fuller account of the Invasions than does the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus which finished with the events of 378 CE.

For the period from 270-404 CE, Zosimus made extensive use of the now lost historical work of the pagan historian Eunapius of Sardis and he might even have had access to the now lost books of Ammianus except we have no idea when those books cease to be circulated. Zosimus is the only early Byzantine historian to have given a full account of the rise of the Empire Palmyra under Odaenathus and its fall under the redoubtable Zenobia.

For UAI Project 69: China and the Mediterranean World, the importance of the history of Palmyra as a trading centre is of utmost importance as the only silk textile of certain Chinese manufacture and embroidered with legible Chinese writing was found in one of the tower tombs of the city. Zosimus has left us the only detailed account of the unexpected rise of the city to a small but transitory mini-Empire in the Roman Near East. No less important is Zosimus’ account, albeit more disjointed, of the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Huns, probably the later West Iranian descendants of the Chinese Xiongnu.

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## SELECTIONS FROM

## ZOSIMUS

*Historia Nova*

ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887)

Translated by Samuel N.C. Lieu

**1. The rise and fall of Palmyra**

## I, 39-61 (Extracts)

**39** Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορκησάντων, Γαλλιηνὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τούτους μετῆι μάχην ἤδη τὴν Θράκην καταλαβόντας, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἑώραν πράγμασιν οὖσιν ἐν ἀπογνώσει βοηθεῖν Ὀδαιναθὸν ἔταξεν, ἄνδρα Παλμυρηνὸν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀξιοθέντα τιμῆς· ὃ δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λελειμμένοις στρατοπέδοις δύναμιν ἀναμίξας ὅτι πλείστην οἰκείαν ἐπεξήει τῷ Σαπῶρη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις ἀνεκτάτο τὰς ἤδη παρὰ Περσῶν ἐχομένας, καὶ Νίσιβιν εἰλημμένην μὲν ὑπὸ Σαπῶρου τὰ Περσῶν δὲ φρονοῦσαν ἔλων ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσκαψεν. 2. Ἐπεξελθὼν δὲ μέχρι Κτησιφῶντος αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, Πέρσας μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐναπέκλεισεν, ἀγαπῶντας εἰ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς περισώσαιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἤδη πεπορθημένην χώραν, ὡς οἷός τε ἦν, εὖ διετίθει· ἐπεὶ δὲ διατρίβων κατὰ τὴν Ἔμισαν καὶ τινα γενέθλιον ἄγων ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνηρέθη, τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδαινάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὴν ἴσην εἰσφέρουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμέλειαν. ...

\* \* \*

**44** Τῶν Σκυθῶν τοίνυν, ὡς διεξῆλθον, ἐσκεδασμένων καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀποβαλόντων, μειζόνων ἐφιεμένη ἡ Ζηνοβία πραγμάτων Ζάβδαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκπέμπει, Τιμαγένους ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοῖς καταπραττομένου· συναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκ Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ Σύρων καὶ βαρβάρων ἐς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ πέντε μυριάσιν ἀντιπαραταξαμένων, μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης περιῆσαν οἱ Παλμυρηνοὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσαντες

**39** The Scythians had brought worst misfortune over Greece and even captured Athens. Gallienus, who had already occupied Thrace, now tried to measure himself against them; to remedy the desperate situation in the Orient, the emperor appointed Odaenathus, a man from Palmyra, whom the rulers had considered particularly worthy of honour on account of his ancestors. He combined with the strongest force of his own as with the legions remaining in the country and marched with vigour against Shapur, recapturing the cities already occupied by the Persians and razing Nisibis right down to its foundations because it had fallen into Shapur's hands and favoured the Persian cause. 2. Odaenathus pursued the enemy as far as Ctesiphon, not once but twice, and locked the Persians in their own fortresses and glad that their children and women and themselves were safe. He established order as well as possible in the devastated regions. However, when he was in Emesa, he was the victim of an assassination at a birthday party. Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, took over the further management of state affairs in this country; however, she was a woman of masculine thinking, who, with the help of her husband's partisans, devoted the same care to tasks of government. ...

**44** When, as I have said, the Scythians had dispersed and lost most of their people, Zenobia, harbouring greater ambitions, sent Zabdas to Egypt, where a local named Timagenes wanted to hand over the government of Egypt to the Palmyrenes. An army of Palmyrenes, Syrians and barbarians, 70,000 men strong, was now gathered and faced with 50,000 Egyptians warriors; an intense battle ensued, in which the Palmyrenes proved to their superiority in arms. They therefore stationed five thousand men in the

πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν. 2. Πρόβος δὲ καθῆραι τῶν καταποντιστῶν τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ βασιλέως ταχθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔγνω παρὰ Παλμυρηῶν ἐχομένην, ἅμα τῇ σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Παλμυρηῶν φρονοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐπιθέμενος τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλεν· αὐθις δὲ Παλμυρηῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων, συναγαγόντος δὲ καὶ Πρόβου στρατόπεδον Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων, ὑπέρτεροι μὲν ἦσαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοὺς ἤλαυνον, Πρόβου δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Βαβυλῶνι καταλαβόντος ὄρος καὶ ταύτη τὴν ἐπὶ Συρίαν τῶν πολεμίων πάροδον ἀποκλείοντος, Τιμαγένης ἄτε δὴ ἴδρις τῶν τόπων, ἅμα δισχιλίοις Παλμυρηῶν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους κατασχών, ἀδοκίτοις ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διέφθειρεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀλοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει. 45 Τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοίνυν ὑπὸ Παλμυρηνοῖς γενομένης, ...

\* \* \*

50 Διωκμένων δὲ ὧδε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Παιονίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατείαν ἐπὶ Παλμυρηνοὺς ἄγειν διανοεῖτο, κρατοῦντας ἤδη τῶν τε Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐώας ἀπάσης καὶ μέχρις Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐθελήσαντας δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας μέχρι Χαλκηδόνας ἀντιλαβέσθαι, εἰ μὴ βεβασιλευκέναι γρόντες Αὐρηλιανὸν τὴν Παλμυρηῶν ἀπεσεύσαντο προστασίαν. 2. Ἐλάσαντος τοίνυν ἅμα στρατῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀγκύρα τε προσετίθετο τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ Τύανα μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπασαι μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν ἧ Ζηνοβίαν εὐρῶν ἅμα στρατῷ πολλῷ παρεσκευασμένην εἰκότως ἐς μάχην ἀπῆντα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτρεπῆς. 3. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Παλμυρηῶν ἱππέας ὀπλίσει βαρεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τεθαρρηκότας καὶ ἅμα πείρα τῇ περὶ τὴν ἱππασίαν πολλὴ τῶν σφετέρων προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς πέραν ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ διεχώρισεν, σύνθημα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσι δέδωκεν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀκμῆτι τῇ Παλμυρηῶν ἵπῳ συνάψαι, δεξαμένοις δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν δοκεῖν τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἄχρις ἂν ἴδωσιν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων βαρύτητος πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ἀπειπόντας. 4. Οὗ δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἱππέων τὸ παράγγελμα φυλαξάντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθεάσαντο παρειμένους ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις κεκμηκόσιν ἀκινήτους τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπήεσαν καὶ αὐτομάτους τῶν ἵππων ἐκπίπτοντας συνεπάτου· φόνοσ οὖν ἦν συμμιγῆς, τῶν μὲν ξίφεσι τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν

country and returned home. 2. Probus, who had been appointed by the emperor to clear the sea of pirates, when learning of the subjugation of Egypt by the Palmyrenes, marched at once against them with his own forces and with as many of the Egyptians as were opposed to the Palmyrenes, and expelled their garrison. The Palmyrenes rallied afresh but Probus too levied a force of Egyptians and Libyans, and the Egyptians gained another victory, and drove the Palmyrenes beyond the frontiers of Egypt. But just as Probus was encamped on a mountain near Babylon, thereby cutting off the passage of the enemy into Syria, Timagenes, who was well acquainted with the country, captured the summit of the mountain with two thousand men and destroyed the force of Egyptians by surprise. Probus was among those taken prisoner but he killed himself. 45 Egypt was now in the hands of the Palmyrenes

...

50 The affairs of Italy and Pannonia had been settled in such a way that Aurelian could now think of a campaign against the Palmyrenes who now ruled over the Egyptian provinces and the entire Orient up to Ancyra in Galatia; and who also wanted to take possession of Bithynia to Chalcedon, but the local population on hearing of the accession of Aurelian and rejected Palmyrene rule. 2. The emperor then advanced with his army and re-subjected Ancyra to Roman rule, then Tyana after that and all cities in succession except for Antioch, where he found Zenobia with a well-equipped army; and, being well-prepared, he naturally decided to fight. 3. When he saw that the Palmyrene cavalry trusted their weighty, protective armour and at the same time was far ahead of his own people in horsemanship, he placed the infantry separately at a certain point beyond the (River) Orontes, but instructed his Roman cavalry not to engage with the still fresh Palmyrene cavalry, but rather to wait for their attack, and then apparently turn to flee and continue until they had the impression that the attackers themselves and their horses had also stopped their pursuit due to the heat and heavy armour. 4. This duely happened. The Emperor's cavalry adhered to his command and when it saw that the enemies were exhausted and were sitting motionless on their worn-out horses, it brought their animals to a stop, and then wheeled round to attack and trample the enemies who had dis-

ἵππων οἰκείων τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων.

**51** 1. Εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν οἴοι τε γεγόνασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, Ζάβδας ὁ Ζηνοβίας στρατηγὸς ὀρρωδῶν μὴ ποτε μαθόντες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οἰκήτορες τὸ περὶ τὴν μάχην πταῖσμα σφίσιν ἐπίθοντο, ἄνδρα μεσαιπόλιον ἐμφερείαν τινα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδέαν δοκοῦντά πως ἔχειν εὐρών, καὶ σχῆμα περιθεις οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἔχειν μαχόμενον, διὰ μέσης ἄγει τῆς πόλεως ὡς δὴ τὸν βασιλέα ζωγρίαν ἐλών. 2. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ σοφίσματι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπατήσας αὐτὸς τε ὑπεξέδου τῆς πόλεως οὔσης νυκτὸς ἅμα τῷ λελειμμένῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἐαυτῷ συνεξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἐν νῶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιθέσθαι τραπεῖσιν ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἔγνω φυγὴν, εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆει, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν πολιτῶν. 3. Εὐρὼν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολιπόντας δέει τοῦ μὴ κακοῦ τινὸς ὡς τὰ Ζηνοβίας φρονήσαντας πειραθῆναι, προγράμματα πανταχοῦ πέμψας τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐκάλει, τῷ ἀκουσίῳ καὶ ἀναγκαστῷ πλέον ἢ προαιρέσει τὰ συμβάντα ἀνατιθεῖς.

**52** Συνδραμόντων δὲ ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὰ προγράμματα τῶν πεφευγόντων καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μετασχόντων φιλοφροσύνης, διαθεῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἤλαυνεν: μοῖραν δὲ τινα Παλμυρηνῶν λόφον καταλαβοῦσαν εὐρὼν ὑπερκεῖμενον Δάφνης τοῦ προαστείου, τῷ ὑπερδεξίῳ τοῦ τόπου τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πάροδον εἵργειν οἰομένην, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνεκελεύσατο συνασπισσάμενοις καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀνάβασιν ποιουμένοις τὰ τε βέλη καὶ τοὺς ὀλοιστρούχους, εἰ καὶ τούτους τυχὸν ἐπαφεῖεν, τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς φάλαγγος ἀποσείσασθαι. 2. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράγγελμα εἶχε προθύμους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες ἄνοδον ἐποίησαντο, καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰσοπαλεῖς ἔτρεψαν εὐθὺς εἰς φυγὴν· καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διερρήγγυντο, τοὺς δὲ οἱ διώκοντες ἀπέσφαττον οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ μὴ μετασχόντες τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἀνόδου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπ' ἀδείας τὴν διάβασιν ποιουμένοις ... χαίροντας κύρον κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως χρωμένον. 3. Δέχεται μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν

mounted at their own will. What followed was a slaughter by various means, some by the sword, others by their own horses or those of the enemy.

**51** After those (of the Palmyrenes) who had survived managed to escape into Antioch, Zenobia's general Zabdas became afraid that once the inhabitants of Antioch came to know about the defeat suffered in the battle they would attack his people. He therefore found a middle-aged man who seemed to have a certain resemblance in appearance to the emperor, and put on him clothes like those which Aurelianus wore in battle, and led him through the city as if he were the emperor who had been caught alive. 2. This ploy enabled Zabdas to deceive the inhabitants of Antioch and steal himself from the city at night with the rest of the army; with Zenobia accompanying him, he departed for Emesa. The emperor had in mind to draw up his infantry at dawn and attack the defeated enemy from two sides; however, when he received news of Zenobia's escape, he entered Antioch, where the citizens were happy to receive him. 3. He found that the majority of them had left the city for fear of suffering any punishment for taking sides with Zenobia. As a result, Aurelianus issued a general edict in which he invited the exiles to return and attributed their behaviour to necessity and coercion rather than to free choice.

**52** As soon as the exiles had seen the announcements, they flocked back to partake in the emperor's magnanimity. He intended to leave for Emesa but then discovered a section of Palmyrenes who had occupied a hill above the suburb of Daphne believing that, thanks to their higher position, they could prevent the enemy from marching through. The emperor therefore ordered his soldiers to close ranks and to make a direct ascent in tight order to ward off projectiles and curling stones which were expected to be hurled at them. 2. The soldiers complied with the order with enthusiasm. When they had completed the climb as instructed and faced the enemies on equal terms, they were immediately able to put the latter to flight. Some were knocked off the precipitous rocks and dashed to pieces, and the pursuers and those who had no share capturing the hill killed others as well as. After this victory, the Romans could pass through undisturbed ... the emperor made his way into these areas. 3. Apamea, Larissa and Arethusa received him (within



Ἀπάμεια καὶ Λάρισσα καὶ Ἀρέθουσα· τὸ δὲ τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν στρατόπεδον ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἐμίσης πεδίῳ συνειλεγμένον εἰς πλήθος ἑπτὰ μυριάδων ἕκ τε αὐτῶν Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῖς εἴλοντο μετασχεῖν, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύετο τῇ τε Δαλματῶν ἵπῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοσιν καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικὰ τάγματα. 4. Ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους, ἕκ πάντων ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένοι καὶ πάντων διαπρεπέστατοι· συνετέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυάνων δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τέλη τινὰ τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ὀπίσει κορύνας καὶ ῥόπαλα ἐπεφέροντο.

**53** Συμπεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξεν ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππος κατὰ τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πλήθει τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱπέων πλεονεκτούντων <καὶ> περιππαζομένων πως τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐμπεσὸν ἐς κύκλωσιν λάθῃ τῶν τοίνυν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱπέων τοὺς ἐκκλιναντας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτη τὴν τάξιν τὴν οἰκείαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τὸναντίον ἀπέβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱπεῦσιν τὸ βουλευθέν· ἐδιώκοντο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσωθέντες. 2. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπτον πλεῖστοι, τότε δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γενέσθαι συνέβη· τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς διαρραγεῖσαν ἰδόντες ἐκ τοῦ τοῦς ἱπέας τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες ἀτάκτοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπέθεντο· καὶ φόνος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπιόντων ὄπλοις, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τὰς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ῥόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ τεθωρακισμένοις ἐπιφερόντων, ὅπερ μάλιστα τῆς νίκης ἐν μέρει γέγονεν αἴτιον, τῷ ξένῳ τῆς τῶν ῥοπάλων ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων. 3. Φευγόντων δὲ ἤδη τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν προτροπάδην, καὶ ἐν τῷ φεύγειν ἑαυτοῦς τε συμπατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων, τὸ πεδίον ἐπληροῦτο νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, <τῶν> ὅσοι διαδρᾶναι δεδύνηνται τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων.

**54** Ἀθυμίας δὲ πολλῆς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἤττη Ζηνοβίαν ἐχούσης, βουλὴ προέκειτο περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν πράγμασιν ἀπογνῶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἐμισηνοὺς ἀλλοτριῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν

their walls); when he saw that the Palmyrene army of about 70,000 men, consisting of their own people and others who had decided to take part in the campaign, was drawn up on the plain in front of Emesa, he camped there, before their eyes, with his Dalmatian cavalry, the Mysians, the Pannonians, and also the ones from Noricum and Raetia, which are Celtic units. 4. Among them were the imperial guards, who were all very skilled soldiers chosen for merit. With them were also the Moorish cavalry, the armed forces from Asia and Tyana and certain units from Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, which were extremely brave sections; the Palestinians carried clubs and maces along with the other equipment.

**53** Once the two armies were locked in combat, the Roman cavalry considered it appropriate to partially withdraw so that the Roman army could not be surrounded unawares by the Palmyrene cavalry which was superior in number and capable of encircling manoeuvres without them realizing it. However, by pursuing the opponents who were giving way and thus going beyond their own lines, the Palmyrene cavalry turned the Roman cavalry's plan into the opposite; they were pursued by them due to their much smaller numbers than the enemies. 2. As most of them fell, the weight of battle fell on the shoulders of the infantry; for when it saw how the order of battle of the Palmyrenes had been dashed by the fact that their cavalry were solely occupied with the pursuit, it moved close together and attacked the disorganized and scattered groups of enemies. A great massacre ensued: for while some fought with conventional weapons, the others, especially the Palestinians, attacked the enemies in iron and bronze armour with clubs and maces. This was a partial reason for the (Roman) victory as the enemies were terrified by the unorthodox use of the clubs. 3. In their headlong flight the Palmyrenes were trod upon and killed by their enemies. Eventually the plain was covered with corpses of men and horses, and those who were able to escape sought refuge in the city.

**54** Zenobia was naturally depressed by the defeat and took advice on what needed to be done. Everyone agreed that the activities around Emesa should be stopped, especially since the inhabitants of the city were hostile to her having

ἔχοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεῖσθαι, Παλμύραν δὲ καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὄχυρῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιτρέψαντας σχολαίτερον σκοπῆσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸ μέσον, ἀλλὰ συνέθεον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐδόκει. 2. Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίας φυγὴν Αὐρηλιανὸς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἐμισαν εἰσῆει, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν δεχομένων, εὐρῶν δὲ πλοῦτον ὃν οὐχ οἶα τε ἐγεγόνει Ζηνοβία μετακομίσει, παραχρῆμα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλμύραν εἶχετο καὶ ἐπιστάς τῇ πόλει, κύκλῳ περιλαβὼν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει, τῆς τροφῆς ἐκ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἔθνων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χορηγουμένης τῶν δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ὡς ἀδυνάτου τῆς ἀλώσεως οὔσης, ἤδη δὲ τινος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα λόγους αἰσχροὺς ἀφιέντος, παρεστῶς τις τῷ βασιλεῖ Πέρσης ἀνήρ εἰ «κελεύεις» ἔφη, «τὸν ὕβριστὴν τοῦτον ὄψει νεκρόν». 3. Ἐγκελευσάμενου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, προστησάμενος ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ὁ Πέρσης τοὺς ἀποκρύπτοντας, ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον καὶ βέλος ἀρμόσας ἀφίησιν, ὃ δὴ προκεκυφότι τῆς ἐπάλξεως τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἔτι τὰς ὕβρεις ἐπαφιέντι προσπαγὲν κατάγει τε τοῦ τεῖχους αὐτὸν καὶ νεκρὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δείκνυσιν.

**55** Ἐπει δὲ ἀντεῖχον πολιορκούμενοι, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπαγορεύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίσαντες, ἐγκαρτεροῦντας θεώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεία πιεζόμενοι γνώμην ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην δραμεῖν, κάκεισε παρὰ Περσῶν βοήθειαν εὐρέσθαι, πράγματά τε Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα μηχανήσασθαι. 2. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, καμήλῳ <...> τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἀναβιβάσαντες, αἱ δὲ καμήλων εἰσὶν τάχιστα καὶ ἵππους ὑπεραίρουσαι τάχει, τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξάγουσιν. Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Ζηνοβίας φυγῇ, τῷ κατὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἐνδοῦς δραστηρίῳ, πέμπει παραχρῆμα τοὺς διώζοντας ταύτην ἱππέας. 3. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἤδη τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὴν μέλλουσαν περαιοῦσθαι, καταγαγόντες ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου πρὸς τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἄγουσιν· ὃ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς θέας περιχαρῆς ἐγεγόνει, φιλότιμος δὲ ὢν φύσει, λαβὼν κατὰ νοῦν ὡς γυναικὸς κρατήσας οὐκ ἔσται τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐπίδοξος, ἐδυσχέραινεν.

**56** Τῶν δὲ ἐναποκεκλεισμένων τῇ πόλει Παλμυρηνῶν αἱ γνώμαι διχῆ διηροῦντο, τῶν μὲν προκινδυνεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἐθελόντων καὶ διαπολεμεῖν παντὶ σθένει Ῥωμαίοις, τῶν δὲ ἰκε-

now that they had embraced the Roman cause. Palmyra needed to be held firmly in the hand and the situation reflected on in greater peace and quiet once the necessary security had been gained in the well-fortified city. As no faction or advice interfered, the decision was made. 2. As soon as Aurelianus heard of Zenobia's flight, he went back to Emesa, with the citizens gladly taking him in. He also found valuables that Zenobia was no longer able to take with her, and immediately he and his army started to advance on Palmyra which on arrival he invested on every side, while every kind of provision was levied for his troops from the neighbouring countryside. Meanwhile, the Palmyrenes derided the Romans, as if they thought it impossible for them to take the city; and one man in particular made obscene remarks about the emperor's own person. At this, a Persian who stood by the emperor said, "If you will allow me, sir, you shall see that insolent fellow dead." 3. The emperor consented to this, and the Persian, concealing himself behind some other men, shot at the man while he was looking over the battlements, and hit him whilst still uttering his insulting language, so that he fell down from the wall before the emperor and the army.

**55** The besieged, however, held out in the hope that the enemy would withdraw for want of provisions. When they saw the Romans persisting in their resolution, and that they were themselves without essentials, they made the decision to flee to the Euphrates and from there request aid of the Persians and to cause new difficulties for the Romans. 2. Having made the plan, they set Zenobia on a female camel, ... which is the swiftest of that kind of animal, and much more swift than horses, and conveyed her out of the city. 3. Aurelianus was annoyed by the escape of Zenobia; but naturally did not give way to the audacious deed and immediately sent out horsemen in pursuit. They succeeded in capturing her, as she was about to cross the Euphrates and took her off the boat to Aurelianus. Though much pleased at this unexpected sight, yet being ambitious for honour, he became uneasy at the thought that the conquest of a woman would not stand to his credit among future generations.

**56** The Palmyrenes trapped in the city were divided: while some chose to undertake the city's perilous defence and endure the war against the Romans with all their might, the others gesti-

τηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους προτεινομένων αἰτούντων τε συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν δεξαμένους δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἰκετείαν καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακελευσαμένους, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχέοντο, δῶρα καὶ ἱερεῖα προσάγοντες. 2. Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα τιμήσας τὰ δὲ δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀθῶους ἠφίει τῆς δὲ πόλεως γενόμενος κύριος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ ταύτην πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς καὶ ἀναθημάτων κρατήσας, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἐμισαν εἰς κρίσιν ἤγαγε Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ταύτη συναραμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰτίας ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὴν ἐξαιρούσα, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους ἤγεν εἰς μέσον ὡς παραγαγόντας οἷα γυναῖκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λογγῖνος ἦν, οὗ συγγράμματα ἔστι μέγα τοῖς παιδείας μεταποιούμενοις ὄφελος φέροντα. 3. ὧπερ ἐφ' οἷς κατηγορεῖτο ἐλεγχόμενον παραχρῆμα ὁ βασιλεὺς θανάτου ζημίαν ἐπέθηκεν, ἦν οὕτω γενναίως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Λογγῖνος ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σχετλιάζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει παραμυθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ Ζηνοβίας κατειπούσης κολάσεσιν ὑπαχθέντων. ...

**57** 1. Ἄξιον <δὲ> τὰ συνενεχθέντα πρὸ τῆς [πρώτης] Παλμυρηῶν καθαιρέσεως ἀφηγήσασθαι, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ φαίνομαι ποιησάμενος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐν προοιμίῳ μοι πρόθεσιν· Πολυβίου γὰρ ὅπως ἐκτίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ διεξεληθόντος, ὅπως ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν αὐτὴν διέφθειραν ἔρχομαι λέξων. 2. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ γένωμαι τῆς ἱστορίας τῷ μέρει Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ μέρους οὐκ ὀλίγου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἤδη κεκρατηκόσιν, ὡς διεξῆλθον, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὰ προεμνήθη τὴν συμβᾶσαν αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντα καθαιρέσιν· τίνα δὲ ταῦτα, ἐρῶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἴδρυτο καλουμένου Σαρπηδονίου, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χρηστήριον. 3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λεγόμενα, καὶ ὡς ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπὸ λύμης ἀκρίδων ἐνοχλουμένοις Σελευκιάδας παραδιδούς (ὄρνεα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνδιδαιτώμενα τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τόποις) συνεξέπεμπεν τοῖς αἰτουῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀκρίσιν συμπεριπτάμεναι καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ταύτας δεχόμεναι καὶ παραχρῆμα διαφοροῦσαι πλῆθος τε ἄπειρον ἐν ἀκαριαίῳ διέφθειρον καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων βλάβης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπήλλαττον, ταῦτα μὲν τῇ τνηκαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία παρήμι, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένους πᾶσαν ἀποσεισαμένου θείαν εὐεργεσίαν. 4. Τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ χρωμένοις εἰ καθέξουσιν τὴν τῆς ἐφᾶς ἡγεμονίαν, ἔχρησεν ὁ

culated submission over the wall and apologised for their aforementioned actions. The emperor accepted their pleas and gave them encouragement, whereupon they rushed out of the city bearing gifts and offerings. 2. Aurelian respected the offerings, accepted the gifts and let the donors leave unpunished. After taking possession of the city and making himself the master of the riches stored there as well as the other provisions and votive offerings, he returned to Emesa to put Zenobia and her helpers on trial here. By rejecting the charges, she cleared herself of everything, but in the proceedings implicated many others who might have misled her being a (weak) woman. These included Longinus from whom there are many writings of great benefits to those who are engaged in literary training. 3. Longinus was convicted of the charges against him and sentenced to death on the spot by the emperor but accepted the punishment with such courage that he himself comforted those who mourned for his fate. Other persons denounced by Zenobia were also punished..

**57** It seems appropriate to me to describe in more detail the events that preceded Palmyra's destruction, even if I clearly wanted to deal with the story briefly as I have stated in the introduction. For, as Polybius has described the rapid acquisition of the empire by the Romans, I am now reporting on its demise which also took place in a short time and for which it was their atrocities that were to blame. 2. But I will only speak of this when I have reached that part of my history. When, as already mentioned, the Palmyrenes had already taken possession of a not insignificant part of the Roman Empire, the deity let them know in advance the impending doom with many signs. Here are a few examples: In Seleucia in Cilicia there was a sanctuary of the so-called Apollo Sarpedonius and in it was an oracle. 3. What is said about this deity is that it gave 'Seleucids' - which are birds living in the vicinity of the temple - to all those who suffered from locust plague - and sent these out together with the supplicants. These birds then flew about with the locusts, grasped them with their beaks, immediately tore them to pieces and wiped out at an instant an innumerable mass; so, they freed the people from the harm done by those insects. I attribute that to the fortunate people who lived at that time, whereas the current generation rejects all divine benevolence. 4. Now, the Palmyrenes,

θεὸς οὕτως

Ἐξίτε μοι μεγάρων, ἀπατήμονες οὐλοὶ ἄνδρες,  
φύτλης ἀθανάτων ἐρικυδέος ἀλγυντῆρες.

Πυνθανομένοις δὲ τισιν περὶ τῆς Αὐρηλιανοῦ  
κατὰ Παλμυρηῶν στρατείας ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε  
Κίρκος τρήρωσιν κρυερὸν γόον ἠγηλάζων,  
οἶος πολλῆσιν ταὶ δὲ φρίσσουσι φονῆα.

**58** Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ Παλμυρηνοῖς συνηνέχθη τοιοῦτον Ἄφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλιούπολέως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἵδρυται· τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἐστὶν ἐοικυῖα χειροποίητῳ δεξαμενῇ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαίρας φαίνεται δίκην, συνόδων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνοις τακτοῖς γινομένων, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐφαίνετο χρόνων. 2. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα προσέφερον οἱ συνιόντες ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα, καὶ ὑφάσματα μέντοι λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης τιμιωτέρας· καὶ εἰ μὲν δεκτὰ ἐφάνη, παραπλησίως τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ τὰ ὑφάσματα κατεδύετο, εἰ δὲ ἄδεκτα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, αὐτὰ τε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπιπλέοντα τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἦν ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις ὕλαις, αἷς φύσις οὐκ αἰωρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καταδύεσθαι. 3. Τῶν Παλμυρηῶν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς καθαιρέσεως ἔτει συνελθόντων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἑορτῆς καιρῷ καὶ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ὑφασμάτων κατὰ τῆς λίμνης ἀφέντων, πάντων τε τοῦ βάθους καταδύντων, κατὰ τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὄφθησαν αἰωρούμενα πάντα, τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τούτου τὰ ἐσόμενα δηλωσάσης. 4. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ῥωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας φυλαττομένης τοιαύτη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφίκομαι τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βραχὺ βαρβαρωθεῖσα εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρὲν, περιέστη, τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τοῦ δυστυχήματος, καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ᾧ παραθήσομαι τοὺς τὰ συνενεχθέντα μηνύσαντας.

**59** Ἐπανελθεῖν δὲ τέως καιρὸς ὅθεν ἐξέβην, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀτελεῖ δόξω καταλιμπάνειν· Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην

who asked the deity whether they would rule over the east, received the following answer:

‘Get out of the temple, swindlers, perishable people

who so aggrieve the immortal gods’ illustrious generation!’

However, the God prophesied for those who wanted to find out about Aurelian’s campaign against the Palmyrene:

‘If a hawk with a scary reputation leads the frightened pigeons,

he is alone among many; whereas they tremble before their murderer.’

**58** The Palmyrenes received yet another oracle of the following kind: Aphaka is a place in between Heliopolis and Byblos, where there is a temple of Aphrodite of Aphaka. Nearby is a pond that resembles an artificially created water basin. A fire in the area of the sanctuary and in the surrounding air, similar to a torch or orb, is seen when gatherings take place there at certain times, and this process has been observed up to our present day. 2. The attendees brought gifts made of gold and silver to the pond in honour of the goddess, as well as linen, silk and other precious materials. If the gifts appeared welcome, the textiles sank, as did the heavy objects; if, on the other hand, the textiles were unwelcome or contemptible, you could see them floating on the surface of the water, and likewise things made of gold, silver, or other substances that do not naturally float on the water but sink. 3. When the Palmyrenes gathered for the festival in the year before their city went into demise and threw gold, silver and weaving gifts into the lake in honour of the goddess, all the gifts sank deeply, while for the festival the following year sometimes everything was seen to be floating on the surface; and this is how the goddess revealed what would happen. 4. The benevolence of the deity towards the Romans was of the same kind, insofar as they maintained the sacred service. But then I come to those times when the Roman Empire was gradually barbarized and, only to a reduced extent, survived ruins. I will also explain the origins of the catastrophe and, to the best of my abilities, the oracles that announced the (later) events.

**59** However, I must return to where I have left off in order that I may not seem to abandon my narrative and leave it incomplete. Aurelian

ἐλαύνοντος, καὶ συνεπάγοντός οἱ Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν ταύτης καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνησαν, αὐτὴν μὲν Ζηνοβίαν φασὶν ἢ νόσῳ ληφθεῖσαν ἢ τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένην ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τοῦ Ζηνοβίας παιδὸς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μεταξὺ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Βυζαντίου πορθμοῦ καταποντωθῆναι.

**60** Ἐχομένου δὲ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁδοῦ, κατέλαβεν ἀγγελία τοιαύτη, ὡς τῶν ἐν Παλμύρα καταλειφθέντων τινὲς Ἀψαῖον παραλαβόντες, ὃς καὶ τῶν προλαβόντων αὐτοῖς γέγονεν αἴτιος, ἀποπειρῶνται Μαρκελλίνου τοῦ καθεσταμένου τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν παρὰ βασιλείῳ ὑπάρχου καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφῶς ἐγκεχειρισμένου διοίκησιν, εἴ πως ἀνέχεται σχῆμα βασιλείου ἐαυτῷ περιθεῖναι. 2. Τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸ διασκέπτεσθαι τὸ πρακτέον ἀναβαλλομένου, τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ αὐθις καὶ πολλακίς ἠνώχλουν· ὃ δὲ ἀποκρίσεσιν χρώμενος ἀμφιβόλοις αὐτὸς μὲν Αὐρηλιανῷ τὸ σκεφθὲν κατεμήνυσε, Παλμυρηνοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ περιθέντες ἀλουργῆς ἱμάτιον κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν εἶχον.

**61** Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς αὐτόθεν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφῶν ἐπέλλετο, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἵππων ἀμίλλης ἐπιτελουμένης τῷ δήμῳ φανείς καὶ τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ πάντας ἐκπλήξας ἐπὶ τὴν Παλμύραν ἤλαυνεν· ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ κατασκάψας, οὐδὲ τιμωρίας Ἀντιόχον ἄξιον διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εἶναι νομίσας ἀφήσιν· σὺν τάχει δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας στασιάσαντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἰδόντας παραστησάμενος, θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσαγαγὼν μεγίστης ἀποδοχῆς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐτύγγανεν.

2. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου δειμάμενος ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλμύρας ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν, Ἥλιου τε καὶ Βήλου καθιδρῦσας ἀγάλματα ...

therefore headed for Europe and brought with him Zenobia, her son (Vaballathus) and all those who had taken part in the rebellion. Some say that Zenobia herself died on the way, either because she fell ill or refused to eat; it is said that the rest of them, with the exception of her son, drowned in the middle of the strait between Chalcedon and Byzantium.

**60** As Aurelian continued his journey into Europe, he received the news that some of those he had left at Palmyra, having won over Apsaeus, who was responsible for the earlier events, were tempting Marcellinus, whom the emperor had appointed prefect of Mesopotamia and Rector of the East, to assume the purple. 2. Under pretence of taking time to decide on the right course of action, he delayed them so long, that they had to pester him repeatedly. He therefore framed ambiguous answers to their demands, while he notified Aurelian of their design. In the meantime, the Palmyrenes, having clothed Antiochus in purple, shut themselves in at Palmyra.

**61** On hearing this news, Aurelian immediately set off for the east with only the troops at his disposal. On reaching Antioch, he surprised the people, who were then attending a horse-race, by his sudden appearance and carried on to Palmyra, which he took and razed without a contest, but, not thinking Antiochus worthy of being punished on account of his obscure origins, he dismissed him. After this action (i.e. the final subjection of Palmyra), he quickly won over the Alexandrians who were on the point of revolt, being already divided among themselves. He then entered Rome in triumph, and there he was received most enthusiastically by the senate and people. 2. At this period also he erected that magnificent temple of the Helios-Bēl, which he ornamented with all the votive offerings that he brought from Palmyra; placing in it the statues of the Sun and Bel. ...









# PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS



Procopius (500-565 CE) has been described as the last major Greek historians of the Classical World. He might have come from a Syriac-speaking family and was most probably trained in rhetoric at Gaza and in Law at Beirut. His knowledge of Latin is manifest in his writings as he often gives Greek definitions for Latin terms. He accompanied Belisarius in the campaigns of Justinian I of which he wrote the history. His work on the wars has been later divided into *The Persian War* (Books I II), *The Vandal War* (Books III IV) and *The Gothic War* (Books V VI VII). He latter added an eighth book, now referred to in modern editions as *Gothic War IV*, which contains an important account of the importation of silk into Byzantium. He also wrote a laudatory but highly informative work on *Buildings* (De aedificiis) infamous *Secret History* (Ἀνέκδοτα, *Anecdota*) after he had become disillusioned with Justinian. Because of the shortage of other historical sources of the period, our view of the reign of Justinian is largely through the eyes of Procopius.

Procopius was extremely well informed on the affairs of the Sasanian Empire and in particular in the latter's travails in her dealings with Eurasian tribes like the Hephthalities. He was also one of the few early Byzantine authors to mention the trade in silk between Byzantium and the Sasanian Empire and other eastern neighbours, especially through Laizica and the ports on the Red Sea. Because the complete work of Procopius has been available in English translation for sometime in the Loeb Classical Library (translated by H.B. Dewing and completed by G. Downey), only sections covering the Hephthalite Huns, the Red Sea trade and the importation of silk into Byzantium have been included. The superior translation of Averil Cameron (1967) has been used wherever possible.

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## PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS

*De Bello Persico*

Translated by Averil Cameron (pp. 3-24 and 49-50)  
and H.W. Dewing (i, pp. 179-95)



## Liber I

## §3

1. Χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὐννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὐσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. 2. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὐννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγγιστα ὄκνηται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ πόλις Γοργῶ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. 3. οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὡσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται. 4. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποιήνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ζὺν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐννων οὗτοι λευκοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς ὄψεις εἰσίν. 5. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν διαίταν ὀμοίωτροπον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἢ περ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἑνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ζυμβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν. 6. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἐταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἷπερ αὐτοῖς ζυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὔσης. 7. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐταιρισμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ζυμβαίη, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος. 8. Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ζυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτῆς, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν καταρωροδηκότες τὴν ἐφοδὸν ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμηνται, ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ὄνπερ ὄρη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ

1. Later Peroz, the Persian king (r. 459-484 CE), was waging war about land boundaries against the people of the Ephthalite Huns whom they called "White". He mustered a notable army and advanced against them. 2. The Ephthalites are a Hunnic people and are called Huns, but they do not mix with or associate with any of the Huns whom we know, for they have no land bordering on theirs. They do not in fact live near them at all, but next to the Persians toward the north, where the city called Gorgo is situated, on the very border of Persia, and there they often fight against each other over the boundaries. 3. They are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but have lived from old in a good land. 4. For this reason they have never invaded Roman territory except with the Persian army. These alone of the Huns are white bodied and not hideous to look at. 5. Nor is their way of life the same as the others, nor do they live the life of a beast like them. They are ruled by one king and have a lawful government and deal in an upright and just way with each other and with their neighbours, just like Romans and Persians. 6. The rich ones chose as many as twenty comrades or more to be their drinking fellows forever and share all their money, with common power over it. 7. When the man who made them his comrades dies it is the custom for these men to be taken alive with him to his tomb.

8. On Peroz's expedition against these Ephthalites an ambassador was present who had been sent to him by the Emperor Zeno (r. 474-491 CE), Eusebius by name. The Ephthalites, giving the enemy the impression that they were terrified by their approach and were going into flight, made at a run for a place encircled all around by precipitous mountains which were entirely co-

ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἄγαν καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. **9.** ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὄρων προΐοντι ὡς πορρωτάτω ὁδὸς μὲν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεία ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὄρων ἔλγη. **10.** Περόζης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντὸς ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἐννοῶν τε ὡς ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία πορευοίτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε. **11.** τῶν δὲ Οὐννων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὐπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἐνδηλοὶ εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντὸς τε τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν οἰοί τε ὄσιν. **12.** ὥνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαιναν) αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλευέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι ἢν τίς ποτε μηχανῆ ἐς σωτηρίαν φέρουσα εἴη. **13.** ὁ δὲ Περόζης ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυπεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιίας λέοντά ποτε τράγω ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὀρμησαί μὲν ὡς ἀρπάζοντα, ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῆ ἔχουσαν στενήν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην (διέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν) ἦν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπερθεῖν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. **14.** ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιήνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλήν ἐποιεῖτο. **15.** Οὐννοι δὲ ἤδη ἐπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἰοί τε ὄσιν. **16.** καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἠσθημένοι οὐ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. **17.** ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους περὶ ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδῶσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὐννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἦν γε αὐτὸν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον, καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὁμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοῖν μήποτε

vered by numerous trees with thick foliage. **9.** On going a long way within the mountains a path could be seen in the middle, very wide, but with no exit at its end, for it stopped at the circle of mountains itself. **10.** Peroz, therefore, innocent of all guile and not reflecting that he was in foreign territory, heedlessly pursued them. **11.** A few of the Huns were in flight ahead of him, but most of them came on the back of the enemy army by hiding in the rough ground. As yet they did not wish to be seen by them, so that the Persians would go further into the ambush, come right inside the ring of mountains, and be unable to get out again. **12.** The Persians heard them, however, for they could already perceive some danger, and while keeping quiet themselves through terror of Peroz they besought Eusebius to advise the king - who was in complete ignorance of his danger - to take care and not to be overbold, and to see whether there might be some means to safety.

**13.** He went to see Peroz, but did not reveal their present plight. Instead, he began with a parable: "A lion", he said, "once met a goat bound and bellowing in quite an accessible place. The lion in eagerness for its feast sprang to snatch it, but fell into a deep ravine with a narrow circular and continuous path (it had no outlet) which the goat's keepers had purposely built, placing the goat above the ravine as a snare for the lion".

**14.** When Peroz heard this he grew alarmed lest the Persians had pursued the enemy to their own detriment. He advanced no further; he remained there and thought about their position. **15.** But now the Huns (i.e. Ephthalites) in pursuit came out into the open and put a guard on the entrance to the place to stop the Persians from retreating. **16.** Then the Persians, knowing only too well what danger they were in, lamented their plight, with no hope that they would escape the danger. **17.** But the Ephthalite king sent some of his men to Peroz and jeered at him for his foolish rashness, as a result of which he was putting in ignominious jeopardy himself and the Persian race. He promised, however, that even so the Huns would give them safety if Peroz was willing to do obeisance to him as his lord and master, and give pledges on his native oaths that the Persians would never campaign against the Ephthalite

Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι. **18.** ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπυθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελλλόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἶη. **19.** οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ ὅπη οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἕτερον σοφία περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. **20.** εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. **21.** δεῖσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρησαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν ζυγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρα τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δὲ πού πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίον προσκυνεῖν· ταύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναίτο. **22.** Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε τῆ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἢ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

people. **18.** When Peroz heard this he revealed it to the magi who were with him, asking whether he should fulfill the demands of the enemy. **19.** The magi answered that as to the oath he could do as he liked, but for the rest he must confound the enemy by guile. **20.** For, they said, they had a custom whereby every day they did obeisance to the rising sun. **21.** So Peroz should watch carefully for the time and meet the Ephthalite ruler at dawn, and then make his obeisance turning toward the rising sun. This way, they advised, he would be able to evade the dishonour brought by the action. **22.** So Peroz gave the pledges for the peace and made obeisance to his enemy as the magi advised him, and gladly retired home with the whole Persian army forthwith.

#### §4

**1.** Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμοιοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὐννοὺς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. **2.** πάντα οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ζυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἤγε, τῶν παιδῶν ἓνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν ἑτηκαῦτα γὰρ ἠβηκῶς ἔτυχε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. **3.** Ἐφθαλίται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοι τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἠπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. **4.** καὶ ὃς αὐτῶν ζὺν γέλῳτι ἐπυθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἶη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. **5.** οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τᾶλλα πάντα ἠρτῆσθαι ζυμβαίνει. **6.** οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιουσίῳ ὑπαντιάζειν πάσῃ προθυμία ἠξίουσαν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐκόλυεν. οὐ γὰρ πῶ σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσι, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῆ τῆς οἰκείας τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. **7.** ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἢ ἔμελλον Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἤθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον εἰργάσατο βαθεῖάν τε καὶ εὐροὺς ἰκανῶς ἔχουσαν, ὀλίγον τινα ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῆ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον ἵππων ὀδῶν ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. **8.** καλάμους τε τῆς τάφρου ὑπερθεὶς ἐπιθεῖς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους συναμεισάμενος, ταύτη ἐπιπολῆς ἔκρυψε, Οὐννων τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ζυναγαγόντας

**1.** Not long afterwards, however, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he began to wish to exact vengeance on the Ephthalites for their insult to him. **2.** He mustered Persians and allies from all his territories and set out on an expedition against the Ephthalites, leaving behind only one of his sons, Cavadh by name, who was just a youth at the time, and taking all the rest with him, some thirty in number. **3.** When the Ephthalites heard of the expedition they were angry at being deceived by the enemy and reproached the king for abandoning everything to the Persians. **4.** But he laughed and asked them what it was of theirs that he had abandoned—their land, their arms or any other of their possessions. **5.** They answered that he had abandoned the opportune moment on which everything else depends. **6.** They eagerly advocated meeting the invaders, but he restrained them for the moment, maintaining that as yet the invasion was not certain, since the Persians were still in their own territory. But as he waited there he did this. **7.** In the plain where the Persians were likely to invade the land of the Ephthalites, he marked off a large and extensive space, making a broad, deep trench, and left a narrow piece in the middle untouched, just wide enough for ten horses. **8.** He laid reeds over the trench and concealed the real surface by scattering earth on top of the reeds. Then he told the Hunnic troops that when they were about to retire behind this trench, they were to draw themselves together into a narrow column and go carefully

σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι, φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπίπτουεν: **9.** τοὺς δὲ ἄλλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὓς τὸν ὄρκον Περόζης ὤμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὐννοὺς ἐστράτευσεν. **10.** ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῆ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἡσύχῃ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργῶ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς: τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν ὁρίοις τυγχάνει οὕσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατάρυχι ἔχοντας, ἠνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἴκοιντο. **11.** οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο. **12.** οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτίῳ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἕς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπετώκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὀπισθεν εἶποντο: **13.** ἅτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ξὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ ὃ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπετωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. **14.** ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἦν ξὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασιν. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαι φασὶ τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἦσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὃ οἱ λευκοτάτον τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἔντιμον ἐξ ὧτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίη, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὐπω πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. **15.** οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὄτουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι τό τε οὓς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μάργαρον ὅπη ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. **16.** ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὐρέσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτας εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι.

**17.** Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον: ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. **18.** λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ

along this solid piece of land, taking care not to fall into the trench. **9.** And he hung from the top of the royal standard the salt upon which Peroz had earlier sworn the oath which he was breaking in making war on the Huns. **10.** As long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory he kept his peace, but when he learned from scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo, which is on the furthest boundary of Persia, and had now left there and were advancing upon his own army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops on his side of the trench, he ordered a few men to advance and show themselves to the enemy some distance away in the plain. And once they had merely been seen, they were to flee back again with all their might, remembering his instructions about the trench when they came near to it. **11.** The detachment did this, and when they came near the trench, they all crossed it, a few at a time, and rejoined the rest of the army. **12.** The Persians, filled with martial zeal against the enemy and with no inkling of the plot, came in full pursuit across the flat plain, and fell into the trench-not merely the leaders but those behind as well. **13.** For they were hot in pursuit, as has been said, and had no suspicion of the danger which had befallen the van. They fell on top of them with their horses and spears and, of course, killed them and perished equally themselves. **14.** Among them was Peroz with all his sons. They say that just as he was about to fall into this trench, he realised the danger, and took the pearl that hung from his right ear, a jewel of dazzling whiteness and valuable for its great size, and flung it away, so that no one might wear it after him, it being exceedingly beautiful, such as no other king had possessed before. But I do not believe this tale, **15.** for in such a perilous situation he would not have thought of anything but the danger. I suppose that in fact his ear was crushed in the disaster and the pearl disappeared somewhere. **16.** The Roman Emperor wanted to buy it from the Ephthalites but did not succeed, for the barbarians could not find it, even after a very careful search. They say, however, that the Ephthalites found it later and gave it to Cavadh.

**17.** But it is worth recounting what the Persians say about this pearl, for perhaps the story may not seem wholly incredible to some. **18.** The Persians, then, say that when this pearl was in its

μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐστὶ, νήχου δὲ τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν: ἀνεωγένοι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τὰ ὄστρακα, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῶ εἰκασθῆναι οὐδαμῆ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου. **19.** κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῶ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθεῖν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδύμων, εὐρόντα δὲ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὅτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος αἴθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπύλασθαι. **20.** καὶ ποτε τῶν τινα γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιθεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκνήσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόζην ἅπαντα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν. **21.** ἃ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπειῖας τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπάροι. **22.** ὃν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότη οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν 'Ὁ δέσποτα, ποθεινὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ χρήματα, ποθεινότερα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ, πάντων μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. **23.** ὧν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκασθεὶς φύσει ἴσως ἂν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν. ἐγὼ τοῖνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μαργάρου σε κύριον: θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα ἔχω. **24.** καὶ ἦν μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὐδην ὡς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι. σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀποχρήσει, καίπερ οὐδὲν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότη εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. **25.** εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἀλῶναι, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς θανάτου τοῦ πατρῶου ἀμείψασθαι. **26.** οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀποίση μείζω. τὰ παιδιά γὰρ ὠφελῶν εὐ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῆ εἶσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος γένοιτο μόνη ἢ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα.' **27.** τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεὶς νήχου καὶ ὁ κύων αὐτῶ εἴθιστο ἔπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητό τις, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως ἔρημόν ποτε τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ λάβοι. **28.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τι ἐς τὴν θοῖνῃν οἱ ἐπιτηδείως ἐχόντων ἐντετυχηκῆναι ζυνέπεσε καὶ

oyster in the sea which borders the Persian coast, the oyster was swimming not far from the shore, and that its shell was open, in the interior of which lay the pearl, a wonderful sight, for no other anywhere could be likened to it in the whole of history either for size or for beauty. **19.** A shark of great size and fierceness became enamoured of this sight and followed in its tracks, relaxing neither by night nor by day. When it was forced to look for food, it would look around for something edible where it was, and when it had found something it would snatch at it and devour it as quickly as possible, and then come up with the oyster and again sate itself on the beloved sight. **20.** And they say that once a fisherman saw what was going on, but shrank from the danger in fear of the beast, and took the whole story to Peroz the king. **21.** They say that when Peroz had heard it he conceived a great longing for the pearl and urged this fisherman on with flattery and hope of gain. **22.** The other, they say, was unable to resist his lord's request and said this to Peroz: "My lord, riches are dear to men, but life is dearer, and children are most precious of all. **23.** Being naturally impelled by love for them a man might perhaps even dare all. I intend to make trial of the beast, and I hope to make you master of the pearl. **24.** If I succeed in this struggle, it is easy to see that henceforth I shall be ranked among those called blessed. For it is not unlikely that you, the king of kings, will reward me with all good things, and it will be enough for me, even if it should happen that I gain no reward, that I have been the benefactor of my master. **25.** But if it is my fate to be caught by this beast, it shall be your task, O King, to requite my sons for their father's death. **26.** For in this way even after my death I shall be earning for my family, and you will win greater fame for your virtue. For by helping my children you will reward me, though I shall have no power to thank you for your kindness. For the only generosity that cannot be counterfeited is that which is shown to the dead". **27.** With these words he left. And when he reached the place where the oyster was wont to swim and the shark to follow, he sat down on a rock, waiting for a time when he might be able to catch the pearl abandoned by its lover. **28.** As soon as the shark had come upon something that would serve him for food, and was delaying over it, the fisherman left those who were with him on the beach to help with his task. Eagerly he made for the oyster and seizing it

περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἀλιεὺς τοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπομένους τῆ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺ τοῦ κτενὸς σπουδῆ πολλῇ ἤει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἠπειγετο. **29.** οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν ὁ σαγηνευτής, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν θήραμα ἠκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῆ πάση, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλοὺς διεφθάρη οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. **30.** ἀνελόμενοι δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμμένοι τῶ τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ξυνεχθέντα πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. **31.** τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῶ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ τῆδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ξυνεχθῆναί φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. **32.** Οὕτω μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὸς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὄδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. **33.** καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθειται Πέρσαις μὴ ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῆ πολεμία ἐλαύνοντας δίωξιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα, ἣν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ξυμβαίη. **34.** ὅσοι μὲντοι Περόζῃ οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τῆνικαῦτα περιῆν μόνος. **35.** τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατύναντος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἤξιον. ἤρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

made haste to get clear of danger. **29.** But the shark heard and came to the rescue. The fisherman saw it, and since in his impending capture he was not far from the beach, he flung his prize with all his might onto the land and was himself not long afterwards caught and killed.

**30.** The men left on the shore retrieved the pearl and took it to the king and told him what had happened. **31.** This story, as narrated, is the Persian account of the pearl. But I return to my former narrative. **32.** In this way Peroz and all the Persian army was destroyed. For anyone who happened not to have fallen into the trench came into the hands of the enemy. **33.** And after this a law was made in Persia that while advancing in enemy territory they should never engage in pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been totally routed. **34.** Those who had not gone on the expedition but remained in their own country chose as king Cavadh, the youngest son of Peroz, who alone survived.

**35.** And then the Persians became tribute-paying subjects of the Ephthalites, until Cavadh strengthened the Empire and would no longer pay the yearly tribute. The barbarians ruled the Persians for two years.

## §5

**1.** Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῆ ἀρχῆς χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναῖξιν μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας: ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῆ ἤρεσκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῶ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δῆσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. **2.** καὶ βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσῃ τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν εἵλοντο, ἐπειδὴ γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρη Περόζῃ, ὅσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο, Πέρσαις δὲ οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι ἰδιώτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἐξιτήλου παντάπασι γένους τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντος. **3.** Βλάσης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῶ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο: τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτινύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις τοῖς πλείοσιν. **4.** ἐνθα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν γνῶμαι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὄνομα μὲν Γουσαναστάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔειπεν ἄν ἐν

**1.** Later, however, Cavadh became more autocratic in his government and introduced among other innovations in the constitution a law providing that the Persians should be able to have intercourse with any of the women without distinction – which by no means pleased the people. **2.** For this reason they rose against him, deposed him, and threw him in prison and kept him under guard. They made Peroz's brother Blases their king, since no male issue of Peroz survived, as has been told, and since the Persians cannot lawfully make king a private citizen unless the royal house is utterly extinguished. **3.** And Blases, when he became king, called together the highest of the Persians and held a council about Cavadh, for the people did not wish to put him to death. **4.** Many views favoring different conclusions were expressed. But a man of high standing among the Persians came forward, by

Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτό γέ, πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὁμορὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἢ τῶν ὀνύχων τὰ προύχοντα Πέρσαις εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον δακτύλου ἀνδρός, πᾶχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον δακτύλου ἔχουσιν **5**. ‘Ταύτην ὁρᾶτε,’ εἶπε, ‘τὴν μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὕσαν: αὕτη μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οἷα τέ ἐστίν, ὅπερ εἴ ἴστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὃ φίλτατοι Πέρσαις, μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο.’ **6**. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, παραδηλῶν ὡς, ἦν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα πράγματα Πέρσαις περιῶν παρέξει. **7**. οἱ δὲ κτεῖναι ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος οὐδ’ ὅλως ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν νενομίκασιν. **8**. ἦν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχη, οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θάνατος τῷ ὄνομακότι ἢ ζημία ἐστὶ: διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν. **9**. ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελῦσθαι τὴν δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

name Gousanastades, a *chanaranges* by rank (that is, a Persian general), who ruled on the very borders of Persian territory in the land which borders on the Ephthalites. Showing the knife which the Persians use to cut their nails, a knife the length of a man’s finger, but not a third of a finger in breadth, he said: **5**. “You see this knife, a very short one. Yet at this moment this knife can perform the task which very soon, rest assured, my dear Persians, twice ten thousand armored men will not be able to do”. **6**. By this he meant to show that if they did not kill Cavadh, by surviving he would soon make trouble for the Persians. **7**. But they would not decide actually to put to death a man of royal blood, but only to keep him in the prison called “Oblivion”. **8**. For if a man is thrown into that prison, the law allows no mention of him henceforth, death being the penalty for whoever names him. For this reason it has received this name from the Persians. **9**. But the history of the Armenians relates that the force of the law concerning the prison of Oblivion was once relaxed by the Persians in the following way. ...

## §6

**1**. Καθειρθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐσιουῶσα τε παρ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζουσα: ἦν δὴ ὁ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν ἤρξατο: ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπῆς. **2**. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνήν ξυνηλθὼν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων ἠράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, **3**. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, καὶ αὕθις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου. ἦν δὲ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδῃ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, **4**. ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο διατριβὴν εἶχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πῶς αὐτὸν ἐνδοθεν ἐξελεῖσθαι δυνήσεται. **5**. διὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαιεν ὡς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. **6**. καὶ ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν γυναῖκα Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι, οὐπὲρ ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθητο. **7**. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου.

**1**. Cavadh’s wife looked after him while he was in prison, visiting him and bringing him provisions. The jailer began to try to seduce her, for she was very beautiful. **2**. When Cavadh heard this from his wife, he told her to submit to the man’s demands. And so the jailer slept with the woman and fell very passionately in love with her. **3**. As a result he allowed her to visit her husband whenever she pleased and to leave again without interference from anyone. There was a man of high standing among the Persians called Seoses, a great friend of Cavadh, **4**. who spent all his time near this prison, watching for an opportunity to get Cavadh out. **5**. By means of Cavadh’s wife he told him that horses and men were in readiness for him not far from the prison, giving details of their position. **6**. One night Cavadh persuaded his wife to give him her own clothing and to put on his cloak and sit in the prison instead of him where he used to sit. **7**. And so Cavadh escaped from the prison. When the guards saw him they thought it was his wife, and did not restrain him or in any way molest him. **8**. And at daybreak they saw the woman in the room in her husband’s clothes and imagined-



κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῆ ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι: ταῦτά τοι οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. **8.** ἅμα τε ἡμέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ᾤοντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. **9.** ἢ τε δόκησις αὐτῆ ἐν ἡμέραις συχναῖς ἤκμαζεν, ἕως Καβάδης πόρρω πού τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνεγεχθέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς φῶς ἡ ἐπιβουλή ἦλθε, καὶ ὄντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον [ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλοις: διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφήμι. **10.** Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόση ἐς Οὐννοὺς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε στρατεύμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἄτε κηδεστῆ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. **11.** τοῦτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῆ ἠθέλον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐς φυγὴν ὠρμητο. **12.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσαναστάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἶπε τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τισὶν ὡς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων ὑπουργεῖν βούλοιο. **13.** εἰπόντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐσῆι, ὃς δὴ οὐκ ἔῃ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει. **14.** ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἴκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενῆς ὢν, τὸν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζηται λύειν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται. **15.** ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ξυνέβη τις τύχη ὥστε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουνδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἦκων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, ξυγγενῆς τε ὢν τῷ Γουσαναστάδῃ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. **16.** ὃς δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος, ἐδειτό τέ οἱ ἄτε δούλω ὃ τι βούλοιο χρῆσθαι. **17.** Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε Βλάσην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἐξετύφλωσε, τρώπῳ δὲ ὄτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἔψοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὔτι μύοντας ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτῃ τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. **18.** καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουνδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Σεόσην ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνειπε. δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις

which was very far from the truth - that Cavadh was there.

**9.** This pretense lasted for many days until Cavadh was far on his way. What happened to the woman when the plot was revealed, and how they punished her, I cannot tell for certain, for the Persians do not agree about it. For this reason I do not recount the versions. **10.** Cavadh escaped all detection, and with Seoses reached the Ephthalite Huns. The king gave him his daughter in marriage and then, for Cavadh was now his son-in-law, put under his command a considerable army against the Persians. **11.** This army the Persians did not dare to meet, but dispersed in all directions in flight. **12.** But when Cavadh came to the land where Gousanastades has his domain, he told some of his attendants that he would appoint *chanaranges* whatever Persian on that day first came into sight and offered his allegiance. **13.** But as he spoke he regretted his words, for he remembered the law which forbids offices among the Persians going to others than those to whom each belongs by family right. **14.** He was afraid of someone coming to him first who was not related to the *chanaranges* and forcing him to break the law, so as to keep his word. But as he considered this, there came to him a chance of keeping his word without dishonouring the law. **15.** For the first to come to him chanced to be Adergoudounbades, a young man related to Gousanastades, and particularly excellent in warfare. **16.** He was the first to call Cavadh his master and make obeisance to him as king and to ask him to use him like a slave for whatever he wished. **17.** So Cavadh reached the royal palace without difficulty and took Blases, abandoned by his defenders, and blinded him in the way in which the Persians customarily blinded malefactors—they boil oil and pour it, bubbling, onto their open eyes, or heat an iron needle in the fire and with this touch the inside of their eyes – and kept him afterwards under guard. His reign lasted for two years. **18.** Cavadh put Gousanastades to death and appointed Adergoudounbades to the office of *chanaranges* in his place, and immediately proclaimed Seoses as “*adrastadaran salanes*”. This means the man who is in charge of all offices and over the whole army. **19.** Seoses was the first and

ἄπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. **19.** ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτός τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις ἔσχεν: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τι γέγονε: τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατόνατο καὶ ζῶν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγγίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν.

only man among the Persians to hold this office. No one had it before or after him. And Cavadh strengthened his rule and maintained it in safety. For he was second to none in ingenuity and energy.

## §7

**1.** Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὤφειλεν, ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀποτινῦναι οἱ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἤτει ταῦτα οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα: ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἴ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἴη. **2.** οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἶων. ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιότεραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οἰκείους ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὐς δὴ ἐς ἀλλήλους ζυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσις ἄμεινον εἶναι. **3.** διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληισάμενος ἐς Ἄμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἧς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. **4.** Ἀμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μὲν, ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρόντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν ἠθέλον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον. **5.** Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἦσκητο. οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης ἡμέρας ὀδῶ, πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὐτὸν καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέβειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. **6.** καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ περιέβαλον, οὐ ζυνημμένοι μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁρᾶν τε τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ ζυγγίνεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι. **7.** καὶ στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτῆναντο βραχὺ ὑπερθεν, ὅσον ὄμβρους τε καὶ νιφετοῦς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῆστο, πνίγει μὲν ἢ ψύχει ὡς ἥκιστα εἶκων, σπέρμασι δὲ τισὶν ἀποζῶν, οἵπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ σιτίζεσθαι εἰώθει. **8.** τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἰάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῆ πολλῇ ἐντεινάμενοι βάλλειν ἠθέλον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γεγонуῖαι τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῆ εἶχον. **9.** ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

**1.** Not long afterwards Cavadh owed money to the king of the Ephthalites, and since he was unable to pay it he asked Anastasius, the Roman Emperor, to lend it to him. Anastasius confided in some of his courtiers and asked whether he should do so. **2.** They would not agree to his making the loan. They told him that it would not be in his interest to strengthen their enemy's friendship with the Ephthalites with Roman money - it would be better to throw them against each other as much as possible. **3.** And so Cavadh decided, without just reason, to make war on the Romans. First he invaded Armenia without previous warning, and after overrunning and plundering the greater part of it he came without notice upon Amida, a city in Mesopotamia, to which, although it was winter, he laid siege. **4.** The people of Amida had no soldiers, for it was a time of peace and prosperity, and were in other respects quite unprepared. Nonetheless, they were certainly not willing to surrender to the enemy, and they withstood the danger and hardship with unexpected determination. **5.** There was among the Syrians a just man, Jacob by name, who was far advanced in religious knowledge and practice. This man had many years before confined himself in a place called Endelion, a day's journey from Amida, so as to be able to devote himself in safety to the practice of holiness. **6.** The inhabitants thereabouts, to aid his intention, had built a fence round him, not interwoven, but with posts fixed independently of each other, so that those who approached could see and converse with him. **7.** And they had made a small roof over him to keep off the rain and snow. Here this man had sat for a long time, giving no thought to heat or cold, living off seeds which he ate only at long intervals, not every day. **8.** Certain of the Ephthalites saw this Jacob as they overran that part of the country, and they eagerly drew their bows to shoot him. But all their hands were fixed and could not work their bows. **9.** When this story, repeated among the

περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἰδὼν τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ ξὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλιπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκέ τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυτο. **10.** Καβάδης μὲν οὖν: αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσιν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιευσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχῆσει. **11.** ὁ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο: περιβόητος γὰρ ἦ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. **12.** Καβάδης δὲ Ἄμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν αἰεὶ δοκοῖς τισιν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἕως ταύτη ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. **13.** πολλὰκις γὰρ ἐμβάλων καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ κατασεῖσαι ἤκιστα ἴσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἢ οἰκοδομία τοῖς δειμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἴργαστο. **14.** τούτου δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχῶν, λόφον τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῆ πόλει ἐποίησε μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τείχους τὸ μῆκος, οἱ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατώρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίησαν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χεῖρον ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μὲντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἐγεγόνει σχήματος ἔμενον οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρᾶσσομένου. **15.** πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διεννοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὀμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπεσῶν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. **16.** Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπήγγειλε. **17.** τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἅτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ξὺν γέλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτώθαζον. **18.** καὶ τινες ἐταῖραι ἀνεκλύσασαί κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδῃ ἄγχιστά που ἐστηκότι ἐδείκνυον ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις. **19.** ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσῳ ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκόλυον, ξυμβαλεῖν ἰσχυρίζόμενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρητα καὶ κρυπτό-

troops, reached Cavadh, he wished to see for himself, and when he had seen it he, together with the Persians who were there, was filled with wonder and besought Jacob to forgive the barbarians. And he forgave them in one word, and they were released from their plight. **10.** Cavadh then told the man to ask for whatever he wanted, thinking that he would ask for a large sum of money, and actually rashly promised that he would be refused nothing. **11.** But he asked him to give him all who should come to him in this war as fugitives. This request Cavadh granted, and gave him a written guarantee of safety. Many came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there, for the affair became very famous. This is how it was. **12.** While Cavadh was besieging Amida, he brought against every part of the defences the machine called the ram. The people of Amida each time repelled the attack with transverse beams, but he did not give in until he realised that the wall could not be taken by this means. **13.** For though he attacked it many times he was unable to destroy or to shake any part of the rampart, so securely had the erection been fashioned long ago by its builders. **14.** Meeting with no success here Cavadh made an artificial hill as a fortress against the city, far higher than the wall; and the besieged within the rampart began to tunnel under the hill, secretly removing the earth and hollowing out the greater part of the inside of the hill. The outside remained in the shape in which it was built, giving no hint of what was happening. **15.** And many Persians climbed up to the top as if in safety, meaning to shoot from there down onto the heads of those inside the fortifications. But as the crowd assailed it at a run, the hill suddenly collapsed and killed nearly all of them.

**16.** Cavadh, at a loss as to how to deal with the situation, decided to raise the siege and ordered the army to retreat on the next day. **17.** Then the besieged, paying no attention to the danger, began to jeer and laugh at the barbarians from the fortifications. **18.** And some prostitutes shamelessly lifted up their skirts and displayed to Cavadh, who was standing very near, the parts of a woman's body which men should not see uncovered. **19.** When the magi saw this they came before the king and forbade the retreat, deducing from the happening that it would come to pass that the people of Amida would soon show to

μενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δείξουσιν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. **20.** Ἡμέρας δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονόμου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν συχναῖς. **21.** νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἦκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδη ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὃς τῇ ἐπιγινομένη νυκτι κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνηνέχθη τύχη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. **22.** τὸν πύργον, ὃς δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτω ἐτύγγανεν ὧν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον, οὗσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νανομίκασι. τούτους ἑορτὴν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. **23.** ἐπεὶ τε ἡ νύξ ἐπεγένετο, ἅπαντες, ἅτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὀμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὕπνον τινὰ ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἦκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἦσθάνοντο. **24.** Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ' ὀλίγους γενόμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας. **25.** ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου προσῆγεν. **26.** ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἤδη. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα. **27.** ὠθισμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τὸ πλεόν ἤδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν που ἐγένοντο. **28.** ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτὸς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὀρμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς Πέρσας, θανάτος τε ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. **29.** διὸ δὴ πλήθει πολλῶν οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων γενόμενοι ἐνίκησάν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἦλω ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡμέρα. **30.** φόνος τε Ἀμιδηῶν πολλὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἕως ἐσελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδη τῶν τις Ἀμιδηῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἱερεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεῦειν τοὺς ἡλωκότας εἶη. **31.** Καβάδης μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;' ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτίκα ἔφη, 'Ὅτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμετέρα γνώμη, ἀλλὰ σὴ ἀρετῇ παραδίδοναι σοὶ Ἀμιδαν ἤθελε.' **32.** τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἡσθεὶς κτείνειν οὐδένα τὸ

Cavadh all their secret and hidden possessions. And so the Persian army remained there. **20.** But not many days later one of the Persians saw near the towers the exit of an old mine, badly concealed with small stones, and only a few at that. **21.** He went there alone at night, tested the means of entry, and found himself inside the fortifications. At dawn he told the whole story to Cavadh. The following night Cavadh made ladders ready and went to the place with a few men. A lucky chance befell him in the following way: **22.** The guarding of the tower which was nearest to the mine had fallen to the lot of those of the Christians who are the most strict, whom they call monks. It chanced that on that day they were celebrating a yearly festival to God. **23.** When night fell, all of them, tired out by the festival, and more than usually sated with food and drink, were sleeping a sweet and peaceful sleep, and as a result heard nothing of what was going on. **24.** The Persians entered the fortifications through the mine a few at a time, climbed the tower, and finding the monks still asleep killed them all.

**25.** When Cavadh heard of this, he brought the ladders up to the wall very near to this tower. **26.** It was already day. The besieged on guard in the next tower realized their danger and quickly came up to the rescue. **27.** There was a great struggle in both directions, and the citizens of Amida, getting the upper hand, killed many of those who climbed up. They pushed back the men on the ladders and came near to throwing off the danger. **28.** But Cavadh himself drew his sword, rushed to the ladders, and kept terrifying the Persians with it; and death was the punishment for those who dared to retreat from there. **29.** And so the Persians got the better of their enemies by sheer numbers and conquered them in battle. The city was taken by storm on the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege. **30.** There was great slaughter of the townspeople, until an old man from amongst them, a priest, came up to Cavadh as he was entering the town and said that it did not befit a king to slaughter captives. **31.** Cavadh, still possessed by the martial spirit, answered: "But why did you resolve to fight me?" And the other said in answer: "Because it was God's will to give Amida to you not by our decision, but because of your valour." **32.** Cavadh was pleased

λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιόντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιῆσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελέσθαι ἅπαντας αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν. **33.** Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπῶν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Γλώνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ὀλίγους οἰκτρούς, οἳ δὴ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑπηρετήσιν Πέρσαις ἔμελλον, αὐτὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἠλωκότας ἔχων ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπήλυνεν. **34.** ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπία ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ προπόση· χρόνου γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, **35.** ὃ τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια: φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἔτη ἑπτὰ ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

with this reply and allowed them to kill no one after this, but told the Persians to plunder the riches and make slaves of the survivors, and to choose out for himself all those of high rank. **33.** A little later after leaving a thousand men to garrison the place, and putting Glones in charge, a Persian, and leaving also a few poor wretches from the towns-people to wait on the Persians, he made for home with all the rest of the army and the prisoners. **34.** But toward these captives he displayed a humanity worthy of a king. For in a short time he allowed them all to go home, though the official version was that they had escaped from him. **35.** And the Roman Emperor Anastasius also treated them in a manner worthy of their bravery, for he remitted the city of all yearly taxes for seven years and gave them many gifts, both communally and individually, so much so that they forgot for the most part what had happened. But this was later.

## §8

**1.** Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμιδαν στρατεύμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκῆς ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἑκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδος τε, Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερία βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον, τῆς ἐφῶς δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγγανεν ὢν: **2.** καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγματῶν ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ μάγιστρον Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν: ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρικίος τε ὁ Φρῦξ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς: οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν. **3.** ξυνηὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστίνος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί, ὃς ὄπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδισκλός τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γόθων τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θευδερῖχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναίῳ τε ὑπερφυῶς ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρῳ, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἶποντο. **4.** στρατεύμα γὰρ τοιοῦτό φασιν οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις ζυστῆναι. οὗτοι μὲντοι ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταῦτ' ἀγῆγεμένοι οὐδὲ στρατεύμα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς

**1.** At the time of which I was speaking, however, the Emperor Anastasius, learning that Amida was under siege, sent a considerable army with all speed. There were officers in charge of every company, but the supreme commanders were four in number: Areobindus, at that time general of the East, the son-in-law of Olybrius, who had not long before been Emperor of the West; **2.** Celer, the chief of the palace guard (the Romans call this office “magister”); and in addition, the commanders of the troops in Byzantium, Patricius the Phrygian and Hypatius, the Emperor’s nephew. These were the four generals. **3.** Justin, who later became Emperor on the death of Anastasius, was with them, too; Patriciolus with his son Vitalian, who took up arms against the Emperor Anastasius not long afterwards as a usurper; Pharesmanes, a Colchian by birth and very experienced in warfare; and Godidisculus and Bessas, both Goths from among those who did not follow Theodoric when he went to Italy from Thrace, both very noble and experienced in military matters; and many other men of great worth. **4.** It is said that the Romans never mustered such an army against the Persians either before or afterwards. But all these leaders did not join together, or make one army for their expedition; each one led his own troops

ἕκαστος τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. **5.** χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίοις ἐπιφανής τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κοινὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνεῖπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσία εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἢ βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι. **6.** Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὕτως χρόνῳ τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὗρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἔφοδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνεχώρησαν ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. **7.** τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἠθέλε: πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομίσασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον: ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. **8.** οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ ἦεσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδεύομενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν ἄγχιστα γὰρ που ἐτύγγανεν ὦν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄρια κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπηντίαζεν. **9.** οὐπω μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν ὄντο στρατεύματα βραχὺ τι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. **10.** οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρζάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ οὐπω ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκτο. **11.** Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιέναι σφίσι ἐτύθητο, ἀπολιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἅπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. **12.** ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολέμοι ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον. ἐνθεν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἦεσαν. **13.** οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίοις οἱ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦεσαν, σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. **14.** οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ πεπυσμένοι, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. τὰ γοῦν ὄπλα καταθέμενοι ἄριστον σφίσι ἠτοίμαζον. ἦδη γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦγε. **15.** ῥύαξ δὲ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα καθαίρουν ἠρξάντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον. **16.** τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πνίγει καὶ λουῖσθαι ἠξίουσαν, ταύτῃ τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ῥύακος ὕδωρ πρόσω ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος ἦει: **17.** κατιδὼν τε

individually against the enemy. **5.** The Egyptian Apion was sent as treasurer of the expenses of the army, a man conspicuous among the patricians and full of energy. And the Emperor in a written statement declared him partner in the royal power so that he might have the power to direct the finances as he wished. **6.** The army was mustered with some delay and advanced but slowly. Accordingly, they did not come upon the barbarians in Roman territory, since the Persians had only made a sudden incursion and had immediately afterwards retreated to their own country with all the plunder. **7.** None of the generals wanted to start a siege against those who had been left in Amida for the moment, for they heard that they had brought in large quantities of provisions. Instead, they were eager to invade the enemy territory. **8.** Even so, they did not go together against the barbarians; as they advanced they camped separately from each other. When Cavadh heard this (for he was actually very close), he made with all haste for the Roman frontier and went to meet them. **9.** But the Romans did not know that Cavadh was advancing towards them with his whole army. **10.** They thought that it was a small detachment of Persians. Areobindus' force was encamped at a place called Arzanene, two days' journey from Constantina, and Patricius' and Hypatius' in a place called Siphrios, no less than forty-three and one-half miles from Amida. For Celer had not yet arrived. **11.** When Areobindus realised that Cavadh was advancing against them with the whole of his army, he abandoned the camp and fled with all his troops as fast as he could to Constantina. **12.** And when the enemy came up shortly afterwards, they took the camp, money and all, without a man in it. Then they advanced with all speed against the rest of the Roman army. **13.** But Patricius' and Hypatius' men met with eight hundred Ephthalites, who were ahead of the Persian army, and killed nearly all of them. **14.** But knowing nothing of Cavadh and the Persian army they thought themselves victorious, and relaxed their ways. They put down their arms and prepared their lunch, for it was now that time of day. **15.** A mountain stream flowed in the place where the Romans had begun to wash the meat which was to form their meal. **16.** Some, finding the heat oppressive, decided to bathe. Because of this the water in the stream was disturbed in its flow. When Cavadh had heard what had happened to the Ephthalites, he

συγκεχυμένον τὸ τοῦ ρύακος ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβάλων τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπαρασκεύους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐτοῖς ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὖσιν ἐπέστησαν. **18.** Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτη ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ξὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. **19.** ὅθεν δὴ οὐδένα σεσωσθαί φασι, Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐφόδου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὐννων πολεμίων ἐς γῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. **20.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ἦλθε, λόγου μέντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἴσοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὄντες ἀντεστάτου τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλον. **21.** Κέλερ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν Ἀρζανηνὴν ἐποιήσατο. **22.** ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὴ ληισάμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐπανήλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. δι' ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

advanced with speed against the enemy. **17.** But when he saw that the water of the stream was muddied, he guessed what was going on, realized that the enemy would be off their guard, and ordered his army to advance against them with all speed. They fell upon them at once as they ate, unarmed. **18.** The Romans could not withstand the attack, nor did they think of defence; each fled as best he could. Some of them were caught and killed, others, who had climbed the mountain which stretches up there, flung themselves down the cliff in panic and confusion. **19.** They say that no one was saved from this, but Patricius and Hypatius managed to escape at the beginning of the attack. Then Cavadh retired homewards with all his army, for enemy Huns had invaded his land, and he began to wage a long war against this people in the northern part of the country. **20.** In the meantime the Roman army arrived, but did nothing worthy of note because there was no one in full command of the war; the generals were of equal rank and opposed each other's wishes and would not agree. **21.** Celer crossed the river Nymphios with his men and attacked Arzanene. **22.** This river is very near Martyropolis, about three and one-half miles from Amida. But after plundering the land there they returned soon afterwards, and this attack was a short one.

## §9

**1.** Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἄμιδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βία μὲν ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον· πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. **2.** ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῆ ἀπορία, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆ προσεδρεία καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθομένους ἐώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦξεν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπασον, τρόπῳ ὄτῳ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. **3.** οἱ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιτο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἶη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἠθέλον. **4.** γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἀμοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες

**1.** Later Areobindus was summoned by the Emperor and went to Byzantium. The rest went to Amida and laid siege to it in the winter season. They could not manage to take the place by storm, even after many attempts; but they might have done so by famine, for all the besieged's provisions had given out. **2.** But the generals knew nothing of their enemies' plight and seeing that the soldiers were distressed by the siege and by the winter weather, suspected that a Persian army was going to advance against them; so they were looking for a way to withdraw from the position. **3.** And the Persians, not knowing what was to become of them in this peril, concealed their shortage of provisions very carefully, keeping up an appearance of having an abundance of supplies; but they wanted to retire home with an honourable excuse. **4.** So both sides had talks, the conditions being that the Persians would surrender the city to the Romans on receipt of a

ἀποδώσουσι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἑκάτεροί τε ἄσμενοι τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίουν, τὰ τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς Ἄμιδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλώνης γὰρ ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. **5.** Οὐπὼ μὲν στρατοπεδευσασμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὄντων οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιὼν λάθρα ὄρνις τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὠραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν Γλώνην οἱ ἐς χεῖρας παραδώσειν ξὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίους ὑπέσχετο, ἦν τινος ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν. **6.** ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς τὰ τε ἰμάτια δεινῶς διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἑοικῶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε. **7.** παρὰ τε τὸν Γλώνην ἦκον τὰς τε τρίχας τίλλων, 'Ετύγχανον μὲν, ὃ δέσποτα,' εἶπεν, 'ἅπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τάγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι 'καὶ γὰρ που ἐς τὰ ταύτη χωρία κατ' ὀλίγους περιούντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζονται πληγὰς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ λησταὶ ὄχοντο, οἷς δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι νόμος. **8.** ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὃ δέσποτα, σαυτῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνης. ἦν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγετήσων ἴης, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἢ τέτταρας οἱ κατάρτοι περιούντες λωποδυτοῦσιν.' **9.** ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλώνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἶεται οἱ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἰκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. **10.** ὁ δὲ πενήτηκοντα μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἢ κατὰ πέντε ὁδῶ ἰοῦσιν ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ζυμβῆναι οὐδὲν τι χεῖρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. **11.** Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἰππέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσι ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. **12.** ὁ δὲ ἄμεινον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιούντας Ῥωμαίους ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλη, οὕτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον Πέρσας. εὗ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλώνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο. **13.** παρὰ τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρίκιον ἦκον ἅπαντα ἔφραζε: καὶ ὅς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. **14.** οὗς δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσιν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπ-

thousand pounds of gold. Each side gladly fulfilled its undertaking and the son of Glones surrendered Amida to the Romans. For Glones had now died in the following way. **5.** Before the Romans had captured Amida, but when they were not far away from the city, a farmer who used to go secretly into the city to sell fowl and loaves and many delicacies to this Glones at high prices came before Patricius the general and promised that he would deliver Glones to him with two hundred Persians, if there were hopes of some reward from him. **6.** Patricius sent the man off, promising him everything that he should ask. The man tore up his clothes and entered the city looking as if he had been weeping. **7.** He came before Glones, tearing his hair, and said: "My lord, I was bringing to you all the good things of the countryside when some Roman soldiers met me (for they go around the countryside in bands and terrorize poor farmers) and beat me terribly and went off with everything - the thieves, whose long-established custom it is to fear the Persians and terrorize the farmers.

**8.** Defend yourself, my lord, and us and the Persians. If you go hunting to the outskirts of the city, you shall have a prey by no means to be despised. For they do their robbery, curse them, in fours or fives." **9.** These were his words. Glones believed him and asked him how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for the task. **10.** He said that fifty would be enough, for they would not meet with more than five of them at a time on the way. But so that they should not be taken unawares by anything there would be no harm in taking even a hundred for the task. And if he took double this, so much the better. For no harm could come to a man from the larger number. **11.** Glones therefore chose two hundred cavalry and told the man to lead the way. **12.** But he assured him that it would be better that he should be sent on ahead as a spy, and if he reported that he had seen Romans still going about in the same areas, the Persians could then sally out when necessary. He seemed to Glones to speak well, and was sent out by his own order. **13.** He went to the general Patricius and told him everything. And Patricius sent with him two of his own bodyguard and a thousand soldiers. **14.** He concealed them near the village of Philasamon, five miles from Amida, in glens and woody places, and told them to stay in ambush, and set off at a run for the town. **15.** Telling



έστελλεν, ές τε τήν πόλιν δρόμω έχώρει. **15.** και τῷ Γλώνη έτοιμον ειπών τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε και τοῖς διακοσίοις εξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τήν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε διέβησαν τὸν χῶρον οὐ προλοχίζοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκάθηντο, Γλώνην τε και Πέρσας λαθῶν ἅπαντας, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνέστησε και αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν. **16.** οὐσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἰόντας κατεῖδον Πέρσαι, κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ και ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἶοί τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νότου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε πη ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐδύναντο. **17.** ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, τῷ τε πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἡσσήθησάν τε και ζῦν τῷ Γλώνη ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. **18.** ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλήσας τε και τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεῶνου νεῶν ἔκαυσε, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Γλώνης κατέλυε. **19.** καιῖτοι ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν οὔτε Γλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπον ἐν γε Ἀμίδῃ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. **20.** Οὕτω μὲν Ἄμιδαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐάλω. και ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἢ τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγωρία και Περσῶν τὸ καρτερόν τῆς διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. **21.** σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον και βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων τὸν ὄμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἐπτὰ μάλιστα ἡμερῶν ἠῦρισκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελειφθαι, καιῖπερ Γλώνου τε και τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. **22.** Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὡσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ζῦν αὐτοῖς μείναςιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἱ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀήθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενοι πάντων, εἶτα τελευτῶντες και ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. **23.** διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἦσθοντο και τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος και Γλώνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἐλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἰσχός τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα και Ἄμιδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαβον. **24.** ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὐννοὺς πολέμου σφίσι μηκνυμένου, ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνίασιν, αἶπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου και Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ' οἴκου

Glonas that his prey was ready, he led him and his two hundred men to the enemy trap. When they had crossed the place where the Romans lay in ambush, without Glones and the Persians seeing, he moved the Romans from their ambush and showed them the enemy.

**16.** When the Persians saw them bearing down upon them, they were confounded by the surprise attack, and did not know what to do. They could not retreat since the enemy were at their backs, nor could they flee in any other direction in this hostile territory. **17.** They ranged themselves for battle as well as they could in the circumstances and defended themselves against their attackers, but being far outnumbered they were defeated and were all killed with Glones. **18.** When Glones' son heard of this, he was greatly upset and, raging with anger that he could not help his father, burned the church of the holy Simeon where his father lodged. **19.** Neither Glones nor Cavadh nor any other Persian deliberately destroyed or razed any other building by any other method either inside or outside Amida. But I will return to my former narrative. **20.** Thus the Romans paid the money and recaptured Amida two years after it had been taken by the enemy. When they were in the city, their own negligence and the hardihood of the Persians were discovered. **21.** After reckoning up the amount of corn left there and the numbers of barbarians who had left, they discovered that about seven days' rations were left in the city, although Glones and his son had been giving corn to the Persians more sparingly than was necessary for a long time. **22.** For to the Romans who remained with them, as I mentioned before, they had decided to give nothing at all, ever since the time when the enemy had established the siege. These men had at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and then turned to every kind of unlawful thing, finally even cannibalizing. **23.** So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their weakness in showing themselves unruly, when they could have taken so great a number of Persians prisoners with the city, including Glones' son, whereas the Romans had incurred great disgrace by giving money to their enemy and had only bought Amida from the Persians. **24.** But later the Persians made a truce with the Romans, for the Hunnic war was dragging on. The truce was made by Celer, the Roman, and Aspebedus, the Persian, and was for seven years. Each side retreated to their own country and kept

τε ἀμφοτέροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. **25.** οὕτω μὲν, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τόδε ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ζυνενεχθέντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

the peace. Thus, as I have narrated, the war began between Rome and Persia and thus it ended. **25.** Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the vents touching on the Caspian Gates.

## §10

Trans. H.B. Dewing, pp. 77-79.

**1.** Τὸ Κιλικῶν ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἰβήρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοντα ταύτην ὄκνηται. **2.** ἐξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν, προϊόντι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους διήκει. **3.** ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβήρων ὄρους ἀτραπὸς τίς ἐστὶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ σταδίους πενήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη. **4.** αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὄλωσ ἄβατον τελευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὡσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἢ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. **5.** τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν ἱππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. **6.** οὗ δὲ τὰ Οὐννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἴδρυται ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶν διήκοντα λίμνην.

**7.** οὗτοι ἦν μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πενήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. **8.** ἐπὶ ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς ἐξόδους ἰόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περιεναίει πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις. **9.** ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε, πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτίνατο τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτῆριον κατεστήσατο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὐννος μὲν γένος, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ φίλος. **10.** οὗτος Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τε γῆρας ἀφῆκτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ἤτει, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ τε φυλακτῆριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐνδώσει Ῥωμαίοις.

**1.** The Taurus mountain range of Cilicia passes first Cappadocia and Armenia and the land of the so-called Persarmenians, then also Albania and Iberia and all the other countries in this region, both independent and subject to Persia. **2.** For it extends to a great distance, and as one proceeds along this range, it always spreads out to an extraordinary breadth and rises to an imposing height. **3.** And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. **4.** This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of old the Caspian Gates. **5.** From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. **6.** Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. **7.** Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. **8.** If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides. **9.** When this was observed by Alexander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in the aforesaid place and established a fortress there. And this was held by many men in turn as time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Anastasius. **10.** Now when this Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking

11. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος ἄρᾳν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἠπίστατο οὔτε εἰώθει λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ὠμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. 12. Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἔσχεν.  
...

that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian Gates to the Romans. 11. But the Emperor Anastasius was incapable of doing anything without careful investigation, nor was it his custom to act thus: reasoning, therefore, that it was impossible for him to support soldiers in a place which was destitute of all good things, and which had nowhere in the neighbourhood a nation subject to the Romans, he expressed deep gratitude to the man for his good-will toward him, but by no means accepted this proposition. 12. So Ambazouces died of disease not long afterwards, and Cabades overpowered his sons and took possession of the Gates. ...

## §19

1. Ἐννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἐταιρίσασθαι. ὅπη δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ᾤκηται καὶ καθ' ὅ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν βασιλεὺς ἤλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. 2. τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὄρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. 3. αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλὰς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτης ἡϊόνι ἐστίν, ἐνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὄρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἣ τε γῆ αὕτη τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾷ πόλεως σταδίους οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ χιλίους διέχουσαν.

1. At that time the idea occurred to the Emperor Justinian to ally with himself the Aethiopians and the Homeritae, in order to injure the Persians. I shall now first explain what part of the earth these nations occupy, and then I shall point out in what manner the emperor hoped that they would be of help to the Romans. 2. The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. 3. Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending toward the south; on the other side a country deserted by men extends northward to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than one thousand stades distant from the city of Aelas. 4. On this island Hebrews had lived from of old in autonomy, but in the reign of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans. From there on there comes a great open sea. 5. And those who sail into this part of it no longer see the land on the right, but they always anchor along the left coast when night comes on. 6. For it is impossible to navigate in the darkness on this sea, since it is everywhere full of shoals. 7. But there are harbours there and great numbers of them, not made by the hand of man, but by the natural contour of the land, and for this reason it is not difficult for mariners to find anchorage wherever they happen to be. This coast immediately beyond the boundaries of Palestine

4. ἐνθα Ἐβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκητο, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι Ῥωμαίων γεγένηται. 5. πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτη ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὁρῶσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐάνυμον νυκτὸς ἀεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὁρμίζονται. 6. ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. 7. ὄρμιοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν ὅπη παρατύχοι ὁρμίζεσθαι. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡϊόνα εὐθὺς μὲν ὄρους τοὺς Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν, 8. οἱ

ἐν τῷ φοινικῶνι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται. **9.** ἔστι δὲ ὁ φοινικῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογειᾷ ἐς χώραν κατατεινῶν πολλήν, ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φοινίκες φύονται μόνοι. **10.** τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶνι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο, ὁ τῶν ἐκεῖνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο. **11.** ἀδήωτόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερὸς τε ἀεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος. **12.** τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶνα βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν δυνατὰ ἐστὶ. **13.** γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀνυδρος ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου ὄτουοῦν ἄξιός ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῆ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ὄνομα δώρου ὃ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωκε μόνον καὶ βασιλεὺς εὖ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ φοινικῶνι ταύτη πη ἔχει. **14.** τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ Μαδδηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ὀμηριτῶν κατήκοοι ὄντες. **15.** οἱ δὲ Ὀμηριταὶ οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα ὤκνηται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνι. ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρωποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἰδρῦσθαί φασι.

**16.** μεθ' οὗς δὴ τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐστὶν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν περὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν. **17.** Ὀμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπειρῷ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Αὐξωμίται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Αὐξωμίδι. **18.** καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν ἀνέμου μετριῶς ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουον διήκει. **19.** ταύτη γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχος ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῆ ἐστὶν· αὕτη πρὸς ἐνίων ἡ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ Αἰλὰν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς ὠνόμασται κόλπος. **20.** χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὀρίων Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις τῇ πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. **21.** ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν ὄρμος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικάς ὠνομάζεται. **22.** διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν λιμένα. Ἄδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων διέχει

is held by Saracens, **8.** who have been settled from of old in the Palm Groves. **9.** These groves are in the interior, extending over a great tract of land, and there absolutely nothing else grows except palm trees. **10.** The Emperor Justinian had received these palm groves as a present from Abochorabus, the ruler of the Saracens there, and he was appointed by the emperor captain over the Saracens in Palestine. **11.** And he guarded the land from plunder constantly, for both to the barbarians over whom he ruled and no less to the enemy, Abochorabus always seemed a man to be feared and an exceptionally energetic fellow. **12.** Formally, therefore, the emperor holds the Palm Groves, but for him really to possess himself of any of the country there is utterly impossible. **13.** For a land completely destitute of human habitation and extremely dry lies between, extending to the distance of a ten days' journey; moreover the Palm Groves themselves are by no means worth anything, and Abochorabus only gave the form of a gift, and the emperor accepted it with full knowledge of the fact. So much then for the Palm Groves. **14.** Adjoining this people there are other Saracens in possession of the coast, who are called Maddeni and who are subjects of the Homeritae. **15.** These Homeritae dwell in the land on the farther side of them on the shore of the sea. And beyond them many other nations are said to be settled as far as the man-eating Saracens. **16.** Beyond these are the nations of India. But regarding these matters let each one speak as he may wish. **17.** About opposite the Homeritae on the opposite mainland dwell the Aethiopians who are called Auxomitae, because their king resides in the city of Auxomis. **18.** And the expanse of sea which lies between is crossed in a voyage of five days and nights, when a moderately favouring wind blows. **19.** For here they are accustomed to navigate by night also, since there are no shoals at all in these parts; this portion of the sea has been called the Red Sea by some. For the sea which one traverses beyond this point as far as the shore and the city of Aelas has received the name of the Arabian Gulf, **20.** inasmuch as the country which extends from here to the limits of the city of Gaza used to be called in olden times Arabia, since the king of the Arabs had his palace in early times in the city of Petrae. **21.** Now the harbour of the Homeritae from which they are accustomed to put to sea for the voyage to Aethiopia is called Bulicas; **22.** and at the end of the sail across the sea they always put

(τοσοῦτω γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι), πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν δώδεκα.

**23.** Πλοῖα μέντοι ὅσα ἐν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐστὶν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ὥπερ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες πεποίηται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσση οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ὀτφοῦν χρίονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς ἰόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ σανίδες ξυμπεπήγασιν, ἀλλὰ βρόχοις τισὶ ζυνδέδενται.

**24.** αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἔλκουσαι ἑτεκμήριον δέ: ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἠρμοσμέναις, οὔποτε τοιοῦτον ζυνηέχθη παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. **25.** οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἷοί τε εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρηδὴν ἀπειρημένον. **26.** θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἢ ζημία ἐστὶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσῃ καὶ χώρα ἢ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερά ἐστι ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.

**27.** Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὄρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἢ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. **28.** ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἴδρυται καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὄκηται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἑτέρων ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν: **29.** ἠνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιός ὡς ἤκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ζυμβαίνει εἶναι ἑτέροις γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσαι τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι, στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυτο, ὧν περ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὀασιν ὄκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς αἰὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἰδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσιν τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρα πολλῇ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνονι ἢ σπερ τὰ πρότερα ὄκητο.

in at the harbour of the Adulitae. But the city of Adulis is removed from the harbour a distance of twenty stades (for it lacks only so much of being on the sea), while from the city of Auxomis it is a journey of twelve days. **23.** All the boats which are found in India and on this sea are not made in the same manner as are other ships. For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance, nor indeed are the planks fastened together by iron nails going through and through, but they are bound together with a kind of cording. **24.** The reason is not as most persons suppose, that there are certain rocks there which draw the iron to themselves (for witness the fact that when the Roman vessels sail from Aelas into this sea, although they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Ethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. **25.** Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; **26.** for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea and of the land which lies on either side of it. **27.** From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. **28.** Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; **29.** but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow (for rocks rise to an exceedingly great height at no great distance from the Nile and spread over the rest of the country), while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their own habitations, and to settle along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and

**30.** οὕτω γὰρ ᾤετο αὐτούς τε οὐκέτι τά γε ἄμφι τὴν Ὀασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι Βλέμυάς τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους. **31.** ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίητο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ζύμψασαν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον. **32.** τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσωνται.

**33.** ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδὲν τι ἤσσαν καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν. **34.** καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νεῖλῳ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρουρίον τε ταύτη δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεώς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσιν οἰόμενος. **35.** διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐσπερ Ἕλληγες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὀσίριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον.

**36.** οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερά οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. **37.** Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἅτε ἠυτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθη, τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τά τε ἱερά καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγεῖλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπεμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied. **30.** For in this way he thought that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least, and that they would possess themselves of the land given them, as being their own, and would probably beat off the Blemyes and the other barbarians. **31.** And since this pleased the Nobatae, they made the migration immediately, just as Diocletian directed them, and took possession of all the Roman cities and the land on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. **32.** Then it was that this emperor decreed that to them and to the Blemyes a fixed sum of gold should be given every year with the stipulation that they should no longer plunder the land of the Romans. **33.** And they receive this gold even up to my time, but none the less they overrun the country there. Thus it seems that with all barbarians there is no means of compelling them to keep faith with the Romans except through the fear of soldiers to hold them in check. **34.** And yet this emperor went so far as to select a certain island in the River Nile close to the city of Elephantine and there construct a very strong fortress in which he established certain temples and altars for the Romans and these barbarians in common, and he settled priests of both nations in this fortress, thinking that the friendship between them would be secure by reason of their sharing the things sacred to them. **35.** And for this reason he named the place Philae. Now both these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatae, believe in all the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also reverence Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus. **36.** But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the sun. These sanctuaries in Philae were kept by these barbarians even up to my time, but the Emperor Justinian decided to tear them down. **37.** Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I have mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, being commander of the troops there, tore down the sanctuaries at the emperor's order, and put the priests under guard and sent the statues to Byzantium. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

## §20

1. Ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἑλλησθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς, Χριστιανὸς τε ὢν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὀμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπειρῶ ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὄντας, πολλοὺς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἦν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη Χριστιανούς χρῆσθαι, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στρατεύμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστήσάμενος, Ὀμηρίτην μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἐσιμιφαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε. 2. τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν στρατοῦ δοῦλοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν εἶχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμία τῆς Ὀμηριτῶν χώρας: ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. 3. Οὗτος ὁ λεῶς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζῆν ἐτέροις τισὶν Ἐσιμιφαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνη φρουριῶν καθείρξαν, ἕτερον δὲ Ὀμηρίταις βασιλέα κατεστήσαντο, 4. Ἄβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Ἄβραμος οὗτος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει Αἰθιοπῶν Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. 5. ἃ δὴ Ἑλλησθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαι τε Ἄβραμον ὁμοῦ τοῖς ζῆν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμιφαῖον ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στρατεύμα τε τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ζυγγενῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. 6. οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι ἐθέλοντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Ἀβράμῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἔς τε ζυμβολὴν καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον.

7. θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαῖος ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ' οἴκου εὐθύς ἀνεχώρησαν. δείσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσε.

8. Ἑλλησθεαίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Ἄβραμος ὠμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν

1. At about the time of this war Hellestheaeus, the king of the Aethiopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of this faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite main-land were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews, and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day call Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both the king and many of the Homeritae. He then set up in his stead a Christian king, a Homerite by birth, by name Esimiphaeus, and, after ordaining that he should pay a tribute to the Aethiopians every year, he returned to his home. 2. In this Aethiopian army many slaves and all who were readily disposed to crime were quite unwilling to follow the king back, but were left behind and remained there because of their desire for the land of the Homeritae; for it is an extremely goodly land. 3. These fellows at a time not long after this, in company with certain others, rose against the king Esimiphaeus and put him in confinement in one of the fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abramus by name. 4. Now this Abramus was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Aethiopia. 5. When Hellestheaeus learned this, he was eager to punish Abramus together with those who had revolted with him for their injustice to Esimiphaeus, and he sent against them an army of three thousand men with one of his relatives as commander. 6. This army, once there, was no longer willing to return home, but they wished to remain where they were in a goodly land, and so without the knowledge of their commander they opened negotiations with Abramus; then when they came to an engagement with their opponents, just as the fighting began, they killed their commander and joined the ranks of the enemy, and so remained there. 7. But Hellestheaeus was greatly moved with anger and sent still another army against them; this force engaged with Abramus and his men, and, after suffering a severe defeat in the battle, straightway returned home. Thereafter the king of the Aethiopians became afraid, and sent no further expeditions against Abramus. 8. After the death of Hellestheaeus, Abramus agreed to pay tribute

Αιθιοπῶν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρω ἐγένετο. **9.** Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοπι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἐσιμιφαιίου δὲ ἐν Ὀμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ζυν-άρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὠνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν (αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἑλληγες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλου, τανῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν), Ὀμηρίται δὲ ὅπως Καῖσὸν τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσονται καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν.

**10.** (ὁ δὲ Καῖσὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δὲ τινα Ἐσιμιφαιίου ζυγγενῶν κτεῖνας ἐς γῆν ἔφευγεν ἢ δὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ἐστίν.) **11.** ἐκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἴτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπέπεμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὠμολογημένα οὐδέτερος. **12.** τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοπι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρμοις γινόμενοι οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα αἰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταίρουσιν, ἅτε χώραν προσοικοῦντες τὴν ὁμορον, ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημόν τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὁδὸν κατατείνουσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πολλῷ μαχιμωτέρους ἰέναι.

**13.** ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄβραμος ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλλειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὀπίσω εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν ταύτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν.

to the king of the Aethiopians who succeeded him, and in this way he strengthened his rule. But this happened at a later time. **9.** At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name "seric"). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caïsus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. **10.** This Caïsus was by birth of the captain's rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. **11.** So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. **12.** For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. **13.** Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.



## De Bello Gothico IV

## §17

Translated by Dr John Sheldon<sup>1</sup>

1. Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινες μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες, γνόντες τε ὡς Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ διὰ σπουδῆς εἶη μηκέτι πρὸς Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐς βασιλεία γενόμενοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ δὴ μετάξῃ διοικήσεσθαι ὠμολόγουν, ὡς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐγ Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου τε ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσονται. 2. χρόνου γὰρ κατατρίῃναι μῆκος ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη τὰ πολλὰ οὕση, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται, ταύτη τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυνατὰ εἶη. 3. Ἐνδεδεχέστατα δὲ διερευνημένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυθανομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθῆς εἶη ἔφρασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκόληκας τινὰς τῆς μετάξῃς δημιουργοὺς εἶναι, τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς διδασκάλου τε οὕσης καὶ διηλεκτῶς ἀναγκαζούσης ἐργάζεσθαι. 4. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκόληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακομίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν γόνον εὐπορόν τε καὶ ῥάδιον ὄλωσ. εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκολήκων τῶνδε τὸν γόνον ὡς ἐκάστου ἀνάριθμα.

5. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τῆς γονῆς ὕστερον κόπρῳ καλύψαντες ἄνθρωποι ταύτη τε διαρκῆ θερμήναντες χρόνον ζῶα ποιοῦσι. 6. Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρήσασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸν λόγον. 7. Οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι ἐν Σηρίνδῃ<sup>2</sup> αἰθίς τὰ τε ὡς μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκόληκας τε ἡαῦτὰ τρόπῳ ὅπερ ἐρρήθη μεταπεφυκέναι διαπραξάμενοι τρέφουσι τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῆ.<sup>3</sup>

1. About this time some of the monks coming from India, knowing that it was a matter of importance to the Emperor Justinian that the Romans should no longer purchase silk from the Persians, came to the king and agreed to supply him with the wherewithal for silk manufacture so that the Romans would no longer make this purchase from their enemies the Persians or any other race; 2. for they said that they had spent a length of time in a country which was beyond the many tribes of India – a place called Serinda – and there had accurately learned by what means it would be possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. 3. When the king scrutinized the matter most carefully and asked if the story were true, the monks affirmed that certain worms were the producers of silk and that nature was their teacher and continually constrained them to perform this task. 4. But they said that there were no practical means of transporting the worms there alive, but that the breeding of them was absolutely plain and simple; for the method of generation of these worms was in countless numbers of eggs each one produced. 5. Men cover these eggs with dung a long time after they are laid and, keeping them warm there for an appropriate period of time, they produce living creatures. 6. When they said this the king, promising to load the men with many good things, encouraged them to confirm what they had said with a practical test. 7. They returned to Serinda and brought eggs back to Byzantium. They succeeded in turning them into worms in the manner described; they fed them on the leaves of the mulberry tree; and from that they established silk production in the land of the Romans for the rest of time.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 125-26 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 228-29. (Augmented by Samuel N.C. Lieu.)

<sup>2</sup> Var. Σηρίνδη Ἰνδία.

<sup>3</sup> This passage of Procopius is cited by Zonaras XIV,9,16-20 and by Michael Glykas IV,270. See various complementary references to the introduction of silk into Byzantium in Procopius, *De Bello Persico* I,20; II,6 and Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.* XVII,32.

## NOTES

**1. μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες** In view of Byzantine vague use of the term India these monks may have come from Southern Arabia. In any case, they knew about silk manufacture and according to the account given here, this made the Byzantine empire independent of Persia as a source of this important material. See next note and note on **Aethiopes** in Pomponius Mela III 67.

**2. χώρα ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη ... Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται** Σηρίνδα ‘Serinda’ occurs only here in C’s excerpts. It is a convenient, though vague, description of seeming Indian and Chinese ethnicity and could be applied to many inhabitants of the ‘Silk road’. See Herrmann *RE* IV (1923) 1727-8. It roughly describes today’s Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China. The suggestion that it is the same as Serendib ‘Ceylon’ made by Winstedt 1909 p 352 is wrong. This sounds as though the monks had gone beyond ‘India’ to a place of silk manufacture i.e. a sea voyage to an eastern port or, more likely, a land route to Central Asia where Khotan for example was an important silk town. See note on **ὅτι τὴν σκολήκων ... κατεῖχον** in Theophanes of Byzantium 3. On the vexing and unique term ‘Serinda’ as used here by Procopius see esp. Wada Hiroshi, *Prokops Rätselwort Serinda und die Verpflanzung des Seidenbaus von China nach dem oströmischen Reich* (Diss. Inaug. Köln, 1971) 50-62

**3. σκολήκας τινὰς ... ἐργάζεσθαι** This is a completely accurate description of silkworms and their natural production of silk.

**5. ταῦτα ... ποιῶσι** Silkworm eggs laid by the moths will hatch into tiny worms if kept in reasonably warm conditions. This method of incubating them in dung sounds appropriate for places with a cold winter.

**7. συκαμίνου** συκάμινος seems to be synonymous with μορέα (μόρος) ‘mulberry tree’. There may have been some early confusion with συκόμορος, the sycamore or fig mulberry. This word is probably a direct borrowing of Hebrew *shikemah*. In the Gk. mind it was popularly etymologized from σῦκον ‘fig’ and μόρος ‘mulberry’. Today ‘sycamore’ (or ‘sycamore’) describes a number of different genera. See Theophanes of Byzantium 3 (*infra*).

## COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES



### On Trade with India and China

Cosmas Indicopleustes was an Alexandrian Egyptian Greek of the Sixth Century and a traveller to 'India' who later probably became a monk. His *Christian Topography* in twelve books aims to refute the view prevalent among pagans that the earth was a sphere; for Cosmas the world is shaped like the tabernacle built by Moses to house the Ark of the Covenant. Written about 550 CE the *Christian Topography* contained some of the earliest and most famous maps. There are copies of these in extant mss. of his work, the earliest of which is dated to the Ninth Century CE. Photius (cod.36) is the first author to cite him and his name was sometimes taken to be an invention punning on κόσμος 'world'. Sir Henry Yule (*Cathay and the Way Hither*, Vol. 1 (London, 1915) 25-28) has some harsh words for him e.g. p 27: 'Altogether the book is a memorable example of that mischievous process of loading Christian truth with a dead-weight of false science, which has had so many followers.' He does, however, say on p 28 that 'Cosmas had a very correct idea of the position of China, as lying on the extreme eastern coast of Asia.' This is supported by Zhang Xushan (2005) who regards Cosmas as 'the first Greek or Roman' to show real familiarity with China's geographical location. Zhang Xushan attributes this to the fact that at the time Cosmas was writing silk cargoes from South China had for some time been carried westwards by the Kun-lun people (Malayans and Indonesians). As a result of the prosperous trade in India, where much of the cargo came to port, and from its shipment further west, it is easy enough to see how knowledge of the general lay-out of the east Chinese coast could be acquired by an observer such as Cosmas. Like other Christian geographers, he believed in a circumambient ocean; hence a Chinese coast was to be expected unlike the 'unknown land' which Ptolemy puts on this boundary. Cosmas's second excerpt from Book Eleven may belong not to the *Christian Topography* but to another work either drafted or completed by this author.

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## COSMAS INDICOPLUESTES

## TOPOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA

PG 88, cols. 137 and 337

Translated by Dr John Sheldon<sup>4</sup>

II (137) = ed. Winstedt 96c-97b (pp. 68-69)

... Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ποθοῦντες πολλὰ μανθάνειν καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι, εἶπερ ἦν ὁ παράδεισος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ γῆ, οὐκ κνουν οἱ πολλοὶ φθάσαι μέχρι τῶν αὐτόθι. Εἰ γὰρ διὰ μετὰξιον εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς τινες ἐμπορίας οἰκτρᾶς χάριν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι διελθεῖν, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραδείσου κνησαν πορεύεσθαι; Αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα τοῦ μεταξίου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ πάντων Ἰνδία, κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος εἰσιόντων τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ πελάγους, περαιτέρω πολὺ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς καλουμένης παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς, Σελεδίβα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, Ταπροβάνη, Τζίνιτζα<sup>5</sup> οὕτω καλουμένη, κυκλουμένη πάλιν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, ὡσπερ καὶ ἡ Βαρβαρία κυκλοῦται ἐκ δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ φασιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ καλούμενοι Βραχμάνες, ὅτι ἐὰν βάλῃς ἀπὸ Τζίνιτζας σπαρτίον, διελθεῖν διὰ Περσίδος ἕως Ῥωμανίας, ἀπὸ κανόνος τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν, καὶ τάχα ἀληθεύουσι. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀριστερά ἐστὶν, ὡς δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου βασταγὰς μεταξίου γίνεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐν Περσίδι διὰ τῆς γῆς· διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πάνυ πολλὰ διαστήματα ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος. Ὅσον γὰρ διάστημα ἔχει ὁ κόλπος ὁ Περσικὸς εἰσερχόμενος ἐν Περσίδι, τοσοῦτο διάστημα πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ταπροβάνης καὶ περαιτέρω ποιεῖ ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰσερχόμενός τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τζίνιτζα· μετὰ τὸ καὶ διαστήματα πάλιν ἰκανὰ ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξωθεν τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου ὅλον τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος ἕως Ταπροβάνης καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Διατέμνει οὖν πολλὰ διαστήματα ὁ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ Τζίνιτζα<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ Περσίδα, ὅθεν καὶ πλῆθος μεταξίου ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα εὐρίσκεται· περαιτέρω δὲ τῆς Τζίνιτζας,

... furthermore many men desiring copious knowledge and experience, on the assumption that paradise existed on this earth, were not hesitating to push their research into the affairs of people here. For if some for the sake of lamentable trade did not hesitate to cross to those lands in search of silk in most distant places, how would they have hesitated to travel there to observe the same 'paradise'? This land of silk is in the most remote part of all India; it is on the left-hand side for those entering the Indian Ocean, far removed from the Persian Gulf and from the island called among the Indians Sele-dipa, but among the Greeks Taprobane. Called Tzinitza it is in turn surrounded by the Ocean on its left side, just as the land of the barbarians is surrounded by it on its right side. The Indian philosophers called Brahmans assert that if you were to stretch a cord from Tzinitza it will pass through Persia until it reaches Roman territory; this is the midpoint of the world according to measurement – and perhaps they speak the truth. It is very far to the left, since in a short time consignments of silk from the people there reach Persia conveyed in relays by other peoples through this land; while the route by sea is much further from Persia. The distance covered by someone in Tzinitza coming to the left and travelling back from Taprobane and beyond is the same as is covered by the Persian Gulf in Persia. After that the Indian Sea covers comparable distances starting from its beginning outside the Persian Gulf as far as Taprobane and beyond. Therefore one taking the road from Tzinitza to Persia cuts off much distance. Thus it is that an

<sup>4</sup> Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 130-32 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 234-38.

<sup>5</sup> Var. Τζίνη.

<sup>6</sup> Var. Τζίνιστα.

οὐδὲ πλέεται οὐδὲ οἰκεῖται.

abundance of silk is always found in Persia: beyond Tzinitza there is no navigation and habitation.

Ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς οὖν Τζινίτζας ὡς ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ὀρθῶς ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν τις μετρῶν τὰ διαστήματα τοῦ μήκους τῆς γῆς, εὐρήσει πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον μονῶν υ', ἀπὸ μιλίων λ'. Μετρητέον δὲ οὕτως· ἀπὸ τῆς Τζινίτζας ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Περσίδος πᾶσα Ἰουυία<sup>7</sup> καὶ Ἰνδία, καὶ ἡ Βάκτρων χώρα εἰσὶ περί που μοναὶ ρν', εἰ μὴ τι πλείους οὐκ ἔλαττον· ...

Anyone who measures by a stretched cord the distance of the earth's magnitude from Tzinitza to the West will find 400 stages more or less, each one being 30 miles. This is how it should be measured: from Tzinitza to the start of Persia, all Iouuia and India and the land of the Bactrians comprise at least 150 stages; if this is not exactly so, there are more rather than less...

#### NOTES

**ὁ παράδεισος** The Christian writer uses the word in the sense it gained in biblical usage. Old Iranian *pairi.daēza* 'walled enclosure, park' (*AIW* col 865) is borrowed into Gk. and first recorded by Xenophon in *Anabasis* of Persian royal parks. It came later to have the general meaning 'park, garden'. It is specifically the Garden of Eden in biblical writings, then more generally 'paradise' as here. Arabic *firdaws* is a borrowing found in Persian. Compare Firdawsi, the name of the author of the *Shahnama*.

**μετάξιον** Winstedt 1909 p 68 adopts the ms. variant *μέταξιυ*. See note on *ἀπὸ σπαρτίου* below.

**Ταπροβάνη** Taprobane is always the name given to the island of Ceylon by Lat. writers. In Gk. we find another name, *Palaisimoundou* Παλαισιμουδου which is almost certainly caused by failure to separate two words since variants of Σιμουδου occur without *παλαι-* 'ancient'. Σαλικη is a name for it in Ptolemy and *Sieladipa* is found in Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is worth noting with D.P.M Weerakoddy (*Taprobane: Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans* (Turnhout 1997) 20) that Pliny in discussing the embassy to Claudius gives the name of the capital city as *Palaesimundum*, which is also the name of a nearby river. In some of its occurrences a case has been made for Taprobane being Sumatra. See Weerakoddy, *op. cit.* 18-20. The attempt to see Skt. *tāmra* 'copper-coloured' (*tamba panni*, *tāmraparṇi* etc.) in the first part of this word is not wholly convincing, though it is part of the Sri Lankan historical tradition and still appears regularly in their scholarly writings. cf. Weerakoddy 1997 p 19. Another suggested Skt. etymology is *dvīpa rāvāna* 'Island of Rāvāna', a designation of Ceylon in Brahmanical writings. This has some plausibility. Winstedt, *op. cit.* 352 regards the designation of Ceylon as Taprobane to be as early as Megasthenes. Weerakoddy 1997 p120, however, says, 'According to our evidence, the earliest writer to mention Taprobane in a Gk. text was Onesicritus of Astypalaea, whom Pliny introduces as an admiral (praefectus) of the fleet of Alexander the Great, and who appears to have written before the end of the Fourth Century BC.' (Sheldon, *Comm.* 32)

**Τζίνιτζα** The variant Τζίνη given by C does not appear in the *apparatus criticus* of Winstedt 1909 p 68 who is unaccountably inconsistent in giving the name in an undeclined and a declined form. While it is true that toponyms, especially exotic ones, are often undeclined in the ms. tradition, Winstedt's *apparatus* shows a majority of declined forms. These are rightly preserved in Migne 1860 vol 88, the text used by C. Winstedt's other departures from the Migne text in C's excerpts are of little significance and sometimes less good e.g. *πλέον ἔλαττον* for *πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον*. He prints *πλεῖον* forms elsewhere. *εἰσιν* also appears for *εἰσι* against the normal convention of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* and has no merit. The name Τζίνιτζα itself has given rise to much speculation. It is most likely to conceal an Iranian form such as *Chinastan* cf. Skt. *Cinasthāna*. Among the Sogdian Ancient Letters dated probably early in the Fourth Century CE *cynst'n* (Ancient Letter 2.17) seems to be the name for

<sup>7</sup> Var. Οἶννια (Coedès notes).

China, though Henning was unsure whether this referred the whole of China or merely a part of it. See W.B. Henning, 'The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters' *BSOAS* 12 (1949) 609 and N. Sims-Williams 'Ancient Letters' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol II (New York 2000) 7 and note on **μεγάλους ... κατανεύονται** in Theophylactus Simocatta VII 9 8 (*infra*). See also H.H. Schaeder *Iranica I. Das Auge des Königs 2. Fu-Lin (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen)* (Berlin 1934) 48ff. and criticism of his suggestions in Henning, *op. cit.* 308 n 2. The Eighth Century CE Syriac inscription from Xi'an (i.e. Chang'an, the western capital under the Tang dynasty) has *Činistan* i.e. 'Tzinista'. See S.N.C. Lieu, 'Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica' in *Exigisti Monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (Wiesbaden 2009) 229-230. As Lieu (*op. cit.* 239) points out: 'names of regions ending in -(i)stan are commonly encountered in the administrative geography of Sassanian Iran.' See M. Morony *Iraq after the Islamic Conquest* (New Jersey 1984) 125-164. Cosmas has replaced the usual *Thinae, Sinae, Seres* etc. with a different name. Zhang Xushan (*op. cit.* 1) does not find this surprising, as the traditional name 'had almost disappeared at that time in all Byzantine authors.' In any case the land in question is probably Southern China, although others have made a case for Thailand or Malaya. See Winstedt, *op. cit.* 334 and Weerakkody, *op. cit.* 133 n 3. Zhang Xushan, *op. cit.* 2 rightly believes that this interpretation is too narrow. Cosmas is the first western geographer we know of to locate China's eastern boundary on the Ocean. The relative geography of China, Persia and the Roman East ascribed by Cosmas to Brahman philosophers is well expressed. See Winstedt, *op. cit.* 355. Here we may have a clear description of the Silk Road. Silk is brought through Tzinitza to Persia by a direct overland route. The **μεσσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου**, i.e. the most central point in the known world suggests the general region of the Taklamakan Desert in the middle of the silk route. The speed of the land route is contrasted with the slow voyage of ships which we may assume to be bearing silk.

**Σελεδίβα** This is an accurate rendering of an ancient Skt. name for Ceylon; Cosmas compares the Indian name with Taprobane which is the usual Gk. designation. See note on **Divis et Serendivis** in Ammianus XXII 7 10.

**πραιτέρω τῆς Τζινίτζης ... οἰκεῖται** If no one sails there, it cannot be certain that no one lives there; absence of habitation is deduced but not proved from absence of sea voyages to those parts.

**ἀπὸ σπαρτίου** This is geographical measurement, in our parlance, 'as the crow flies'. The shortest distance here is gauged by an imaginary rope stretched from one extremity of the earth to the other. In going from Tzinitza to Persia it passes through the land of the 'Huns', India and Bactria. India vaguely describes its northernmost mountainous regions. One may note that the word *σχοῖνος* was an Egyptian unit of land measurement. The noun means 'reed', hence 'rope plaited from reeds'. Note also that, according to Winstedt *op. cit.* 332, in late Lat. *metaxa* is used for 'silk' although it earlier meant 'rope'. See note on **ζῶα νήθοντα μέταξον** in Hesychius *Lexicon*.

**Ἰουνία** The variant Οὔννια is to be preferred. This may represent *Hunnia*. There are variants *Hunnos* etc. here and mss. of Honorius have a variety of forms including *Cumi*. In Winstedt p 324 in the section following Cosmas's second excerpt we have *πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ Οὔννιαν διαίρει ὁ Φείσων ποταμός* 'the River Phison divides all India and Hunnia'. The Phison here refers to the Ganges. cf. Jacques de Vitry LXXXV 30-32. See Winstedt *op. cit.* 325. An identification of Huns as Scyths is not out of the question. C. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton and Oxford 2009) 82 says, 'The Huns are first noted by Ptolemy (III 5 25 Χοῦνοι) in the Second Century. They lived in the eastern Pontic Steppe in Sarmatia, that is, east of the sea of Azov and beyond the Don River.' On p 72 he dismisses the identification of the Xiongnu with European Huns on linguistic grounds. Sims-Williams, *op. cit.* 7, however, notes that in the second of the Sogdian Ancient Letters *xwn* is used for Hun. 'The equation of *xwn* with Xiongnu is of major historical importance since it goes a long way to establishing the sometimes disputed identity of the name of the far-eastern Xiongnu with that of the Huns of Europe.' It seems that the balance of scholarly opinion is now in favour of this equation.

XI (337) = ed. Winstedt, 14-33 (p 322) 1-2 (p 323)

Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων, λέγω δὴ τῆς Τζινίτζας καὶ ἐτέρων ἐμπορίων, δέχεται μέταξιν, ἀλοὴν, καρυόφυλλον, τζανδάναν, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ χώραν εἰσί· ... Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ Τζινίτζα τὴν μέταξιν βάλλουσα· ἧς ἐνδοτέρω οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερα χώρα· ὁ Ὠκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολάς.

From the interior regions, I speak of Tzinitza and other trading posts, it (Taprobane) gets its silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood and whatever else according to country ... and for the rest there is Tzinitza which contributes silk – further inland from this there is no other country, for the Ocean surrounds it on the eastern side.

## NOTES

**καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων ... χώραν εἰσί** This section lists exported products and may be part of a different book of Cosmas. See introduction above. ‘Of the trading places from which Ceylon received its eastern products, the eastern coast of India is not so famous for cloves, whereas cloves are indigenous to the eastern Indonesian islands.’ (Zhang Xushan, *op. cit.*, 4). According to Yule, *op. cit.* 28 ‘Cosmas professes no knowledge of geographical details between Ceylon and China, but he is aware that the clove country lies between the two, which is in itself a considerable step in geography for the Sixth Century. Silk, aloes-wood, cloves and sandalwood are the chief exports that came westward to Ceylon from China and the intermediate countries.’ Weerakkody, *op. cit.* 145 makes the interesting observation that ‘whereas these (the other rivers of Paradise) go underground and are interconnected, the Pheison proceeds on the surface and provides visible evidence of its origin in Paradise by the transport of a clove, a product of that sacred region, through the intervening desert down to its mouth. Cosmas, with a more personal knowledge as a merchant, prefers to place the Clove Country further east from India unconnected with the idea of an earthly Paradise.’

**Τζανδάναν** This is a transliteration of Skt *chandana* ‘sandal-wood’. According to Tennent 1859 vol 1 p 590 it is ‘mentioned by the Chinese travellers as an export from Ceylon, but is no longer found there.’





# MENANDER PROTECTOR



## On Turks and Sogdians

Menander the Protector (*i.e.* one of the imperial bodyguards), Byzantine historian, was born in Constantinople in the middle of the 6th century A.D. The little that is known of his life is contained in the account of himself quoted by Suidas. He at first took up the study of law, but abandoned it for a life of pleasure. When his fortunes were low, the patronage accorded to literature by the emperor Maurice (582) encouraged him to try writing history. He took as his model Agathias, who like him had been a jurist, and his history begins at the point where Agathias leaves off. It embraces the period from the arrival of the Cotriguri Hunni in Thrace during the reign of Justinian in 558 down to the death of the emperor Tiberius in 582. Considerable fragments of the work are preserved in the excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and in Suidas. Although the style is sometimes bombastic, he is considered trustworthy and is one of the most valuable authorities for the history of the 6th century, especially on geographical and ethnographical matters. He was an eye-witness of some of the events he describes. Like Agathias, he wrote epigrams, one of which, on a Persian *magus*, who became a convert to Christianity and died the death of a martyr, is preserved in the Greek anthology (*Anth. Pal.* i. 101).

The *History* of Menander, as mentioned above, has not survived intact but fortunately it was heavily excerpted by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (r. 913-59) in his work *Excerpta de Legationibus*. The modern editors of the work have separated it into two sections *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* and *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos*. In them are preserved a rare account of a mercantile delegation from the Turks through Sogdian intermediaries. Along with the account of Taugast in Theophylact Simocattes, that of Menander is an invaluable and much cite source on the history of Eurasia in the pre-Islamic period.

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## MENANDER PROTECTOR

*Ap. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Excerpta de Legationibus* (ed. C. de Boor)

Translated by Camilla Ferard and Samuel N.C. Lieu

### §10.1

*(Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos 7, pp. 450—452)*

Ὅτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας πρεσβεία τῶν Τούρκων ἀφίκετο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. ὡς γὰρ τὰ Τούρκων ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη, οἱ Σογδαῖται οἱ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν Ἐφθαλιτῶν, τῆνικαῦτα δὲ Τούρκων κατήκοοι, τοῦ σφῶν βασιλέως ἐδέοντο πρεσβείαν στείλαι ὡς Πέρσας, ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπιόντες οἱ Σογδαῖται ὄνιον παράσχοντο τὴν μέταξαν τοῖς Μήδοις. καὶ οὖν πείθεται ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἀφίησί τε πρεσβευσομένους Σογδαῖτας· ἐξηγεῖτο δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας Μανιάχ. ἀφικόμενοι δὴ οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐδέοντο τῆς μετάξης πέρι, ὅπως ἄνευ τινὸς κωλύμης αὐτοῖς προέλθοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς (οὐδαμῶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε τὰ τοιάδε, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐνθένδε ἄδεια ἔσοιτο τούτοις τοῖς Περσῶν ἐμβατεύειν ὁρίοις) ἀνεβάλετο ἐς τὸ αὔριον· καὶ μὲν οὖν αὐθις ἀναβολῇ ἐχρῆτο πάλιν ἑτέρα. ὡς δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὸ παρὸν ἀπεκρούετο, τῶν Σογδαῖτῶν ἐκκληπαρούντων τε καὶ ἐγκειμένων, τότε Χοσρόης ἐκκλησιάσας ἀνελογίζετο. καὶ οὖν ὁ Κάτουλφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἐφθαλίτης, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως γεγεννημένην βιαίαν μίξιν τῆ γυναικὶ προὔδωκε τὸ ὁμόφυλον τοῖς Τούρκοις, οὗτος γοῦν (μετανάστης γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐγεγόνει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐμῆδιζεν ἤδη) παρήνεσε βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν οὐδαμῶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὠνήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν καταθέσθαι τιμήματα, θεωμένων δὲ ἄλλως τῶν πρέσβων ταύτην ἀφανίσαι πυρί, ὡς ἂν μήτε ἀδικεῖν δόξοι μήτε μὴν βούλεσθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐκ Τούρκων μετάξῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν μέταξα ἐπυρπολήθη, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ γεγεννημένῳ ἥκιστα χαίροντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ τὰ ξυγκυρήσαντα ἔφρασαν, αὐτίκα ὄγε καὶ ἑτέρα πρεσβεία ἐχρῆτο ὡς Πέρσας φιλοποιήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ σφῶν πολιτείαν βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Τούρκων πρεσβεία αὐθις ἀφίκετο, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἐν τέλει Περσῶν καὶ τῷ Κατούλφῳ ἐγνωμάτευε, πάντη ἀξύμφορον εἶναι Πέρσαις φιλίαν θέσθαι ὡς Τούρκους· τὸ γὰρ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι παλίμβολον. ταύτη τοι καὶ παρενεγύησε δηλητηριῶ φαρμάκῳ ἐνίους διαφθαρῆναι τῶν πρέσβων, ὅπως ἀπεί-

At the beginning of the fourth year of the reign of Justin (569 CE), an embassy of the Turks arrived in Byzantium. As the power of the Turks had greatly increased, the inhabitants of Sogdiana, former subjects of the Ephthalites, and then the Turks, had asked their princes to send an embassy to the Persians, with the intention of going there and selling silk to the Persians. Sizabul was persuaded and allowed the inhabitants of Sogdia to send the embassy. Its leader was Maniach. When they arrived at the king of the Persians, they requested, in the matter of the silk, that they be permitted to trade in his country without any obstacle. The Persian king, who did not like the fact that the Turks were allowed to enter the Persian territory from this side, postponed the matter until the next day. And the next day he used another prevarication. Afterwards, he had soon thrown off his concern by this method, but the pleading and urging of the people of Sogdia became more and more intense and Chosroes convened a council meeting and considered the matter. An Ephthalite, named Katulph, who, since his prince had once raped his wife, had supplied his countrymen to the Turks, but who had then emigrated and adopted Persian customs, advised the Persian king not to allow the silk to pass freely, but rather instead to buy it up, mark it up, and destroy it by fire before the eyes of the envoys, so that it would appear that he did not do wrong, and did not want to make any use of the Turkic silk. So, the silk was burned, and the envoys returned home, unconcerned about what had happened. After informing Sizabul of the decision, he immediately sent a second embassy to the Persians, as it was his desire to make their state a friend. When this second embassy of the Turks had arrived, the king, together with his ministers and Katulph, expressed his opinion that it was completely unfavourable for the Persians to enter into friendly relations with the Turks, since the whole Scythian race is unreliable. He also ordered that some of the envoys be removed by poison, in

ποιεν τῆς ἐκεῖσε μετέπειτα παρουσίας. καὶ δὴ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πρεσβευσαμένων Τούρκων τῆ περι τὴν ἐδωδὴν μίξει τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν φαρμάκων αὐτοῦ που τὸν βίον κατέλυσαν πλὴν τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων. θροῦς δὲ ἐφοίτησε Πέρσαις ὡς διώλοντο τῷ πνιγηρῷ τῶν Περσῶν αὐχμῷ τῶν Τούρκων οἱ πρέσβεις, ἅτε τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας θαμὰ νιφετῷ παλυνομένης, καὶ ἀδύνατον ὄν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ κρυμῶδους καταστήματος βιοτεύειν. ταῦτη τοι καὶ ἄλλως ὑποτοπήσαντες, οἳ γε τὴν ἐπιβουλήν διέφυγον, οὕτω ξυμβάν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν ἐπανελθόντες τὰ ἅπερ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ διεπιθύρισαν ταῦτα. ὅμως ὁ Σιζάβουλος (ἀγγίνους γάρ τις καὶ δεινός) οὐκ ἠγνόησε τὸ πραχθέν, ᾗθη δέ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐδολοφονήθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἔνθεν τοιγαροῦν ἢ δυσμένεια ἤρξατο Περσῶν τε καὶ Τούρκων. καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ, ὃς τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν προειστήκει, τοιοῦδε καιροῦ ξυμβουλεύει τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἄμεινον εἶναι Τούρκους ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὄνιον ἀποκομίζειν τὴν μέταξαν, ὡς γε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων χρωμένους. ἐτοιμότηα δὲ ἔχειν ἔφη ὁ Μανιάχ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπαίρειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τῶν Τούρκων· καὶ ὡς ταῦτη φίλοι ἔσονται Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Τούρκοι. τούτοις δὴπου κατανεύσας τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐκπέμπει αὐτόν τε καὶ ἑτέρους τινὰς ὡς βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων πρεσβυσομένους προσήσεις τε ἀποκομιοῦντας καὶ δῶρα μετὰξῆς οὐκ ὀλίγον τι χρῆμα καὶ συλλαβάς τινας. [ζῆται ἐν τῷ περι ἐπιστολῶν.]

Τοιάσδε τινὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιφερόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ ἀπήρξατο τῆς ὁδοπορίας, καὶ δὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πολλὴν διανύσας ἀτραπὸν χώρους τε διελθὼν ἐσὸτι πλείστους ὄρη τε μέγιστα καὶ ἀγχινεφῆ καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας λίμνας τε καὶ ποταμούς, εἶτα τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον. καὶ τοῖνυν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία παρελθὼν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα γενόμενος ἅπαντα ἔπραξε τὰ ὅσα ἔπεται τῷ τῆς φιλίας θεσμῷ, τὸ τε γράμμα καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοις, καὶ ἐδεῖτο μὴ ἀνονήτους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἰδρῶτας. ἀτὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλεξάμενος διὰ τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὸ γράμμα τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἀσμενέστατα προσήκατο τὴν πρεσβείαν. τοιγαροῦν ἤρετο τοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ χώρας. οἱ δὲ γε ἔφασαν τέτταρας μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δὲ γε κράτος τοῦ ξύμπαντος ἔθνους ἀνεῖσθαι μόνῳ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ. πρὸς γε ἔλεξαν ὡς παρεστήσαντο καὶ Ἐφθαλίτας μέχρι καὶ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν. πᾶσαν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, τὴν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἱ ἐποίησασθε δύναμιν; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔλεξαν οἱ πρέσβεις. αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἢ που ἄρα κατὰ κόμας ᾧκουν οἱ

order to avert their subsequent appearance at his court. Thus, most of the Turkic envoys lost their lives, except for three or four, due to the mixing of physical poison with the food, and the Persians spread the rumour that the envoys had been destroyed by the hot and dry climate of Persia, especially since the Turks' own country was often covered in snow and it was impossible for them to live in a climate other than a cold one. Even those who had escaped the re-introduction and returned home, spread the rumour the Persians had propagated, even though they suspected otherwise. But Sizabul, who was very keensighted and clever, recognised what had happened and believed, as was the case, that the envoys had been ruthlessly murdered. It was from here that the hostility between the Persians and the Turks is recorded; Maniach, who was at the head of the people of Sogdia used an opportunity to advise Sizabul that it was better for the Turks to cultivate the friendship of the Romans and to sell the silk to them, since they used this same more than others. Maniach also said that he was very willing to leave with the Turkic envoys, with the intention of making the Romans and Turks friends in this way. With these words Sizabul agreed, and he sent him and some others as envoys to the Roman emperor, who were to bring him compliments and gifts of silk of no mean value, as well as some letters.

Provided with such letters, Maniach began the journey. After he had come a long way and had passed through many different regions, over mighty mountains that rose to the clouds, through plains and forest valleys, over lakes and streams, and after he had eventually crossed the Caucasus, he himself finally reached Byzantium. After introducing himself to the imperial palace and being led before the kings, he did all that was in accordance with the statute of friendship, handed over letters and presents to the commissioned ones (officials), and requested that the great sufferings of the journey should not have been in vain. When the Emperor, with the help of the interpreters, had read the Scythian letter, he graciously accepted the embassy. He then inquired of the envoys about the form of government and the country of the Turks, who told him that they had four principalities, but that the supreme authority over the entire nation was transferred to Sizabul. Further, they reported how they had subjected the Ephthalites and made them tributary, "The whole power of the Ephthalites is thus destroyed," replied the envoys.

Ἐφθαλῖται; οἱ πρέσβεις· ἀστικοί, ὧ δέσποτα, τὸ φῦλον. εὐδηλον οὖν, ἧ δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς ἐκείνων δῆπου τῶν πόλεων κύριοι καθεστήκατε. καὶ μάλα, ἔφασαν. ὁ βασιλεύς· ἄρα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξητε ὅση τῶν Ἀβάρων πληθὺς τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἀφηνίασεν ἐπικρατείας, καὶ εἰ τινες ἔτι παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰσὶ μὲν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, οἳ γε τὰ ἡμέτερα στέργουσιν ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ δῆπουθεν ἀποδράσαντας οἴμαι ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσιν εἶναι χιλιάδας. εἶτα ἀπαριθμησάμενοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἔθνη κατήκοα Τούρκων τὸ λοιπὸν ἠντιβόλουν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἰρήνην τε ξυνεστάναι καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Τούρκοις. προσετίθεσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐτοιμότητα ἔχουσι καταπολεμησαί τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας τὸ δυσμενές, ὅπόσον ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγελάζονται ἠπειρον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα τῷ λέξαι τῷ χεῖρε ὑψοῦ ἀνατείνας ὁ Μανιάχ οἳ τε ζῆν αὐτῷ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστάσαντο μεγίστῳ ἢ μὴν ὀρθογνώμονι διανοίᾳ ταῦτα εἰρησθαι. πρὸς γε καὶ κατέχεον ἀράς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει, εἴ γε οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἀληθῆ τε εἶη καὶ πρακτέα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ φῦλον οἱ Τοῦρκοι φίλοι ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ ἄλλως ἐφοίτησαν πολιτεία.

And again, the emperor asked: "Do the Ephthalites live in towns or villages?" And the envoys replied: "They are a city people, illustrious ruler." "Then it is quite clear," said the emperor, "that you have made yourself masters of their cities." "Certainly," they said. And again, the emperor asked, "So tell us how great the multitude of the Avars is, who have freed themselves from dominion, and if there are still some in your power?" "There are, illustrious emperor, some still there that have escaped from us; their number may amount to about 20,000." After the envoys had specified the peoples under Turkic jurisdiction, they proposed to the emperor that in the future a covenant of protection and defence be concluded between the Romans and the Turks. They added that they were ready to fight against all who were hostile to Roman rule, wherever they might appear in their territory. As soon as they had said this, Maniach, and all who were around him, raised both hands and swore a sacred oath, that all this was spoken in a genuine way; they called down curses on themselves and on Sizabul, indeed on all their people, if the promise was not true and they did not keep their promise. Thus, the tribe of the Turks became friends with the Romans, and they never visited our state with any other purpose.

## §10.2

*(Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes 7, p. 192)*

Ἵτι τῶν Τούρκων τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων τὸ πάλαι πρεσβεῖαν ποιησαμένων πρὸς Ἰουστίνον περὶ εἰρήνης, ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμψαι πρεσβεῖαν ὡς Τούρκους· καὶ δὴ Ζημάρχῳ τῷ Κίλικι ἔλεγε παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅς τῶν πρὸς ἕω πόλεων τηνικαῦτα ὑπῆρχε στρατηγός. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα αὐτῷ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξηρτυμένα ἦν, ἠνίκα πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἠνύετο τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρίδος περιφορᾶς, περὶ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ παρὰ Λατίνοις Αὐγούστου μηνός, ὁ μὲν Ζήμαρχος ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ζῆν αὐτῷ Μανιάχῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν.

After the Turks, who were called Sakas in the old days, had sent a peace embassy to Justin, the emperor intended to send an embassy to the Turks. And he ordered the Cilician Zemarchos to prepare for this, since he was the general of the eastern provinces. Now that he had prepared everything for the long journey, which took place towards the end of the fourth year of the reign of Justin, Zemarchos travelled in the second year of the yearlong indiction, at the beginning of the month called August in Latin, together with Maniach himself and his entourage from Byzantium.

## §10.3

*(Excerpta de Legationibus Romanorum ad gentem 8, pp. 193-95)*

Ἵτι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διανύσαντες οἱ περὶ

After Zemarchos and his entourage had travelled



Ζήμαρχον ἐπειδὴ παρήσαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Σογ-  
 δαῖτων τόποις, ὀπηνίκα τῶν ἵππων ἀπέβησαν,  
 τῶν Τούρκων ἔνιοι ὡς ἔοικεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοι,  
 ὦνιον σφίσι προῖσχοντο σίδηρον, οἶμαι τῷ ποιή-  
 σασθαι ἐνδειξίν τινα, ὡς μέταλλα αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει  
 σιδήρου· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ  
 εὐπόριστόν τι χρῆμα ὁ σίδηρος. ταύτη ἔνεστι  
 τεκμηριῶσαι ὡς ὑπαινιττόμενοι ἔχειν γῆν  
 σιδηροφόρον τῷ τοιῷδε ἐχρήσαντο κόμπῳ.  
 ἔτεροι δέ τινες τοῦ φύλου τοῦ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 ἀναφανέντες, οὓς εἶναι ἔλεγον τῶν ἀπαισίων  
 ἐλατήρας, ἀγχοῦ ἦλθον τῶν περὶ Ζήμαρχον· καὶ  
 τοῖνυν ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐ<πεφέροντο φορτία ἀρά-  
 μνοι ἔθεσαν ἐν μέσῳ. εἶτα τοῖς τοῦ λιβάνου  
 κλάδοις πῦρ ἀνάψαντες τῇ Σκυθικῇ φωνῇ  
 βάρβαρα > ἄττα ῥήματα ὑπεψιθύριζον, ἐπιπα-  
 ταγοῦντες δὲ κῶδωνί τι καὶ τυμπάνῳ ὑπερθεν  
 τοῦ φόρτου περιέφερον τὸ φυλλῶδες τοῦ λιβάνου  
 τῇ φλογὶ λακίζομενον, καὶ ἅμα γινόμενοι  
 μανιώδεις καὶ ἐμβριμούμενοι τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπελαύ-  
 νειν ἐδόκουν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀποτρόπαιοι τινες εἶναι  
 καὶ ἀλεξίκακοι ἐδόκουν. ἀποδιοπομπησάμενοι δὴ  
 οὖν, ὡς ᾤοντο, τὰ δυσχερῆ Ζήμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν  
 δι' αὐτῆς παρήγαγον τῆς φλογός, ᾧ δὲ τε ἐδοξάν  
 καὶ σφᾶς ἀφαγνίζειν. τούτων δὲ ταύτη γεγενη-  
 μένων ἔπειτα ἐπορεύοντο ξὺν τοῖς ἐς τὸ τοιόνδε  
 τεταγμένοις, ἵνα ὁ Χαγάνος αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν ὄρει τινὶ  
 λεγομένῳ Ἐκτάγ, ὡς ἂν εἶποι χρυσοῦν ὄρος  
 Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ. καὶ τοῖνυν αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενοι, ὄπη  
 τηνικαῦτα τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἦσαν αἱ διατριβαί, κατὰ  
 δὴ κοιλάδα τινὰ τοῦ προσαγορευομένου Χρυσοῦ  
 ὄρους, ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἐκεῖσε ἐφοί-  
 τησαν, μετάκλητοι γενόμενοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ  
 Σιζαβούλου ἦλθον ἐς ὄψιν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἐνδον  
 σκηνῆς, καθῆστο δὲ ἐπὶ διτρόχου καθέδρας  
 χρυσεῆς, ἐλκομένης, ὀπηνίκα ἔδει. ὑπὸ ἵππου  
 ἑνός. προσειπόντες δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔθος  
 αὐτοῖς, τὰ δῶρα προῖσχοντο· καὶ τοῖνυν οἷς γε  
 τοῦτο ἐν φροντίσει ἦν ὑπεδέξαντο. ἀτὰρ ὁ Ζήμαρ-  
 χος· σοὶ δῆτα, ἔφη, ᾧ τοσοῦτων ἐθνῶν ἡγεμῶν, ὁ  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀγγελιαφόρῳ χρησά-  
 μενος ἐμοὶ ἐσήμηνεν εἶναι ἐς αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην  
 αἰσίαν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐν ἡδονῇ ποιουμένῳ σοὶ τὰ  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς γε φιλοφρονουμένῳ ἡμᾶς.  
 ἔστω δὲ σοὶ κρατεῖν αἰεὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν καὶ λαφυ-  
 ραγωγεῖν τὸ πολέμιον. ἀπέστω δὲ βασκανία τις  
 ὡς πορρωτάτω ἡμῶν οἶα τε οὕσα διαρρηγνύναι  
 τοὺς τῆς φιλίας θεσμούς. ἐπιτήδεια ἔμοιγε τῶν  
 Τούρκων τὰ φύλα καὶ ὅσα κατήκοα Τούρκων·  
 ἔξετε δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἄλλως.  
 τοιαῦτα ἄττα ἔλεξεν ὁ Ζήμαρχος· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σιζά-  
 βουλος καὶ αὐτὸς προσήρσεσιν ἐχρήσατο ὁμοί-  
 ας. εἶτα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπησαν ἐς θοίνην, καὶ

for several days, they came to the regions of the  
 Sogdians; when they dismounted the horses, it  
 appears that some Turks instructed them to buy  
 iron in order, as I believe, to provide them with  
 proof that they had iron mines. It is said, for in-  
 stance, that iron is not an easy material to obtain;  
 this suggests the proof that they used only  
 cunning to indicate that they had a land pro-  
 ducing iron. Some others of their tribe, who were  
 said to be instigators of despicable things, also  
 showed themselves and came close to the people  
 of Zemarchos. They took all the baggage they  
 had brought and put it in the middle. Then they lit  
 a fire with branches of incense, murmured some  
 barbarous words in Scythian language, and mak-  
 ing noise over the baggage with a bell and a  
 drum, they carried the branches with the burning  
 incense, which was still crackling, and seemed to  
 be getting into a frenzy and gesticulating in order  
 to ward off the evil spirits. Since they believed  
 the evil spirits would be averted elsewhere.  
 Having, as they believed, summoned the wicked,  
 they themselves led Zemarchos through this  
 flame; because then they also believed them-  
 selves to be cleansed. Thereupon they went with  
 the officials to a place where the Khagan himself  
 lived on a mountain called Ektag, which means in  
 Greek "Golden Mountain". This was then the  
 habitation of the Sizabul, namely in a gorge of  
 the so-called Golden Mountain. After Zemarchos  
 had arrived there with his people, they were  
 immediately led before Sizabul. He sat in a tent  
 on a golden armchair with two wheels, which, if  
 necessary, was pulled by a horse. After they had  
 greeted the barbarians, as was their custom, they  
 brought out the gifts, and they received the  
 officials. Now Zemarchos said: "To you,  
 illustrious prince of so many peoples, our mighty  
 emperor has proclaimed through me a message  
 that happiness is always favourable and salutary  
 to you who have joy in the fate of the Romans  
 and whom you welcome us hospitably. And it is  
 your privilege to always keep your enemies in  
 check and to chase away their prey. Let envy also  
 be far from us, because it is able to tear the bonds  
 of friendship. May the tribes of the Turks and all  
 who are subject to them serve me well; then you  
 too will be inspired towards us by the same  
 attitude." And so spoke Zemarchos and Sizabul,  
 making similar recitations. Then they went to a  
 banquet and spent all day in this tent. It was lined  
 with silken fabrics that were artfully interwoven  
 with bright colours. They drank much wine,

πανημερία εὐωχούμενοι διετέλουν ἐν αὐτῇ δήπου τῇ σκηνῇ. κατεσκεύαστο δὲ αὐτῶ ἐξ ὑφασμάτων σηρικῶν τε καὶ διαπεποικιλμένων τοῖς χρώμασιν εὐτέχνως. οἴνω μὲν οὖν ἐχρήσαντο, οὐχ ὁμοίω δὲ τῶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκθλιβομένῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀμπελοφόρος αὐτοῖς ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγχωριάζει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιόνδε γένος· ἐτέρου δὲ τινος βαρβαρικοῦ ἐνεφορήθησαν γλεύκους, καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν ὅποι αὐτοῖς ἡ κατάλυσις ἦν. εἶτα ἐς τὸ αὐριον ἐν ἐτέρα τινὶ καλύβῃ ξυνῆλθον, ἡμφιεσμένη δὲ καὶ καταπεποικιλμένη οὐκ ἄλλως ἐξ ἱματίων σηρικῶν, ἐνθα καὶ ἀγάλματα διάφορα τῇ μορφῇ εἰστήκει. ὁ δὲ Σιζάβουλος ἐνίζανεν ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ὅλης ἐκ χρυσοῦ. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἐνδιαιτήματος κάλπεις τε χρυσαῖ καὶ περιρραντήρια, ἔτι τε πίθοι χρυσοῦ. θοινησάμενοι δ' οὖν καὶ αὐθις καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐχρῆν ἐν πότῳ εἰπόντες τε καὶ ἀκηκοότες ἀνεχώρησαν. τῇ ἐξῆς ἐν ἐτέρα ἐγένοντο διαίτη. ἐνθα ξύλινοι κίονες ἦσαν τινες ἐνδεδυμένοι χρυσοῦ, χρυσήλατός τε κλίνη ὁμοίως, ἦντινά γε δήπου καὶ ταῶνες χρυσοῦ τέτταρες ἠώρουν. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον τῆς διαίτης ἐπὶ πολὺ παρετέταντο ἄμαξαι, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἀργύρου ἐπῆν, δίσκοι τε καὶ κανῶ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τετραπόδων ἰνδάματα πλείστα, καὶ αὐτὰ γε δήπουθεν ἀργυροποίητα οὐδέν τι ἀποδέοντα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τῶ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμόνι ἔνεστι χλιδῆς. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἔτι ἐκεῖσε ἐνδιατριβόντων, ἔδοξε τῶ Σιζαβούλῳ ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν Ζήμαρχον ἅμα εἴκοσι θεραπευταῖς τε καὶ ὀπαδοῖς ἔπεσθαί οἱ ἐκστρατευομένῳ κατὰ Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους ἐπαναστρέφοντας κατὰ δὴ τὴν χώραν τῶν Χολιατῶν ἀναμένειν τὴν Ζημάρχου ἐπάνοδον. καὶ δὴ † ὅς τῶ προύβη, δώροις τε φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ζήμαρχον καὶ θεραπαίνῃ ἐτίμησε δοριαλώτῳ· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων Χερχίρ· καὶ ὁ Ζήμαρχος σὺν τῶ Σιζαβούλῳ ἐπορεύετο μαχησομένῳ Πέρσαις. ἐν ταύτῃ δήπου τῇ πορείᾳ γενόμενοι, ἐν χώρῳ τινὶ καταλυσάντων αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένῳ Τάλας ὑπαντιάζει τῶ Σιζαβούλῳ Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς, καὶ τοίνυν ξυνεκάλεσε παρ' αὐτῶ ἐστιασομένους τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ δὴ παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐν τιμῇ πλείονι ἐποίησατο, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπικυδεστέραν ἀνακλῖναι σιβάδα. πρὸς γε καὶ πλείστα ἐπιμεμόμενος ἦν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄδικα πεπονθῶς, καὶ ὡς τούτου ἔνεκα ἔρχεται πολεμήσων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς, τοῦ Σιζαβούλου συντονώτερον ἐπεγκαλοῦντος, περιφρονήσας τὸν νόμον τῆς σιωπῆς τὸν ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐστίασεσιν, ἐπι-

except that it is not pressed out of the grapevine like ours; because their land does not produce any wine, and this people is not at home with this method, they fill up with another barbaric drink, similar to must. They then went to their quarters. Thereupon they met the next day in another tent, which was likewise clothed and decorated with silken cloths; there were also variously shaped statues. Sizabul was sitting on a couch of pure gold, and in the middle of the tent stood golden drinking vessels and pitchers, as well as golden pitchers. Afterwards, they were given another drink and saying and hearing everything they needed while drinking, they went away. The next day they came together in another tent, with wooden pillars covered in gold, and also a bed of gold, bearing four golden peacocks. In the front part of the room, in a long row, there were carts containing a great deal of silver, plates and bowls, and also numerous figures of animals, also made of silver, which are not found in ours. Such luxury can be found with the prince of the Turks. While the people of Zemarchos were still there, Sizabul made the decision that Zemarchos, with twenty of his servants and retinue, should accompany him in his campaign against the Persians, while the rest of the Romans should return to the land of Choliatae and await the return of Zemarchus. Upon leaving, he sent them away them with presents that pleased them; he also honoured Zemarchos with an imprisoned slave, which came from the people of the so-called Cherchis. Now Zemarchos set out with Sizabul to fight the Persians. As they descended in a place Talas, on this march, an envoy of the Persians came to Sizabul and invited both the envoys of the Romans and the Persians to dine with him. When they came to him, Sizabul was more honourable to the Romans, and allowed them to take the place of honour. He also charged the Persians with heavy accusations, as if he had been wronged by them and as if he had come to fight him. And as Sizabul became more and more outrageous, the Persian envoy, disregarding the law prevailing among them at the banquets, began to speak quietly and hotly, courageously rejecting the accusations of the Sizabul, so that the attendees marvelled in the highest degree about his wrath; for he used many good manners, putting aside many and violent words. So, they parted and Sizabul made his preparations against the Persians. Thus, he took a back seat to the entourage of Zemarchos, and when they were in place,

τροχάδην ἤρξατο διαλέγεσθαι τοῦ Σιζαβούλου γενναίως τὰ ἐπικλήματα ἀπωθούμενος, ὡς καὶ θαυμάσαι τοὺς παρόντας τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς αὐτοῦ ὀργῆς, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος τὸν νόμον πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀκολάστοις ἐχρήσατο. ἐν τούτοις ἀπαλλαγέντων, ὁ μὲν Σιζάβουλος παρεσκευάζετο τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας. τῷ τοι ἄρα τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ζήμαρχον μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ὡς ἐνῆν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἐμπεδώσας, ἀφῆκεν αὐθις ἀπονοστήσοντας, ἕτερον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῖς συναποστείλας τῷ τὸν πρότερον λεγόμενον Μανιάχ τεθνάναι. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτῆ Ταγμαῖ αὐτῷ. ἀξίωμα δὲ Ταρχάν. οὗτος δὲ οὖν ἐστάλη ὑπὸ Σιζαβούλου ὡς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευσόμενος. καὶ μὲν οὖν σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ τοῦ ἤδη ἀποικομένου παῖς, φημὶ δὲ τοῦ Μανιάχ, κομιδῆ μειράκιον, ὅμως δὲ τὸ πατρῷον διαδεξάμενος γέρας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν μετὰ τὸν Ταγμαῖ Ταρχάν κληρωσάμενος ἀξίαν· οἶμαι δὲ τῷ ἐπιτηδειότατόν τε καὶ εὐνούστατον γενέσθαι τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ τὸν Μανιάχ τοῦ πατρῷου τὸν παῖδα τυχεῖν ἀξιώματος.

fortified his friendship with the Romans and allowed them to return to their homeland, and he gave them another envoy, since the above-mentioned Maniach had died. The title of the one who was sent to him was Tagma and his office dignity Tarchan. He was thus sent by Sizabul to the Romans as envoy, and at the same time with him the son of the late Maniach, a still young man, but who had followed his father in his office and on whom the lot had fallen to become Tagma's office dignity. I think the young man received his father's title because of Maniakh's friendship and loyalty to to Sizabul.





# THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

## ON SILK AND TAUGAST (CHINA)



Theophylactus Simocatta or Simocattes (first half of Seventh Century) wrote a history of the Emperor Maurice (539-602 CE). According to Whitby (1988: 29) he was probably born c. 585-90 CE in Alexandria and moved from there to Constantinople. He seems to have been trained as a lawyer and shows a good knowledge of Classical authors such as Homer, Euripides, Menander etc. as well as later writers like Lucian and Aelian. The eight books of his *History*, which include more specifically Christian material than any of his surviving predecessors, complete the reign of Maurice, but he may have planned to write more. Book VII contains the longest digressions which include the Central Asian Turks and the flooding of the Nile. See Whitby 1988:43, 45, 48-50. His work continued the tradition of Procopius, Agathias and Menander Protector who had covered the period from the accession of Justin I to the death of Tiberius i.e. 518-582 CE. As well as the *History* three minor works of a quasi-philosophical nature have survived. See Whitby and Whitby 1986: xiv to xvi. Nicolaus Copernicus translated his copy (the only book he ever bought on his own account) into Lat. and had it printed in Cracow in 1509. Gibbon called him 'a vain sophist', 'an imposter', 'diffuse in trifles, concise in the most interesting facts'. However, there is little doubt that his digression on Taugast is the most accurate account of North China found in a Classical source before the rise of Islam (VII 9 1-11).



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## SELECTIONS FROM

## THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

*HISTORIAE*

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## III,6,9-14

9. τῶν Οὐννων τοιγαροῦν τῶν πρὸς τῷ βορρᾷ τῆς ἕω, οὓς Τούρκους ἕθος Πέρσαις ἀποκαλεῖν, καταπολεμηθέντων λίαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ὑπὸ Ὁρμίσδα, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Πάρθων, ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα ὁ Βαράμ τὸν πόλεμον μετεβίβαζεν. 10. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ οἱ τῆς Περσικῆς ἤρθησαν βασιλείας ἀυχένης, ὡς φορολογεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τοὺς Οὐννους, τὸ πρὶν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδας χρυσῶν ἡρεμίας προφάσει τοὺς Μήδους εἰσπρατιόντων τῶν Οὐννων. 11. πολυχρύσου τοίνυν τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν γεγονυίας, ἐς μεγάλην τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἐτέτραπτο πολυτέλειαν· κλίνας τε γὰρ ἐσφυρηλατοῦντο χρυσᾶς καὶ τραπέζας καὶ κύλικας καὶ θρόνους καὶ βήματα ἵππικούς τε κόσμους καὶ πανοπλίας, καὶ ὅσα τῇ μέθῃ τοῦ πλοῦτου ἐπινενόηται. 12. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον παρασπονδησάντων τῶν Τούρκων καὶ ἀξιούντων περαιτέρω τῶν εἰωθότων δίδοσθαι χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ βαρυτάτην ἐπενθήκη γενέσθαι, τῶν τε Περσῶν τὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῶν φόρων οὐ φερόντων φορτίον, χειροτονεῖται ὁ πόλεμος. 13. καὶ λαμπρᾶς τοῖς Πέρσαις γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ἀντικαταρρεῖ μετὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν φορολογοῦνται οἱ Τούρκοι προσαφαιρεθέντες καὶ ἂ πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνήθροιστο χρήματα. 14. καὶ πάλιν κομᾶ τὰ Περσῶν, καὶ περίβλεπτα τῷ Ὁρμίσδα καθεστήκει τὰ τρόπαια· λαφύραγωγούνται γὰρ κλίνας καὶ τράπεζαι καὶ θρόνοι χρυσοῖ κόσμος τε ἵππικὸς ἀμφορεῖς τε καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τυράννων συντεταγμένα τιμῆν.

9. Now that the north-eastern Huns, who according to Persian custom are called Turks, were fiercely fought by the Parthian king Hormisdas, Baram (the Persian general) played the war over to Colchis. 10. For the yoke of Persian rule had been loosened such that the Huns were made tributary by the Babylonians (i.e., the Persians), while in the old days the Huns drove 40,000 gold pieces for appeasement from the Persians. 11. Thus, after the Turkic government had accumulated much gold from the Persians, this tribe turned to a great luxury; they made beds, tables, trophies, thrones and altars, rosettes and armour, and all that is invented in the intoxication of wealth driven gold. 12. When, sometime later, the Turks violated the treaties and demanded greater sums of money than usual and a heavy tribute, and the Persians could not bear the burden of the tax surcharge, war was decided. 13. And when the Persians had achieved a brilliant victory, the tide turned, and the Turks were tributary to the Persians, taking away all the gold they had previously brought together. 14. And now the trophies once again adorned the palaces of the Persians and became an object of glory for Hormisdas; for beds, tables, golden armchairs, steed ornaments, pitchers and everything that is produced in honour of a ruler, was carried away as booty.

## VII,6,5

Ταῖς ἑαριναῖς τοιγαροῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν νηστεῖαις ἐναβρυνόμενος, χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς χρυσαῖς καὶ λιθοκολλήτοις κλίναις τοῖς τε νήμασι

Priding himself on the spring fasts of the Christians and renouncing golden and gem-encrusted beds and silk garments, the emperor

<sup>8</sup> Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 135-38 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 242-51.

τῶν Σηρώων, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ξυλίνην στιβάδα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεπαννυχίζετο, θείας τινὸς ἐντεῦθεν ὥσπερ οἰόμενος μεταλήψεσθαι χάριτος.

(Maurice) spent the night on the priest's wooden bed, as though he thought that he would acquire some divine grace from there.

## NOTES

**5. ταῖς ἐαριναῖς ... χάριτος** Maurice was greatly influenced by the Patriarch John Nesteutes (the 'Faster') and, when the latter died in 595 CE, the emperor found that the priest's possessions consisted of a cheap wooden bed, coarse blankets and an unsightly cloak. Inspired by this he practiced great austerity in his own private life as exemplified here. A brief Syriac hagiography describes the austere prayerful life of the Christian Maurice (Whitby, *op. cit.* xvii). Theophylactus himself seems to have been an orthodox Christian. In saying that Maurice hoped to obtain divine grace from his ascetic life, the author is sincere and in no way sceptical.

**Σηρώων** This form is anomalous and should probably be emended to Σηρῶν.

## VII,7,7-12

7. θέρους ἐνεστῶτος κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἔφ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Χαγάνος ὑμνούμενος πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε Μαυρικίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστολὴν τε συντεταχῶς ἐπινίκια ἐνεχάραττεν ἐν αὐτῇ. 8. ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπιγραφὴ εἶχεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως “τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Χαγάνος ὁ μέγας δεσπότης ἐπτὰ γενεῶν καὶ κύριος κλιμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπτά.” τῷ ὄντι γὰρ τὸν ἐθνάρχην τῶν Ἀβδελῶν (φημὶ δὴ τῶν λεγομένων Ἐφθαλιτῶν) καταπολεμήσας οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Χαγάνος ἐνίκησε τὴν τε τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχὴν περιεβάλετο. 9. ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοίνυν εἰς μέγα ἀρθείς καὶ τὸν Στεμβισχάδαν σύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνος κατεδουλώσατο. ἀλλὰ μὴ τις οἰέσθω παριστορεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀβάρους εἶναι διανοούμενος τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Παννονίαν προσοικοῦντας βαρβάρους, καὶ τούτων τὴν ἀφίξιν πρεσβυτέραν γενέσθαι τῶν χρόνων Μαυρικίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. 10. ψευδωνύμως γὰρ Ἀβάρων προσηγορίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον περιεβάλοντο βάρβαροι· ὅθεν δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς, ὅσον οὐπω εἰρήσεται. Ἡττηθέντων γοῦν τῶν Ἀβάρων, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν Ταυγᾶστ τὰς ἀποφυγὰς ἐποιήσαντο. 11. Ἡ δὲ Ταυγᾶστ πόλις ἐπιφανής, τῶν τε λεγομένων Τούρκων ἀπώκισται χιλίοις πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις σημείοις· αὐτὴ ὁμορος καθέστηκε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγᾶστ αὐλιζόμενοι βάρβαροι ἔθνος ἀλκιμώτατον καὶ πολυανθρωπότατον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπάραλληλον. 12. Ἄτεροι τῶν Ἀβάρων διὰ τὴν ἥτταν πρὸς ταπεινότεραν ἀποκλίναντες τύχην παραγίνονται πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους

7. When summer had dawned, the envoy, called Khan in the East by the Turks, sent to the Emperor Mauricius a letter written by him, in which he sang victorious hymns. 8. The heading of the letter read word to word as follows: “The Emperor of the Romans, Khan, the great lord of seven generations and lord of seven climates of the world.” For in fact this same Khan had defeated the patriarch of the Abdelel (I refer to the so-called Hephthalites) in fierce fighting and had taken dominion over the tribe. 9. In the exultation of victory, he had then made the Stembischans his ally and subjugated the tribe of the Avars. In any case, nobody believes that I have falsely reported the events, assuming that the Avars were the barbarians living in Europe and Pannonia and that they had arrived in the days before the Emperor Mauricius. 10. Because the barbarians who live around the Danube (Ister) have been named “Avars” incorrectly; where their origins are recorded will be explained soon. Returning to the subject: of the Abari who had been conquered some made their escapes to those who lived in Taugast. 11. Taugast is a famous city; it is established at a distance of 1500 miles from those called Turks. It is situated on the border of India. These barbarians dwelling around Taugast are a most valiant and populous race, and unparalleled in size among races in the inhabited world. 12. The remainder of the Abari on account of their defeat, turned to a much lower station in life and joined the so-called Moucri. This race live very close to Taugast and their bravery is considerable in military engagements

Μουκρί.<sup>9</sup> Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος πλησιέστατον ὄντων τῶν Ταυγάστ, ἀλκὴ δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὰς παρατάξεις πολλὴ διὰ τε τὰ ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων ὁσημέραι μελετήματα διὰ τε τὴν περι τοὺς κινδύνους τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαρτέρησιν. ...

owing to their daily practice of gymnastic exercises and the fact that they prepared psychologically for dangers. ...

## NOTES

**10. Ἡττηθέντων ... ἐποῦσαντο** Ἄβαροι is the normal spelling for the Avars in the *History*. The reign of Maurice was dominated by warfare in the Balkans against Slavs and Avars, as well as problems with the Persians on the eastern frontier. The origin of the Eurasian Avars is unknown, as is their ethnicity. Menander Protector (Sixth Century CE) said that the language of the Ουαρχωνίται (Ουαρχονίται / *Varconites*) was the same as that of the Huns. They may have been an Oghuric Turkic people; Iranian and Mongol ethnicity has been suggested for them on inadequate evidence. It seems that by the time they arrived in Europe they were a heterogeneous polyethnic people. As steppe nomad warriors they would have been united but of multiple ethnicity. By 600 CE they had established a nomadic empire stretching from modern-day Austria to the Pontic steppes ruling over a multitude of peoples. During Maurice's Balkan campaigns in the 590's the Avars experienced setbacks. Some defected to the Byzantines in 602 CE. See Beckwith *op. cit.* 390.

**11. ἡ δὲ Ταυγάστ ... ἀπαράλληλον** Taugast is here a city on the border of India. The surrounding people are described in the same way as *Seres* in other authors. Taugast correctly describes Northern China elsewhere so that we can only assume the misapplication of a people name to a place. Simocatta's source, which is vague about people further east, may derive from Turkish ambassadors. See Boodberg (*op. cit.*) and note on **πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ** in VII 9 1. See further Yule *op. cit.* 31-34 and Herrmann *RE* IV A 2 (1932) 2523-4.

**12. ἔτεροι τῶν Ἀβάρων ... ἐγκαρτέρησιν** If Moukri is Korea, these Avars have certainly been displaced a long distance. For Pelliot's equation of Moukri and Korea see Noh, Tae-don 1977. The vagueness of the Turkish reports is almost certainly at the bottom of this. The reported athleticism of the Moukri and their psychological preparedness for dangerous (warlike) activities cannot help but recall tribal warrior culture in Japan and Korea, but this cannot go beyond speculation in the light of the evidence available here. Μουκρί here is rightly imported from Photius. The latter is quoting the definition of Μουκρί by Nicephorus Callistus in his *Ecclesiastical History* XVIII 30, where he calls them ἔθνος τῶν Μουκριτῶν. Μούκνη is read in Vaticanus Graec. 977, our best ms., and is a mistake. Μουκρί for Μουκροί is a Latinism in Callistus and Photius.

## VII,8,13-15

13. τοῦ Χρυσοῦ ὄρους παραχωρεῖν. δυοῖ δὲ μεγίστοις τισὶ τὰ Τούρκων ἔθνη μεγαλαυχεῖ· φασὶ γὰρ ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδέποτε λοιμῶν ἐπιδημίαν θεάσασθαι, τῶν τε σεισμῶν σπάνιν εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν. τὴν δὲ Βακὰθ ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐννουγούρων πάλαι ποτὲ πολισθεῖσαν καταπεσεῖν τοῖς σεισμοῖς, τὴν δὲ Σουγδαηνὴν καὶ λοιμῶν καὶ σεισμῶν ἔμπειρον πεφυκέναι. 14. τιμῶσι τοιγαροῦν οἱ Τοῦρκοι λίαν ἐκτόπως τὸ πῦρ, ἀέρα δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ γεραίρουσιν, ὕμνοῦσι τὴν γῆν· προσκυνοῦσι δὲ μόνως καὶ θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. 15. τούτῳ θύουσιν ἵππους καὶ βόας καὶ πρόβατα, ἱερεῖς κεκτημένοι, οἱ καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐκτίθεσθαι προαγόρευσιν.

13. Two great virtues are enjoyed by the Turkic tribes; it is said that they have never experienced epidemics from the beginning, and that earthquakes are something very rare in that land. However, Bakath (i.e. Bactria), founded of old by the Onogurs fell to an earthquake and Sougdanē (i.e. Sogdiana) experienced both famines and earthquakes. 14. The Turks have an extraordinary respect for fire, worship the air and water, and sing hymns to the earth; they worship and call God the one who made heaven and earth. 15. They sacrifice steeds, cattle and sheep to him and are in possession of priests, who believe that they can predict the future.

<sup>9</sup> *Var.* Μούκνη; ἔθνος τῶν Μουκριτῶν (*ap.* Nicephorus Callistus). (Coedès).

## VII,9,1-11

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων<sup>10</sup> Χαγάνος τὸν ἐμφύλιον καταλυσάμενος πόλεμον εὐδαιμόνως ἐχειραγῶγει τὰ πράγματα, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ συνθήκας πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ, ὅπως βαθεῖαν πάντοθεν τὴν γαλήνην ἐμπορευόμενος ἀστασίαστον τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσῃται. 2. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγάστ κλιματάρχης Ταῖσαν ὀνομάζεται, ὅπερ υἱὸς θεοῦ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φωναῖς ἐνσημαίνεται. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ταυγάστ οὐ στασιάζεται· γένος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρέχεται. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἔθνει θρησκεία ἀγάλματα, νόμοι δὲ δίκαιοι, καὶ σωφροσύνης ἔμπλεος ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς. 3. Ἔθος δὲ τούτοις νόμον μιμούμενον, μηδέποτε κόσμῳ χρυσῷ καλλωπίζεσθαι ἄρρενας, καίτοι ἀφθονίας πολλῆς ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κύριοι καθεστῶτες διὰ τὰς μεγάλας καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς ἐμπορίας. Ταύτην τὴν Ταυγάστ ποταμὸς διορίζει. 4. Πάλαι τοῖνυν ποτὲ δύο μεγίστοις ἔθνεσιν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμεσίτευεν ἀντιθέτοις ἀλλήλοις· ἐσθῆς δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ μέλαινα, 5. τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ κοκκόβαφος. Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖνυν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, Μαυρικίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐπέχοντος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν μελαινοφόρων τοῖς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν περιβεβλημένοις ἐσθῆτα διαπεραιωσάμενον τὸν ποταμὸν συνίστησι πόλεμον, εἶτα νενικηκὸς τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας γίνεται κύριον. 6. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν Ταυγάστ οἱ βάρβαροι λέγουσι κτίσαι τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὁπνῆκα τούς τε Βακτριανούς καὶ τὴν Σογδοανὴν ἐδουλώσατο δέκα καὶ δύο καταπλέξας μυριάδας βαρβάρων. 7. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει τὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γυναῖα ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένας ἔχουσι τὰς ἄρμαμάξας, ἐλκομένην ἐκάστην ὑπὸ βοϊδίου ἐνὸς κεκοσμημένου πολυτελῶς ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου μεγατιμίου· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χαλινοὶ τοῖς βουσι χρυσοκόλλητοι. 8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ταυγάστ ἀνειληφὸς ἐπτακοσίας γυναιξὶ κατεπαννυχίζετο. Τὰ δὲ γυναῖα τῶν περιφανεστέρων τῆς Ταυγάστ ἀργυραῖς κέχρηται ταῖς ἄρμαμάξαις. Λόγος δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δεῖμασθαι πόλιν ἀπὸ σημείων ὀλίγων· Χουβδάν<sup>11</sup> ὀνομάζουσι ταύτην οἱ βάρβαροι. 9. Τεθνηκότα δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὑπὸ τῶν γυναιῶν πενθεῖσθαι διὰ παντὸς ξυρομένων μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ μέλαιναν περιβαλλομένων ἐσθῆτα· καὶ νόμος αὐταῖς μηδέποτε τὸν τάφον ἀπολιπεῖν. Ἡ δὲ Χουβδάν δύο μεγάλοις διείληπται ποταμοῖς, αἱ δὲ τούτων ὄχθαι ταῖς κυπαρίττοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κατανεύονται. 10. Ἐλέφαντες δὲ τῷ ἔθνει πολλοί. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰνδοῖς κατὰ τὰς

When the Khagan of the Turks had concluded the civil war he handled his affairs successfully and made a treaty with the men of Taugast so that, capitalizing on the profound peace on all sides, he might settle the kingdom without seditious elements. 2. The Climatarch of Taugast is called Taisan which means 'son of god' in Greek speech. The kingdom of Taugast is not riven by factions; birth status provides them with the appointment of their leader. This race worships statues, but its laws are just and their way of life full of wisdom. 3. They have a custom, which has the force of law, that males should never adorn themselves with golden ornaments although they possess a boundless supply of silver and gold on account of large scale profitable trade. A river forms the boundary of Taugast. 4. In former times the river divided two very considerable races who were hostile to each other; one race wore black garments, the other scarlet. 5. In our times when Maurice was emperor of the Romans the black-clothed race, having crossed the river engaged in war against those clad in scarlet; then being victorious the former took over the entire realm. 6. The barbarians say that Alexander the Macedonian founded this city of Taugast when he reduced to slavery the Bactrians and the land of the Sogdians, destroying 120,000 barbarians. 7. In this city the wives of the ruler have carriages made of gold, each one drawn by one steer richly adorned in gold and highly precious metal; the reins of the oxen are encrusted with gold. 8. The man who has assumed sovereignty of Taugast spends his nights with seven hundred wives. The wives of the more important citizens of Taugast make use of silver carriages. The story is that Alexander built another city some miles away; the barbarians call it Chubdan.

9. When the ruler dies he is mourned by the women whose heads are completely shaven and are clad in black garments; and their law is that they should never leave the tomb. Chubdan is divided by two great rivers; their banks are overhung by cypresses.

10. The nation possesses many elephants. They associate with the Indians in commercial matters.

<sup>10</sup> Var. Τῶν εἰς ἕω Τούρκων (ap. Nicephorus).

<sup>11</sup> Var. Χουμαδᾶν.

ἐμπορίας συναναμίνονται· τούτους δέ φασι τοὺς περὶ τὰ βόρεια τετραμμένους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς πεφυκέναι. 11. Οἱ δὲ σκόληκες, ἐξ ὧν τὰ Σηρῶων καθέστηκε νήματα, πάνυ παρὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἔθνει πολλοὶ ἐναλλάξ καὶ ποικίλην τὴν χροιάν κεκτημένοι, τὴν τε περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζῶα φιλοτεχνίαν φιλοτίμως ἀσκοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι.<sup>12</sup>

They say that those Indians reared in the north are born white-skinned. 11. The caterpillars from which the textures of the Seroes are woven exist in very considerable quantities among that race and possess crinkled and dappled skin; the barbarians assiduously practice the cultivation of these creatures.

## NOTES

**1. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων Χαγάνος** The Turks took over the title Khagan from tribes of Xianbei origin, the last of whom to use it were the Ruanruan. See Liu 1989 and Beckwith 2009 p 104 n 36. and pp 114-116. I note that Turkish *qut* ‘luck’ which accompanies the title Khagan, like *tianming* in Chinese, is used in the same way as Iranian *farrah/farn*. Cf. M Dobrovits, ‘They called themselves Avar’ – Considering the pseudo-Avar question in the work of Theophylactus’ in *Ērān ud Anerān Webfestschrift Marshak* (2003) 2-3. (<http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/dobrovits.html>).

**πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ** Ταυγάστ is used here as a plural i.e. ‘the men of Taugast’. Pelliot saw in Taugast (China) a description of the Turkish or Mongolian speaking Tuobawei 拓跋魏 dynasty (Tuoba = *T’ak-buât* in Early Middle Chinese). The name appears as *Tabgač* or *Tabqač* in Turkish and other Central Asian (including Arabic) sources. Schaeder *op. cit.* 44 notes that this Turkish name for China is found on the early Eighth Century Orchon Inscription as well as in Uighur Turkish texts. Boodberg, *op. cit.* 238-241 explores a number of popular etymologies assigned to the ethnonym Tuoba (*T’ak-buât*) (Taugast) in Chinese histories. While of considerable interest in themselves, they do not shed light on the ultimate derivation of Taugast, which this author sees as ‘a primary ethnic name’ and consequently ‘has no etymology.’ ‘Applied by the Turks to the whole of northern China, the name of Tuoba was apparently used by them in the Sixth Century to refer also to the Chinese court and its seat.’ Schaeder, *op. cit.* 45 suggested that this toponym reached the Turks not directly from Chinese, but through Sogdian. He rightly notes that the ending *-č* is used in that language to form adjectives. See I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954) 59 with example *-nc*. The adjectival form could be an abbreviation of ‘the Tabgač Kingdom’; Schaeder *op. cit.* 46 provides parallels for such usage. The milieu in which Sogdian words for Chinese toponyms could come into Turkish has been thoroughly explored in E. de la Vaissière, *Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens* (Paris 2004) 180-189 and lends support to Schaeder’s theory. However, Professor Sims-Williams points out that there is a confusion here between two Sogdian suffixes forming ethnic adjectives: *-nc* (fem. of *ny*) and *-c* (common gender) as in *sm’rkndc* ‘of Samarkand’ and concludes (pace Schaeder) that there is no reason to think that the form *Tavgack* contains a Sogdian suffix. Important evidence is found in the account of the visit to Constantinople by the Sogdian Turkish ambassador Maniakh in 568 CE found in the fragments of Menander Protector. The earliest reference to the Turks in the Chinese Dynastic Histories involves a Sogdian intermediary in 545 CE. See *Zhoushu* 周書 50.908. Cf. G. Doerfer ‘Turkish-Iranian Language Contacts’ in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol V (New York 2002) 482 in discussing the Bugut inscription of 581 CE notes that, although this is the earliest evidence for the history of the Turkish emperors, it is written in Sogdian language and script. The only Turkish words are titles all with the *-n* ending ‘characteristic of Tavgatch (Tuobawei) a Mongolian language.’ See Yoshida and Moriyasu (ed.) *Bugut Inscription* in T. Moriyasu and A. Ochir, *Provisional Report on Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998* (Osaka 1999) 122-125.

**Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγάστ κλιματάρχης** The description of the governor of a province as a Climatarch is also attested in the Sixth Century historian Joannes Lydus. κλίμα ‘inclination’ moved early into the language of terrestrial geography as a word for ‘region.’

**Ταισῶν** Boodberg *op. cit.* has solved the mystery of this word. Based on its given meaning as ‘son of god’ J. Klapproth *Mémoires relatifs à l’Asie* (Paris 1824-8) 8 saw it as a corruption of Chinese *tianzi* 天子 ‘Son of Heaven’. Yule’s *Taizong* is impossible chronologically as this imperial title belongs to the later period of the Tang; it was the name of one of the Tang emperors. However, as Boodberg, *op. cit.* 235 points out, *Ταισῶν* is a faithful transcription of *taishang* 太上, a title applied between 300 and 630 CE to abdicated emperors, usually those replaced by their son as ruler. Three rulers in Northern China bore this title during the period covered by

<sup>12</sup> Apart from some unimportant differences and the variants cited in the notes, this passage is reproduced word for word by Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiastical History* XVIII,30.

Simocatta's description. The details relevant to our text are set out in Boodberg, *op. cit.* 237-8. He sums up the evidence: 'The Chinese title of "abdicated" emperors who exercised the real power behind the throne was thus well known at the court of the Turkish Khans.' He even suggests that the use of this term and other details of the description given here 'tend to indicate that the Turkish brief of information on which Simocatta's text is based dates from the last years of the Zhou dynasty, most probably from the period April 579-June 580.' It may be added that 'son of the (abdicated) emperor' is not such a far cry from 'son of god' in eastern cultures where divinity and kingship are closely aligned. The emphasis is on 'son'. Persian-Turkish *baypur* is the usual translation of Chinese *tianzi* with this meaning 'son of heaven'.

**2. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ταυγᾶστ ... ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς** Here the Chinese are seen and assessed from the Turkish viewpoint. The favourable descriptions are in keeping with what we find in most of the sources in Boodberg, *op. cit.* 234 calls them 'natural clichés which nomads would use to describe a thickly settled, highly civilized, and orderly (even in those troubled days) country like China.' The worshipping of statues recalls Buddhism, 'stronger in Qi than in Zhou', as Boodberg notes.

**3. ἔθος ... δὲ τοῦτοις ... ἐμπορίας** The prohibition of gold ornaments for men, though not for their chariots, has not been satisfactorily explained by reference to Chinese sources. See Boodberg, *op. cit.* 234.

**4-5. Πάλαι τοῖνον ... κύριον** Again Boodberg, *op. cit.* 224-232 has gone to the Chinese histories to shed light on this episode the details of which have often previously been dismissed as fantasy, although commentators have always seen here some direct or oblique reference to the re-unification of the northern and southern parts of the Chinese empire in 589 CE. Boodberg establishes beyond doubt that the colours black and red refer to the military uniforms of the opposing armies. The black were worn by the Zhou, the red (sometimes yellow in the sources) were worn by the Qi; the former were the successors of the western, the latter of the eastern Wei. 'The color patterns affected by the two rival Chinese states must have been well known to the Turks who were in intimate contact with both powers, and there is thus no doubt that the famous passage in Theophylactus Simocatta's text refers primarily to events in Northern China. The river dividing the two nations is thus undoubtedly the Yellow river (Huanghe) and not the Yangzi, as generally believed.' As for the date of these recorded events, Boodberg, *op. cit.* 232 argues for the period around 577 CE, thus just ante-dating the establishment of the Sui. He relies for this partly on Simocatta's statement in VII 9 8 that 'the man who had assumed sovereignty of Taugast spent his nights with seven hundred wives'. This can be related to a Zhou emperor of 579 CE recorded in *Zhoushu* 7. At the same time *Beishi* 8 tells of Guo Hui, the last emperor of the Qi, whose extravagance in the matter of women became proverbial, having a vision in 565 CE attested by 'seven hundred palace women attending the emperor at night.'

**6. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν Ταυγᾶστ ... βαρβάρων** Boodberg, *op. cit.* 242 has an ingenious explanation for why a Gk. historian like Simocatta might bother to report such a garbled account of the foundation of Taugast and Chubdan (VII 9 8) by Alexander the Great. In any case the information appeared sufficiently credible for the Arabic geographer Qudāma to repeat it three centuries later. Schaeder, *op. cit.* 47-48, in line with his emphasis on the part played by the Sogdians in the transmission of the names Taugast and Chubdan, is convinced that the source of confusion is a Sogdian variant of the *Alexander Romance* transmitted by those traders to Byzantium and Central Asia. This work, often cited as Pseudo-Callisthenes, was translated into Middle Persian in Sassanian times and from this came the Syriac which was the source of the Arabic versions. See introductory note on Palladius *De Brachmanibus*. Schaeder speculates that Sogdians brought the story to the Far East and made the association with the two capitals Taugast and Chubdan, whence it eventually found its way back to the west and was part of the Turkish information available to Simocatta. In Qudāma, however, we read that the two towns were called Chumdan and Šarag. The latter is well-attested as Luoyang. It is Sarag in Syriac on the Xi'an inscription. Compare **Σάραγα / Σάρατα** in Ptolemy VII 3 5 where *Sagara* is read by Berthelot. See Lieu, *op. cit.* 233 and Schaeder, *op. cit.* 46-47. For Sarag in Sogdian and a connexion between Sarag and Σηρικὴ see Schaeder, *op. cit.* 49 and 49 n 3.

**7. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ... χρυσοκόλλητοι** The comment of Boodberg, *op. cit.* 233 is worth quoting in full: 'For the Qi chariots decorated with gold (gilding or inlay) were in common use at the courts of all dynasties; the minute regulations covering every type of vehicle and the pattern of decoration have been preserved in dynastic histories and those of the period in question are found in *Suishu* 10. The Zhou ceremonial is quite complicated; only some vehicles for women are said to be drawn by oxen, the majority of palace chariots being described as horse-drawn. For Qi only few details are given, but among them we find that princesses of the blood (*gongzhu*) rode in varnished chariots, both chariots and oxen being decorated with gilt and solid silver. At the same time while gold decorations are said to be prescribed for chariots of officers of higher rank, those of lower rank could only use copper which would indicate that there existed a definite gradation in the use of different metals



according to official position. The distinction that Simocatta's text draws between the women of the ruler and those of the nobles (VII 9 8) could thus well have been based on reality.'

**8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ... κατεπαννοχίζετο** See note on VII 9 4-5 *ad fin.*

**Λόγος δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν ... Χουβδάν** The text is dislocated here. These words belong in VII 9 6. After mentioning the foundation of Taugast by Alexander it would be natural to mention his reputed foundation of Chubdan as well. There is a further dislocation after the mention of Chubdan here. Ἡ δὲ Χουβδάν δύο μεγάλοις ... κατανεύονται in VII 9 9 logically belongs in VII 9 6. The intervening references to the ruler's wives should be connected. The sequence would then be (a) Alexander founded Taugast (b) he is also said to have founded Chubdan (c) Chubdan is divided by two rivers (d) description of the rulers wives (e) the mourning custom of the women instead of the present confused arrangement (a) (d) (b) (e) (c). Chubdan (Khubdan) can certainly be equated with Chang'an 長安 in geographical terms and its derivation from the latter can be explained satisfactorily. Khubdan is clearly the Kūmdān of the Syriac Nestorian Christian inscription there. Boodberg, *op. cit.* p 241 tentatively suggested that it might be a transcription of Chinese Xianyang 咸陽 which was the old capital of the Qin and still a city of some importance at this time. This suggestion is attributed to G. Haloun by W.B. Henning, 'The Name of the "Tocharian" Language', *Asia Major* (1949) 608. Its position on the confluence of the Wei and Feng rivers lends some plausibility to this. In the second Ancient Sogdian letter, dated probably to the Fourth Century CE, we find Khumdan ('xwmt'n) in lines 15 and 18. In the second occurrence *cymn cynstn* ('out of Čīnastan') has been written above it. Henning notes here that Čīnastan seems to mean the region around Khumdan, or at least chiefly that region, but not 'China'. He is surprised that the original meaning of the term ('the lands of Qin') was still used at this time. He sees the gloss as a self-correction to give the meaning 'out of Khumdan – nay, even out of Čīnastan'. Haloun (quoted by Henning 1949 p 608) comments: 'one would have to assume that this appellation (Xianyang) was continued in use and applied to Chang'an when that town supplanted Xianyang as the capital of the Han empire in 200 BC, but was not the name of Qin (*cynstn*) also so retained as the name for the whole country, after the fall of the Qin dynasty?' He suggests that both of these names may have come into Sogdian at the same time through contacts made in trading. Schaeder, *op. cit.* 45-46 points out that the name is certainly attested in Sogdian as *gwmt'n* in a colophon. On the colophon the name is in an adjectival form in the expression *gwmt'nčw kndyh* 'city of Chumdan'. See Gershevitch, *op. cit.* 159 and compare remarks on Tabgač in note on **πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ** in VII 9 1.

**9. Τεθνηκότα ... ἀπολιπεῖν** The shaving of the head and the wearing of black garments are familiar symbols of mourning from many cultures. They are well known in Gk. writings from the famous section in Herodotus' treatment of the subject in Egypt. There is no compulsion therefore to see with Boodberg, *op. cit.* 243 reference to refuge for these widows in Buddhist monasteries.

**αἱ δὲ τούτων ὄχθαι ... κατανεύονται** The two rivers would be the Wei and the Feng. Although Chinese sources can be cited for willows lining the banks of rivers in this region, Boodberg, *op. cit.* 242, n 59 laments the lack of references to cypresses to confirm this statement.

**10. Ἐλέφαντες ... πεφυκέναι** The ἔθνος referred to here must be the inhabitants of Taugast and nearby Khubdan in Western China; hence they may be identified as trading with Indians. As it is the latter that possess many elephants there is good ground to see further dislocation of the text here. If the text is sound, these elephants could only be those found south of the Yellow River which is an area not covered by Turkish information given throughout this section. It is more likely that Indians are the possessors of many elephants, just as those of them dwelling in the north of the country have paler complexions than those in the south.

**11. Οἱ δὲ σκώληκες ... βάρβαροι** This paragraph on Chinese sericulture is accurate. The description of the skin of the worms as crinkled and dappled is certainly apt.

### *Summary of Photius (Cod. LXV)*

Cod. 31a30-31b1:

Ἐδουλώσατο δὲ καὶ Ἀβάρους. Διέξεισι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ταυγάστ ἔθνων, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μουκρί, ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἄβαροι ἡττηθέντες διεσπάρησαν, ... καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυγάστ, περὶ τε τῶν σκωλήκων τῶν τικτόντων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Σηρι-

He (Emperor Maurice) also enslaved the Abari. (Theophylact) comments on the tribes inhabiting Taugast and the Mucri among whom the Abari were dispersed after they had been defeated ... and (speaks) about Taugast, and about the



<p>κήν, καὶ ὡς πολλή ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν λεγομένην Χουβδάν ἢ τῆς μετάξεως γένεσις, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν νόμιμα. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν λευκῶν τὸ σῶμα.</p>	<p>caterpillars which are the source of Seric raiment, and about how much silk production there is around so-called Chubdan and the customs found there ... and he treats of the Indians with white bodies.</p>
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## NOTES

Photius was Patriarch of Constantinople 858-67 CE and again 877-86 CE. He was involved in the Councils of Constantinople, the *filioque* controversy and the Great Schism. See notes on Pseudo-Ctesias and later entries on Theophanes of Byzantium and Photius *Lexicon*. The summary is found in Cod. LXV.



# THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM



## On sericulture

This Theophanes (c. 750-817 CE) is not to be confused with Theophanes of Byzantium (fl. c. 925-945 CE), a Byzantine palace official and advisor to Emperor Romanos Lekapenos (r. 920-944 CE). Our Sixth Century author wrote a history of the Persian War under Justin II (565-578 CE) in ten books. This *Chronographia* was lost but it is cited in the *Myriobiblion* (also called *Bibliotheca*) of the Patriarch Photius of Alexandria who was involved in the Great Schism. Theophanes was a monk. His work contains valuable historical material about the Empire's struggles with foreign invasions and internal religious disputes. It is thus a sort of encyclopaedia in the form of book reviews. It has been suggested that much of its material was obtained by Photius from Arabic sources while he was on an embassy to the Abbasid court at Samarra in 845 CE.

## THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM (ap. Photius, *Myriobiblon*)

Ed. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*,  
Paris, Didot, 1851, Vol. IV, pp. 270-71.

Translated and annotated by Dr John Sheldon<sup>13</sup>

3. Ὅτι τὴν τῶν σκολήκων γένεσιν ἀνήρ Πέρσης βασιλεύοντος Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπέδειξεν οὐπω πρότερον ἐγνωσμένην Ῥωμαίοις. Οὗτος δὲ ἐκ Σηρῶν ὀρμηθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης, τὸ σπέρμα τῶν σκολήκων ἐν νάρθηκι λαβὼν μέχρι Βυζαντίου διεσώσατο, καὶ τοῦ ἔαρος ἀρξαμένου ἐπὶ τὴν τροφήν τῶν συκαμίνων φύλλων ἐπαφῆκε τὰ σπέρματα· τὰ δὲ τραφέντα τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπεροφύησέ τε καὶ τᾶλλα εἰργάσατο. Ὡν τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος ὕστερον τοῖς Τούρκοις ὑποδείξας ἐθάμβησεν. Οἱ γὰρ Τούρκοι τότε τὰ τε Σηρῶν ἐμπόρια καὶ τοὺς λιμένας κατεῖχον· ταῦτα δὲ πρὶν μὲν Πέρσαι κατεῖχον.

3. (Theophanes reports) that a Persian man in the reign of Justinian demonstrated in Byzantium the origin of (silk)worms previously unknown to the Romans. This Persian on setting out from Seres took the eggs of the worms in a casket and got them safe to Byzantium; when spring began he exposed what hatched from the eggs to a diet of mulberry leaves. When reared on these leaves the worms grew wings and completed the rest of their life cycle. When the emperor Justin at a later time demonstrated their origin and workmanship to the Turks, he astonished them: for the Turks then controlled the markets and harbours of the Seres; but the Persians had previously controlled these.

## NOTES

**ὅτι τὴν τῶν σκολήκων ... κατεῖχον** This account of the introduction of silk production into the Byzantine Empire is to be compared with Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* IV,17,1. Whereas Procopius tells of two monks coming from India (used vaguely) offering to supply Justinian with information to allow the Byzantines to be independent of the Persians for their supply of silk, Theophanes speaks of the

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<sup>13</sup> Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 151 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 276-77.

informant as a 'Persian man'. Procopius says that the monks encouraged by Justinian went to Serinda (same vagueness) and returned with eggs; he does not specify how they were conveyed. Theophanes says that the Persian brought them ἐν νάρθηκι which may be translated as a 'cane (of giant fennel)' or better as a 'casket'. The rest of the accounts are basically the same. Feltham 2009 p16 argues that the monks (possibly Nestorians) or the 'Persian man' may well have travelled through Sogdiana (then a satrapy of the Sassanian empire) to reach Byzantium. She suggests that the monks may have been Sogdians. She qualifies this by saying that they may also have come by the sea route from the Coromandel or Malabar coast of India. The latter idea is ruled out, I think, because Procopius says that the monks had been in Serindia (i.e. Central Asia).

**Ὡς τήν τε ... κατείχον** Justin II (565-578 CE) received an embassy from the Turks in 569 CE in which a proposal was made to bypass Persian domination of the silk trade by opening a new route. This angered the Turks but appealed to Justin. The result was an alliance between Byzantium and the Turks until 576 CE when, according to fragment 19 1-2 of the historian Menander Protector, the Khan ended it abruptly. See de la Vaissière 2004 pp 206-209 and Beckwith 2009 pp 116-117.

# ANNA COMNENA



## On the First Crusade

Princess and historian, Anna Comnena (1083-1153) wrote an account of the reign of her father Alexios I Comnena (1081-1118) – the *Alexiad* – which is generally regarded as a classic of Byzantine historiography. Her account of the First Crusade from the Byzantine point of view is a rare and important document and much used by scholars chronicling the tumultuous events triggered off by the preaching of Peter the Hermit and of Pope Urban II against Islamic occupation of the holy sites of Palestine and Syria even though the event took place during the author's early teenage years. Unavowedly prejudiced against the western warriors who were clearly intent on creating Latin fiefdoms in the lands recovered from Muslim rule, Anna's account is factually sound and is also one of the most important Greek source of 'Western' onomastics, toponyms and titles. The Greek text of Anna is provided here because it is not often consulted by scholars thanks to the relative unavailability of the edition of Leib (1943) and the very costly edition of Reinsch and Kambylis (2001).

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ANNA COMNENA

*Alexiados*

Trans. Elizabeth Dawes, pp. 247-99.

**Liber X****§5**

1. Καὶ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνακτησάμενος τῶν πολλῶν μόχθων, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Τούρκους τὰ ἐντὸς Βιθυνίας κατατρέχοντας εὔρε καὶ ληζομένους ἅπαντα, τῶν δυτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ θατέρου μέρους πρὸς ἑαυτὰ ἐπισπωμένων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πλέον ἐν τούτοις ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις κάμων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ κατεπεῖγον μᾶλλον ὁ πόνος ἦν) ἐπίνοιαν ἐπινοεῖται μάλα μεγαλουργὸν καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν Βιθυνίας ἀποταφρεύει τὰς ἐκείνων καταδρομὰς διὰ τοιαύτης κατασκευῆς ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἐκείνην διηγήσασθαι. 2. Ὁ γὰρ Σάγγαρις ποταμὸς καὶ ἡ παραλία ἢ μέχρι τοῦ χωρίου Χηλῆς ἰθυτενῶς καταφερομένη καὶ ἡ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνακάμπουσα πολλὴν ἔνδον περικλείουσι χώραν. Ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ γείτονες γεγονότες ἡμῖν ἀνέκαθεν οἱ τοῦ Ἰσμαῆλ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυόντων διὰ τε Μαρνανδηνῶν καὶ τῶν πέραν Σαγγάρεως ῥαδίως κατελήζοντο καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν Νικομήδους ἐπέθλιβον τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεραιούμενοι. Τὴν τοιαύτην τοίνυν ὀρμὴν ἀνακόπτων τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῆς χώρας καταδρομὴν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Νικομήδους ἀσφαλιζόμενος κατωτέρω τῆς Βαάνης λίμνης μακρότατον ὄρυγμα κατιδὼν καὶ παρακολουθήσας αὐτῷ μέχρι πέρατος κατενόει ἀπὸ τε τῆς θέσεως καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς ἄρα ὁ τόπος οὐκ ἐκ ταυτομάτου διαβεβόθρωται οὐδὲ συσσεσηράγγεται φυσικῶς, ἀλλὰ χειρὸς τινος ὑπῆρχε μηχανήμα. Πολυπραγμονήσας οὖν τὸ τοῦ τόπου μανθάνει παρά τινων, ὡς ἄρα τῆς τοιαύτης διώρυχος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Δίκουρος ἐπεστάτησε. Τί μὲν βουλόμενος, οὐκ εἶχον λέγειν ἐφαίνετο δ' οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξίῳ, ὡς δὴ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκείνος ἐβούλετο ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ μετοχετεύειν ἐς ταυτηνὴ τὴν χειροποίητον χαράδραν. Πρὸς τοιαύτην τοίνυν ἐνθύμησιν ἀναχθεὶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξιος τὴν τε τάφρον εἰς βάθος ἰκανώτατον διορύσσειν ἐκέλευε. 3. Δεδοικῶς δὲ μή ποτε καὶ πορεύσιμα γένοιτο τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν

1. After a short rest from the many toils, he (sc. Alexius) found that the Turks were overrunning the interior of Bithynia and plundering everything, and that on the other side affairs in the West were calling for the Emperor's attention. He was more troubled about the former than the latter (for his business naturally to attend to what was urgent) and he devised a device which was really magnificent and worthy of his brain, and by this contrivance he safely fenced off Bithynia with a canal against the Turks' incursions. And it is worthwhile describing this contrivance. 2. The river Sangaris and the coast-line which runs straight as far as the village Chele and the other which turns to the north enclose within them a large tract of country. Now this country was easily devastated by the men who from of old have been troublesome neighbours to us; that is, the Ishmaelites, for due to the entire absence of any who could prevent them they came through the Myrandeni and from beyond the Sangaris, and they used to cross the river and especially oppress the town of Nicomedia. The Emperor wished to check these barbarian inroads and raids upon the country, and above all to protect the town of Nicomedia. Below the Lake of Baana he noticed a very long trench, and following it up to its end he gathered from its position and shape that it had not been dug out by mere chance, nor been hollowed by nature, but was the cunning work of some hand. After making close enquiries about the place, he found out from somebody that that it was indeed Anastasius Dicurus (r. 491-518) who was the originator of this trench. With what intent they could not say; but to the Emperor Alexius it seemed that the former Emperor had wished to divert the water from the lake into this artificial canal, and consequently he was led to the same idea and ordered the trench to be dug very deep. 3. He was afraid,

κατὰ τὰς συναφὰς τῶν ρευμάτων, ἀνιστᾷ φρούριον ἐρυμνότατον, πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀσφαλές καὶ τὸ ἀνεπιχειρήτον ἔχον ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς ὕψος καὶ πάχος τειχοποιίας· ὄθεν καὶ τὴν σιδηρᾶν ἀπηνέγκατο κλησιν. Καὶ ἔστι νῦν τὸ σιδηροῦν τουτὶ πυργίον πόλις πρὸ πόλεως καὶ τείχους προτείχισμα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφίστατο τῇ τοῦ πολιχνίου οἰκοδομῇ ἀπὸ πρωΐας μέχρι ἐσπέρας, καίτοι πολλῆς τῆς ἀλέας οὔσης τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν τοῦ ἡλίου διαπορευομένου, καὶ καύσωνος ἠνείχεται καὶ κονίας. Καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δαπάνην κατεβάλλετο ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἐρυμνότατον γεγονέναι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἀπρόσμαχον, τοὺς σύροντας ἕκαστον τῶν λίθων, εἰ ἔτυχεν εἶναι πενήκοντα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, δαψιλῶς ἐπιφιλοτιμούμενος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτης ἅπας καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτόχθων τε καὶ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ὀρμώμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοιούτων λίθων ὀλκὴν ἐκεκίνητο δαψιλῆς ὀρῶντες τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθάπερ ἀθλοθέτην τινὰ ἐφιστάμενον. Τέχνη γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἵνα πολλῶν συρρεόντων ῥᾶον ἢ ὀλκὴ τῶν παμμεγέθων ἐκείνων λίθων γίνοιτο. Οὕτως ἦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι βαθύτατος καὶ καταπραῶσαι μεγαλοργότατος.

4. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μέχρι τῆς ... ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ ... ἔτους κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον προβέβηκεν· οὐπω δὲ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀναπαύσας λογοποιουμένην ἠκηκόει ἀπείρων Φραγγικῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπέλευσιν. Ἐδεδίει μὲν οὖν τὴν τούτων ἐφοδὸν γνωρίσας αὐτῶν τὸ ἀκατάσχετον τῆς ὀρμῆς, τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἄστατον καὶ εὐάγωγον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅποσα ἢ τῶν Κελτῶν φύσις ὡς ἴδια ἢ παρακολουθήματά τινα ἔχει διὰ παντὸς καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασι κεχηνότες αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν τὰς σφῶν συνθήκας εὐκόλως ἀνατρέποντες φαίνονται. Εἶχε γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτο ἀδόκιμον καὶ πάνυ ἐπαληθεῖον. Καὶ οὐκ ἀναπετώκει, ἀλλὰ παντοίως παρεσκευάζετο, ὥστε καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἔτοιμον πρὸς τὰς μάχας εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πλέω καὶ φοβερώτερα τῶν φημιζομένων λόγων ἦσαν τὰ πράγματα. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἢ ἐσπέρα καὶ ὅποσον γένος βαρβάρων τὴν πέραθεν Ἀδρίου μέχρις Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κατόκει γῆν, ἅπαν ἄθροον μεταναστεῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διὰ τῆς ἐξῆς Εὐρώπης ἐβάδιζε πανοικὶ τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενον. Ἔσχε δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην συγκίνησιν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐνθένδε ποθέν.

however, that the river might be fordable at the junction of the streams, so he erected a very strong fort, safe and impregnable on all sides, by reason of the river and the height and thickness of [248] its walls; and from this it got the name of 'Iron'. And now this 'Iron Tower' is a city in front of a city, and an advanced fortification of a fortification! The Emperor himself superintended the building of the fort from morning till evening, in spite of the great heat, for the sun had already passed the summer solstice, and he put up with the burning heat and the dust. He incurred great expenses in order to ensure by these means that the fort should be very strong and impregnable, and he lavished money upon the men who dragged the stones, one by one, no matter whether there were fifty or a hundred, men. Thus it came about that they were not just anybody, but that every soldier and soldier servant, both native and foreign, was stirred to help with the hauling of these stones by seeing the lavish pay and the Emperor himself presiding like a judge at the games. His craft was also shown in this for by the flocking together of so many men the hauling of these immense stones was made much easier. For the Emperor was ever like that, very deep in his ideas, and magnificent in executing them.

4. The Emperor's reign had proceeded as I have described up to the ... Indiction of the ... year.

Before he had enjoyed even a short rest, he heard a report of the approach of innumerable Frankish armies. Now he dreaded their arrival for he knew their irresistible manner of attack, their unstable and mobile character and all the peculiar natural and concomitant characteristics which the Frank retains throughout; and he also knew that they were always agape for money, and seemed to disregard their truces readily for any reason that cropped up. For he had always heard this reported of them, and found it very true. However, he did not lose heart, but prepared himself in every way so that, when the occasion called, he would be ready for battle. And indeed the actual facts were far greater and more terrible than rumour made them. For the whole of the West and all the barbarian tribes which dwell between the further side of the Adriatic and the pillars of Heracles, had all migrated in a body and were marching into Asia through the intervening Europe, and were making the journey with all their household. The reason of this

5. Κελτός τις Πέτρος τούνομα, τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Κουκούπετρος, εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου ἀπελθὼν καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πεπονθὼς παρὰ τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ληζομένων Τούρκων τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν μόγις ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια. Καὶ διαμαρτῶν τοῦ σκοποῦ οὐκ ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' αὔθις ἠβούλετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἄψασθαι ὁδοῦ. Συνιδὼν δὲ ὡς οὐ χρὴ μόνον αὔθις τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον ὁδοπορίας ἄψασθαι, ἵνα μὴ χειρόν τι γένηται οἱ, βουλὴν βουλεύεται συνετήν. Ἡ δὲ ἦν διακηρυκεῦσαι εἰς ἀπάσας τὰς τῶν Λατίνων χώρας ὡς “Ὁμοφὴ θεία παρακελεύεται με πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Φραγγίᾳ κόμησι κηρῦξαι, ἅπαντας τῶν ἰδίων ἀπᾶραι καὶ εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου ἀπελθεῖν καὶ σπεῦσαι ὅλη χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα λυτρώσασθαι χειρός”.  
6. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατώρθωκεν. Ὡσπερ γάρ τινα θεῖαν ὁμοφὴν ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχὰς τοὺς ὅπουδῆποτε Κελτοὺς ἄλλον ἀλλαχόθεν σὺν ὄπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ συναθροίζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε. Κάκεινοι μὲν οὕτως εἶχον προθυμίας τε καὶ ὀρμῆς καὶ πᾶσα λεωφόρος τούτους εἶχε· συνεπήει δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκείνοις Κελτοῖς καὶ ψιλὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄμμοι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα πλῆθος φοίνικας φέρον καὶ σταυροὺς ἐπ' ὤμων, γύναϊά τε καὶ τέκνα τῶν σφῶν ἐξεληλυθότα χωρῶν. Καὶ ἦν ὀρᾶν αὐτοὺς καθάπερ τινὰς ποταμοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν συρρέοντας καὶ διὰ τῶν Δακῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν [πρὸς τὰς] πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπερχομένους πανστρατιᾶ.

7. Προηγῆσατο δὲ τῆς τῶν τούτων λαῶν ἐλεύσεως ἀκρις τῶν μὲν πυρῶν ἀπεχομένη, τοὺς δὲ ἀμπελῶνας δεινῶς κατεσθίουσα. Ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο τὸ σύμβολον, ὡς οἱ τότε συμβολομάντες ἀπεμαντεύοντο, ὡς ἡ ἔφοδος τοῦ τούτου Κελτικοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν μὲν Χριστιανικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόσχηται, δεινῶς δ' ἐπιβρίσειε κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν μέθη καὶ οἶνω καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ δεδουλευκότων. Τοῦτο γάρ τὸ γένος Διονύσῳ τε ὑπεῖκει καὶ Ἔρωτι καὶ πρὸς παντοίας μίξεις καταφορώτατον καὶ μὴ συμπεριτεμνόμενον τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τὰ πάθη, καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δοῦλον καὶ τρίδουλον τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κακῶν. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τὴν Ἀστάρτην αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀσταρῶθ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ σέβονται καὶ τοῦ ἄστρου τὸν τύπον περὶ πλείονος τίθενται καὶ τὴν χρυσοῦν παρ' ἐκείνοις Χοβάρ. Ὁ μέντοι σίτος εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμόν τοῖς συμβολικοῖς τούτοις ἐξελαμβάνετο διὰ τὸ νηφάλιον τε καὶ τροφιμώ-

upheaval was more or less the following. 5. A certain Frank, Peter by name, nicknamed Cucupeter, had gone to worship at the Holy Sepulchre and after suffering many things at the hands of the Turks and Saracens who were ravaging Asia, [249] he got back to his own country with difficulty. But he was angry at having failed in his object, and wanted to undertake the same journey again. However, he saw that he ought not to make the journey to the Holy Sepulchre alone again, lest worse things befall him, so he worked out a cunning plan. This was to preach in all the Latin countries that ‘the voice of God bids me announce to all the Counts in France that they should all leave their homes and set out to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, and to endeavour wholeheartedly with hand and mind to deliver Jerusalem from the hand of the Hagarenes.’ 6. And he really succeeded. For after inspiring the souls of all with this quasi-divine command he contrived to assemble the Franks from all sides, one after the other, with arms, horses and all the other paraphernalia of war. And they were all so zealous and eager that every highroad was full of them. And those Frankish soldiers were accompanied by an unarmed host more numerous than the sand or the stars, carrying palms and crosses on their shoulders; women and children, too, came away from their countries. And the sight of them was like many rivers streaming from all sides, and they were advancing towards us through Dacia generally with all their hosts.

7. Now the coming of these many peoples was preceded by a locust which did not touch the wheat, but made a terrible attack on the vines. This was really a presage as the diviners of the time interpreted it, and meant that this enormous Frankish army would, when it came, refrain from interference in Christian affairs, but fall very heavily upon the barbarian Ishmaelites who were slaves to drunkenness, wine, and Dionysus. For this race is under the sway of Dionysus and Eros, rushes headlong into all kind of sexual intercourse, and is not circumcised either in the flesh or in their passions. It is nothing but a slave, nay triply enslaved, to the ills wrought by Aphrodite. For this reason they worship and adore Astarte and Ashtaroth too and value above all the image of the moon, and the golden figure of Hobar in their country. Now in these symbols Christianity was taken to be the corn because of



τατον. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἱ μάντιες τὰς ἀμπέλους καὶ τὸν πυρὸν ἐξεδέξαντο. **8.** Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν μάντεων οὕτως ἐχέτω· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων οὕτω παρηκολουθήκει καὶ καινόν τι κατανοεῖν τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἐνήν. Τῆς γὰρ τῶν τούτων ἐλεύσεως οὐχ ὁμοῦ οὐδὲ κατὰ ταῦτόν γινομένης (καὶ πῶς γὰρ τοσαῦτα πλήθη ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων ἐξορμήσαντα ὁμαδὸν τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας πορθμὸν διανήξασθαι ἐνήν;) οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, οἱ δὲ δευτέροι, οἱ δὲ τούτων ὀπισθεν καὶ καθεξῆς οἱ ἅπαντες τὸν ἀπόπλου οὕτω ποιούμενοι διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου διήρχοντο. Προηγίτο δὲ ἐκάστου στρατεύματος τούτων ἀκρις ἀμύθητος, ὡς ἔφαμεν. Ἄπαντες γοῦν ἅπαξ καὶ δις τοῦτο θεασάμενοι προδρόμους ταύτας τῶν Φραγκικῶν ταγμάτων ἐγνώρισαν. **9.** Ὡς δὲ σποράδιον τινὲς τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας διεπέρων ἤδη πορθμὸν, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετακαλεσάμενός τινας τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἀρχηγούς ἐκπέμπει τούτους πρὸς τὰ μέρη Δυρραχίου καὶ Αὐλώνος ἐντειλάμενος δέχεσθαι μὲν προσηγῶς τοὺς διαπερῶντας πανηγύρεις τε δαμιλεῖς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν χωρῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξάγειν, εἶτα ἐνεδρεῦειν παρακολουθοῦντας διόλου καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκδρομάς τινας τούτους θεαίντο ποιουμένους εἰς προνομήν τῶν παρακειμένων χωρῶν ἐκτρέχοντας, ἀναστέλλειν δὲ μετρίων ἀκροβολισμῶν. Συμπαρήσαν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινες τῆς λατινικῆς διαλέκτου εἰδήμονες, ἵνα τὰς ἀναφουρένας μεταξὺ μάχας καταστέλλωσιν.

**10.** Ἄλλ' ὅπως σαφέστερον ἀφηγησαίμην τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κατὰ μέρος, ταύτης τῆς φήμης διαδραμούσης ἀπανταχοῦ πρῶτος ὁ Γοντοφρὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπεμπολήσας χώραν τῆς προκειμένης ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. Ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος πολυχρήματος καὶ ἐπὶ γενναιότητι καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γένους περιφανείᾳ μεγάλως ἀυχῶν· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔσπευδε προτρέχειν τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ γέγονε συγκίνησις οἷαν οὐδέπω τις μέμνηται ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπλουστέρων ὡς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου προσκυνῆσαι τάφον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροῦς ἱστορῆσαι τόπους ἐπειγομένων ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, τῶν δὲ γε πονηροτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ὁποῖος ὁ Βαῖμοῦντος καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες ἄλλον ἐνδομυχοῦντα λογισμὸν ἐχόντων, εἴ που ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι δυνηθεῖεν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατασχεῖν καθάπερ πόρισμά τι ταύτην εὐρηκότες. Ἐτάρασσε δὲ τὰς τῶν πλειόνων καὶ γενναιότερων ψυχὰς ὁ Βαῖμοῦντος ὡς παλαιὰν μῆνιν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τρέφων. Ὁ μὲν οὖν

its wineless and very nutritive qualities; in this manner the diviners interpreted the vines and the wheat. **8.** However let the matter of the prophecy rest. The incidents of the barbarians' approach followed in the order I have described, and persons of intelligence could feel that they were witnessing a strange occurrence. The arrival of these multitudes did not take place at the same [250] time nor by the same road (for how indeed could such masses starting from different places have crossed the straits of Lombardy all together?) Some first, some next, others after them and thus successively all accomplished the transit, and then marched through the Continent. Each army was preceded, as we said, by an unspeakable number of locusts; and all who saw this more than once recognized them as forerunners of the Frankish armies. **9.** When the first of them began crossing the straits of Lombardy sporadically the Emperor summoned certain leaders of the Roman forces, and sent them to the parts of Dyrrachium and Valona with instructions to offer a courteous welcome to the Franks who had crossed, and to collect abundant supplies from all the countries along their route; then to follow and watch them covertly all the time, and if they saw them making any foraging-excursions, they were to come out from under cover and check them by light skirmishing. These captains were accompanied by some men who knew the Latin tongue, so that they might settle any disputes that arose between them.

**10.** Let me, however, give an account of this subject more clearly and in due order. According to universal rumour Godfrey, who had sold his country, was the first to start on the appointed road; this man was very rich and very proud of his bravery, courage and conspicuous lineage; for every Frank is anxious to outdo the others. And such an upheaval of both men and women took place then as had never occurred within human memory, the simpler-minded were urged on by the real desire of worshipping at our Lord's Sepulchre, and visiting the sacred places; but the more astute, especially men like Bohemund and those of like mind, had another secret reason, namely, the hope that while on their travels they might by some means be able to seize the capital itself, looking upon this as a kind of corollary. And Bohemund disturbed the minds of many nobler men by thus cherishing his old grudge against the Emperor. Meanwhile Peter, after he

Πέτρος μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα διακηρυκεῦσαι πάντων προηγησάμενος τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας διεπέρασε πορθμὸν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν χιλιάδων ὀγδοήκοντα, ἰπέων δὲ χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν μερῶν τῆς Οὐγγρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατέλαβεν. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν γένος, ὡς εἰκάσαι τινά, καὶ ἄλλως λίαν θερμότατον καὶ ὀξύ, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφορμῆς δράζοιτο, ἀκάθεκτον.

had delivered his message, crossed the straits of Lombardy before anybody else with eighty thousand men on foot, and one hundred thousand on horseback, and reached the capital by way of Hungary. For the Frankish race, as one may conjecture, is always very hot-headed and eager, but when once it has espoused a cause, it is uncontrollable.

## §6

1. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἄπερ ὁ Πέτρος προεπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων γινώσκοντος καὶ συμβουλευόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κομήτων καρτερῆσαι ἔλευσιν, οὐκ ἐπέιθετο θαρρῶν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ διαπεράσας ἐπήξατο τὸν χάρακα εἰς τι πολίχνιον Ἑλενούπολιν ὀνομαζόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Νορμάνοι τούτῳ συνείποντο εἰς δέκα χιλιάδας ποσούμενοι, ἀποκριθέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν ἐλήζοντο πᾶσιν ὀμοτάτως χρησάμενοι. Τῶν τε γὰρ βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἐμέλιζον, τὰ δὲ ξύλοις περιπεύροντες ὄπτιζον ἐν πυρὶ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τῷ χρόνῳ προήκοντας πᾶν εἶδος ποινηῆς ἐπεδείκνυτο. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν γινομένων ἐν αἰσθήσει γεγονότες ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξήεσαν. Καρτεροῦ δὲ τηνικαῦτα συρραγέντος πολέμου παλίνροσοι εἶσω τοῦ κάστρου γεγόνασιν ἐκθύμως τῶν Νορμάνων ἀγωνισαμένων. Καὶ ὡς τὴν λειάν ἄπασαν ἀναλαβόμενοι κατέλαβον αὐθις τὴν Ἑλενούπολιν. Λόγου δὲ ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπελθόντων κινήθεντος, ὅποια φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, τοῦ φθόνου τὸν θυμὸν ἀναφλέγοντος τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων κἀντεῦθεν ἀψιμαχίας ἀμφοῖν γενομένης οἱ τολμηταὶ Νορμάνοι ἀποκριθέντες αὐθις τὴν Χερίγορδον καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχον. 3. Μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γεγονός ὁ σουλτάν κατ' αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἑλχάνην. Ὁ δὲ καταλαβὼν αἰρεῖ μὲν τὴν Χερίγορδον, τῶν δὲ γε Νορμάνων τοὺς μὲν ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζωγρίαν ἦγε μελετήσας ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τῶν συναπολειφθέντων τῷ Κουκουπέτρῳ. Καὶ λόχους μὲν ἐν ἐπικαίροις καταστήσας τόποις, ὡς ἂν <ἐν> τῷ κατὰ τῆς Νικαίας ἀπιέναι τούτοις ἀπροόπτως ἐμπίπτοντες ἀναιρῶνται, γινώσκων δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐρασιχρήματον δύο τινὰς δραστηρίους τὴν γνώμην μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνετείλατο ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ στρατεύμα τοῦ Κουκουπέτρου διακηρυκεύοντας ὡς οἱ Νορμάνοι,

1. The Emperor, knowing what Peter had suffered [251] before from the Turks, advised him to wait for the arrival of the other Counts, but Peter would not listen for he trusted to the multitude of his followers, so crossed and pitched his camp near a small town called Helenopolis. After him followed the Normans numbering ten thousand, who separated themselves from the rest of the army and devastated the country round Nicaea, and behaved most cruelly to all. For they dismembered some of the children and fixed others on wooden spits and roasted them at the fire, and on persons advanced in age they inflicted every kind of torture. 2. But when the inhabitants of Nicaea became aware of these doings, they threw open their gates and marched out upon them, and after a violent conflict had taken place they had to dash back inside their citadel as the Normans fought so bravely. And thus the latter recovered all the booty and returned to Helenopolis. Then a dispute arose between them and the others who had not gone out with them, as is usual in such cases, for the minds of those who had stayed behind were aflame with envy, and thus caused a skirmish after which the headstrong Normans drew apart again, marched to Xerigordus and took it by assault. 3. When the Sultan heard what had happened, he dispatched Elchanes against them with a substantial force. He came, and recaptured Xerigordus and sacrificed some of the Normans to the sword, and took others captive, at the same time laid plans to catch those who had remained behind with Cucupeter. He placed ambushes in suitable spots so that any coming from the camp in the direction of Nicaea would fall into them unexpectedly and be killed. Besides this, as he knew the Franks' love of money, he sent for two active-minded men and ordered them to go to Cucupeter's camp and proclaim there that the

κατασχόντες τὴν Νίκαιαν, δασμὸν τῶν ἐνόνητων ἐν αὐτῇ ποιοῦνται.

4. Αὐτὴ ἢ φήμη τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Πέτρου συνόντας καταλαβοῦσα δεινῶς συνετάραξε. Δασμὸν γὰρ καὶ χρήματα ἀκηκοότες παραχρῆμα τῆς πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν φερούσης ὁδοῦ ἀσυντάκτως ἤψαντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι μονοῦ καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς τοῖς πρὸς μάχην ἀπιούσιν ...<sup>14</sup> εὐταξίας. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως τὸ τῶν Λατίνων γένος φιλοχρηματώτατον, ὥσπερ ἄνωθεν εἶρηται, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς καταδρομὴν χώρας ἀπονεύσειε, καὶ λόγῳ μὴ χρώμενον ἀχαλιναγώγητον. Μὴ κατὰ στοίχους δὲ μήτε ἰλαδὸν πορευόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δράκοντα λοχῶσι Τούρκοις περιπίπτοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀνηροῦντο. Καὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος Κελτῶν τε καὶ Νορμάνων ἔργον μαχαίρας Ἰσμαηλικῆς ἐγεγόνει ὥστε, τὰ ἐκασταχοῦ κείμενα λείψανα τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν συγκομίσαντες, μέγιστον οὐ λόφον φημι οὐδὲ βουνὸν οὐδὲ σκοπιὰν ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλ' οἶον ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἀξιολογώτατον ἀπολαμβάνον· τοσοῦτος ἔκειτο ὁ τῶν ὀστέων κολωνός. Καὶ τινες ὑστερον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων βαρβάρων ἐν σχήματι πόλεως οἰκοδομήσαντες τεῖχος μεσέμβολά τινα καθάπερ κάχληκας τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐνέθεντο τρόπον τινὰ τάφον αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦμενοι. Ἦτις καὶ εἰς τὴν τήμερον ἴσταται τετειχισμένη ὁμοῦ τε λίθοις καὶ ὀστοῖς ἀναμιξ ἔχουσα τὸν περίβολον.

5. πάντων οὖν ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα γεγονότων μόνος ὁ Πέτρος μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν εἰς Ἐλενούπολιν αὐθις ὑποστρέψας εἰσῆει. Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι αὐθις τοῦτον ἐνήδρευον ἐλεῖν ἐθέλοντες. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἅπαντα ἀκηκοὺς καὶ τὴν τῶσαυτην ἀνδροκτασίαν βεβαιωθείς, ἐν δεινῶ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀλώη. Παραχρῆμα τοίνυν μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Κατακαλὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Εὐφορβηνόν, οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐν πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐμνήσθη, ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις ἐν ναυσὶ πολεμικαῖς ἐμβάλων διαπόντιον εἰς ἀρωγὴν αὐτοῦ πέπομφε. Θεασάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον οἱ Τούρκοι καταλαβόντα φυγαδεῖα ἐχρήσαντο. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲ μικρὸν ἀναμείνας ἀναλαβόμενος τὸν Πέτρον μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῶ, ῥητοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, διασώζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. 6. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναμιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆθεν ἀβουλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅπως ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑποθημοσύναις μὴ πειθόμενος τοσοῦτοις ἐνεπεπτώκει δεινοῖς, ὅποια Λατῖνος ὑψαύχην οὐχὶ ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον τοῦ τοσοῦτου κακοῦ ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ'

Normans had gained possession of Nicaea, and were now dividing everything in it.

4. When this report was circulated among Peter's followers, it upset them terribly. Directly they heard the words 'partition' and 'money' they started in a disorderly crowd along the road to Nicaea, all but unmindful of their military experience and the <necessary> discipline which is essential for those starting out to battle. For, as I remarked above, the Latin race is always very fond of money, but more especially when it is bent on raiding a country; it then loses its reason and gets beyond control. As they journeyed neither in ranks nor in squadrons, they fell foul of the Turkish ambushes near the river Dracon and perished miserably. And such a large number of Franks and Normans were the victims of the [252] Ishmaelite sword, that when they piled up the corpses of the slaughtered men which were lying on either side they formed, I say, not a very large hill or mound or a peak, but a high mountain as it were, of very considerable depth and breadth – so great was the pyramid of bones. And later men of the same tribe as the slaughtered barbarians built a wall and used the bones of the dead to fill the interstices as if they were pebbles, and thus made the city their tomb in a way. This fortified city is still standing to-day with its walls built of a mixture of stones and bones.

5. When they had all in this way fallen a prey to the sword, Peter alone with a few others escaped and re-entered Helenopolis; and the Turks who wanted to capture him, set fresh ambushes for him. But when the Emperor received reliable information of all this, and the terrible massacre, he was very worried lest Peter should have been captured. He therefore summoned Constantine Catacalon Euphorbenus (who has already been mentioned many times in this history), and gave him a large force which was embarked on ships of war and sent him across the straits to Peter's succour. Directly the Turks saw him land they fled. Constantine, without the slightest delay, picked up Peter and his followers, who were but few, and brought them safe and sound to the Emperor. 6. On the Emperor's reminding him of his original thoughtlessness and saying that it was due to his not having obeyed his, the Emperor's, advice that he had incurred such disasters, Peter,

<sup>14</sup> <προσηκούσης> (CFHB).

ἐκείνους τοὺς μὴ αὐτῷ πειθομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίους θελήμασι χρωμένους, ληστὰς ἀποκαλῶν τούτους καὶ ἄρπαγας καὶ μηδὲ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου διὰ ταῦτα δεκτοῦς. 7. Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Λατίνων, ὅποῖος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες, ἔρωτα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐκ μακροῦ ἔχοντες καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου διακηρύκευσιν εὐρηκότες, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν τοιαύτην συγκίνησιν ἐποιήσαντο ἀπατήσαντες τοὺς ἀκεραιότερους καὶ σχηματιζόμενοι κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τὰς ἰδίας ἐπίπρασκον χώρας.

being a haughty Latin, would not admit that he himself was the cause of the trouble, but said it was the others who did not listen to him, but followed their own wills, and he denounced them as robbers and plunderers who, for that reason, were not allowed by the Saviour to worship at His Holy Sepulchre. 7. Others of the Latins, such as Bohemund and men of like mind, who had long cherished a desire for the Roman Empire, and wished to win it for themselves, found a pretext in Peter's preaching, as I have said, deceived the more single-minded, caused this great upheaval and were selling their own estates under the pretence that they were marching against the Turks to redeem the Holy Sepulchre.

## §7

1. Οὐβος δὲ τις ὁ τοῦ ῥηγὸς Φραγγίας ἀδελφὸς φυσῶν τὰ Ναυάτου ἐπ' εὐγενεῖα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης μέλλων ἐξελθεῖν τάχα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον ἀποστείλας ἀπονοίας ῥήματα ἐμήνυσε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προμηθευόμενος λαμπρὰν τὴν ὑπαντὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι "Ἰσθι" λέγων "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὁ μείζων τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανόν. Καὶ καταλαμβάνοντά με ἦδη ἐνδέχεται ὑπαντῆσαί τε καὶ δέξασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς ἐμῆς εὐγενείας". 2. Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας, ἐπεὶ δοῦξ μὲν ἔτυχε Δυρραχίου Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς Ἰσαακίου τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος, περὶ οὗ ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, τοῦ δὲ στόλου Νικόλαος ὁ Μαυροκατακαλῶν περὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνορμίσας τὰς ναῦς κάκειθεν αὐθις τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ποιούμενος καὶ τὰ πελάγη περισκοπῶν, ὡς μὴ λάθοιεν αὐτὸν ληστρικαὶ νῆες παραπλεύσασαι, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς γράμματα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπέμπει ἐντειλάμενος τὸν μὲν δοῦκα Δυρραχίου διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐφεδρεύειν τὴν τούτου ἔλευσιν καὶ παραντίκα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ταχεῖαν τῆς τούτου ἐλεύσεως δοῦναι γνῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Οὐβὸν ὑποδέξασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς, τὸν δὲ δοῦκα τοῦ στόλου παρακελεύσασθαι μηδαμῶς ἀναπεπτωκέναι μηδὲ καταρραθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐργηγορέναι διὰ παντός. 3. Κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν δὲ τῆς Λογγίβαρδίας ὁ Οὐβὸς διασωθεὶς πρέσβεις τηνικαῦτα ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Δυρραχίου εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς τέσσαρσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, θώραξι χρυσεῖς σὺν αὐταῖς κνημῖσι περιπεφραγμένους, μετὰ τοῦ κόμητος Τζερπεντηρίου καὶ Ἡλία τοῦ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ἀποδράσαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτο-

1. One Ubus, brother of the King of France, and as proud as Novatus of his nobility, riches and power, when on the point of leaving his native land, ostensibly to go to the Holy Sepulchre, sent a ridiculous message to the Emperor, with a view to arranging beforehand that he should [253] have a magnificent reception. "Know, O Emperor," he wrote, "that I am the king of kings and the greatest of those under heaven; and it behoves you to meet and treat me on arrival with all pomp and in a manner worthy of my nobility." 2. At the time that this message arrived, John, the son of the Sebastocrator Isaac (of whom mention has been made above) happened to be Duke of Dyrrachium, and Nicolas Mavrocatalon, a Duke of the Fleet, had anchored the ships at intervals round the harbour of Dyrrachium, and made frequent excursions from there and scoured the seas so that no pirate-ships might sail past without his noticing them. On receipt of this message the Emperor at once sent letters to these two, commanding the Duke of Dyrrachium to keep watch over land and sea for the Franks' coming, and to signify the Emperor of his arrival at once by a swift messenger, bidding him also receive Ubus with all ceremony, and exhort the Duke of the Fleet in no way to relax his vigilance or be negligent, but to be on the look-out all the time. 3. When Ubus had arrived safely at the seaboard of Lombardy, he sent ambassadors from there to the Duke of Dyrrachium, twenty-four in number, protected with cuirasses and greaves of gold, together with the Count Tzerpenterius and Elias who had deserted from the Emperor at

κράτορος. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· “Γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, δούξ, ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Οὐβος ὅσον ἤδη καταλαμβάνει ἀναλαβόμενος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης τὴν χρυσοῦν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου σημαίαν. Ἀρχηγὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐπίστασο τοῦ Φραγγικοῦ στρατεύματος ἅπαντος. Ἦτοιμάσθητι<sup>15</sup> γοῦν πρὸς τὴν τούτου καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν δυνάμεων δοχὴν ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπαντὴν ποιησόμενος.”

4. Τούτων τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα λεγόντων ὁ Οὐβος διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς Λογγιβαρδίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, κατελθὼν καὶ διὰ τῆς Βάρεως ὡς πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τὸν ἀπόπλουον ποιούμενος κλύδωνι μεγίστῳ περιπεσὼν ἀπώλεσε τὰ πλείω τῶν αὐτοῦ πλοίων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐρέταις καὶ ἐπιβάταις, ἐνὸς μόνου σκάφους, ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἔτυχε, κατὰ τὴν μεσαίχιμον παραλίαν τοῦ τε Δυρραχίου καὶ τόπου τινὸς καλουμένου Πάλους ἀποπτυσθέντος οἶον παρὰ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμιθραύστου. Παραδόξως δὲ τούτῳ σωθέντι περιτυχόντες δύο τινὲς τῶν περισκοπούμενων τὴν τούτου ἔλευσιν μετεκαλοῦντο αὐτὸν λέγοντες ὡς “Ὁ δούξ ἀπεκδέχεταιί σου τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐπιποθῶν σε θεάσασθαι”. Ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἵππον ἐζήτει. Ἄτερος δὲ τούτων ἀποβάς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦτον αὐτῷ μάλα προθύμως δίδωσιν. 5. Οὕτω γοῦν τοῦτον ὁ δούξ σωθέντα θεασάμενος καὶ προσηγορίας ἀξιώσας, ὅπη τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐπερωτήσας καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ διαπλωζομένῳ τὰ δεινὰ ζυμβέβηκε μαθὼν καὶ ἐπανακτησάμενος χρυσταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τράπεζαν αὐτῷ δαμιλῆ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρατίθησιν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχίαν ἄνετον μὲν, οὐκ ἐλεύθερον δὲ παντελῶς εἶχε. Ταχὺ δὲ τῷ αυτοκράτορι τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν δηλώσας ἐκαρτέρει τὸ ποιητέον ἐκεῖθεν δέξασθαι. Ἄπαντα δὲ μεμαθηκῶς ὁ αυτοκράτωρ ὀξέως τὸν Βουτουμίτην πέμπει πρὸς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, ἣν πολλακίς Δυρράχιον κατωνομάσαμεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὸν Οὐβον ἀναλαβέσθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐθεῖαν βαδίσει, ἀλλὰ παρεκκλίνει καὶ διὰ τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. Ἐδεδίει γὰρ τὰ ὀπισθεν ἐρχόμενα Κελτικὰ πλήθη καὶ στρατεύματα. Δεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντίμως καὶ παντοίας φιλοφροσύνης ἀξιώσας χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδοὺς πείθει παραχρῆμα ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν τοῖς Λατίνοις συνήθη ὄρκον ἐπομοσάμενον.

Thessalonica. They spoke as follows to the Duke, “Be it known to thee, Duke, that our Lord Ubus is on the point of arriving, and is bringing with him from Rome the golden standard of Saint Peter. Understand, too, that he is the leader of the whole Frankish army. Therefore prepare a reception for him, and the forces under him, which will be worthy of His Highness, and get ready yourself to meet him.”

4. While the envoys were thus speaking to the Duke, Ubus, who, as has been said, travelled through Rome to Lombardy, and was crossing from Bari to Illyria, was caught in a very severe storm and lost the greater number of his vessels, crews, soldiers and all, and only the one skiff on which he was, was spat out, so to say, by the waves on to the coast between Dyrrachium and a place called Palus, and he on it half-broken. After he had been thus miraculously saved, two of the men who were on the look-out for his arrival, found him, and addressing him by name, said, “The Duke is anxiously looking for your coming, and is most desirous to see you.” Thereupon Ubus at once asked for a horse, and one of the two men dismounted and very willingly gave him his horse. 5. Thus the Duke met him after his deliverance, and welcomed him and asked him about his journey and his [254] country, and heard about the disaster which overtook him on his crossing; so he comforted him with fair promises, and finally set a rich banquet before him. After the feast he detained him and left him, not without supervision, but certainly free. He speedily acquainted the Emperor with the facts, and then waited to receive further instructions. On receipt of the news the Emperor quickly sent Boutumites to Epidamnus (which we have often called Dyrrachium) to fetch Ubus and escort him to the capital, but not to travel along the direct road, but to deviate from it, and pass through Philippopolis. For he was afraid of the Frankish hosts and armies which were coming behind him. The Emperor received him with all honour and shewed him much friendliness, and by also giving him a large sum of money he persuaded him to become his ‘man’ at once and to swear thereto by the customary oath of the Latins.

<sup>15</sup> Ἦτοιμάσθητι (Leib) – ἐτοιμάσθητι (CFHB).

## §8

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οὐβὸν ἐκ προοιμίων· ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμοῦντος, οὗ ἄνωθεν ὁ λόγος πολλάκις ἐμνήσθη, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν οὕτω διελθουσῶν διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Καβαλίωνος μετὰ κομήτων διαφόρων καὶ στρατεύματος ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαίνοντος ἅπαντα. Τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐγγὺς τῆς Βοούσης· ὀνόματα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις τόπων. Καὶ μεμφέσθω μηδεὶς ἡμῖν τοιούτοις χρωμένους ὀνόμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι τὸ ὕφος τῆς ἱστορίας καταμιαίνεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' Ὅμηρος ἀπηξίωσε Βοιωτοὺς ὀνομάζειν καὶ τινὰς βαρβαρώδεις νήσους διὰ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκρίβειαν.

2. Κατὰ πόδας δὲ τούτου καὶ ὁ κόμης Πρεβέντζας ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ Λογγιβαρδίας προσπελάσας, ἐπεὶ διαπερᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, μυριοφόρον ναῦν ληστρικὴν μισθωσάμενος τριάρμενον ἑξακισχιλίων χρυσίνων στατήρων, ἐν ἧ ἔρεται μὲν διακόσιοι, ἐφόλκια δὲ τὰ συνεφεπόμενα ταύτῃ τρία. Τὸν ἀπόπλου οὐ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Αὐλῶνος ἐπεποιήτο καθὼς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Λατίνων στρατεύματα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ῥωμαϊκὸν ὑφορώμενος στόλον λύσας τὰ πρυμνήσια μικρὸν παρεκκλίνας κατευθὺ Χιμάρας τὸν ἀπόπλου ἐποιεῖτο οὐρίου τυχῶν πνεύματος.

3. Φεύγων δὲ τὸν καπνὸν εἰς πῦρ ἐπεπτώκει. Καὶ γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῖς σποράδην ἐνεδρεύουσι τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας πορθμὸν ναυτικοῖς περιέτυχεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τῷ δουκὶ τοῦ ὄλου ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου Νικολάῳ τῷ Μαυροκατακαλῶν. Ὅς πόρρω περὶ τῆς ληστρικῆς ἐκείνης νηὸς μεμαθηκῶς, τὰς τοῦ ὄλου στόλου διήρεις καὶ τριήρεις καὶ τινὰς δρομάδας ἀναλαβόμενος ναῦς ἀπελθὼν ἴστατο εἰς Καβαλίωνα ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἄσωνος, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐξεληλύθει τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖσε στόλον καταλιπών. Καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὸν καλούμενον δεῦτερον κόμητα μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου κατέργου ἐξκουσάτου παρὰ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς καλουμένου ἐπισκήψας αὐτῷ, ἵν' ὀπηνίκα τὰ πρυμνήσια τῆς ἤδη ῥηθείσης νηὸς οἱ ἐρέται λύσαντες εἰς κῦμα θαλάσσης ἐμβάλωσι, πυρσὸν ἀνάγη. Ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν παραχρῆμα τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐποίησε.

4. Ὁ δὲ δουξ Νικόλαος τοῦτο θεασάμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν νηῶν τοῖς ἰστίοις παραχρῆμα ἐπτέρου, τὰς δὲ καὶ οἷον πολυπόδας ταῖς κώπαις ἀπεργασάμενος κατὰ τοῦ διαπερῶντος χωρεῖ κόμητος. Οὕτω δὲ τρεῖς σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου διαπλωσάμενον καταλαμβάνει τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν περαιάν Ἐπιδάμνου σπεύδοντα, ἐνόπλους μὲν στρατιώτας ἔχοντα χιλίους πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἵππους δὲ τῶν

1. Now this story of what happened to Ubus may serve as a preface. Bohemund (who has often been mentioned in this history already) crossed scarcely fifteen days later to the coast of Cabalion with various Counts and an army that was beyond all numbering. This Cabalion is a place near Boüsa; these are the names of places in those parts. Let no one find fault with me for introducing these barbaric names which are a stain on the style of my history; for not even Homer disdained to mention Boeotians and certain barbarian islands for the sake of accuracy in his history.

2. Close on his heels the Count of Prebentza came down to the shores of the straits of Lombardy, since he also wished to cross. He hired a three-mastered pirate-vessel capable of carrying 10,000 measures, for six thousand gold 'starters.' there were two hundred rowers to it, and three tenders accompanied it. He however did not sail in the direction of Valona, as the other Latin armies did, but fearing the Roman fleet, he loosed his cables, tacked a little and meeting a favouring breeze, sailed straight to Chimara.

3. But whilst trying to avoid the smoke, he fell into the fire. For he did not stumble upon the ships which were watching the straits of Lombardy at different points, but upon Nicolas Mavrocatalon himself, the Duke of the whole Roman fleet. The Duke had heard about this pirate-vessel from afar, and had consequently taken with him all the biremes, triremes and a few fast cruisers (i.e. *dromons*, lit. 'runners') from the whole fleet and stationed himself at Cabalion opposite Ason, the port from which he had sailed out, and [255] where he had left the large fleet. Ad he sent the so-called 'second Count' with his own galley (called by the sailors 'Excussatum') with injunctions that directly he saw the sailors of the afore-mentioned ship loose the cables and throw them into the sea, he should light a torch. The Count went off and did as he was bid. 4. On seeing the signal the Duke Nicolas at once had the sails of some of the ships spread for sailing, the others, like polypods, he worked with oars and sailed towards the Count who was crossing. And he caught him before he had sailed more than three stades from the mainland and was hurrying towards the opposite coast of Epi-

ἐκκρίτων ὀγδοήκοντα. Ὁν θεασάμενος ὁ πηδαλιούχος τῆς νεῶς φησι πρὸς τὸν κόμητα Πρεβέντζας· “Ἐκ Συρίας ὁ ἤδη καταλαμβάνων ἡμᾶς στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ κίνδυνος μαχαίρας καὶ ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα γενέσθαι.” Παραχρῆμα γοῦν ὁ κόμης θωρήξασθαι τε ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας καὶ καρτερῶς μάχεσθαι.

5. Κἄν δὲ μέσος χειμῶν ἦν, ὅποτε ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχαις μεγίστου Νικολάου τελεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὅμως νηνεμία ἔτυχε παντελῆς καὶ ἡ νύξ πανσέληνος φαίνουσα τότε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἔαρι. Πεπαυμένων δὲ παντάπασι τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκέτι ἡ ληστρική ναὺς κινεῖσθαι πρὸς ἰσχύος εἶχε καὶ συνέβαινε ταύτην ἀτρεμεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι. Ἄλλ’ ἐνταυθοῖ τοῦ λόγου γενομένη βουλοίμην ἄν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπαφεῖναι τοῖς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ κατορθώμασι. Ὅς παραχρῆμα <παρὰ> τοῦ δουκὸς τοῦ στόλου καὶ ἰδίου πατρὸς τὰ κουφότερα τῶν πλοίων αἰτήσας κατευθῦ τῆς νεῶς ἐκείνης ἵεται καὶ τῇ πρῶρᾳ συνεισπεσὼν ταύτης ἀπεπειρᾶτο. Συνέρρεον δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐκεῖσε οἱ ἔνοπλοι καρτερῶς τοῦτον ἐξωπλισμένον πρὸς μάχην θεασάμενοι. Ὁ δὲ Μαρριανὸς τοῖς Λατίνοις τῇ ἐκείνων ἀποχρώμενος διαλέκτῳ παρεκελεύετο μὴ δεδιέναι μηδὲ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὁμοπίστους. Βάλλει δὲ τις τοῦτον τῶν Λατίνων διὰ τῆς τζάγγρας κατὰ τῆς κόρυθος.

6. Ἡ δὲ τζάγγρα τόξον μὲν ἐστὶ βαρβαρικὸν καὶ Ἑλλησι παντελῶς ἀγνοούμενον. Τείνεται δὲ οὐχὶ τῆς μὲν δεξιᾶς ἐλκούς τὴν νευρὰν, τῆς δὲ λαίᾳς ἀνθελκούσης τὸ τόξον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν διατείνοντα τὸ ὄργανον τουτὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ ἐκηβολώτατον, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ὑπτίον κείμενον ἐκάτερον μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐνερεῖσαι τοῖς ἡμικυκλίσι τοῦ τόξου, ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν νευρὰν μάλα γενναίως ἀνθελκύσαι. Ἦς κατὰ τὸ μέσον σωλὴν ἐστὶ κυλινδρικὸν ἡμίτομον ἐξημμένον αὐτῆς τῆς νευρᾶς καὶ ὡσπερ τι βέλος ἀξιόλογον μέγεθος ἀπολαμβάνον διήκει ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς νευρᾶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ τόξου μεσαίτατον· ἀφ’ οὗ βέλη παντοδαπὰ διεκρίπτουσιν. Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τὰ βέλη τιθέμενα βραχύτατα μὲν τῷ μήκει, παχύτατα δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀξιόμαχον βάρος σιδήρου λαμβάνοντα. Καὶ τῇ ἀφέσει τῆς νευρᾶς μετὰ σφοδρότητος καὶ ρύμης ἀπάσης ἀφείσης τὰ βέλεμνα οὗ ἂν τύχη ἐπεισπεσόντα οὐκ εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀποπίπτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσπίδα διέτρησε καὶ θώρακα βαρυσίδηρον διατεμόντα ἐκεῖθεν διὰ θατέρου μέρους ἐξεπετάσθη. Οὕτως ἐστὶ σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀκατάσχετος ἡ ἄφεςις τῶν τοιούτων βελῶν. Ἦδη τοῦτο τὸ βέλος καὶ ἀνδριάντα διεπερόνησε χαλκοῦν καὶ τεῖχει ἐμπεπτωκὸς μεγίστης πόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶνδον

damnus, and he had on board one thousand five hundred soldiers besides the eighty horses of the nobles. When the helmsman of the ship saw him he said to the Count of Prebentza, “The Syrian fleet is bearing down upon us, and we risk falling victims to the knife and sword.” So the Count at once ordered all to put on their armour and fight valiantly.

5. Though it was the middle of winter, the day of commemoration of Nicolas, the greatest saint in the Hierarchy, yet there was an absolute calm, and the full moon was shining more brightly than in spring. As all the winds had fallen, the pirate-vessel was no longer able to move under sail, so that she lay there motionless upon the waters. Having reached this point in my history, I should like to descant on the exploits of Marianus. He at once asked his father, the Duke of the fleet, for the lighter vessels, and then steered for the Count’s ship, and dashing into its prow, attacked it. The warriors at once flocked to that spot, as they saw he was strongly armed for battle. But Marianus, speaking in their language, advised the Latins to have no fear, and not to fight against fellow-Christians. But one of the Latins hit his helmet with his cross-bow.

6. This cross-bow is a bow of the barbarians quite unknown to the Greeks; and it is not stretched by the right hand pulling the string whilst the left pulls the bow in a contrary direction, but he who stretches this warlike and very far-shooting weapon must lie, one might say, almost on his back and apply both feet strongly against the semi-circle of the bow and with his two hands pull the string with all his might in the contrary direction. In the middle of the string is a socket, a cylindrical kind of cup fitted to the string itself, and about as long as an arrow of considerable size which reaches from the string to the very middle of the bow; and through this arrows of many sorts are shot out. [256] The arrows used with this bow are very short in length, but very thick, fitted in front with a very heavy iron tip. And in discharging them the string shoots them out with enormous violence and force, and whatever these darts chance to hit, they do not fall back, but they pierce through a shield, then cut through a heavy iron corselet and wing their way through and out at the other side. So violent and ineluctable is the discharge of arrows of this kind. Such an arrow has been known to pierce a bronze statue, and if it

προῦκυψε τοῦ βέλους ἢ ἀκμὴ ἢ ἐνδεδουκὸς κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ τείχους ἀφανὲς γέγονε. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς τζάγγρας πᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὡς ὄντως δαιμόνιον· ὁ δὲ πειρασθεὶς τῆς ἐκ τούτου πληγῆς ἀθλιώτατος ἀναισθητῶς ἀποθνήσκων καὶ μηδὲ τῆς πληγῆς, ὀπόση τίς ἐστιν, αἰσθανόμενος.

7. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς τζάγγρας βέλος ἐμπεσὼν τῷ ἄκρῳ τῆς κόρυθος διήλασεν αὐτὴν ἀποπᾶν οὐδ' ἄχρι τριχὸς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ἐφασπόμενον· πρόνοια γὰρ ἀπεῖρξεν. Ὁ δὲ γοργῶς ἄλλον κατὰ τοῦ κόμητος ἐπαφείς ὁῖστόν πληττει τοῦτον κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος· ὃς τὴν ἀσπίδα διατρήσας τὸν τε φολιδωτὸν διεληλυθὼς θώρακα καὶ αὐτῆς ἤψατο τῆς πλευρᾶς. Ἰερεὺς δὲ τις Λατίνος τρισκαὶ δέκατος τυγγάνων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μαχομένων τοῦτο θεασάμενος προμνόθεν ἰστάμενος πολλὰς βολίδας κατὰ τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὁ Μαρριανὸς ἐνεδίδου αὐτὸς τε ἐκθύμως μαχόμενος καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο παρακελευόμενος, ὡς τρισσάκις τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Λατίνου ἱερέως ὑπαλλαχθῆναι τιτρωσκομένους τε καὶ κοπιῶντας. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς, κἂν πολλὰς τὰς πληγὰς δεδεγμένος ἦν καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι περιρρέομενος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄτρεστος ἦν. 8. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Λατίνοις περὶ τῶν ἱερωμένων δέδοκται· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐντετάλαμεθα παρὰ τε τῶν κανόνων καὶ νόμων καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ δόγματος: “Μὴ θίξης, μὴ γρύξης, μὴ ἄψη· ἱερωμένος γὰρ εἶ”. Ὁ δὲ τοῖς βάρβαρος Λατίνος ἅμα τε τὰ θεῖα μεταχειριεῖται καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ θέμενος καὶ τὸ δόρυ τῆ δεξιᾷ ἐναγκαλισάμενος ὁμοῦ τε μεταδίδωσι τοῦ θεοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος καὶ φόνιον ὄρᾳ καὶ αἱμάτων ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Δαυιτικὸν ψαλμὸν γίνεται. Οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ βάρβαρον τοῦτο γένος οὐχ ἥττον ἱερατικὸν ἢ φιλοπόλεμον. Οὕτως τοίνυν ὁ ρέκτης μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερεὺς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἐνεδιδύσκετο καὶ τὴν κόπην μετεχειρίζετο καὶ πρὸς ναυτικὸν πόλεμον καὶ μάχην ἀφώρα κατὰ ταῦτόν καὶ θαλάττη καὶ ἀνδράσι μαχόμενος. Τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα, καθάπερ ἔφθην εἰρηκυῖα, τῆς ... Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωσέως καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρώτου ἀρχιερέως ἐξήρηται.

9. Ἀλλὰ τῆς μάχης ἐξ ἑσπέρας αὐτῆς μέχρι μέσης τῆς ἐπιφανοῦσης ἡμέρας καρτερᾶς γεγυῖας ὑπέικουσι κἂν μὴ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λατῖνοι τῷ Μαρριανῷ λόγον ἀπαθείας ἐξ αὐτοῦ αἰτησάμενοι καὶ τυχόντες. Ὁ δὲ γε μαχιμώτατος ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος

hits the wall of a very large town, the point of the arrow either protrudes on the inner side or it buries itself in the middle of the wall and is lost. Such then is this monster of a cross-bow, and verily a devilish invention. And the wretched man who is struck by it, dies without feeling anything, not even feeling the blow, however strong it be.

7. To resume, the arrow from the cross-bow struck the top of Marianus' helmet and pierced it in its flight without touching a hair of his head, for Providence warded it off. Then the man speedily discharged another arrow at the Count, and hit him in the arm; the arrow bored through the shield, passed through his cuirass of scale-armour, and touched his side. A certain Latin priest who happened to be standing in the stern with twelve other fighting men, saw this, and let fly several arrows against Marianus. Not even then did Marianus surrender, but fought fiercely himself and encouraged his men to do the same, so that three times over the men with the priest had to be replaced, as they were wounded and sore-pressed. The priest himself, however, although he had received many blows, and was streaming with his own blood, remained quite fearless. 8. For the rules concerning priests are not the same among the Latins as they are with us; for we are given the command by the canonical laws and the teaching of the Gospel, “Touch not, utter not, handle not! For thou art consecrated.” Whereas the Latin barbarian will simultaneously handle divine things, and wear his shield on his left arm, and hold his spear in his right hand, and at one and the same time he communicates the body and blood of God, and looks murderously and becomes ‘a man of blood.’ as it says in the psalm of David. For this barbarian race is no less devoted to sacred things than it is to war. And so this man of violence rather than priest, wore his priestly garb at the same time that he handled the oar and had an eye equally to naval or land warfare, fighting simultaneously with the sea and with men. But [257] our rules, as I have just remarked, are derived from the ... of Aaron and Moses and our first high-priest.

9. After the battle had raged fiercely from the evening till next midday, the Latins surrendered to Marianus, much against their will, after asking and obtaining a promise of immunity. But that most bellicose priest did not stop fighting, even



οὐδὲ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν σπονδῶν τελουμένων τῆς μάχης ἐπέπαυτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν γωρυτὸν βελῶν ἐκκενώσας χερμάδα ἀναλαβόμενος λίθον πέμπει κατὰ τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος περιφράττοντος πλήξας τὴν ἀσπίδα διεῖλε τετραχῆ καὶ τὴν κόρυθα κατέθραυσεν. Ὁ δὲ Μαρριανὸς τῇ τοῦ λίθου βολῇ συγχυθεὶς ἀπολωλεκῶς τὸ φρονεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναυδὸς παραχρῆμα ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ἔκειτο, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἕκτωρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λίθου βολῆς τοῦ Αἴαντος μικροῦ δεῖν ἐψυχορράγει. Μόλις δ' ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἑαυτὸν συναγαγὼν τρισάκις τὸν παίσαντα ἔπληξε βέλεμνα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαφείς. Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερεὺς μηδέποτε μάχης κορευόμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἅπαντας ἀπεπέμψατο τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἦν καὶ λίθων κενὸς καὶ βελῶν, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειεν οὐδὲ δι' ὧν ἀμυνεῖται τὸν ἀντίπαλον, ἐσφάδαζε μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξεφλέγετο καὶ ἐμεμήνει καθάπερ θηρίον εἰς ἑαυτὸν συστρεφόμενος. Τοῖς γοῦν παρατυχοῦσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀποχρώμενος ἦν. Σάκκον οὖν μάζης μεστὸν ἐφευράμενος ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σάκκου καθάπερ χερμάδας τὰς μάζας ἔβαλλεν, ὥσπερ ἱερατεύων καὶ τελετὴν τινα ποιούμενος καὶ ἱεροτελεστίαν τὸν πόλεμον. Μᾶζαν γοῦν τινα μίαν ἀναλαβόμενος καὶ ὄλη χειρὶ πιθήσας ἐπαφίησι ταύτην κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ὄψεως καὶ πλήττει τοῦτον κατὰ τῆς παρεΐας. **10.** Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱερέα ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας· ὁ δὲ κόμης Πρεβέντζας πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ νηὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν προθύμως τῷ Μαρριανῷ εἶπετο τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν χέρσον γενόμενοι ἀπέβαινον τῆς νηός, πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἐζήτει τὸν Μαρριανὸν τὴν κλησιν μὲν αὐτοῦ μὴ γινώσκων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρώματος τῶν ἀμφίων τοῦτον ἀνακαλούμενος. Προσελθὼν δὲ τούτῳ περιχυθεὶς κατησπάζετο ἐγκαυχόμενος ἅμα ὡς “Εἶ μοι κατὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐντετυχίκατε, πολλοὶ ἂν ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερσὶν ἀνηρέθητε”. Ἐκβαλὼν δ' ἐπιδίδωσι τούτῳ ἀργυροῦν θηρίκλειον τιμῆς στατήρων ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁμιλῶν καὶ διδοὺς ἐξεπενεύκει.

while the truce was being concluded, but as he had emptied his quiver of darts, he picked up a sling-stone and hurled it at Marianus. The latter protected his head with his shield, but the stone struck the shield and broke it in four pieces and shattered his helmet. And Marianus was overwhelmed by the blow from the stone, and at once fell unconscious, and lay speechless a long time, just as the hero Hector almost gave up the ghost when hit with a stone by Ajax. He recovered with difficulty, and then pulled himself together and by shooting arrows at him, thrice hit the man who had struck him. Yet that polemarch, rather than priest, was not even then sated with fighting, and as he had hurled all the tones he had, he was now utterly unarmed and bereft both of stones and of darts; so not knowing what to do or how to defend himself against his adversary, he grew impatient, and stormed and raged and twisted himself about like a wild beast; and directly he saw anything handy he used it. Then he discovered a sack of barley-cakes and began throwing out the barley-cakes from the sack as though they were stones, as if he were officiating and taking a service, and turning war into a sacred celebration. And one barley-cake he picked up, drove it with all his might, aiming at Marianus' face and hit him on the cheek.

**10.** So much for that priest and the ship and its crew. The Count of Prebentza, after surrendering himself and his ship and his soldiers to Marianus, immediately followed him. And when they had reached land and were disembarking, that same priest often and repeatedly asked for Marianus and, because he did not know his name, he called him by the colour of his clothes. When he found him, he threw his arms round him and embraced him, whilst saying boastfully, “if you had met me on dry land, many of you would have been killed by my hands.” Then he pulled out and gave him a large silver cup worth one hundred and thirty staters. And with these words and this gift he breathed his last.

## §9

**1.** Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κόμης Γοντοφρὲ τῷ τότε καιροῦ διαπεράσας μεθ' ἑτέρων κομήτων καὶ στρατεύματος ἱππέων μὲν χιλιάδων δέκα, πεζῶν δὲ χιλιάδων ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν μεγάλοπολιν περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς προποντίδος κατατίθησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα, διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς

**1.** Now Count Godfrey crossed about this time, too, with more Counts, and an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, and on reaching the capital he [258] quartered his army near the Propontis, and it reached from the bridge nearest to the monastery of Cosmidium

ἔγγιστα τοῦ Κοσμιδίου διακειμένης γεφύρας μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ. Παρακελευομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τῆς προποντίδος διαπερᾶσαι πορθμὸν ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ αἰτίαν αἰτία συνείρων ἀνεβάλλετο. Τὸ δὲ πᾶν, τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κομητῶν ἀνέμενεν ἄφιξιν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Πέτρος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τὴν τσαούτην ὁδοπορίαν ἀνεδέξατο, οἱ δὲ γε λοιποὶ κόμητες καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον ὁ Βαϊμούντος παλαιὰν μῆνιν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τρέφοντες καὶ εὐκαιρίαν ζητοῦντες ἀντίποινα τούτῳ παρασχεῖν τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἐκείνης νίκης, ἣν ἤρατο κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅποτε κατὰ τὴν Λάρισσαν τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνῆψε πόλεμον, ὁμογνωμονήσαντες καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κατασχεῖν ὄνειρώττοντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐληλύθεισαν γνώμην (καὶ τούτου πολλάκις ἐμνημονεύσαμεν ἄνωθεν), τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁδοπορίαν ποιοῦμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι καὶ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κατασχεῖν ἐθέλοντες.

**2.** Ἄλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πανοῦργον αὐτῶν πάλαι γινώσκων τὰς τῶν ἐθνικῶν δυνάμεις σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι διὰ γραφῶν παρεκελεύσατο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀθύρα μέχρις αὐτοῦ Φιλέα ἰλαδὸν καταστῆναι (τόπος δὲ παράλιος οὗτος τοῦ πόντου) καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν, εἴ ποῦ τις τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμούντον καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένους κόμητας ἀποστέλλοιτο ἢ ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐθις πρὸς αὐτόν, <καὶ> ἀπείργειν αὐτῶν τὴν δίοδον.

**3.** Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ δὲ γίνεται τι τοιοῦτον. Μεταπεμψαμένου γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως τινὰς τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ κομητῶν ἐφ' ᾧ τούτοις συμβουλεύσασθαι ὑποθέσθαι αὐτῷ πληρῶσαι τὸν ὄρκον, τριβομένου τε τοῦ καιροῦ διὰ τὸ φύσει λάλον τε καὶ μακρηγορώτατον τῶν Λατίνων ψευδῆς διέδραμεν εἰς αὐτοὺς φήμη κατασχεθῆναι τοὺς κόμητας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Εὐθύς οὖν πυκιναὶ κατὰ τῆς Βυζαντίδος κεκίνητο φάλαγγες καὶ παραχρῆμα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργυρᾶν καλουμένην Λίμνην διακείμενα παλάτια παντελῶς ἐξηρίπωσαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Βυζαντίδος ἀπεπειρῶντο κἂν μὴ δι' ἐλεπόλεων, οὐ γὰρ παρήσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτῶν πλήθει θαρροῦντες τοῦτον κατηναιδεύσαντο ὡς καὶ πῦρ τολμῆσαι ἐπαφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς κάτωθεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων πύλης, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχαις μεγίστου Νικολάου πάλαι παρὰ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων ἀνοικοδομηθέντος τεμένους.

**4.** Οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅπῳ τοῦ συρφετώδους ὄχλου τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ ἀνάλκιδες πάντη καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι τὰς τῶν Λατίνων φάλαγγας θεασάμενοι ἔστενον ὄμωζον ἐστερνοτύπου μὴ ἔχοντες

right up to the church of St. Phocas. But when the Emperor urged him to cross the straits of the Propontis, he let one day pass after another and postponed doing so on one pretext after another; the truth was that he was awaiting the arrival of Bohemund and the rest of the Counts. For although Peter for his part undertook this great journey originally only to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, yet the rest of the Counts, and especially Bohemund, who cherished an old grudge against the Emperor, were seeking an opportunity of taking their vengeance on him for that brilliant victory he had gained over Bohemund when he engaged in battle with him at Larissa. The other Counts agreed to Bohemund's plan, and in their dreams of capturing the capital had come to the same decision (which I have often mentioned already) that while in appearance making the journey to Jerusalem, in reality their object was to dethrone the Emperor and to capture the capital.

**2.** But the Emperor, aware of their rascality from previous experience, sent an order by letter that the auxiliary forces with their officers should move from Athyra to Phileas (a seaside town on the Euxine) and station themselves there by squadrons, and watch whether any messenger came from Godfrey to Bohemund and the other Counts behind, or contrariwise one from them to him, and if so, to prevent their passage. **3.** But in the meantime the following incident occurred. The Emperor invited some of the Counts with Godfrey in order to advise them to suggest to Godfrey to take the oath; and as time was wasted owing to the longwinded talkativeness of the Latins, a false rumour reached the others that the Counts had been thrown into prison by the Emperor. Immediately numerous regiments moved on Byzantium, and to begin with they demolished the palace near the so-called Silver Lake. They also made an attack on the walls of Byzantium, not with siege-engines indeed, as they had none, but trusting to their numbers they actually had the impudence to try to set fire to the gate below the palace which is close to the chapel built long ago by one of the Emperors to the memory of Nicolas, the greatest saint in the hierarchy.

**4.** Now it was not only the promiscuous mob of Byzantines, who were utterly cowardly and unused to war, that wailed and howled when they saw the Latin troops, and beat their breasts, not

ὑπὸ φόβου ὅ τι καὶ δράσαιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὅποι εὖνοι περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τὴν πέμπτην ἐκεῖνην φανταζόμενοι καθ' ἣν ἡ τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν ἄλωσις, καὶ δεδιότες διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐνισταμένην ἡμέραν, μή τις ἔκτισις τῶν τότε γεγενημένων συμβαίη. Πάντες δὲ ὅσοι στρατιωτικῆς εἰδήμονες ἦσαν ἀσυντάκτως πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια συνέρρεον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠπλίσατο μὲν οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φολιδῶτον περιβάλετο θώρακα οὐδὲ σάκος οὐδ' ἔγχος ἐνηγκαλίσατο οὐδὲ ξίφος περιεζώσατο, ἀλλ' ἐδραίως ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐσταλμένος καθῆστο θρόνου καὶ μεθ' ἰλαροῦ βλέμματος πάντας θαρρύνων καὶ θάρσος ἐνιεις ταῖς σφῶν ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσι δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβουλευόμενος.

5. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα οὐδ' ὄντιναοῦν κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων τοῦ τείχους ἐξενεγκεῖν προτεθύμητο, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐνισταμένην ἐκεῖνην σεβασμίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν (πέμπτην γὰρ ἦν τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἀγίας τῶν ἑβδομάδων, ἐν ἧ ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸν ἐπονείδιστον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ὑπέστη θάνατον), τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον παρεκκλίνων φόνον. Πολλάκις οὖν μεταπεμψάμενος συνεβούλευε τοῦ τοιούτου ἀπέχεσθαι ἔργου· “Αἰδέσθητε” λέγων “τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν τὴν σήμερον σφαγέντα Θεὸν μηδὲ σταυρὸν καὶ ἥλους καὶ λόγχην τὰ κακούργοις προσήκοντα τῆς ἡμῶν ἕνεκα παραιτησάμενον σωτηρίας. Εἰ δὲ μάχης ὑμῖν ἔφεσις ἐστὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμέραν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔτοιμοι παρεσόμεθα.” 6. Οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐχ ὑπέικοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπύκνουν μᾶλλον τὰς φάλαγγας συχνὰς τὰς βολὰς πέμποντες, ὡς καὶ τινα τῶν ἀγχοῦ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου ἵσταμένον κατὰ τὸ στέρνον πλήξαι. Ὅπερ οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα παρισταμένων τοῦ βασιλέως θεασάμενοι ἀνεχώρουν· ὁ δὲ ἀτρέμας ἐκάθητο ἀνακτώμενος τούτους καὶ πρῶως πῶς νεμεσῶν· ὁ καὶ θάμβος πᾶσι παρεῖχεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναισχύντως τοὺς Λατίνους τοῖς τείχεσι πελάζοντας ἐώρα καὶ τὸ συμφέρον βουλευομένῳ μὴ ὑπέικοντας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρον τὸν ἐμὸν Καίσαρα παρεκελεύσατο ἄνδρας πολεμικωτάτους ἀναλαβόμενον καὶ τοξείας εἰδήμονας τοῦ τείχους ἄνωθεν καταστήσαι παρεγγυσάμενος συχνοὺς μὲν οἷστοὺς κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων πέμπειν, μὴ κατὰ σκοποῦ δέ, ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνειν τὰ πλείω, ὡς μόνον ἐκφοβεῖν τῇ πυκνότητι τῶν βελῶν, ἀναιρεῖν δὲ μηδαμῶς. Ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας σεβάσιμον καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον φόνον οὐκ ἤθελεν. 7. Ἐτέρους δὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων [ἡγεμόνων] τοὺς πλείους μὲν τόξα φέροντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔγχεα μακρὰ ἐναγκαλισαμένους

knowing what to do for fear, but the loyal adherents of the Emperor, recalling that Friday on which the [259] city was taken, were alarmed lest on this day vengeance might be taken on them for their former actions. All who had military knowledge rushed helter-skelter to the palace. But the Emperor did not trouble to arm himself, did not even put on his corselet of scale-armour, nor take shield or spear in hand, nor gird on his sword, but sat firmly on his throne and with cheerful countenance encouraged and inspired confidence in them all, while deliberating with his kinsmen and generals, about the action to take.

5. To begin with he insisted that not a single person should go out of the city to fight the Latins, firstly, because of the sacredness of that day (for it was the Friday of the greatest and holiest week, the day on which our Saviour suffered an ignominious death for us all) and secondly, because he wanted to avoid civil strife. So he sent frequent messengers to persuade the Latins to desist from their undertaking; “Reverence,” he said, “the God who was slain for us all to-day, who for the sake of our salvation refused neither the Cross nor the nails nor the lance, things fit only for malefactors. But if you really desire war, we shall be ready for you the day after our Lord’s resurrection.” 6. Not only did the Latins not obey him, but they even placed their troops more closely and sent such heavy showers of darts that one of the men standing by the Emperor’s throne was hit in the chest. Seeing this most of those who were standing on either side of the Emperor proceeded to draw back. But he sat on unmoved consoling and gently chiding them in a way; this demeanour filled all with amazement. However, when he saw that the Latins approached the walls quite shamelessly and would not listen to sensible advice, he sent first for his son-in-law, Nicephorus, my Caesar. Him he ordered to take stout soldiers, skilled archers, and station them on the top of the wall, and added the command that they should shoot plenty of arrows at the Latins without taking aim, but should rather miss, so as to terrify them by the frequency of the darts, but by no means to ill. For, as I said above, he respected the sanctity of the day and did not wish for civil war. 7. Then he bade others of the nobles, most of whom carried bows, and others wielding long lances, to throw

τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Ῥωμανὸν πύλην ἀναπετάσαντας σφοδρὰν ἐνδείξασθαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκέλευε τοιαύτην καταστησαμένους τὴν παράταξιν, ... ἕκαστον τῶν τὰ δόρατα φερόντων ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ὑπὸ δύο φυλάττεσθαι πελταστῶν. Οὕτω δὲ ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχειν, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν προεκπέμπειν πόρρωθεν μὲν τοὺς ὀϊστοὺς βάλλοντας καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πυκνὰ περιστρεφομένους, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μεσαιχμίον ἀποστενωθὲν θεάνιντο, τῆνικαὐτα τοῖς συνεφεπομένοις αὐτοῖς τοξόταις παρακελευσαμένους πυκνοὺς ἐκπέμψαι τοὺς ὀϊστοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἵππων, οὐ τῶν ἐποχουμένων, ὅλας ἡνίας κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων λῦσαι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα τῶν ἵππων πληττομένων ἀποπαύηται τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὀρμῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππάζωνται, τὸ δὲ τι, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ χριστιανοὶ κτείνωνται. Ἐκθύμως τοίνυν τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπεπλήρουν πρόσταγμα καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς ῥυτῆρας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιδόντες, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνασειράζοντες κτείνουσι μὲν πολλοὺς, ὀλίγοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐτρώθησαν. **8.** Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐρρέσθων· ὁ δ' ἐμὸς δεσπότης ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναλαβόμενος, ὡς εἴρηται, τοὺς τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἴστατο τοῖς βαρβάρους ἐπιτοξαζόμενος. Καὶ πάντες μὲν εἶχον τόξα καὶ εὖστοχα καὶ εὐθύβολα· νεανῖαι γὰρ ἦσαν σύμπαντες οὐχ ἥττους τοῦ ὀμηρικοῦ Τευκροῦ εἰς τοξικὴν ἐμπειρίαν. Τὸ δὲ τόξον τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀπόλλωνος ἦν ἄρα τόξον αὐτόχρημα· οὐδὲ γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς ὀμηρικοὺς Ἑλληνας νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶ, τόξω δὲ σίδηρον ἦγέ τε καὶ ἐφήρμοτε κυνηγετῶν ἀρετὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος κατ' ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ ἀθανάτων τόξων θανασίμους ἀπέπεμπεν ὀϊστοὺς καὶ οὐπερ ἂν στοχάσαιτο κατευστοχῶν ἦν, εἰ μόνον θελήσειε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις καιροῖς, ὀπηνίκα καιρὸς ἀγῶνος καὶ μάχης παρῆν, ὄντινα καὶ σκοπὸν ἔθετο, εὐθὺς οὐκ ἄστοχον ἔβαλλε, καὶ ᾧ ἂν μέρει ἐπετοξάσατο, κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους εὐθὺς ἐτίτρωσκεν αἰεὶ. Οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν ἔτεινε τόξον ἐκεῖνος καὶ βέλος ἠφίει ὀξύτατον, κὰν τῇ τοξείᾳ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τευκρον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς Αἴαντας φαινόμενος. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ τοιοῦτος ὢν δεδιῶς τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αἰδέσιμον καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παραγγελίαν ἐγκάρδιον ἔχων ἔτεινε μὲν τόξον ἰταμῶς τούτους καὶ ἀλόγως τοῖς τείχεσι πελάζοντας ὀρῶν καὶ ἀσπίσι καὶ κυνῆ ἑαυτοῦς περιφράττοντας καὶ τὸ βέλος ἐτίθετο τῇ νευρᾷ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄστοχα θέλων ἔβαλλεν, ὅπου μὲν εἶσω

open the gate of St. Romanus and make a display of violent assault upon them. They were to draw themselves up in this order, ... each of the spear-bearers was guarded by two peltasts on either side; then in this order they were to proceed at a slow pace, but send a few skilled archers ahead to shoot at the Franks from a distance, and to keep [260] turning about from one side to another. And as soon as they saw only a narrow space left between the armies, they were to give the order to the archers accompanying them to direct a shower of arrows at the horses, not the riders, and to dash at full speed against the Latins, partly to break the violence of the Franks' onrush by wounding the horses so that they could not ride against the Romans, and secondly, which was more important, to prevent any Christians being killed. The nobles joyfully fulfilled the Emperor's bidding; threw open the gates, and now galloping at full speed against the enemy, and now checking the horses, they killed many of them while only a few of their own party were wounded on this day.

**8.** I leave them to their perdition. My lord, the Caesar, took, as I have said, the experienced archers and stood on the towers shooting at the barbarians. And all aimed well and shot far; for all these young men were as skilled as the Homeric Teucer in the use of the bow. But the Caesar's bow was in very deed the bow of Apollo; and he did not after the manner of the Homeric Greeks draw the string to his breast and place the arrow and fit it to the bow exhibiting like them the art of the hunter, but like a second Heracles, he discharged deadly arrows from immortal bows and provided he willed it, he never missed the mark at which he aimed. For on other occasions during the time of strife and battle, he invariably hit whatever object he proposed himself, and whatever part of a man he aimed at, that part exactly he always struck. With such strength he stretched his bow, and with such swiftness he sent his arrows that in archery he appeared to excel even Teucer himself, and the two Ajaxes. But although he was so skilful, he respected the sanctity of the day and took the Emperor's injunction to heart, and when he saw the Latins recklessly approaching the walls while protecting themselves with shield and helmet, he did indeed stretch his bow and fix the arrow to the string, but purposely shot without aim, launching them sometimes short of the foe, and

πέμπων, ὅπου δὲ καὶ ὑπερπέμπων. **9.** Κἄν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπεστέλλετο εὐστόχος κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων βαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Λατίνος τις ἰταμὸς καὶ ἀναίσχυντος οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἰσταμένων πυκνοὺς ἐξέπεμπεν ὄιστους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ πολλὰ φωνῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐδόκει, τείνει μὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ τόξον· τοῦ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον βέλος ἔκθορε χειρός, ἀλλὰ διέτρησε μὲν τὸν θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ φολιδωτὸν θώρακα σὺν αὐτῷ διελὼν τῷ βραχίονι τῇ πλευρᾷ τὸ βέλος περιέπειρεν. Ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἄφωνος ἔκειτο χαμᾶζε κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, φωνὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἦκε τῶν μὲν ἐπαγαλλομένων τῷ Καίσαρι, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πεπτωκότι ἀπολοφυρομένων. Καρτερῶς οὖν αὐθις τῶν τε ἰππέων ἐκεῖθεν μαχομένων τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἰσταμένων βαρὺς καὶ δεινὸς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀνερριπίζετο πόλεμος. Ἐπιβαλὼν δ' αὐθις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὰς ἰδίας δυνάμεις εἰς φυγὴν τὰς τῶν Λατίνων προὔτρεψατο φάλαγγας. **10.** Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν ἀπελθὼν ὁ Οὐβος συνεβούλευε τῷ Γοντοφρῆ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεῖξαι θελήματι, εἰ μὴ καὶ δευτέραν βούλοιο τῆς τούτου περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐμπειρίας πείραν λαβεῖν, καὶ ὁμωμοκέναι καθαρὰν πίστιν φυλάττειν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦτον κατεμέμφετο λέγων· “Σὺ ὡς βασιλεὺς τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεληλυθὼς χώρας μετὰ τούτου πλοῦτου καὶ στρατεύματος νῦν ἐξ ὕψους τούτου εἰς δούλου τάξιν ἑαυτὸν συνήλασας· εἶτα ὡς μέγα τι κατωρθώκως κάμοι τοιαῦτα συμβουλεύων ἦκεις...” Ὁ δὲ· “Ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς” ἔφη “ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις προσμένειν χώραις καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέχρις ὧδε κατήλθομεν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κηδεμονίας δεόμενοι, εἰ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πειθόμεθα λόγοις, οὐκ ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν συμβήσεται”. Ὡς δὲ κενὸν τὸν Οὐβον ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέπεμψε, πληροφορηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένους ἐγγίζειν ἤδη κόμητας, ἀποστείλας τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκκρίτους τινὰς μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμεων ἐπέσκηψεν αὐθις συμβουλευέσασθαι αὐτῷ καὶ καταναγκάσαι διαπερᾶσαι. Τούτους οἱ Λατίνοι θεασάμενοι καὶ μηδὲ μικρὸν ἀναμείναντες μήτε μὴν τὸ τί ἂν βούλοιντο ἐπερωτήσαντες πρὸς πολέμους καὶ μάχας ἐχώρουν. Πολέμου δὲ ἀναμεταξὺ συρραγέντος ἰσχυροῦ πίπτουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἱκανοί, τιτρώσκονται δὲ οἱ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὅποι ἀναίσχυντότερον αὐτῷ προσέβαλον. Ἐκθυμότερον δὲ τούτων μαχομένων τὰ νῶτα οἱ Λατίνοι ὑπεῖχον.

**11.** Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Γοντοφρῆ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστοίχει θελήματι. Προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπωμόσατο ὄνπερ ἀπητεῖτο ὄρκον, ὥστε

sometimes beyond. **9.** Even though on that day he only pretended to aim properly at the Latins, yet if a reckless and impudent Latin not only aimed several arrows at them up above, but also seemed to be shouting out insults in his own tongue, than the Caesar did indeed stretch his bow at him. And the arrow did not leap from his hand in vain, but pierced through the long shield and the corselet of mail and pinned the man's arm to his side. And he, as says the poet, at once lay on the ground speechless. And [261] the cry went up to heaven of our men congratulating the Caesar and of the Latins lamenting over the fallen. As our cavalry was fighting bravely outside, and our men on the walls equally so, a serious and severe battle was kindled between the two armies. Finally the Emperor threw in his own troops and drove the Latins into headlong flight. **10.** On the following day Ubus went and advised Godfrey to yield to the Emperor's wish, unless he wanted to have a second experience of the latter's military skill, and to swear that he would keep good faith with him. But Godfrey reprimanded him severely and said, “You who came from your own country as a king with great wealth and a great army have brought yourself down from that high position to the rank of a slave; and then just as if you had won some great success you come and advise me to do the same?” The other replied, “We ought to have remained in our own countries and not have interfered in foreign affairs; but as we have come as far as this where we sorely need the Emperor's protection, matters will not turn out well for us if we do not fall in with his wishes.” But since Godfrey sent Ubus away without his having effected anything and the Emperor received news that the Counts coming after were already near, he sent a selected few of the generals with their troops, and enjoined them again to advise, nay even to compel, Godfrey to cross the straits. Directly the Latins caught sight of them, with out waiting even a minute or asking what they wanted, they betook themselves to battle and fighting. A severe battle arose between them in which many fell on either side, and ... the Emperor's ... were wounded, who had attacked him too recklessly. As the imperial troops fought very bravely, the Latins turned their backs.

**11.** In consequence Godfrey shortly afterwards yielded to the Emperor's wish. He went to the Emperor and swore the oath which was required

όπόσας πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἢ φρούρια φθάσει κατασχεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πρῶτον τελοῦντα, πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστελλόμενον ἀρχηγὸν παραδίδοναι. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπομοσάμενος χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ λαβὼν ὁμέστιός τε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος αὐτῷ γεγονώς καὶ δαψιλῶς εὐωχηθεὶς διαπεράσας κατὰ τὸν Πελεκάνον ἠύλισατο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῆνικαῦτα ἐπέσκηψε δαψιλῆϊς πανηγύρεις ἐξάγειν αὐτοῖς.

of him, namely, that whatever towns, countries or forts he managed to take which had formerly belonged to the Roman Empire, he would deliver up to the Governor expressly sent Emperor for this purpose. After he had taken this oath, and received a large sum of money, he was invited to the Emperor's hearth and table, and feasted luxuriously, and afterwards crossed the straits and encamped near Pelecanus. Thereupon the Emperor gave orders that abundant supplies of food should be conveyed to them.

## §10

1. Κατόπιν δὲ τούτου ἐφθακῶς καὶ ὁ Ῥαοὺλ καλούμενος κόμης μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα χιλιάδων ἰπέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν προποντιδα περὶ τὴν καλουμένην μονὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου σκηνώσας μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν κομήτων τοὺς λοιποὺς μέχρις αὐτοῦ Σωσθενίου κατέθετο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Γοντοφρῆ φρονῶν ἀνεβάλλετο τέως τὴν τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένων ἀπεκδεχόμενος ἔλευσιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐδεδίει τὴν τούτων ἄφιξιν καὶ αὐτῶν ὅλη χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ τὴν διαπεραίωσιν ἐπέσπευδεν. Αποστείλας τοίνυν τὸν Ὀπον μετεκαλεῖτο (εὐγενῆς δὲ οὗτος φρονήσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐμπειρία μηδενὸς ἀποδέων) καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆν, μεθ' ἑτέρων γενναίων ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε παρακελευσάμενος καταναγκάσαι τούτου τὴν διαπεραίωσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτον ἑώρα τῷ βασιλικῷ μηδαμῶς ὑπέικοντα προστάγματι, ἀλλ' ἀναισχυντοῦντα καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φρυαττόμενον, ὄπλισάμενος παρετάξατο μορμολυττόμενος τάχα τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἰόμενος πείσειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν περαιοῖαν διαπλώσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ θῆττον ἢ λόγος μετὰ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ Κελτῶν παραταξάμενος ὡς λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας καὶ τῆνικαῦτα μετὰ τοῦ Ὀπου μέγαν συνίστησι πόλεμον. 2. Καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ πηγάσιος διαπόντιος ἐφ' ᾧ τούτους διαπερᾶν καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μάχην καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἰταμώτερον τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι προσβάλλοντας τῶν νηῶν ἐξεληλυθῶς ἐξ ὀπισθίων προσβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς Κελτοῖς. Ἀναιροῦνται τοίνυν τῆνικαῦτα πολλοί· πλείστοι δὲ καὶ τιτρώσκονται. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ σωθέντες ἀνακαλοῦνται τὴν διαπεραίωσιν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, μηχανικώτατος ὢν ἀνὴρ, σκεψάμενος μὴ τῷ Γοντοφρῆ ἐνωθέντες καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τούτοις ἀφηγησάμενοι τοῦτον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐρεθίσωσι, τὴν

1. After this man the Count called Raoul arrived with fifteen thousand horse and foot and bivouacked by the Propontis [262] near so-called monastery of the Patriarch with the Counts under him, and the rest he quartered on the shore right up to Sosthenium. He, with the same intention as Godfrey, put off crossing as he, too, was awaiting the arrival of the others who were coming after him, but the Emperor foreseeing what might happen, dreaded their advent, and tried to hurry on Raoul's crossing by every possible means. So he sent and had Opus fetched (a man of noble mind and not inferior to anyone in military experience), and when he arrived he dispatched him with some other brave men overland to Raoul with orders to compel the latter to cross the straits. But when he found that Raoul would certainly not obey the Emperor's order, but rather spoke impudently and most insolently of the Emperor, he drew up his lines for battle, thinking perhaps to terrify the barbarian, and in this way persuade him to sail across to the other side. But Raoul drew up the Franks he had with him more quickly than can be told, and rejoiced 'like a lion that has lighted upon a huge carcass,' and straightway commenced a serious battle with Opus. 2. Now Pegasius came to the place by sea in order to transport the Franks, and when he saw the battle being fought on land, and the Franks attacking the Roman army very boldly, he disembarked, and himself attacked the Franks from the rear. In this battle many were killed, but a far greater number wounded, and consequently the survivors asked to be put across the sea. Now the Emperor in his great prudence reflected that if they joined Godfrey and related what had happened to them, the latter would be enraged against him, so he gladly received their request,

αἴτησιν τούτων ἀσμένως δεξάμενος ἐν πλοίοις τούτους ἐνήσι καὶ διαποντίους πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τάφον ἐκπέμπει, τούτο καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτησαμένων. Αποστέλλει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζομένους κόμητας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης μηνύει ῥήματα χρηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας δίδους. Οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον προθύμως ἐπλήρουν. **3.** Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόμητος Ῥαούλ· ἀναριθμήτου δὲ καὶ ἐτέρου πλήθους ὅπισθεν ἐρχομένου συμμίγην ἐξ ἀπασῶν μικροῦ τῶν Κελτικῶν χωρῶν συνειλεγμένου μετὰ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνων, ῥηγῶν τε καὶ δουκῶν καὶ κομήτων καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἀποστέλλων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἐξέπεμπε λόγους, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος δεινὸς τὸ μέλλον προμηθεύσασθαι καὶ προαρπάσαι τὸ συμφέρον. Ἐπισκῆπτει δὲ καὶ τὰ ζωαρκῆ τούτοις ἐρχομένοις ἐπιχορηγεῖν τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοις, ὡς μὴ λαβὴν αὐτοὺς τὸ παράπαν ἐσχηκέναι μηδ' ἐξ οἴας οὖν αἰτίας. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἠπειγόντο. Τάχα δὲ εἶπέ τις οὐρανοῦ ἀστέρας εἶναι τούτους ἢ ψάμμον παρὰ τῷ χεῖλει τῆς θαλάττης ἐκκεχυμένην. Ἦσαν γὰρ ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρη καθ' Ὅμηρον τῇ Κωνσταντίνου πελάζειν ἤδη κατεπειγόμενοι.

**4.** Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων κλήσεις καὶ προθυμομένη περ ἐξείπειν οὐ βούλομαι. Ναρκᾶ γάρ μοι ὁ λόγος τὸ μὲν τι βαρβαρικὰς φωνὰς ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀδυνατούση διὰ τὸ ἀναρθρον, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκείνων ἀποβλεπούση. Καὶ ἵνα τί τούτου πλῆθους κλήσεις ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι πειρώμεθα, οὐς καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες ἀκηδίας ἐπληροῦντο ὀρῶντες ... Ὡς οὖν τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἤδη κατέλαβον, κατατίθενται τὰ τούτων στρατεύματα ἐπισκῆπτει τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀγχοῦ τῆς μονῆς Κοσμιδίου καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ διήκοντα Ἱεροῦ. **5.** Οὐκ ἐννέα δὲ κήρυκες, καθάπερ ποτὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τούτους βοδῶντες ἐρήτυον, ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι ὀπλίται οἱ τούτοις ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κελεύσμασιν ὑπέεικον ἀνέπειθον. Τούτους δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τὸν τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ συνελάσαι ὄρκον διηρημένως προσεκαλεῖτο ἰδία προσομιλῶν, ἄττα καὶ βούλοιο, καὶ τοῖς εὐγνωμονεστέροις χρώμενος μεσσασταῖς τῶν ἀπειθεστέρων. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὴν τοῦ Βαῖμούντου παραδοκοῦντες ἔλευσιν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλους τρόπους εὐρίσκοντες ἐξαιτήσεων ἄλλο τινα προσαιτιοῦντες ἦσαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν προτιθέμενον ῥᾶστα διαλύων καὶ παντοίως τούτους μετελθῶν συνήλασεν εἰς τὸν τοῦ

put them on boats and transported them by sea to the Saviour's tomb, at their own urgent request. To the Counts who were expected he sent envoys carrying messages of kindly greeting and holding out great expectations, consequently on arrival they willingly fulfilled all his orders.

**3.** This s sufficient about Count Raoul. After him came another innumerable, heterogeneous crowd, collected from nearly all the Frankish countries, together with their leaders, kings, dukes, counts and even bishops. The Emperor sent men to receive them kindly and to convey promises of reasonable help, for he was always clever at providing for the future, and in grasping at a glance what was expedient for the moment. He also gave orders to men specially appointed for this purpose to supply them with victuals on their journey, so that they might not for any [263] reason whatsoever have a handle for a quarrel against him. And they (the Crusaders) hastened on to the capital. One might have likened them to the stars of heaven or the sand poured out along the edge of the sea. For these men that hurried on to approach Constantinople were as many 'as there are leaves and flowers in the spring time,' as Homer says.

**4.** Though I much desire to do so, I cannot detail the names of the leaders. For my speech is paralysed partly because I cannot articulate these strange names which are so unpronounceable, and partly because of the number of them. And, why indeed should we endeavour to recount the names of such a multitude, when even the men who were present were soon filled with indifference at the sight? When they finally reached the capital they disposed their armies at the Emperor's bidding close to the Monastery of Cosmidium and they extended right up to the Hieron. **5.** It was not nine heralds, as formerly in Greece, who controlled this army by their shouts, but a large number of brave hoplites who accompanied them and persuaded them to yield to the Emperor's orders. Now the Emperor was anxious to force them all to take the same oath as Godfrey had taken so he invited them separately and conversed with them privately about his wishes, and made use of the more reasonable ones as intermediaries with the more recalcitrant. As they would not obey, for they were expecting Bohemund to arrive, but found various means of evasion by continually making some fresh demands, the

Γοντοφρὲ ὄρκον μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελεκάνου ἐπὶ τῷ παρεῖναι τοῦ ὄρκου τελουμένου διαπόντιον.

6. Πάντων οὖν συνεληλυθότων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ὄρκος ἤδη τετέλεστο ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κομήτων, τολμήσας τις εὐγενῆς εἰς τὸν σίκιμποδα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκάθισεν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠνείχετο τούτου μηδὲν τι φθεγγόμενος, πάλαι τὴν ἀγέρωχον τῶν Λατίνων φύσιν εἰδώς. Προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ κόμης Βαλδουῖνος καὶ ἀψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολλὰ καταμεμπόμενος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἐξῆν σοι τοιοῦτον ἐναυθῆ ποιῆσαι δουλείαν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ὑποσχομένῳ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔθιμον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων συνέδρους ἔχειν τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτούς· δούλους δὲ ὁμότας τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας γεγονότας χρῆ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τῆς χώρας τηρεῖν”. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν Βαλδουῖνον ἐφθέγγατο οὐδέν, δριμύτερον δὲ ἐνατενίσας τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῇ οἰκείᾳ διαλέκτῳ λόγους τινὰς ἀπεφθέγγατο λέγων· “Ἴδε, ποῖος χωρίτης κάθηται μόνος παρισταμένων αὐτῷ τοιούτων ἡγεμόνων”.

7. Οὐδ’ ἡ κίνησις τῶν χειλέων τοῦ Λατίνου τὸν βασιλέα διέλαθε· καλέσας δ’ ἓνα τῶν τὴν λατινικὴν διάλεκτον μεθερμηνευόντων ἠρώτα περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων. Ἀκούσας δὲ τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ῥηθέντα οὐδὲν μὲν τέως πρὸς τὸν Λατίνον εἰρήκει, ἐτήρει δ’ ὅμως τὸν λόγον παρ’ ἑαυτῷ. Συντασσομένων δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντων μετεκαλεῖτο τὸν ὑψηλόφρονα Λατίνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀναιδῆ καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ὅθεν ὄρμηται καὶ ἐκ ποίου γένους. Ὁ δὲ· “Φράγγοι μὲν εἰμι καθαρὸς” ἔφη “τῶν εὐγενῶν· ἐν δὲ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐν τριόδῳ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν αὐτὸς ὄρμηται, τέμενός ἐστι πάλαι οἰκοδομηθέν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ προθυμούμενος μόνος πρὸς μόνον μάχην ἀναδήσασθαι εἰς μονομάχου τάξιν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσας προσερχόμενος βοήθειαν μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖθεν αἰτεῖται, βραδύνει δὲ τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντα ἀπεκδεχόμενος. Καθ’ ἣν τρίοδον ἐχρόνισα καὶ αὐτὸς σχολάζων καὶ ζητῶν τὸν μετ’ ἐμοῦ μαχεσόμενον· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τολμήσων οὐδαμοῦ.” Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκηκοὺς ἔφη· “Εἰ πόλεμον τότε ζητῶν οὐχ εὔρες, πάρεστί σοι καιρὸς ὁ πολλῶν σε πολέμων ἐμπλήσων· παρεγγυῶμαι δὲ σοι, μήτε πρὸς οὐραγίαν μήτε πρὸς λοχαγίαν ἴστασθαι φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἔχειν τῶν ἡμιλοχιτῶν· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ τῆς μεθόδου τῶν πολέμων τῶν Τούρκων ἐκ μακροῦ ἔσχηκα”. Οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ μόνῳ ταῦτα συνεβού-

Emperor very easily saw through their pretences and by harassing them in every possible way, he forced them to take Godfrey’s oath, and sent for Godfrey from over the sea at Pelecanus that he might be present during the taking of the oath.

6. Thus they all assembled, Godfrey amongst them, and after the oath had been taken by all the Counts, a certain venturesome noble sat down on the Emperor’s seat. The Emperor put up with him and said not a word, knowing of old the Latins’ haughty nature. But Count Balduinus stepped forward and taking him by the hand raised him up, rebuked him severely, and said, “It was wrong of you to do such a thing here, and that too when you have promised fealty to the Emperor; for it is not customary for the Roman Emperors to allow their subjects to sit beside them on the throne, and those who become his Majesty’s sworn bondmen must observe the customs of the country.” He made no reply to Balduinus, but darted a fierce glance at the Emperor and muttered some words to [264] himself in his own language, sayin, “Look at this rustic that keeps his seat, while such valiant captains are standing round him.”

7. The movement of the Latin’s lips did not escape the Emperor, who called one of the interpreters of the Latin tongue and asked the purport of his words. When he heard what the remark was, he said nothing to the Latin for some time, but kept the saying in his heart. As they were all taking leave of he Emperor, he called that haughty-minded, audacious Latin, and enquired who he was and of what country and lineage. “I am a Frank of the purest nobility.” he replied, “all that I know is that at the crossroads in the country whence I come there stands an old sanctuary, to which everyone who desires to fight in single combat goes ready accoutred for single combat, and there prays to God for help while he waits in expectation of the man who will dare to fight him. At those cross-roads I too have often tarried, waiting and longing for an antagonist; but never has one appeared who dared to fight me.” In reply to this the Emperor said, “If you did not find a fight when you sought for it then, now the time has come which will give you your fill of fighting. But I strongly advise you not to place yourself in the rear nor in the front of your line, but to stand in the centre of the ‘hemilochitae,’ for I have had a long experience of the Turkish method of fighting.” It was not to this man only that he gave this advice, but to all the others he



λευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὀπόσα τούτοις συναντήσῃν ἐμελλεν ἀπερχομένοις κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προλέγων παρηγγυᾶτο μὴ ἀκρατῶς διώκειν, ὀπηνίκα τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων δοίη Θεός, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι λοχαγοῖς περιπίπτοντες ἀναιρῶνται.

foretold the accidents likely to happen on their journey, and counselled them never to pursue the barbarians very far when God granted them a victory over them, for fear of being killed by falling into ambushes.

## §11

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γοντοφρὲ καὶ Ῥαοῦλ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνεπομένους αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμοῦντος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κομήτων καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἄπρων καὶ μήτ' ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγινώσκων μήτε δυνάμεις πολλὰς συνεπαγόμενος δι' ἣν εἶχε σπάνιν τῶν χρημάτων, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος βουλόμενος ἐπισπάσασθαι εὖνοιαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συγκαλύψαι τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐθέλων, μετὰ δέκα καὶ μόνων Κελτῶν προεξεληθὼν τῶν ἄλλων κομήτων ἔσπευσε καταλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰς αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς γινώσκων καὶ τὸ ὑπουλον καὶ ἐνεδρευτικὸν αὐτοῦ ἦθος ἐκ μακροῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἔσπευσε πρὸ τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καταλαβεῖν κόμητας ὀμιλήσαι τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων καὶ πείσαι πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως διαπερᾶσαι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνωθεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν καταλαμβανόντων ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων διαστρέψειε γνώμας. Εἰσελθόντι δὲ ἰλαρὸν εὐθὺς ἐνατενίσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ ὅπου τοὺς κόμητας κατέλιπε. 2. Τοῦ δὲ ἅπαντα διασαφήσαντος αὐτῷ, ὡς εἶχε γνώμης, ἀστεῖζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ τὴν Λάρισσαν τετολμημένων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναμνήσκει τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας ἐκείνης. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὡς “Ἐγωγε κἂν ἐχθρὸς κἂν πολέμιος τότε ἦν, ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτόμολος ἦκω φίλος τῆς σῆς βασιλείας”. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ διὰ πολλῶν μετελθὼν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀκροθιγῶς πῶς ἀποπειράσας τὸν αὐτοῦ λογισμόν, ἐπεὶ διέγνω κατανεύσοντα τοῦτον ὄρκια πιστὰ δοῦναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Τὰ νῦν μὲν κεκοπιακότα σε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας χρῆ ἀπελθόντα διαναπαύσασθαι, ἐς νέωτα δὲ περὶ ὧν βουλόμεθα ὀμιλήσομεν”. 3. Ἀπελθόντι οὖν εἰς τὸ Κοσμίδιον, οὐπὲρ τὰ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῷ προηυτρέπιστο, τράπεζα τούτῳ παρατίθεται δαψιλῆς παντοίων ὄψων καὶ ἐδεσμάτων μεστή. Εἶτα καὶ ὠμὰ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν ζώων προσενεγκόντες οἱ ὄψοποιοὶ ἔφασαν· “Ἡμῖν μὲν τὰ ὄψα, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἠυτρέπισται κατὰ τὸ σὺνηθες· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄρεστάσοι ταῦτα, ἰδοὺ καὶ ὠμὰ καὶ κατασκευασθήτωσαν

1. So much then about Godfrey and Raoul and the others who accompanied them. Now when Bohemund reached Apron with the other Counts, he reflected that he was not sprung from the nobility, nor was he bringing a large force owing to his poverty, but he was anxious to win the Emperor's goodwill and at the same time counceal his own designs against him, so leaving the other Counts behind he rode ahead with only ten Franks and hastened to reach the capital. As the Emperor knew his machinations and had been long aware of his treacherous and scheming nature desired to talk with him before the other Counts arrived, and to hear what he had to say, and to persuade him to cross into Asia before the others in order that he might not join those who were on the point of arriving, and corrupt their minds also. So when Bohemund entered, he smiled at [265] him cheerfully and asked him about his journey and where he had left the Counts. 2. All these things Bohemund explained clearly as he thought best, and then the Emperor joked and reminded him of his former daring deeds at Dyrrachium and his former enmity. To this the other replied, “Though I was certainly your adversary and enemy at that time, yet now I come of my own free will as a friend of your Majesty.” The Emperor talked of many things with him, and lightly sounded his feelings, and as he perceived that he would agree to take the oath of fidelity, he dismissed him saying, “You must be tired from your journey and must go and rest now; tomorrow we can talk of whatever we like.”

3. So Bohemund went away to Cosmidium where a lodging had been prepared for him, and a rich table spread for him, laden with all manner of meats and eatables. The cooks also brought in the uncooked flesh of land-animals and birds, and said, ‘You see, we have prepared the food in our usual fashion; but if those do not please you, see, here is raw meat which shall be cooked in

καθά γε βούλει”. Οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατασκευάσαι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐντεταλμένον αὐτοῖς ἦν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος δεινὸς ἦθους καταστοχάσασθαι ἀνδρὸς, δεινὸς εἰς καρδίαν βάψαι καὶ λογισμοὺς θηρᾶσαι ἀνθρώπου, τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιστάμενος δύσνουν καὶ κακὴθες ἐστοχάσατο τοῦ ὄντος. Ἴν’ οὖν μὴ ὑποψίαν τινὰ κατ’ αὐτοῦ σχοίη, καὶ τὰ ὠμὰ κρέα ἐν ταύτῳ προσερχθῆναι αὐτῷ προσέταξε διαλύων τάχα τὴν ὑποψίαν. Οὐκ ἠστόχει δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ. 4. Ὁ γὰρ δεινὸς Βαϊμοῦντος τῶν μὲν ὄψων οὐ μόνον ἀπογεύσασθαι ὄλωσ, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄκροις δακτύλοις προσψαῦσαι ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ’ ἀπόσατό τ’ εὐθὺς καὶ μηδενί τι τῆς ὑποδραμούσης αὐτῷ ὑπονοίας ἐμφήνας τοῖς παρεστῶσι πάντα διένειμε, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τούτους ὑποκρινόμενος, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ, εἴ τις καλῶς σκοποίη, θανάτου κρατῆρα κεράσας αὐτοῖς. Οὐδὲ τὸν δόλον ἐπέκρυπτε, τοῦτον καταφρονητικῶς περὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν διέκειτο. Τὰ μέντοι ὠμὰ κρέατα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀσοποιοῖς κατασκευάσαι ἐπέταττε. Τῇ μετ’ αὐτὴν δὲ τοὺς τὰ ὄψα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηδοκότας ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως αὐτοὺς διέθεντο. Τῶν δὲ “Καὶ λίαν καλῶς” εἰρηκότων καὶ ὡς μηδὲ τῆς τυχούσης αἰσθῆσθαι βλάβης, ἀποκαλύψας αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἔφη ὡς “Ἐγώ γε, μεμνημένος τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἠολέμων καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκεῖνης, ἐδεδίδειν μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν ἴσως ἐξαρτύση θάνατον, θανάσιμόν τι φάρμακον τοῖς ὄψοις ἐπεμβάλων”. Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντου· ἐγὼ δ’ οὐποτε πονηρὸν ἐθεασάμην μὴ τοῦ ὀρθῶς τι ποιεῖν πόρρω που ἐν πᾶσι λόγοις καὶ πρακτέοις θέοντα· ὀπηνίκα γάρ τις τῆς μεσότητος ἐκσταίη, πρὸς ὀπότερον ἂν τῶν ἄκρων νεύσειε, πόρρωθεν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔστηκε. 5. Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν συνήθη τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐζήτει ὄρκον. Ὁ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἐκ προγόνων περιφανῶν ἐγεγόνει οὔτε χρημάτων εὐπορίαν εἶχε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ δυνάμεις πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ μετρίους πάνυ τοὺς συνεπομένους αὐτῷ Κελτούς, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ φύσει ἐπίορκος ὢν, μάλα προθύμως τῷ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπεῖξε θελήματι. Καθ’ οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τὰ βασιλεία οἰκίσκον τινὰ ἀφορίσας εἰς τοῦδαφος κατέστρωσε παντοῖον εἶδος χρημάτων, ... καὶ ἀμφίων χαράγματός τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῆς κατωτέρω ὕλης τοῦτον πληρώσας τὸ οἶκμα, ὡς μηδὲ βαδίζειν δύνασθαι τινὰ τῷ πληθεῖ τούτων συμποδιζόμενον. Τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι ὑποδεῖξαι ταῦτα τῷ Βαϊμοῦντῳ ἐπέταττεν ἀθρόον τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαι. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων θέᾳ ἐκ-

whatever way you like.” For they prepared the food and spoke in this way be the Emperor’s orders. For he was wonderfully clever in judging a man’s character, clever, too, in penetrating to the heart and ferreting out a man’s thoughts, and as he knew Bohemund’s suspicions and maliciousness, he guessed at the truth. Consequently, to prevent Bohemund suspecting him, he ordered those raw meats to be taken to him at the same time in order to allay any suspicion. Nor was he wrong in his surmise. 4. For that dreadful Bohemund not only refrained from tasting the viands at all, or even touching them with the tips of his fingers, but pushed them all away at once, and, though he did not speak of his secret suspicion, he divided them up amongst the attendants, pretending to all appearance to be doing them a kindness, but in reality, if you look at it aright, he was mixing a cup of death for them. And he did not even conceal his craft, for he treated his servants with contempt. The raw meats, however, he ordered his own cooks to prepare in the usual Frankish way. The next day he asked the men who had eaten the supper how they felt. When they replied that they felt exceedingly well and had not suffered even the slightest discomfort from it, he discovered his hidden thought, and said, “When I recalled my wars with him and that terrible battle I must own I was afraid that he would perhaps arrange my death by mixing poison with my food.” So spake Bohemund. I have never seen a wicked man who did not [266] act wrongly in all his words and deeds; for whenever a man deserts the middle course of action, to whatever extreme he inclines, he stands far away from goodness. 5. The Emperor sent for Bohemund and requested him to take the customary oath of the Latins. And he, mindful of his own position, namely, that he was not descended from illustrious ancestors, nor had a great supply of money, and for this reason not even many troops, but only a very limited number of Frankish retainers, and being moreover by nature ready to swear falsely, yielded readily to the Emperor’s wish. Then the Emperor selected a room in the palace and had the floor strewn with every kind of riches, ... and so filled the chamber with garments and stamped gold and silver, and other materials of lesser value, that one could not even walk because of their quantity. And he told the man who was to show Bohemund these things, to throw open the doors suddenly. Bohe-

πλαγείς φησιν· “Εἰ τοσαῦτά μοι προσῆν χρήματα, πολλῶν ἄν χωρῶν κύριος πάλοι ἐγεγόνειν αὐτός”. Καὶ ὁς· “Ταῦτά σοι τὴν σήμερον ἀποχαρίζεται ἅπαντα ὁ βασιλεὺς”.

6. Ὁ δὲ περιχαρῶς ταῦτα δεξάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἀπῆει ἀναπαυθησόμενος οὗ κατέλυσε. Ἀποκομισθέντων δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν τεθαυμακῶς ἔφη· “Οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην ἀτιμίαν ἔσσεσθαι μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤλπισα· λαβόντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπαγάγετε τῷ πέμψαντι”. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ φύσει παλίμβουλον τῶν Λατίνων γινώσκων τὸν δημῶδη λόγον ἀντέφησε· “Κακὸν πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἐπανερχέσθω αὐθέντην”. Τοῦτο ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ἀκούσας καὶ τοὺς ἀποκομίσαντας ἐπιμελῶς ἀναζητοῦντας αὔθις αὐτὰ ὁρῶν μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν ἀποπεμπόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰλαρὸν βλέμμα τοῖς ἀποκομισταῖς ἐδείκνυ καθάπερ τις πολύπους μετασχηματιζόμενος ἐν βραχεῖ. Φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ πονηρὸς καὶ ὀξὺς πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα, πονηρία καὶ ἀνδρεία τοῦτον ὑπερέχων ἀπάντων τῶν τότε διερχομένων Λατίνων, ὅποσον δυνάμει τε καὶ χρήμασις ἦττητο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πάντων ἐκράτει κακεντρεχείας περιουσία, τὸ δὲ παλίμβουλον ὡς φυσικόν τι τῶν Λατίνων παρακολούθημα παρείπετο καὶ αὐτῷ. Τὰ γοῦν χρήματα ὁ ἀπαθούμενος περιχαρῶς τηνικαῦτα ἐλάμβανε.

7. Δύσνους γὰρ ὦν τὴν γνώμην, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χώραν ὅλως κεκτημένος τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης ἐξῆι τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ χάριν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου προσκυνήσεως, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσασθαι προμηθευόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον, εἰ γένοιτό οἱ, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδράξασθαι χωρὸν ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθημοσύναις· καὶ πάντα κάλων τὸ τοῦ λόγου κινούντι, πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο χρημάτων. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δύσνουν καὶ κακόηθες αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἔσπευδε τὰ συναιρόμενα πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτυφομένους αὐτῷ λογισμοὺς εὐφυῶς περιαιρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τὸ δομεστικᾶτον αἰτούμενος τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐκ ἔτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως πρὸς Κρήτα κρητίζων. Δεδιῶς γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, μὴ ἐξουσίας δραξάμενος καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς δουλαγωγήσας τοὺς κόμητας ἅπαντας ῥαδίως περιάγοι τοῦ λοιποῦ, ὅπη βουλευτὸν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ, μὴ θέλων τε τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ὑπονοῆσαι ὅλως ὅτι ἤδη πεφώραται, ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς αὐτὸν ὑποσαίνων ἔφη· “Τούτου μὲν καιρὸς οὐπω πάρεστι, διὰ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ πίστεως μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ τοῦτο

mund was amazed at the sight and exclaimed “If all these treasures were mine, I should have made myself master of many countries long ere this!” and the attendant replied, “The Emperor makes you a present of all these riches to-day.”

6. Bohemund was overjoyed and after thanking for the present he went away to rest in the house where he lodged. But when these treasures were brought to him, he who had admired them before had changed his mind and said, “Never did I imagine that the Emperor would inflict such dishonour on me. Take them away and give them back to him who sent them.” But the Emperor, knowing the Latins’ characteristic fickleness, quoted the popular proverb, ‘Let bad things return to their own master.’ When Bohemund heard of this and saw the porters carefully packing the presents up again, he changed his mind – he, who a minute before was sending them away and was annoyed at them, now gave the porters pleasant looks, just like a polypus that changes its form in an instant. For by nature the man was a rogue and ready for any eventualities; in roguery and courage he was far superior to all the Latins who came through then, as he was inferior to them in forces and money. But in spite of his surpassing all in superabundant activity in mischief, yet fickleness like some natural Latin appendage attended him too. So he who first rejected the presents, afterwards accepted them with great pleasure. 7. For he was sad in mind as he had left his country a landless man, ostensibly to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, but in reality with the intent of gaining a kingdom for himself, or rather, if it were possible, to follow his father’s advice [267] and seize the Roman Empire itself, and as he wanted to let out every reef, as the proverb has it, he required a great deal of money. But the Emperor, who understood his melancholy and ill-natured disposition, did his best cleverly to remove anything that would assist him in his secret plans. Therefore when Bohemund demanded the office of Great Domestic of the East, he did not gain his request, for he was trying to ‘out-Cretan a Cretan.’ For the Emperor feared that if he gained power he would make the other Counts his captives and bring them round afterwards to doing whatever he wished. Further, he did not want Bohemund to have the slightest suspicion that he was already detected, so he flattered him with fair hopes by saying, “The time for that has not come yet; but by your energy and reputation

γενήσεται”.

**8.** Ὁμιλήσας τοῖνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοίαις δωρεαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς φιλοφρονησάμενος τῇ μετ’ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καθῆστο θρόνου· μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ αὐτόν τε τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον καὶ τοὺς κόμητας ἅπαντας περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς συμβησομένων ὠμίλει βουλευόμενος τὰ συμφέροντα, ἀναδιδάσκων ἅμα καὶ αἷς εἰώθασιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι χρῆσθαι μεθοδεῖαις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος ὅπως τε παρατάττεσθαι χρῆ καὶ λόχους καθιστᾶν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκειν, ὀπηνίκα τούτοις οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὰ νῶτα διδώσιν. Καὶ οὕτως διὰ τε χρημάτων διὰ τε λόγων καταμαλάξας αὐτῶν τὸ ἄγριον καὶ τὰ συνοίσοντα ὑποθέμενος τὴν διαπεραιώσιν προὔτρεψατο.

**9.** Τὸν δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλην ἠγάπα διαφερόντως διὰ τε τὸ περιὸν αὐτῷ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ὑπολήψεως τὸ ἀνόθευτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου καθαρὸν, γινώσκων ἅμα καὶ ὅπόσον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας μέλει μηδὲν ταύτης μηδέποτε προτιμωμένῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν Λατίνων ἐν πᾶσι διέφερον ὅσον ἀστέρων ἥλιος. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο παρακατέσχεν αὐτόν τέως μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀπάντων οὖν συνταξαμένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς προποντίδος πορθμοῦ τὸ Δαμάλιον καταλαβόντων ἀναθεῖς τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀχλήσεως συχνάκις τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην μετεπέμπετο, ἀναδιδάσκων ἅμα καθαρώτερον τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συμβήσεσθαι μέλλοντα τοῖς Λατίνοις, παρεγύμνου δὲ καὶ ἦν περὶ τῆς τῶν Φράγγων γνώμης εἶχεν ὑπόληψιν. Ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀποστοματίσας τῷ Ἰσαγγέλει καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς οἶον ὑπανοίξας αὐτῷ πύλας καὶ πάντα διατρανώσας ἐπέσκηψεν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντου ἐγρηγορέναι κακίαν, ἵνα βουλόμενον παρασπονδῆσαι ἀπειργῆ τοῦτον τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος καὶ διὰ πάσης μεθόδου διαλύη τὰς ἐκείνου μηχανάς. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορά φησιν· “Ἐκ προγόνων καθάπερ τινὰ κληρὸν τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὸν δόλον ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος κεκτημένος, θαῦμα μέγιστον εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα διατηρήσειεν· ἐγωγε δ’ ὅμως ὡς ἐνὸν σπεύσω τὸ προσταχθὲν αἰεὶ ἀποπληροῦν”. Καὶ συνταξάμενος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἄπεισιν ἐνωθησόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατεύματι τῶν Κελτῶν.

**10.** Ὁ μέντοι αὐτοκράτωρ ἠθέλε μὲν μετὰ τῶν Κελτῶν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπιέναι, ἐδεδίει δὲ τὸ αὐτῶν ἀναριθμητὸν πλῆθος. Δεῖν οὖν ἐλογίσατο τὸν Πελεκάνον καταλαβεῖν, ἵν’ ἐγγύθεν Νικαίας ἐνδιατρίβων μανθάνοι μὲν τὰ

and above all by your fidelity it will come ere long,”

**8.** After this conversation and after bestowing gifts and honours of many kinds on them, the next day he took his seat on the imperial throne and summoned Bohemund and all the Counts. To them he discoursed of the things likely to befall them on their journey, and gave them useful advice; he also instructed them in the Turks’ usual methods of warfare, and suggested the manner in which they should dispose the army and arrange their ranks, and advised them not to go far in pursuit of the Turks when they fled, And after he had in this way somewhat softened their savage behaviour by dint of money and advice, and had given them good counsel, he suggested their crossing into Asia.

**9.** Isangeles he liked especially because of his superior wisdom and genuine sincerity and purity of life, also because he recognized that he valued truth above everything; for he ‘shone’ amidst all the Latins ‘as the sun amidst the stars of heaven.’ And for this reason he kept him by him for some time. After the Counts had all taken leave of the Emperor and reached Damalium by crossing the Propontis, and the Emperor was relieved from the disturbance they caused, he often sent for Isangeles and explained to him more clearly what he suspected would happen to the Latins on their journey, and he also laid bare to him the suspicions he had of the Franks’ intention. He often repeated these things to Isangeles and opened, so to say, the doors of his soul to him and, after stating everything clearly, he enjoined him to be ever on the watch against Bohemund’s wickedness and if the latter tried to break his oath to check him and by all possible means frustrate his plans. Isangeles replied to the [268] Emperor, “Bohemund has acquired perjury and treachery as a species of ancestral heritage, and it would be a miracle if he kept his oath. However, I will endeavour as far as in me lies always to carry out your orders.” And taking his leave of the Emperor, he went away to rejoin the whole Frankish army.

**10.** Now the Emperor desired to march against the barbarians with the Franks, but their countless masses terrified him. So he decided it would be wise to go to Pelecanus and stay there, so that being close to Nicaea he could learn how the

τοῖς Κελτοῖς συμβαίνοντα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Τούρκων ἐξωθεν ἐφόδους καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντὸς Νικαίας κατάστασιν. Ἐν δεινῷ γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ μὴ τι στρατηγικὸν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθῶι, καὶ διεσκοπεῖτο, ἵνα εἰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ πράγματα εὐρήσει, αὐτὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν ἀνέλη καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν αὐτὴν σχοίη κατὰ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμωμοσμένα. Εἶχε δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ταύτην ὑποβρύχιον καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ὠκονόμει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν γίνεται αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος ἡπίστατο μόνῳ τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ τοῦτο ἐμπεπιστευκῶς καὶ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας ἐφ' ᾧ ὑποποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντὸς Νικαίας βαρβάρους διὰ παντοίων ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ἀπαθείας τελείας, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ἀπειλούμενος τόσα καὶ τόσα πείσεσθαι καὶ παρανάλωμα ξίφους γενέσθαι, εἰ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶεν, καὶ πάλαι τὸν Βουτουμίτην γινώσκων εὐνούστατον καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δραστήριον. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦτον παρηκολουθήκει τὸν τρόπον.

Franks fared and hear also about the Turks' expeditions outside the city and the state of affairs within. For he considered it would be a pity if in the meantime he did not succeed in some military exploit and he aimed at capturing Nicaea himself, if the occasion seemed propitious, and not receiving it from the Franks in accordance with their pledged word. He kept this plan to himself and the arrangements he made, and the reason for them only he himself understood, and Butumites who was his sole confidant. Him he sent to win over the barbarians inside Nicaea partly by promising them complete immunity beside many other things, and partly by warning them that they would endure terrible sufferings and fall a prey to the sword if the city were taken by the Franks. For the Emperor had found out before this that Butumites was most loyal to him, and very energetic in missions of this nature. These events, then, followed this course from the beginning.

## Liber XI

### §1

1. Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ πάντες οἱ κόμητες ἐνωθέντες, οὗ διαπλῶσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Κιβωτὸν ἐμελλον, μετὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρῆ τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη προσέμενον ἄφιζιν. Πλήθος δὲ ὄντες ἀναρίθμητον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο αὐτοῦ που προσμένειν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν βοσκημάτων, εἰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἀνέμενον ἄφιζιν, ἵνα κείθι συνταξάμενοι αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Νίκαιαν φερούσης ἄψωνται, διχῆ' διαιρεθέντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας πρὸς Νίκαιαν ἦλαννον, οἱ δὲ τὸν τῆς Κιβωτοῦ διανηξάμενοι πορθμὸν ἐς ταῦτον συνεληλύθεσαν. Καὶ οὕτως τῇ Νικαίᾳ προσπελάσαντες τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς μεταξύ κορτίνας σφίσι αὐτοῖς διενείμαντο, κατὰ τάξεις τινὰς τὴν τειχομαχίαν ποιεῖν βουλευσάμενοι, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἕτερος πρὸς ἕτερον ἐρίζοντες καρτερωτέραν τὴν πολιορκίαν ποιοῖντο· τὸ δὲ λάχος τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη κενὸν ἐάσαντες, τὴν ἐκείνου προσέμενον ἄφιζιν. Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸν Πελεκάνον κατέλαβε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων τὴν Νίκαιαν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν.

[269] 1. And now Bohemund and all the Counts joined Godfrey at the place from which they were to cross to Cibotus, and there awaited the arrival of Isangeles. But, as they were a countless multitude, they could not stay in one place because of the scarcity of provisions, although they expected the Emperor to come with Isangeles in order that they might undertake the march to Nicaea in company with him. Consequently they split into two parties, the one travelling to Nicaea through Bithynia and Nicomedia, and the other crossing the sea to Cibotus, and arriving at the same place. After approaching Nicaea by these routes they apportioned its towers and the intervening curtains among themselves, as they intended to carry on the assault on the walls by regular succession so that mutual competition should cause the siege to be conducted very vigorously. The portion that fell to Isangeles they left untouched whilst they waited for his coming. At the same time the Emperor occupied Pelecanus because of his plans about Nicaea which I have already explained.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Νικαίας βάρβαροι τὸν σουλτάνον πολλάκις εἰς τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀρωγὴν

2. The barbarians inside Nicaea had already frequently implored the Sultan to come to their

μετεπέμποντο. Ἐκείνου δ' ἔτι βραδύνοντος καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου μέχρι καὶ δύσεως αὐτῆς ἐν πολλαῖς ἤδη γινομένης ἡμέραις, ἐπεὶ ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐώρων, γνωσιμαχήσαντες βέλτιον προσεληλυθέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶναι ἐγνώκεσαν. Μετακαλοῦνται τοῖνυν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Βουτουμίτην, τόσα καὶ τόσα ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πείσεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων συχνῶν πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελόμενον, εἰ τὴν Νίκαιαν αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν. Ὁ δὲ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοφροσύνας καθαρώτερον ἀπαγγείλας καὶ τὰς ἐγγράφους ὑποσχέσεις ὑποδείξας, εἰ τὸ κάστρον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν, ἀσμένως δέχεται παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπειρηκότων ἤδη πρὸς τοσαῦτα πλήθη ἀντικαθίστασθαι καὶ βέλτιον λογιζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν αὐθαιρέτως παραδοῦναι καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῆς μετασχεῖν ἢ ξίφους παρανάλωμα γενέσθαι. **3.** Οὐπω τρίτην ἡμέραν ὁ Βουτουμίτης ἐντὸς εἶχε καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης καταλαβὼν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ τείχους δι' ὧν ἠτοίμαζεν ἐλεπόλεων ἔσπευδεν. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ δὲ φήμη τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνει τὴν τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἔλευσιν μηνύουσα. Τοῦτο οἱ Τούρκοι μεμαθηκότες καὶ τεθαρρηκότες τὸν Βουτουμίτην παραχρῆμα ἐξέωσαν. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποδιελόμενος ἀπέστειλε σκευσομένους τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἔφοδον παραγγείλας ὡς, εἴ τισι τῶν Κελτῶν ἐντύχοιεν, μὴ ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην. Θεασάμενοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τούτους οἱ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ζυμμίγνυνται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κόμητες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Βαῖμουντος, τὴν τουτωνὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνωτισθέντες ἔφοδον, ἐξ ἐκάστης κομητούρας ἀνὰ διακοσίους διελόμενοι καὶ εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ζυμποσώσαντες παραχρῆμα εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη πέμπουσιν· ἐφθακότες δὲ μέχρις ἐσπέρας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐδίωκον. **4.** Ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος οὐδαμῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναπεπτόκει, ἀλλ' ἀυγαζούσης ἡμέρας ὀπλιζεται καὶ πανσυδὶ τὴν ἔξω τειχῶν Νικαίας πεδιάδα κατειλήφει. Καὶ οἱ Κελτοί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς τούτου παρουσίας, καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενοι καθαπερὶ λέοντες κατ' αὐτῶν ἴενται. Καὶ συρρήγνυνται τῆνικαῦτα πόλεμος βαρὺς καὶ δεινός. Ἐν ἴσῃ δὲ μοίρα τῆς μάχης ἀμφοτέροις ἰσταμένης τοῖς μέρεσι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε, τρέπονται οἱ Τούρκοι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς διαιτησάσης τὴν μάχην. Πίπτουσι μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκατέρων πολλοί, κτείνονται δὲ οὐχ ἥττονες, τιτρώσκονται δὲ οἱ πλείους. **5.** Καὶ λαμπρὰν τὴν νίκην ἀράμενοι οἱ Κελτοί, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κεφαλὰς τοῖς δόρασι περιπεύραντες ἐπανερχονται καθαπερὶ σημαίας ταύτας φέροντες, ἴν' οὕτω πόρρωθεν τὸ γεγονός διαγνόντες οἱ

aid. But, as he still delayed and the siege had by now been carried on for many days from dawn till sunset, and they saw that their affairs were in a very bad way, they decided after discussion that it would be better to surrender to the Emperor than be taken by the Franks. To this intent they approached Butumites who had often promised them in various letters that they would be liberally rewarded by the Emperor if they delivered up Nicaea to him. He now assured them more definitely of the Emperor's kind intentions and shewed them the written promises if they handed [270] over the city, and was gladly welcomed by the Turks who despaired of resisting those immense hordes any longer and considered it better to hand over the city of their own free will to the Emperor and receive money and honour than to fall a sacrifice to the sword. **3.** Butumites had not been in Nicaea three days before Isangeles arrived and started to make an attempt on the walls with the siege-engines he had prepared. In the meantime a rumour reached them telling of the Sultan's approach. Directly the Turks heard it they regained courage and promptly expelled Butumites. And the Sultan detached and sent on a part of his army to spy out Isangeles' way of approach and bade them not refuse battle, if they met any Franks. Isangeles' soldiers saw them from a distance and joined battle with them. Directly the other Counts and Bohemund got ear of the barbarians' attack, they selected two hundred soldiers from each Count's army and thus dispatched an army of imposing size to aid Isangeles' men; they succeeded in routing the Turks and pursued them till the evening.

**4.** However the Sultan was not at all dispirited by this but armed himself at break of day and with his whole army occupied the plain outside Nicaea. When the Franks became aware of the Sultan's presence, they armed themselves fully and rushed upon the Turks like lions. And then a severe and terrible battle began. Throughout the whole day the fate of the balance swayed equally for both sides, but when the sun set the Turks were routed and night decided the battle. Many fell on either side and yet a greater number were wounded. **5.** After gaining this brilliant victory the Franks fixed many of the Turks' heads on their spears and marched back carrying these like standards, in order that the barbarians should see from a distance what had happened, and lose heart through being defeated at the start, and

βάρβαροι καὶ τὴν ἐκ πρώτης βαλβίδος ἦτταν δειλιάσαντες τῆς συντόνου μάχης ἀποστήσονται. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Λατῖνοι πεπράχασί τε καὶ διελογίσαντο· ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος, τὰ ἄπειρα τούτων θεασάμενος πλήθη καὶ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον τόλμαν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσβολῆς ἐγνωκώς, τοῖς ἐντὸς Νικαίας Τούρκοις τὸ ἐνδόσιμον δίδωσι· “πράσσετε τοῦ λοιποῦ, λέγων, πᾶν ὅπερ βέλτιον κρίνετε”. Ἦδει γὰρ πρὸ καιροῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ μᾶλλον προαιρουμένους παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶναι. 6. Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης, τοῦ προκειμένου ἐχόμενος ἔργου, μόσυνα κυκλοτερῆ τεκτηνάμενος καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους βύρσας αὐτὸν περιστείλας, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον λύγους διαπλέξας καὶ πάντοθεν κατοχυρώσας τῇ πλευρᾷ προσεπέλασε τοῦ καλουμένου Γονάτου πύργου. Ὅς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκληρώσατο πάλαι, ὀπηνίκα Μανουὴλ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ πατὴρ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐμοῦ πάππου, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἀπάσης παρὰ τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος Βασιλείου προὔβεβλητο ἐφ’ ᾧ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Σκληροῦ ἔχθραν διαλύσαι ἢ χειρὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντικαταστὰς ἢ γνώμῃ εἰς εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς τοῦτον συνελάσας. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ Σκληρὸς μαχιμώτατος ὢν καὶ αἵμασι χαίρων ἀεὶ τὴν μάχην τῆς εἰρήνης μᾶλλον ἠσπάσατο, πολέμων μεγάλων καθ’ ἑκάστην συρρηγνυμένων, ὡς τοῦ Σκληροῦ μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ θέλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἐλεπόλεων γενναίως ἀγωνιζομένου τὴν Νίκαιαν ἐλεῖν καὶ καταρράξαντος τὰ τείχη, τοῦ πλείονος μέρους τοῦ πύργου ποδοκοπηθέντος κάτωθεν συνέβη σάξαι τὸν πύργον, ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ δοκεῖν ἐπικλιθῆναι κακ τοῦτου τῆς τοιαύτης μετελιχῆναι προσηγορίας. 7. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γονάτην παρηκολουθήκει· ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγγέλης τὸν ἤδη ῥηθέντα μόσυνα ἐμπείρως πάνυ κατασκευάσας, ὃν οἱ πλείονα ἐμπειρίαν τῶν μηχανικῶν κεκτημένοι χελώνην κατονομάζουσιν, ἐντὸς τούτου ἄνδρας ὀπλοφόρους τειχεσιπλήτας εἰσῆξε καὶ ἑτέρους τοὺς τὸν πύργον κάτωθεν κατασεῖειν διὰ σιδήρων εἰδότας ἐφ’ ᾧ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους μάχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεχειρίαν ἔχειν ἐντεῦθεν τὸν πύργον διορύττειν. Οἱ καὶ κορμούς ξύλων εἰσῆγον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐξαγομένων λίθων· μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἐντὸς ἐπιφανείας ἐφθακότες, ὡς καὶ αὐγὴν τινα ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιούσαν θεάσασθαι, πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐνέπρησαν τοὺς κορμούς. Τούτων δὲ ἐκτεφρωθέντων συνέβη τὸν Γονάτην ἐπὶ πλεόν κλιθῆναι, ὡς μὴ ἀπολωλέναι τὴν κλῆσιν. Ἐμβόλοις δὲ καὶ οἰκίμασι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον περιζώσαντες τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς τούτων διακεῖμενον τάφρον ὡς ἐν ῥιπῇ πληρώσαντες κόνεως, ὡς εἰς

therefore refrain from a strenuous battle. These things then the Latins did and devised. But the Sultan, after seeing their countless multitude and having gained experience of their invincible boldness from the battle itself, sent a message to the Turks inside Nicaea, saying “Act for the future in whatever way you think best.” For he had known for some time that they would prefer to surrender the city to the Emperor than be captured by the Franks.

6. Isangeles continuing the work he had begun, had a large circular wooden tower built, which he covered on either side with hides and with plaited wickerwork round the middle of it, and made very strong all round and then moved it up to the side of the tower called Gonates. This tower obtained its name long ago when the famous Manuel (father of the [271] previous Emperor Isaac Comnenus and his brother John, my paternal grandfather) was appointed General-in-Chief of the whole Eastern army by the reigning Emperor Basil in order to compose his differences with Sclerus, either by engaging him in battle, or by using persuasion and inducing him to make peace. But as Sclerus loved war and always delighted in bloodshed he chose war rather than peace; severe encounters took place daily, partly because Sclerus did not wish for peace, but also because he was striving hard to take Nicaea with the help of siege-engines. He effected a breach in the walls and, as the greater part of the foot of the tower had been cut away, it began to settle down and look as if it had fallen on to its knees, and from this circumstance it obtained its name.

7. Such then is the history of this tower Gonates. When Isangeles had built this tower I have mentioned, very scientifically (it was called a ‘tortoise’ by experienced mechanics), he introduced armed men inside it to batter the walls and others who knew how to loosen the tower at its foundations with iron instruments. His idea was that while the one set fought with the defenders on the walls, the other set below would have leisure to undermine the tower. These men substituted logs for the stones they dug out, and, when they had worked their way through to the inner side of the wall and saw the light coming through from it, they set fire to the logs. These were burnt to ashes and caused Gonates to lean forward still more so that it did not lose its name. The remaining part of the walls they encompassed with battering-rams and ‘tortoises’; the deep trench outside the walls they filled with

μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν συναφθῆναι ταῖς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα παρακειμέναις πεδιάσιν, ὡς ἐνὸν τῆς πολιορκίας εἶχοντο.

loose earth in no time, until it was brought up to the level of the plains on either side; and they prosecuted the siege with all their might.

## §2

1. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πολλὰ πολλάκις ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ διαγνοὺς ἀμήχανον εἶναι τὴν Νίκαιαν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλῶναι, κἄν πάντα ὑπερέβαλλον ἀριθμὸν, ἐν μέρει μὲν παντοῖα εἶδη ἐλεπόλεων κατασκευάσας καὶ τὰ πλείω τούτων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν μηχανικῶν τρόπους, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐτέρους τινὰς λόγους αὐτῷ δοκοῦντας, ὃ καὶ θαῦμα πᾶσι παρεῖχε, τοῖς κόμησιν ἐκπέπομφεν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν παρατυχόντων διαπεράσας, ὡς ἤδη φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσε, κατὰ τὸν Πελεκάνον διέτριβεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Μεσαμπέλων, οὗ καὶ τέμενος ἐπ' ὄνοματι τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου πάλαι ᾠκοδόμηται. 2. Ἦθελε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων συναπελθεῖν Τούρκων· ταλαντεύων δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπειροπληθὲς τοῦ φραγγικοῦ φοσσάτου ὡς πρὸς τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα κατανοῶν ἀνυπέβλητον καὶ τὴν παλίμβουλον τῶν Λατίνων γνώμην ἐκ μακροῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἀπέστη τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀβέβαιον ἐκείνων καὶ ἄπιστον προειδὼς Εὐρίπου δίκην μεταφερομένων ἐς τάναντία πολλάκις τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐτοίμως ἐχόντων ὀβολοῦ ἐνὸς ἀπεμπολεῖν διὰ φιλοχρήματος γνώμην, τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἑαυτὸν τῷ τότε ἀπεῖρξεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Δεῖν δὲ ἔγνω μὴ συμπαρεῖναι μὲν τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τσαυτήν δὲ αὐτοῖς διδόναι ῥοπήν ὀπόσῃ ἂν καὶ παρῶν.

3. Τὸ γοῦν ἐρυμνότατον τῶν τῆς Νικαίας τειχῶν γινώσκων ἀδύνατον τὴν ταύτης κατάσχεσιν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἠπίστατο· μανθάνων δὲ ὅτι ῥαδίως διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης λίμνης δυνάμεις ἱκανὰς καὶ τὰ ζωαρκῆ πάντα ὁ σουλτάνος εἰς Νίκαιαν εἰσάγει, τὴν τῆς λίμνης ἐμελέτα κατάσχεσιν. Κατασκευάσας τοίνυν ἀκάτια ὅποια τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖνο ἀνέχειν ἠδύνατο, διὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς Κίου ταῦτα ἐν ἀμάξαις ἐπισάξας εἰς τὴν λίμνην εἰσήλασε, στρατιώτας ἐμβαλὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀπλοφόρους, ἡγεμόνα τούτων Μανουὴλ τὸν Βουτουμίτην καταστησάμενος καὶ σημαίας τούτοις πλείους τῆς χρείας ἐπιδούς, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν πολλαπλασίους δοκεῖν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βύκινά τε καὶ τύμπανα.

1. The Emperor, who had repeatedly and accurately thought out the matter, realized that it would be impossible for the Latins to take Nicaea, even if they had forces without number, so in the meanwhile he had various sorts of siege-engines built, and most of them not according to the usual designs of the mechanics but on other lines he had thought out himself – a thing which amazed people – and these he sent to the Counts. As already stated, the Emperor had crossed the straits with the soldiers he had at hand, and was staying not far from Pelecanus near Mesampela, where a chapel had been built in former years to the memory of the great martyr George. 2. The Emperor would really have liked to march [272] with the Latins against the impious Turks, but when he pondered over this idea and recognized that no comparison could be made between the countless hosts of the Frankish army and his own Roman army, and as from the experience he knew the Latins' fickleness, he desisted from the enterprise. Not only for this reason, but also because he realized the unstable and faithless nature of these men who were easily swayed in opposite directions like the Euripus, and were often ready because of their covetousness to sell their wives and children for a penny-piece; for these reasons the Emperor held back from the enterprise at that time. He felt that though he could not join the Franks, he ought to give them as much help as if he were with them. 3. As he knew the great strength of the fortifications of Nicaea, he understood that the Latins could not possibly take it; then he heard that the Sultan was conveying sufficient troops and all the necessities of life into the town quite easily by means of the adjacent lake, and so schemed to get possession of the lake. He had light boats built, such as that water would be able to carry, and then had them piled on wagons and carried to the lake on the side that looks Cius-wards. In them he placed heavy armed soldiers with Manuel Butumites as commander and gave them more standards than necessary to make them appear many times more than they were, as well as trumpets and kettle drums.



4. Ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ὤκονο-  
 μηται τῷ αὐτοκράτορι· ἀπὸ δέ γε τῆς ἠπείρου  
 μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Τατίκιον καὶ τὸν καλοῦ-  
 μενον Τζίταν μετὰ πελταστῶν γενναίων εἰς  
 δισχιλίους ποσομένων, κατὰ τῆς Νικαίας ἀπέσ-  
 τελεν ἐπισκήψας ἅμα τῷ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβῆναι τὸ  
 τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου καστέλλιον καταλαβόντας  
 ἐν ἡμίονοις μὲν ἐπισάξαι ὅπερ ἐπεφέροντο  
 πλῆθος τῶν ὀιστῶν, πόρρω δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς  
 Νικαίας τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντας καὶ βάδην πορευο-  
 μένους κατευθὺ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ καλουμένου  
 Γονάτου τὸν χάρακα πήξασθαι, εἶτα ἐξ ἐνὸς  
 συνθήματος συνησπικότητας προσβαλεῖν τοῖς  
 τείχεσιν. Ἐφθακὼς οὖν ὁ Τατίκιος μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ'  
 αὐτὸν στρατεύματος, δίδωσιν εἶδησιν τοῖς  
 Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποθήκην. Καὶ  
 τηνικαῦτα ἐσιδηροφόρησαν ἅπαντες καὶ σὺν  
 ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ βοῇ πολλῇ προσέβαλον τοῖς  
 τείχεσι. 5. Τῶν μὲν τοῦ Τατικίου συγχονὺς τηνι-  
 καῦτα πεμπόντων ὀιστούς, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν ὅπου  
 μὲν διατιτραίνοντων τὰ τείχη, ὅπου δὲ διὰ πετρο-  
 βόλων ὀργάνων καταπυκνούντων τὰς τῶν λίθων  
 βολάς, ἀπὸ δέ γε τῆς λίμνης διὰ τε τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 σημαῖων καὶ βυκίνων ἐκδειματούμενοι παρὰ τοῦ  
 Βουτουμίτου ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 ὑποσχέσεων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπεμπομένου, ἐς τοῦ-  
 τον συνηλάθησαν οἱ βάρβαροι ὡς μηδὲ τῶν  
 κρηδέμων Νικαίας προκῦψαι θαρρεῖν. Ἄμα δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἀπεγνωκότες ἔλευσιν,  
 βέλτιον ἐλόγισαντο τῷ αὐτοκράτορι παραδοῦναι  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς ὁμίλιαν περὶ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ  
 Βουτουμίτου ἐλθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τὰ εἰκότα προσο-  
 μιλήσας αὐτοῖς ὑποδείκνυσι τὸν χρυσοβούλλον  
 λόγον ὃν περὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ προενεχείρισεν.  
 Ἀκροσάμενοι τοίνυν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου δι' οὗ  
 ὑπισχνεῖτο ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ δαψιλῆ δόσιν χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀξιομάτων τῆ  
 τε ἀδελφῆ καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ τοῦ σουλτάνου, ἥτις  
 θυγάτριον ἦν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τοῦ Τζαχᾶ, καὶ πᾶσιν  
 ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ βαρβάροις, καὶ ταῖς  
 ὑποσχέσεσι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τεθαρρηκότες  
 ἐνεδίδουν τὴν εἰσέλευσιν τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ. Ὁ δὲ  
 παρακρήμα διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλου τῷ Τατικίῳ  
 ὡς “τὴν ἄγραν ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ἔχομεν· καὶ χρὴ  
 πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ἐτοιμάσασθαι, ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο  
 καὶ τοῖς Κελτοῖς παρασκευάσαι καὶ μηδὲν πλέον  
 αὐτοῖς τεθαρρηκέναι ἢ τὴν κυκλοτερῆ τειχο-  
 μαχίαν καὶ ὡς χρὴ περιζῶσαι τὰ τείχη καὶ τῆς  
 πολιορκίας ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἀποπειρᾶσ-  
 θαι” 6. Τὸ δὲ ἄρα μηχανή τις ἦν ἵνα δόξη τοῖς  
 Κελτοῖς πολέμῳ ταυτηνὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι παρὰ

4. Such then were the measures the Emperor took  
 about the lake. Then he summoned Taticius and  
 the man called Tzitas from the continent and with  
 two thousand brave peltasts sent them to Nicaea.  
 His orders to them were that directly then  
 disembarked they were to occupy the fort of St.  
 George and pack the load of arrows they carried  
 on mules; dismount from their horses at some  
 distance from the walls of Nicaea, march forward  
 slowly and fix their palisades opposite the tower  
 Gonates, and then by agreement with the Franks  
 attack the walls in close formation. Therefore  
 when Taticius arrived with his army he sent word  
 to the Franks as the Emperor had commanded;  
 and after they had all put on full armour they  
 attacked the walls with much shouting and noise.

5. And while Taticius' men discharged showers  
 of darts, the Franks in one place pierced the walls,  
 and in another hurled stones from catapults  
 incessantly. From the side of the lake too the  
 barbarians were terrified by the imperial  
 standards and trumpets and at the same time they  
 were convoked by Butumites to hear the  
 Emperor's promises, consequently they became  
 so distracted that they did not [273] even dare to  
 look over from the battlements; and as by this  
 time they had despaired of the Sultan's coming,  
 they considered it wisest to surrender the city to  
 the Emperor and to parley with Butumites about  
 this. After making a suitable speech to them, he  
 shewed them the document sealed with gold  
 which the Emperor had entrusted to him; they  
 listened to the reading of this document by which  
 the Emperor promised not only immunity, but  
 also rich awards of money and honours, to the  
 Sultan's sister and wife (who was said to be  
 Tzachas' daughter) and without exception to all  
 the barbarians in Nicaea; consequently they felt  
 encouraged by the Emperor's promises and  
 granted Butumites admission. He immediately  
 sent a letter to Taticius saying, "We already have  
 the prey in our hands; and you must now get  
 ready to assault the walls. Persuade the Franks to  
 prepare for this too but do not give them any  
 further encouragement than to make an attack on  
 the walls from all sides and tell them to encircle  
 the walls and start the siege at sunrise."

6. This was really advice to make the Franks  
 believe that the city had been taken by Butumites

τοῦ Βουτουμίτου καὶ λάθη τὸ μελετηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δράμα τῆς προδοσίας. Ἀπόρητα γὰρ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠθελεν εἶναι τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου οικονομούμενα. Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἀλαλάξαντες ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τῆς πόλεως, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐκθυμότερον οἱ Κελτοὶ τῆς πολιορκίας εἶχοντο, ἔνθεν δ' ὁ Βουτουμίτης, εἰς τὰς ἐπάλλξεις ἀνεληλυθὼς καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰς σημαίας περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καταστήσας, μετὰ βυκίνων καὶ σαλπίγγων ἀνευφήμει τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ οὕτως τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν ἅπαν στράτευμα εἴσω Νικαίας εἰσεληλύθει. 7. Ὁ δὲ Βουτουμίτης, τὰ πλήθη τῶν Κελτῶν γινώσκων καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν ἀβέβαιον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς ἀκάθεκτον ὑπόπτους ἔχων αὐτοὺς μὴ εἰσελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὸ κάστρον κατάσχουσιν, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς σατράπας ἱκανοὺς ὄντας πρὸς ἣν αὐτὸς εἶχε δύναμιν, εἰ μόνον θελήσαιεν, καὶ δεσμεῖν καὶ σφάττειν δυνατῶς ἔχοντας, τὰς κλεῖς εὐθὺς ἀναλαμβάνεται τῆς πύλης. Μία γὰρ τέως ἦν ἡ εἰσάγουσα καὶ ἐξάγουσα, τῶν ἄλλων προκεκλεισμένων διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν παρακειμένων Κελτῶν. Τὰς κλεῖς τοίνυν ταυτησί τῆς πύλης αὐτὸς ἔχων δεῖν ἐλογίσατο τοὺς σατράπας διὰ μεθοδείας ἐλαττῶσαι, ἵν' ἔχη τούτους ῥαδίως καταγωνίζεσθαι, ὡς μὴ τι δεινὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ μελετήσαιεν. Μεταπεμπόμενος τοίνυν αὐτοὺς συνεβούλευε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέρχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο πολλὰ τε χρήματα ἐκεῖθεν λαβεῖν καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιωθῆναι μεγίστης καὶ ἐτησίους τυπωθῆναι φιλοτιμίας. Πείθει τοὺς Τούρκους, καὶ νυκτὸς διανοίγων ἀπέστειλε τούτους διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης λίμνης ὀλίγους καὶ συχνάκις πρὸς τε τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν μιζοβάρβαρον Μοναστράν, ἀμφὶ τὸ πολίγχιον ἐνδιατρίβοντας τὸ οὕτως πῶς τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπισκήψας αὐτοῖς ὡς, ὀπηνίκα τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαῖεν, παραχρῆμα ἐκπέμπεσθαι τούτους πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς βραχὺν τινα χρόνον παρακατέχειν αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ὀπισθεν γεμπομένων Τούρκων ἐνωθέντες σκαιὸν τι κατ' αὐτῶν μελετήσαιεν. 8. Τὸ δὲ ἄρα προφητεία ἦν ἀντικρυς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου ἐμπειρίας στοχασμὸς ἀναντίρρητος. Καὶ γὰρ ἔστ' ἂν ταχὺ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοὺς καταλαμβάνοντας ἐξέπεμπον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ἐφειστήκει· ἐπὶ δὲ ἀναπεπτώκεσαν, ὁ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς ἄρα παρακατέσχον, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξηρτύετο κίνδυνος. Καὶ γὰρ πλεονάσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτεῖναι

in war and to keep secret the drama of treachery the Emperor had arranged. For the Emperor did not want the Franks to know anything of what Butumites had done. On the following day the war-cry was raised on both sides of the city and on the land-side the Franks started the assault with great vigour, and on the other Butumites mounted to the battlements, fixed the imperial sceptres and standards along the walls and with bugles and trumpets acclaimed the Emperor. And in this way the whole Roman army entered Nicaea.

7. Now Butumites having in mind the number of the Franks, feared on account of their fickleness and impetuosity, that they might enter and take possession of the citadel; for he observed that the Turkish satraps inside were powerful enough in comparison with the small force he had himself, to imprison and slaughter them all, if they wished to, and accordingly he at once took charge of the keys of the gate. For only one had been used as entrance and exit for some time, the others were all closed through fear of the Franks outside. Now when he had the keys of this gate in his own possession, he decided that he ought to diminish the number of satraps by craft in order that he could easily overpower them and prevent their devising any treachery against him. So he summoned them and advised them to journey to the Emperor if they wished to receive large sums of money from his hands and be rewarded with [274] high titles and granted annual pensions. He persuaded the Turks, and then opened the gate at night and sent away a few from time to time over the lake to Rhodomerus and the semi-barbarian Monastras, who were staying near the fort named after St. George. He ordered these two to send on the Turks to the Emperor directly they disembarked and not to detain them even for a short time so that they might not join with the Turks who were sent on later in plotting some mischief against them.

8. Now this was literally a kind of prophecy and an irrefutable proof of that man's great experience. For as long as the Turks who arrived were sent on to the Emperor quickly, they (Monastras and Rhodomerus) were quite safe and no danger threatened them, but when they had relaxed their diligence, then danger was prepared for them at the hands of the barbarians whom they had detained. For as these were now many in number they schemed to do one or other of two

ἢ δεσμώτας τῷ σουλτάνῳ προσενεγκεῖν. Συνδόξαντος δὲ πᾶσι τούτου βελτίονος, νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι δεσμώτας κατὰ τὰ προβεβουλευμένα περιάγοντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήεσαν. Εἶτα δὴ τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν τοῦ Ἀζαλᾶ κατελιηφότες (τόπος δὲ οὗτος σταδίους ... τῶν τειχῶν Νικαίας ἀπέχων), κείθι γοῦν, ὡς λόγος, παραγενόμενοι τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντες τούτους ἀνέψυχον.

**9.** Ἐπει δ' ὁ μὲν Μοναστράς μιζοβάρβαρος ἦν καὶ τῆς τουρκικῆς εἰδήμων διαλέκτου, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥοδομηρός, πάλαι πρὸς τῶν Τούρκων κατασχεθεὶς καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιαιτρίψας, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀδαῆς τῆς τοιαύτης ἦν διαλέκτου, πιθανοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συχνῶς ἀνεκίνουν λόγους· “Ἴνα τί, λέγοντες, ἡμῖν μὲν θανάτου ποτήριον κερνάτε οὐδὲ μικράν τινα τὴν ὄνησιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν πραγματευόμενοι ... Ὑμεῖς δέ, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων μεγάλων δωρημάτων παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπολαυσάντων καὶ ἐτησίων χρημάτων λῆψιν τυπωθέντων, ἑαυτοὺς τούτων ἀποστερεῖτε. Μὴ τοίνυν οὕτω περὶ ἑαυτῶν φρονεῖτε καὶ ἐξὸν ἀκινδύνως σῶζεσθαι καὶ πλοῦτῳ κομῶντας εἰς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαναστρέφειν καὶ χωρῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ἴσως γενέσθαι εἰς προὔπτον ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιρρίπτετε κίνδυνον. Ἴσως γὰρ καὶ τοῖς λοχῶσιν αὐτοῦ που Ῥωμαίοις ἐντυχόντες”, ῥύακας ταῖν χεροῖν ἐπιδείξαντες καὶ ἐλώδεις τόπους, “ἀναιρεθήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ κενοῖς τὴν σφῶν ἀπολέσετε ζωὴν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνεδρεύουσιν ὑμᾶς μάλα γε πλεῖστοι οὐ Κελτοὶ καὶ βάρβαροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος οὐ μετρητόν. Εἰ γοῦν ἡμῖν πείθεσθε, στρέψαντες τὰς ἡνίας ὁμοῦ φοιτήσωμεν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῖν ἐπομνύμεθα μυρίων ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δωρημάτων· κάπειτα, ὅπῃ βουλητὸν ὑμῖν, ἀπελεύσεσθε ἀνέτως ὡς ἐλεύθεροι”

**10.** Πείθονται τοῖς τούτων λόγοις οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ πίστευς πρὸς ἀλλήλους δόντες ἅμα καὶ λαβόντες τῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα φερούσης εἶχοντο. Καταλαβόντων δὲ τὸν Πελεκάνον, ὡς τούτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐθεάσατο, μεθ' ἱλαροῦ πᾶσιν ἐνατενίσας βλέμματος, καίτοι πολλὰ τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστράν παρ' ἑαυτῷ νεμεσῶν, τὸ μὲν παρὸν ἀναπαυθησομένους τούτους ἐξαπέστειλε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, ὅπῃ μὲν τῶν Τούρκων αὐτῷ θητεῦσαι προτεθύμηντο, μυρίων τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀπήλαυσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ σφέτερα ἀναζητοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων δωρημάτων τετυχηκότες παρεχωρήθησαν τῇ σφῶν γνώμῃ ξυγχεῖσθαι. Εἶθ' ὕστερον πολλὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστράν κατεμέμφετο·

things, either to attack them by night and kill them, or to take them captive to the Sultan. As the majority voted for the latter, they attacked them at night, took them captive according to plan and left that place. And when they had reached the hill Azalas (this place is ... stades distant from the walls of Nicaea) there, report says, they dismounted from their horses and let them rest.

**9.** Now Monastras, being a semi-barbarian, knew the Turkish language, and Rhodomerus who had once been captured by the Turks and dwelt some time among them, was likewise not ignorant of their language. So they repeatedly started speaking plausibly to them and saying, “Why are you mixing the cup of death for us, when you yourselves will not gain the slightest advantage thereby? All your other friends have been granted bountiful gifts by the Emperor and have been assigned yearly pensions, and you are depriving yourselves of all these advantages. Do not, we pray you, treat yourselves thus and run headlong into visible peril, when it lies within your power to live free from peril and return to your own country pluming yourselves on your riches and perhaps even becoming owners of lands. Very likely too we shall fall into some Roman ambush hereabouts.” and they pointed to the streams and marshy places around, “and then you will be killed and lose your lives to no purpose. For undoubtedly a great many are lying in wait for you, not only Gauls and barbarians but also an immense number of Romans. Therefore if you will follow our advice, let us turn out horses and journey all together to the Emperor. And we swear to [275] you by God that the Emperor will grant you ten thousand gift and afterwards, whenever you please, you will be at liberty to leave, like free men.” **10.** The Turks agreed to their proposition, and after giving and receiving pledges, they hastened along the road to the Emperor. When they reached Pelecanus and the Emperor saw them, he received them all with a cheerful countenance, though inwardly deeply indignant with Rhodomerus and Monastras, but for the moment he sent them away to rest. In the course of the following day all the Turks who expressed readiness to remain in his service, were granted innumerable benefits; and even those who asked to return to their homes received no inconsiderable presents and were allowed to follow their own will. Later on he censured Rhodomerus and Monastras severely for their

μηδ' ἀντωπῆσαι δὲ τούτους ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς ἰσχύοντας ὀρῶν, μεταβαλὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνακτᾶσθαι δι' ἑτέρων λόγων ἔσπευδεν. Ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν· τοῦ δὲ Βουτουμίτου τηνικαῦτα δουκὸς Νικαίας παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προχειρισθέντος, ἤτήσαντο τοῦτον οἱ Κελτοὶ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἱερὰ τεμένη θεᾶσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος, καθὰ δήπου καὶ εἴρηται, οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμαδὸν τὴν εἰσέλυσιν συνεχῶρει, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δεκάδας ὑπανοίγων τὰς πύλας παρεχώρει τοῖς Κελτοῖς τῆς εἰσόδου.

thoughtlessness; but, when he noticed that they did not dare to look him in the face for shame, he changed his tone and tried to conciliate them again. So much then about Rhodomerus and Monastras. Butumites was appointed Duke of Nicaea by the Emperor, and the Franks asked him for permission to enter the city and visit and worship in its churches. However he, knowing their character, as I have said before, did not allow them all to come in a body, but opened the gates and only allowed ten Franks to enter at a time.

### §3

1. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔτι περὶ τὸν Πελεκάνον ἐνδιατρίβων καὶ θέλων ὅποι μὴ ἐφθασαν τῶν κομήτων ὁμομοκέσαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὄρκια πρὸς αὐτὸν δοῦναι, ἐνετείλατο διὰ γραμμάτων τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ συμβουλευσαί ἅπασιν κοινῶς τοῖς κόμησι μὴ πρὸ τοῦ συντάξασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν φερούσης ἄψεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτοις καὶ πλειόνων αὐθις δωρεῶν τυχεῖν. Ἀπάντων δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Βαϊμούντος, χρήματα καὶ δωρεὰς ἀκούσας, τοῖς τοῦ Βουτουμίτου λόγοις παραυτίκα πεισθεὶς ἅπασιν συνέβουλεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπανελύσεσθαι, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὰς λήψεις ἀκάθεκτον ἔχων τὸν ἔρωτα. Καταλαβόντας δὲ τούτους τὸν Πελεκάνον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μεγαλοπρεπῶς δέχεται πολλῆς κηδεμονίας ἀξιώσας· εἶτα συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔφη· “Τὸν ὄρκον ἐπίστασθε, ὃν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἅπαντες ἐποιήσατε, καὶ εἰ μὴ παραβάται ἀπεντεῦθέν ἐστε, ὁπόσους ἴστε μὴ ὁμομοκότας συμβουλευσασθε τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον ἐπιτελέσαι”. Οἱ δὲ παραχρῆμα μετεπέμποντο τοὺς μὴ ὁμομοκότας· καὶ δὴ συνελήλυθεσαν ἅπαντες καὶ ἐπλήρουν τὸν ὄρκον. 2. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ἀνεψιάδης Ταγγρηῆς, ἐλευθέρας ὦν γνώμης, ἐνίστατο μόνῳ τῷ Βαϊμούντῳ πίστιν χρεωστεῖν καὶ ταύτην φυλάξαι μέχρις αὐτοῦ θανάτου βούλεσθαι. Ὁχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παρεστώτων καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν, ἀκκιζόμενος οἶον, ἐνατενίσας πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ἧ ὁ βασιλεὺς προῦκάθητο (ἦν γὰρ κατὰ μέγεθος ὁποῖαν οὐπω τότε οὐδεὶς εἶθεάσατο)· “Ἐὰν ταύτην, ἔφη, πλήρη χρημάτων μοι δώσεις καὶ ἄλλο ὅποσα τοῖς ἅπασιν δέδωκας κόμησι, τελέσω τὸν ὄρκον καγῶ” Ὁ δὲ παλαιολόγος, δι' ὃν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ζῆλον, μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὸν τοῦ Ταγγρηῆ λόγον ἐσχηματισμένον ὄντα

1. The Emperor was still staying at Pelecanus and as he wished that those Counts who had not yet sworn fealty to him, should also take this oath, he commanded Butumites by letter to advise all the Counts together not to start on their way to Antioch before they took leave of the Emperor, for if they did so, it might be that they would receive still further gifts. Directly he heard the words ‘money’ and ‘gifts,’ Bohemund first of all gave his assent to Butumites’ advice and urged all the others to go with him to the Emperor, so insatiably greedy of money was he. When they reached Pelecanus, the Emperor received them with great ceremony, and treated them with much consideration; later he called them and said, “You remember the oath you all took to me, and if you are not going to be transgressors of it, advise those who you know have not yet sworn fealty to me, to take the same oath.” And the Counts at once sent for those who had not yet sworn fealty; and they all came together and consummated the oath.

2. But Bohemund’s nephew, Tancred, a youth of independent spirit, maintained that he owed fidelity to Bohemund alone, and that he would keep it to his death. [276] His own friends standing by and even the Emperor’s kinsmen kept importuning him, and then he said, feigning indifference, as it were, and with a glance at the tent in the front of which the Emperor was sitting (it was larger than any had ever seen before), “If you will give me this tent full of money and as much more as you have given to the Counts, then I too will take the oath.” Now because of the respect he bore to the Emperor, Palaeologus could not stand Tancred’s conceited speech, and turned

ἐξουθενήσας αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. Ὁ δὲ ἰταμώ-  
 τατος ὢν ὄρμησε κατ' αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο ἰδὼν ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ἐξαναστάς τοῦ θρόνου μέσος ἔστη. Καὶ  
 ὁ Βαϊμούντος δὲ κατέσχε τοῦτον τῆς ὀρμῆς  
 φάμενος ὡς “οὐ πρέπον ἐστὶ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἀναισχύντως προσφέρεσθαι συγγενέσιν”. Εἶτα  
 αἰσχυνθεὶς οὕτω πρὸς τὸν παλαιολόγον παροι-  
 νήσας ὁ Ταγγρῆς, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ταῖς τοῦ  
 Βαϊμούντου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεισθεὶς παραινέσει,  
 δίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς ὄρκια. **3.** Καὶ δὴ συνταξαμένων  
 ἀπάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, παραδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν  
 Τατίκιον μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων μέγαν  
 τηρικαῦτα πριμικήριον χρηματίζοντα, πῆ μὲν  
 συνεπαρήγοντα τούτοις ἐν πᾶσι καὶ προκινδυνεύ-  
 οντα, πῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀλικομένων  
 πόλεων, εἴ γε καὶ τοῦτο δοίη Θεός, ἐπιδραττό-  
 μενον. Διαπεράσαντες οὖν αὐθις οἱ Κελτοὶ τῇ  
 μετ' αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς Αντιόχειαν εἶχοντο ἅπαντες.  
 Εἶτα στοχασάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς οὐ πάντες ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης συναπῆλθον τοῖς κόμησι, δηλοῖ τῷ  
 Βουτουμίτη ἴν' ὅποι τῶν Κελτῶν τῆς ἰδίας  
 στρατιᾶς ἀπελείφθησαν, εἰς φρουρὰν τῆς Νικαίας  
 μισθώσεται. **4.** Ὁ δὲ γε Τατίκιος μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ'  
 αὐτὸν στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ κόμητες ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἀναρίθμητα κελτικά πλήθη, ἐν δυσὶν  
 ἡμέραις τὰς Λεύκας καταλαβόντες, τῷ μὲν  
 Βαϊμούντῳ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπεμερίσαντο τόπον  
 τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἐξαιτησαμένου· ἐκεῖνοι δ' ὄπισθεν  
 αὐτοῦ παραταξάμενοι βραδεῖ ποδὶ ἔστειχον.  
 Ὁξυτέραν δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ποιούμενον ἐπεὶ περὶ  
 τὰς τοῦ Δορυλαίου πεδιάδας Τούρκοι τοῦτον  
 ἐθεάσαντο, οἰηθέντες τῷ παντὶ στρατεύματι τῶν  
 Κελτῶν ἐντετυχηκέναι καὶ καταπεφρονηκότες  
 αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνῆψαν  
 πόλεμον. Ὁ δὲ γε τετυφωμένος ἐκεῖνος Λατίνος,  
 ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σκίμποδος καθεσθῆναι  
 τολμήσας, τῆς τοῦ αυτοκράτορος ἐπιλαθόμενος  
 συμβουλῆς, τὸ ἄκρον εἶχε τῆς τοῦ Βαϊμούντου  
 παρατάξεως καὶ μικροψυχήσας τῶν λοιπῶν  
 προεξέδραμε. Κτείνονται μὲν οὖν τηρικαῦτα  
 τεσσαράκοντα τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἐκεῖνος δὲ  
 καιρίως πληγείς, νῶτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποσχών, εἰς  
 τὸ μέσον τῆς παρατάξεως ἤλατο ἔργῳ τὸν  
 αυτοκράτορα, ὅποιος ξύμβουλός ἐστι, διακηρυ-  
 κεύων, κἂν μὴ λόγοις ἠβούλετο. **5.** Ὁ δὲ Βαϊ-  
 μούντος τοὺς Τούρκους ἐκθύμως μαχομένους  
 ὀρῶν, ἀποστείλας τὰς κελτικὰς μετεπέμπετο  
 δυνάμεις. Φθάνουσι δὲ τάχος· κἀντεῦθεν  
 συνίσταται πόλεμος βαρὺς καὶ δεινός. Καὶ τὴν  
 νικῶσαν εἶχε τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν καὶ κελτικὸν στρά-  
 τευμα. Πορευομένων δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἰλαδὸν τῶν ταγ-  
 μάτων, συνέλαχον τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ὁ

him away with contempt. Whereat Tancred, who  
 was very hasty, rushed at him and the Emperor  
 observing it rose from his throne and stood  
 between them. Bohemund too held him back with  
 the words, “It is not fitting for you to behave in  
 such an impudent way to the Emperor’s  
 kinsman.” Then Tancred, ashamed of having  
 acted like a drunken man towards Palaeologus  
 and also influenced to a certain degree by  
 Bohemund’s and the others’ counsel, took the  
 oath. **3.** When they had all taken leave of the  
 Emperor, he assigned them Taticius, who was  
 then Great Primicerius, and the troops under his  
 command, partly to assist them on every occasion  
 and to avert danger and partly to take over the  
 towns from them if God allowed them to take  
 any. So the Franks once again crossed the straits  
 the next day, and all took the road leading to  
 Antioch. The Emperor guessed that not all the  
 men would necessarily depart with the Counts  
 and accordingly signified to Butumites to hire all  
 the Franks, who remained behind when their  
 army left, for the garrison of Nicaea. **4.** And  
 Taticius with his army and all the Counts and the  
 innumerable Frankish hosts under their com-  
 mand, reached Leucae in two days. The vanguard  
 was apportioned to Bohemund at his own request  
 whilst the rest drawn up in line followed him at a  
 slow pace. As he proceeded fairly quickly the  
 Turks in the plains of Dorylaeum thought, when  
 they saw him, that the whole army of the Franks  
 had come and despising its size at once  
 commenced a battle with him. Then that swollen-  
 headed Latin, who had dared to sit on the  
 imperial throne, was forgetful of the Emperor’s  
 advice, and fought in the front of Bohemund’s  
 army and in his stupidity ran ahead of the others.  
 About forty of his men were killed in con-  
 sequence, and he himself, seriously wounded,  
 turned his back to the foe and made his way back  
 to the middle of the army, thus proclaiming in  
 deed, though he would not in words, the wisdom  
 of the Emperor’s advice.

**5.** As Bohemund saw that the Turks were fighting  
 very bravely, he sent to fetch the [277] Frankish  
 troops. They came up with all speed, and after  
 that a serious and terrible battle took place. And  
 the Roman and Frankish armies carried off the  
 victory. As they travelled onwards, drawn up in  
 troops, the Sultan Tanisman and Asan, who alone  
 commanded eighty thousand armed men, met

τε Τανισμάν ὁ σουλτάν καὶ ὁ Ἀσάν, ὃς μόνος ἦρχε χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. Μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης, ἐκ πολλῶν χειρῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ μηδὲ θατέρου μέρους τὰ νῶτα θατέρῳ δίδοντας, ἐπεὶ θαρραλεώτερον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμάχοντο, τοῦτο θεασάμενος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐξάρχων, τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος διαιρεθεὶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλιτζιασθλάν σουλτάν ιταμῶς ἐξώρμησε, λέων ὡς ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν. Τοῦτο τοὺς Τοῦρκους ἐκδειματώσαν τὰ νῶτα τοῖς Κελτοῖς δοῦναι ἐποίησεν. **6.** Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τούτους ἐδίωκον, τῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μεμνημένοι παραγγελάτων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταφρείαν τῶν Τοῦρκων καταλαβόντες κάκεισε μικρὸν ἐαυτοὺς διαναπαύσαντες, τοὺς Τοῦρκους κατὰ τὴν Αὐγουστόπολιν αὐθις καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ προσβαλόντες τρέπουσι κατὰ κράτος. Κάντεῦθεν πίπτει τὸ βάρβαρον, οἱ δὲ γε σωθέντες ἄλλοσε ἀλλαγῇ διεσπάρησαν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, ὡς τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ' ἀντωπῆσαι τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσχύοντες, ἀλλὰ φυγῆ τὴν οἰκείαν πραγματευόμενοι σωτηρίαν.

them near Hebraica. A fierce contest ensued as there were such numbers of troops, and neither side would yield to the other; when Bohemund who commanded the right wing saw with what courage the Turks were fighting their opponents he withdrew from the rest of the army and made a headlong descent upon Clitziasthlan, the Sultan himself, 'like a lion rejoicing in his strength,' as the poet says. This so terrified the Turks that it made them turn their backs.

**6.** Remembering the Emperor's advice, they did not pursue them far, but reached the Turks' lines and, after resting there a little, overtook them again near Augustopolis, and attacked and routed them utterly. After that the barbarian power collapsed; the survivors dispersed, one here, one there, leaving their wives and children behind them, as for the future they did not dare meet the Latins face to face, but tried to find safety for themselves in flight.

#### §4

**1.** Τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν... Καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι μετὰ τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν Αντιόχειαν διὰ τοῦ καλουμένου Ὁξέος Δρόμου, τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μηδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι· ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τάφρον ποιήσαντες, τὰς σκευὰς ἐναπέθεντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν ταυτηνὴ τὴν πόλιν σεληνιακαῖς τρισὶ περιόδοις. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι, πτοηθέντες περὶ τῆς καταλαβούσης αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκης, τῷ τοῦ Χοροσάν σουλτάνῳ μηνύουσιν ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς βοήθειαν ἐξαιτούμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς τε Αντιοχεῦσιν ἐπαρῆξεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξωθεν πολιορκοῦντας Λατίνους ἀποδιῶξει. **2.** Ἐτυχε δὲ τις ἄνωθεν τοῦ πύργου Ἀρμένιος τηρῶν τὸ κληρωθὲν τῷ Βαϊμοῦντῳ μέρος τοῦ τείχους. Τοῦτον ἄνωθεν πολλακίς προκύπτοντα ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ἐκμειλισσόμενος καὶ ὑποσχέσσει πολλαῖς ὑποσαίνων ἀνέπεισε προδοῦναι οἱ τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος πρὸς αὐτὸν· “Ὀπηνίκα ἂν βούλει καὶ σημειόν τι ἐξωθεν αὐτὸς ὑποδείξης μοι, παραχρῆμάσοι τουτοῖ παραδώσω τὸ πυργίον· μόνον ἔτοιμος ἔσο, σὺ τε καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ χειρᾶσοι ἅπας λαός, ἠὲ τρεπισμένας ἔχων ἅμα καὶ κλίμακας. Οὐ σὲ δὲ μόνον ἔτοιμον εἶναι χρή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα θωρηξασθαι, ἵν' εὐθὺς ἀνελθόντας ὑμᾶς οἱ Τοῦρκοι θεασάμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἀλαλάζοντας ἐκδειματωθέντες εἰς φυγὴν ἀπονεύ-

**1.** What happened next? The Latins in company with the Roman army reached Antioch by the so-called Oxys Dromos and paid no attention to the country on either side but drew their lines close to the walls, deposited their baggage and proceeded to besiege this city during three revolutions of the moon. The Turks alarmed at the straits which had overtaken them, sent word to the Sultan of Chorosan begging him to send sufficient troops to their assistance, in order to succour the Antiochians themselves, and also to drive off the Latins who were besieging them from outside. **2.** Now there happened to be an Armenian on the tower above guarding the portion of the wall assigned to Bohemund. As he often bent over from above Bohemund plied him with honeyed words, tempted him with many promises and thus persuaded him to betray the city to him. The Armenian said to him, “Whenever you like and as soon as you give me a signal from outside, I will at once hand over this tower to you. Only be quite ready yourself and have all the people with you ready too and equipped with ladders. And not only you yourself must be ready but the whole army must be under arms so that directly the Turks see you after you have come up and hear

σειαν.”

3. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν ὁ Βαϊμουῦντος τὸ σκοπούμενον τέως ἀνέκφορον. Τούτων δὲ οὕτω διασκοπούμενων κατέλαβέ τις λέγων, λίαν πολὺ πλῆθος Ἀγαρηνῶν καταλαμβάνειν ὅσον ἤδη τοῦ Χοροσάν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν καλούμενον Κουρπαγάν. Ὅπερ μεμαθηκῶς ὁ Βαϊμουῦντος καὶ μὴ θέλων τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὸν Τατίκιον κατὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὄρκους, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτῷ μνηστευόμενος ταύτην, βουλὴν βουλευέται πονηρὰν δι’ ἧς αὐτὸν ἄκοντα μεταναστεύσαι παρασκευάσειε. Προσελθὼν τοίνυν αὐτῷ φησιν· “Ἀπόρρητόν τι ἀποκαλύψαισοι βούλομαι, κηδόμενός σου τῆς σωτηρίας. Λόγος τις τοῖς ὡσὶ τῶν κομήτων ἐνηχηθεῖς συνετάραξεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσάν ἐρχομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν σουλτάνον ἐπεισε καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐκπέμψαι. Τοῦτο δὲ πιστὸν οἱ κόμητες ἠγησάμενοι κατὰ τῆς σῆς μελετῶσι ζωῆς. Καγὰ μὲν τοῦμὸν ἤδη πεπλήρωκα καὶ τὸν ἐπερχόμενόσσι προείρηκα κίνδυνον· τοῦ λοιποῦ σὸν ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ταγμάτων φροντίσαι σωτηρίας.” Ὁ δὲ Τατίκιος, ὁρῶν μὲν καὶ τὸν λιμὸν πολὺν (καὶ γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ βοῦς ἐπὶ τρισὶ χρυσίνοις στατήρσιν ἀπεμπολεῖτο), ἀπαγορεύων δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἄλωσιν, ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάρας, εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Σουδιῖ ἰστάμενον ῥωμαϊκὸν στόλον εἰσελθὼν τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβε. 4. Τούτου δὲ ὑποχωρήσαντος, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Ἀρμενίου ὑποβρύχιον ἔτι ἔχων ὁ Βαϊμουῦντος καὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τρεφόμενος περιποιούμενός τε ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξουσίαν, πρὸς τοὺς κόμητας ἔφη· “Ὅρᾶτε ὅπως ἤδη χρόνον ἐνταῦθα προσταλαιπωρήσαντες οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν μέχρι καὶ νῦν κατορθώσαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμοῦ ὅσον ἤδη γενώμεθα παρανάλωμα, εἰ μὴ τι βέλτιον περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας σκεψόμεθα”. Τῶν δὲ τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο πυνθανομένων αὐτὸς ἔφη· “Οὐ πάσας τὰς νίκας διὰ σιδήρου Θεὸς τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ μάχης αἰεὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατορθοῦνται, ἀλλ’ ἅπερ ὁ μόθος οὐ δέδωκε, ταῦτα πολλάκις ὁ λόγος ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἡ μετὰ φιλίας καὶ ὑποποιήσεως περίοδος μείζονα τρόπαια ἔστησεν. Οὐ χρὴ τοιγαροῦν μάτην τὸν καιρὸν τρίβειν, σπεῦσαι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Κουρπαγάν καταλαβεῖν νουνεχῆς τι καὶ ἀνδρικὸν διαπράξασθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ἔνεκα σωτηρίας· καὶ σπουδαίως ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὸν τὸ ἴδιον λάχος τηροῦντα βάρβαρον ὑποποιεῖσθω. Καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, κείσθω καὶ ἄθλον τῷ

your war-cry, they will be terrified and turn in flight.

3. And this arrangement Bohemund [278] kept secret. While these matters were in contemplation, a messenger came saying that an immense crowd of Hagarenes sent from Chorosan against them was close at hand, under the conduct of the man called Curpagan. When he heard this, as he did not wish to cede Antioch to Taticius according to the oath he had previously sworn to the Emperor, but rather longed for it for himself, Bohemund planned a wicked plan which would force Taticius to remove himself from the city against his will. Accordingly he went to him and said, “I want to reveal a secret to you, as I am concerned for your safety. A report which has reached the ears of the Counts has much disturbed their minds – it is, that the Emperor has persuaded the Sultan to send these men from Chorosan against us. As the Counts firmly believe this they are plotting against your life. And now, I have done my duty by warning you beforehand of the danger that threatens you. And the rest is your concern, to take measures for your own safety, and that of the troops under you.” Then considering the severe famine (for an ox-head was being sold for three gold staters) and also because he despaired of taking Antioch, Taticius departed, embarked on the Roman fleet which was in the harbour of Sudi, and made for Cyprus. 4. After his departure Bohemund, who still kept the Armenian’s promise secret, and was buoyed up by the great hope of gaining possession of Antioch for himself, said to the Counts, “You see how long we have already persevered in this siege, and yet have accomplished nothing useful up to the present, and now we are within an ace of perishing by starvation unless we can devise something better for our salvation.” On their enquiring what that could be, he replied, “God does not always give victory to the leaders by means of the sword, nor are such things always accomplished by fighting. But what toil has not procured, words have often effected, and the greatest trophies have been erected by friendly and propitiatory intercourse. Let us therefore not spend our time here uselessly, but endeavour to accomplish something sensible and courageous for our own safety before Curpagan arrives. Let each one of us studiously try to win over the barbarian who guards our respective section. And if you like, let there be set as prize

πρώτως τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον κατωρθωκότι ἢ τῆς πόλεως ταυτησί φυλακῆ, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μέλλων ταύτην ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναλαβέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐλεύσεται. Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐδ' οὕτω κατωρθωκέαι τι χρηστὸν δυνησόμεθα.” 5. Ταῦτα ὁ δεινὸς Βαϊμοῦντος, φίλαρχος ὢν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦτον ὅσον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆς, καὶ σκοπήσας καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπατήσας οὐ διήμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ, ὡς ὁ λόγος κατιῶν παραστήσει. Πρὸς τοῦτο τοίνυν ἅπαντες οἱ κόμητες κατανεύσαντες ἔργου ἤψαντο. Καὶ ἀυαζούσης ἡμέρας ὁ μὲν Βαϊμοῦντος αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸν πύργον ἀπήει· ὁ δὲ γε Ἀρμένιος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πύλας ὑπανοίγνυσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλεται τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν συνεφεπομένων αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν θάπτον ἢ λόγος, καὶ περὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ πύργου ὠρᾶτο τοῖς ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ἰστάμενος καὶ τὴν ἐνυάλιον ἠγεῖν ἐγκελεύων σάλπιγγα. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τῆνικαῦτα καινόν τι γινόμενον, τοὺς μὲν Τούρκους ἐκδειματωθέντας εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἀπέναντι πύλης φεύγοντας καὶ μόνους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐναπολειφθέντας ὀλίγους καὶ γενναίους ἄνδρας διὰ τὴν τοῦ κουλᾶ φρουράν· τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἐξωθεν κατὰ πόδας τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διὰ κλιμάκων ἀνελθόντας καὶ παραχρῆμα κατασχόντας τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταγγρῆς εὐθὺς Κελτοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἀναλαβόμενος ὄπισθεν τῶν φευγόντων ἐδίωκε· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κτείνονται, πολλοὶ δὲ τιτρώσκονται. 6. Ὁ δὲ Κουρπαγὰν μετὰ ἀναριθμήτων χιλιάδων καταλαβὼν εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῆς Ἀντιόχου πόλεως, προκατασχεθεῖσαν ταύτην εὐρηκῶς, χάρακά τε ἐπήξατο καὶ τάφρον πεποιηκῶς καὶ τὰς σκευὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καταθέμενος ἐβουλεύετο πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Ἄλλ' οὐπω ἔργου ἀψάμενον ἐπικαταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες οἱ Κελτοί· καὶ τῆνικαῦτα μέγας ἀναμεταξὺ ἀναρρήγνυται πόλεμος. Εἶχον δὲ τὴν νικῶσαν οἱ Τούρκοι· καὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν συνεκλείοντο, τὸν μόθον ἐκατέρωθεν ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τε τῶν τὸ κουλᾶ φρουρούντων (ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο κατεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι) ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐξωθεν παρακαθημένων Τούρκων. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ ὢν ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρχὴν σφετερίσασθαι θέλων ἐν σχήματι συμβουλῆς αὔθις· “Ὁὐ χρή, φησι πρὸς τοὺς κόμητας, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος ἐν ταῦτῳ μετὰ τε τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διχῆ διαιρεθέντας ἐν ἀνίς τμήμασι πρὸς λόγον τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχομένων ἐχθρῶν, οὕτω τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέχεσθαι μάχην. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξέσται μετὰ τῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τηρούντων μάχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ ὑμῖν

for the one who first succeeds in this work, the sovereignty of this city until such time as the man who is to take it over from us arrives from the Emperor. Even in this way perhaps we may not be able to accomplish anything [279] worth while.” 5. All these things that artful and ambitious Bohemund did, not so much for the sake of the Latins, and the common weal, as for his own advancement, and by this planning and speaking and deceiving he did not fail to gain his object as my history will shew further on. All the Counts agreed to his proposition and set to work. And at dawn of day Bohemund at once made for the tower, and the Armenian according to agreement opened the gate to him; he immediately rushed up with his followers more quickly than can be told and was seen by the people within and without standing on the battlements of the tower and ordering the trumpeters to sound the call to battle. And then indeed a strange sight was to be seen, the Turks, panic-stricken fled without delay through the opposite gate, and the only ones of them who stayed behind were a few brave men who defended the Cula; and the Franks from outside ascended the ladders on the heels of Bohemund, and straightway took possession of the city of Antioch. Tancred with a small body of men pursued the fugitives, many of whom were killed and many wounded. 6. When Curpagan arrived with his countless thousands for the succour of the city of Antioch and found it already taken, he planted his palisades, made a trench, deposited the baggage in it and decided to blockade the city. But before he could start on this work the Franks rushed out and attacked him. A fierce battle then took place between them in which the Turks gained the victory. Now the Latins were shut up in the city and were hard pressed on both sides, on the one by the garrison of the Cula (for the barbarians were still in possession of this) and on the other, by the Turks encamped outside. That artful man Bohemund who hoped to win the sovereignty of Antioch for himself once again spoke to the Counts, pretending to give them advice, saying, “We ought not all to fight simultaneously both against the enemy outside and the one inside, but rather split up into two portions in proportion to the number of the enemy fighting us on one side or the other, and then carry on the war in that way. And if you all approve, let my duty be to fight with the defenders of the Acropolis; and your



τοῦτο συνδόξειε· τοῖς δέ γε λοιποῖς μετὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν μελήσει καρτερῶς συμπλέκεσθαι.” 7. Συντίθενται ἅπαντες τῇ τοῦ Βαῖμούντου γνώμῃ. Ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἔργου ἤψατο καὶ παρακρῆμα τειχίον ἀντίθετον ἐγκάρσιον ἀποδαιοῦν τῆς ὅλης Ἀντιοχείας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐδείματο, ἔρυμα καρτερώτατον πολέμου ἀποκρῶντος. Κᾶθ’ οὕτως ἀνύστακτος φύλαξ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τείχους καθίστατο διὰ παντὸς ἀπομαχόμενος, ὀπηνίκα καιρὸς ἐδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς γενναιότατα. Οἱ δ’ ἄλλο κόμητες πολλὴν τοῦ λάχους αὐτῶν ἐπεποίηντο τὴν φροντίδα, φρουροῦντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ παντός, κατασκοποῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τῶν τειχῶν, μὴ πως οἱ βάρβαροι ἔξωθεν νυκτὸς διὰ κλιμάκων ἀνελθόντες τὴν πόλιν κατάσχωσι, μὴ λάθοι τις τῶν ἐντὸς ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους γενέσθαι κᾶθ’ οὕτως ὁμιλήσας τοῖς βαρβάρους προδοσίας περὶ προδῶ τὴν πόλιν.

business will be to fight vigorously against the foes outside.” 7. They all assented to Bohemund’s suggestion. He at once set to work to cut off the Acropolis from the rest of Antioch by building a transverse wall opposite, which would be a very strong defence in case of a long war. [280] And then he constituted himself the watchful guardian of this wall fighting bravely on every possible occasion with the garrison within. And the other Counts bestowed the greatest attention to their respective sections, guarding the city continuously and keeping the parapets and battlements of the walls under observation, firstly to prevent the barbarians ascending by ladders at night and capturing the city, and secondly to prevent any of the men inside going up to the wall and from there talking about treachery to the barbarians and betraying the city.

## §5

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν [ἔτι]· ὁ δέ γε αὐτοκράτωρ πολλὴν μὲν εἶχε τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτὸς εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν Κελτῶν παραγενέσθαι, ἀπεῖργε δ’ αὐτὸν καίπερ σφραδάζοντα ἢ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν διακειμένων πόλεων τε καὶ χωρῶν λεηλασία καὶ παντελῆς ἐρείπωσις. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τζαχᾶς τὴν Σμύρνην ὡσπερ ἴδιόν τι λάχος κατεῖχεν, ὁ δέ γε Ταγγριπερμῆς καλούμενος πόλιν τινὰ Ἐφεσίων ἀγχοῦ τῆς θαλάττης διακειμένην, ἐν ἧ πάλαι τέμενος ἐπ’ ὀνόματι Ἰωάννου ἀποστόλου τοῦ θεολόγου ἱδρυτο. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο φρούρια τῶν σατραπῶν κατέχοντες ὡς ἀργυρωνήτοις τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐκέχρητο ἅπαντα ληζόμενοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς νήσους Χίον τε καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους πάσας κατέσχον ληστρικὰς ἐκεῖθεν κατασκευάσαντες ναῦς. Διὰ τοι ταῦτα δεῖν ἐλογίσατο πρότερον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὸν Τζαχᾶν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δυνάμεις διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀρκούσας καὶ στόλον ἱκανὸν καταλιπεῖν, εἶτα δι’ αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναχατίζειν ὁρμὰς καὶ ἀντικαθίστασθαι αὐτοῖς, κᾶθ’ οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν φερούσης ἄψασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἀναμεταξὺ βαρβάρων ὡς ἐνὸν μαχόμενος. 2. Μεταπεμψάμενος τοίνυν Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν καὶ γυναικάδελφον αὐτοῦ, παραδίδωσι δυνάμεις ἐκ διαφόρων συνειλεγμένας χωρῶν καὶ στόλον ἀποκρῶντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παραλίων πόλεων πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Τζαχᾶ θυγατέρα κατασχεθεῖσαν μετὰ τῶν

1. That is how matters stood at Antioch up till then. But the Emperor, who was very anxious to go to the assistance of the Franks, was in spite of his logging deterred from so doing by the state of devastation and utter ruination of the maritime towns and districts. For Tzachas held Smyrna as if it were his own and a man, called Tangripermes, held the town of Ephesus situated on the coast in which a church was built long ago to the apostle and theologian John. Similarly other satraps held other towns, treated the Christian inhabitants as slaves and spread desolation around. Moreover, they held Chios, Rhodes and some other islands as well and built pirate-vessels in them. Consequently he deemed it wiser first to attend to maritime matters and Tzachas, and to leave strong garrisons on the mainland and a large enough fleet to restrain the Turks’ sallies and repel them, and then afterwards with the rest of the army take the road to Antioch and fight with the barbarians on his way to the best of his ability.

2. Accordingly he sent for John Ducas his brother-in-law and handed over to him troops recruited from various countries and a fleet large enough for besieging the maritime towns. He also entrusted to him Tzachas’ daughter, who had lately been taken captive at Nicaea with others,

ἄλλων ὅποι ἐντὸς τῆς Νικαίας τότε ἔτυχον, ἐπισκήψας διακηρυκεῦν μὲν πανταχοῦ τὴν τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύοιτο, αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Τζαχᾶ θυγατέρα ὑποδεικνύναι τοῖς σατράπαις τῶν Τούρκων καὶ τοῖς τὰ παρὰ θάλατταν νεμομένοις βαρβάροις, ὡς ἂν οἱ τὰς ἤδη ῥηθείσας πόλεις κατέχοντες, ὀρῶντες ταύτην καὶ βεβαιούμενοι τὴν τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσιν, ἀπογνόντες ἀμαχητὶ παραδοῖεν τὰς πόλεις. Ἐφοδιάσας οὖν ἱκανῶς διὰ παντοίων τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκπέμπει. Ὅποσα δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ τρόπαια οὗτος ἐστήσατο καὶ ὅπως τοῦτον ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήλασε, προῖων ὁ λόγος δηλώσειεν. **3.** Ὁ μὲν οὖν δούξ καὶ θεῖος οὐμὸς πρὸς μητρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ συνταξάμενος, τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἔξεισι καὶ, διαπεράσας τὴν Ἄβυδον, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν καλούμενον Κάσπακα, τὴν τε τοῦ στόλου ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλοῦς ἅπασαν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῷ ἀνέθετο ὑποσχόμενος ὡς, εἰ καλῶς ἀγωνίτο, ὀπνίκα τὴν Σμύρνην συμβαίη ἀλῶναι, ἡγεμόνα τοῦτον αὐτῆς τε τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ὁμορῶντων πάντων αὐτῇ καταστήσαι. Ἐκπέμπει τοίνυν αὐτὸν διαπόντιον θαλασσοκράτορα τοῦ στόλου, ὡς εἴρηται· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ταγματάρχην εἶχεν ἢ ἡπειρος. Ἄμα τοίνυν τὸν τε Κάσπακα διὰ τοῦ στόλου καὶ τὸν Δούκαν Ἰωάννην διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου οἱ ἐντὸς τῆ Σμύρνη ἄμφω προσπελάσαντας θεασάμενοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Δούκαν ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκ διαστήματός τινος τὸν χάρακα πηξάμενον, τὸν δὲ γε Κάσπακα τῷ λιμένι προσοκείλанта, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσις ἤδη ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς, οὐδ' ὄλως ἀντικαταστήναι τούτοις ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' εἰς λόγους καὶ σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς ἐλθεῖν ἠηρετίσαντο ὑποσχόμενοι, εἴπερ ὁμομοκέναι αὐτοῖς ὁ Δούκας Ἰωάννης θελήσει ὥστε παραχωρῆσαι ἀπαθείς κακῶν πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι τούτους ἐπαναζεῦξαι, ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ μάχης ἄτερ τὴν Σμύρνην αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι. Συντίθεται τοίνυν ὁ Δούκας τῆνικαῦτα τῆ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ γνώμη τὰ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἅπαντα πληρῶσαι ὑποσχόμενος. Μετ' εἰρήνης οὖν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελάσας, τῷ Κάσπακι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Σμύρνης ἀνέθετο. Γίνεται δὲ τι κατὰ συντυχίαν τοιοῦτον. **4.** Τοῦ Κάσπακος ἀπὸ τοῦ Δούκα Ἰωάννου ὑποστρέφοντος, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ Σμυρναῖός τις διεγκαλῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι παρὰ του Σαρακηνοῦ χρυσίνους πεντακοσίους στατηῆρας. Ὁ δὲ ἀχθῆναι τούτους κριθησομένους ἐπέταξεν· ὡς δ' ὁ Σύρος εἴλκετο, νομίσας ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι ἄγεται, καὶ ἀπογνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, σπασάμενος μάχαιραν, κατὰ τῶν σπλάγγων τοῦ Κάσπακος ὤθει· ἐπιστραφεὶς δὲ πλήττει καὶ τὸν τούτου

and ordered him to proclaim the capture of Nicaea everywhere, and, if it were not believed, to shew Tzachas' daughter to the Turkish straps and barbarians in the sea-coast towns, so that the men, who held the towns we have just mentioned, on seeing her and being assured of the capture of Nicaea would in despair give up the cities without striking a blow. After supplying John fully with all necessaries he sent him forth. And now I will proceed to set forth how many trophies he erected over Tzachas and how he drove him out of Smyrna.

**3.** This duke, my maternal uncle, took leave of the Emperor, then quitted the capital and crossed to Abydus; there he [281] summoned a man called Caspax and entrusted him with the command of the fleet and the whole conduct of the naval expedition. He promised him that if he fought well then, when they succeeded in taking Smyrna, he would appoint him Governor of Smyrna itself and of all the towns on its borders. So he sent him away by sea, as ruler of the fleet, and he remained on land in command of the troops. Soon the inhabitants of Smyrna saw both Caspax approaching with the fleet and Ducas over land, and then Ducas pitching his camp at a short distance from the walls, and Caspax anchoring in the harbour. Since they had already heard of the fall of Nicaea, they had not the slightest wish to resist Ducas, but preferred to confer about making peace. On condition that John Ducas was willing to swear that he would allow them all to depart to their own homes without suffering any harm, they promised to surrender Smyrna to him without shedding blood and without striking a blow. Ducas thereupon agreed to Tzachas' proposal, and promised to carry out everything to the letter. After having driven them out thus peaceably he invested Caspax with absolute authority over Smyrna. The following incident occurred by chance. **4.** As Caspax was coming away from John Ducas, a Smyrniote came up to him, accusing a Saracen of having stolen five hundred gold staters from him. Caspax ordered them to be brought up for trial, but the Syrian who was being hauled along thought he was being led to execution and in despair of his own safety drew his knife and plunged it into Caspax' bowels; and turned round and also wounded Caspax' brother in the thigh. Hereupon a terrible commotion arose, the Saracen escaped, and all the men of the fleet, and the

ομαίμονα περι τὸν μηρόν. Συγχύσεως δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένης πολλῆς, ὁ μὲν Σαρακηνὸς ἀποδιδράσκει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στόλου ἅπαντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐρέταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀτάκτως εἰσήεσαν καὶ πάντας ἀνηλεῶς ἀπέκτανον. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα ἐλεεινὸν ὡσεὶ δέκα χιλιάδας ἀποκτανθέντας ἐν ὀξείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ. Ὁ δὲ Δούκας Ἰωάννης, περιαλγήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κάσπακος ἀναίρεσει, ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ὅλος αὐθις τῆς τοῦ κάστρου φροντίδος ἐγεγόνει. Ἐξελεθὼν τοίνυν καὶ περιαθρήσας τὰ τεῖχη τὰς τε τῶν ἐποίκων γνώμας παρὰ τῶν εἰδότην ἀκριβωσάμενος, ἐπεὶ χρεῖα γενναίου ἦν ἀνδρός, τὸν Ἰωάννην, φέριστον τῶν ἄλλων εἰδώς, δοῦκα τῆς Σμύρνης κατέστησεν· ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος ἀρειμάνιος. 5. Καταλιπὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἅπαν εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς Σμύρνης, αὐτὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἐφεσίων ἤλαυνε παρὰ τοῦ Ταγγριπερμῆ καὶ τοῦ Μαράκη τῶν σατραπῶν κατεχομένην. Τοῦτον θεασάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτῶν ἰέμενον, ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ σχῆμα πολέμου περὶ τὴν ἔξω τοῦ κάστρου πεδιάδα διατυπώσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας ἔστησαν. Ὁ δὲ δοῦξ μὴδὲ μικρὸν τι μελλήσας σὺν εὐταξία στρατιωτικῇ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξώρμησε. Τῆς γοῦν συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυίας τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας παρωχῆκει· μαχομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ἀμφιρρεποῦς οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὰ νῶτα ὑποσχόντες τρέπονται κατὰ κράτος. Κτείνονται δὲ τῆνικαῦτα πολλοί, ἀλίσκονται δὲ οὐ τῶν τυχαίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν σατραπῶν οἱ πλείους, ὡς συμποσοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐαλωκότας εἰς χιλιάδας δύο. Περὶ ὧν μεμαθηκὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς διασπαρῆναι τούτους εἰς τὰς νήσους προσέταξεν. Οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες τῶν Τοῦρκων, διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μαιάνδρου πρὸς τὸ πολυβοτὸν ἀπερχόμενοι, καταφρονητικῶς διετέθησαν τὸν Δούκαν τέλειον ἀπελπίσαντες. Τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πετζέαν δοῦκα ταυτησὶ τῆς πόλεως καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἅπαν ἀναλαβόμενος παραυτίκα ὀπισθεν οὐ φύρδην, ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως καὶ ὡς ἐχρῆν ἐμπειρότατον στρατηγὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἰέναι, ἤλαυνε κατὰ τὰς ὑποθημοσύνας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. 6. Οἱ μέντοι Τοῦρκοι, καθὰ γε εἴρηται, διὰ τε Μαιάνδρου καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ πόλεων ὀδεύσαντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ πολυβοτόν. Ὁ δὲ δοῦξ οὐ κατὰ πόδας τούτους ἐδίωκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτέραν ὀδεύσας τὰς τε Σάρδεις καὶ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέσχε, τὴν τούτων φρουρὰν Μιχαὴλ τῷ Κεκαυμένῳ πιστεύσας. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, καὶ πάντων παραυτίκα προσεληλυθότων

crews as well, rushed into the city pell-mell and killed everybody mercilessly. It was a pitiful sight, ten thousand killed in a moment of time. John Ducas was extremely grieved at Caspax' death and for some time took the whole administration of the fortress upon himself. In this capacity he went round and inspected the walls and ascertained the opinions of the inhabitants from men who knew; and as he felt that a brave man was needed, he appointed Hyaleas, whom he thought best of all, Duke of Smyrna. This man was a devotee of the War-God. 5. Ducas left the whole navy to protect Smyrna, and then marched with his troops to the town of Ephesus which was held by the satraps, Tangripemes and Maraces. When these barbarians saw him advancing towards them, they got under arms, and arranged their [282] troops in order of battle on the plains outside the city. And the Duke without any delay and with his army skilfully disposed attacked them. The battle that then began lasted the greater part of the day; both sides fought well and the issue of the battle hung in the balance till at last the Turks turned their backs and were utterly routed. On this occasion many were killed and still larger numbers were captured, not only of the common soldiers, but of the satraps themselves, so that the total of the captives amounted to two thousand. When informed of this the Emperor ordered them to be dispersed among the islands. The Turks who escaped, crossed the river Maeander and went to Polybotum and were contemptuous of Ducas, thinking him of no account whatever. But this was not so. For leaving Petzeas as Duke of Ephesus, he himself took the whole army and at once started after them according to the Emperor's behest, not in disorderly confusion, but in good order and in the manner that it befits an experienced general to march on the foe.

6. Now the Turks, as already said, travelled to Polybotum by way of the Maeander and the towns along its banks. But the Duke did not follow in their steps, but journeying by the shorter road, took Sardis and Philadelphia off-hand and entrusted these to the guardianship of Michael Cecaumenos. When he reached Laodicea, all the inhabitants immediately came out to him, consequently he treated them kindly as they had joined

αὐτῶ, αὐτοῖς μὲν ὡς αὐτομόλοις χρησάμενος καὶ τεθαρρηκῶς ἀνετιῶς τὰ σφέτερα κατοικεῖν εἶασε μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα ἐπιστήσας. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Χώματος διελθὼν τὴν Λάμπην κατέλαβε κἄν ταύτη καὶ τὸν Καμύτζην Εὐστάθιον στρατηγὸν ἐπέστησεν. Ἐφθακῶς δὲ εἰς τὸ πολυβοτὸν καταλαμβάνει Τούρκων πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ ἐπεισπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἄρτι τὰς σκευὰς κατατιθε- μένοις ξυμβάλων παραντίκα νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ κτείνει μὲν πολλοὺς, ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ λείαν πολλήν καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνάλογον.

him of their own accord, and allowed them to stay safely in their homes without even appointing a governor. From there he passed through Coma and reached Lampe and in this town he left Camytzes Eustathius governor. On arriving at Polybotum he fell in with a large crowd of Turks and falling upon them at once whilst they were depositing their baggage, he conquered them completely after a short encounter, and killed many, the amount of booty he took was in proportion to their numbers

## §6

1. Τούτου γοῦν μήπω ἐπανεληλυθότος, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένου κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτοιμασθεὶς εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν Αντιόχειαν φθάσαι Κελτῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ Φιλομήλιον κατέλαβε σὺν ὄλαις δυνάμεσι πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ κτείνας βαρβάρους, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ πόλεις δηωσάμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὶν κατεχομένας, φθάνει τηνικαῦτα τοῦτον ἐξ Αντιοχείας Γελίελμος ὁ Γραντεμανῆ καὶ Στέφανος κόμης Φραγγίας καὶ Πέτρος ὁ τοῦ Αλίφα, χαλασθέντες καλωδίσις διὰ τῶν κρηδέμων Αντιοχείας καὶ διὰ τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἀφικόμενοι διαβεβαιοῦντο εἰς στενὸν κομιδῆ συνελθῆναι τοὺς Κελτούς, καὶ ἐπομνύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν παντελῆ πτώσιν. 2. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει ταχῆναι, κἄν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ὁρμῆς ἀνέκοπτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔφοδος ἀμυθήτων ἀπανταχῆ διεκηρυκεύετο ἐπικαταλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἤδη (καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Χοροσάν σουλτάν, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτῶν μεμαθηκῶς ἀπέλευσιν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ἰσμαῆλ τὴν κλήσιν ἀπείρους δυνάμεις ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Χοροσάν ἀπὸ τε τῶν πορρωτέρων μερῶν συναγαγὼν καὶ καρτερῶς ἐξοπλίσας ἅπαντας κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος τάχος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐφθακῆναι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν Αντιόχειαν καταλαβεῖν), τὴν μὲν δὴ ὁρμὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἣν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν σωτηρίας, διαχρήσασθαι τε σπεύδων τοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν λυτῶντας Τούρκους καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τούτων ἡγεμόνα Κουρπαγάν, ἐπέσχε τὰ διαμηνυθέντα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐλληλυθότων Φράγγων ὑπὸ τε τῶν τὴν τοῦ Ἰσμαῆλ κατ' αὐτοῦ μηνυσάντων ἔλευσιν. Λογισμὸν δὲ τὸν εἰκότα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λαμβάνων, ὡς ἀμήχανον εἶη πρᾶγμα σῶσαι πόλιν ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλοῦσαν, ἀστατοῦσαν δ' ἔτι κακ τῶν ἐξῴθεν ὑπὸ τῶν

1. Before Ducas had returned, whilst he was still fighting with the Turks, the Emperor prepared to go to the assistance of the Franks in Antioch, and reached Philomelium with all his forces after killing many barbarians on the way and destroying several towns hitherto held by them. Here he was found by men from Antioch, Gelielmus Grantemanes, Stephen, Count of France, and Peter, son of Aliphaz; these had been let down by ropes from the walls of Antioch, made their way through Tarsus and reported to him the terrible straits into which the Franks were driven and upon oath [p.283] they told him of their utter fall. 2. This news made the Emperor still more anxious to hasten to their assistance although everybody sought to restrain him from this enterprise. And then a report was spread abroad everywhere that an incredible host of barbarians was on its way to overtake him. (For the Sultan of Chorosan, hearing of the Emperor's departure to go to the assistance of the Franks, had collected innumerable men from Chorosan and the further provinces, equipped them all thoroughly and putting them under the command of his own son, Ishmael by name, had sent them forth with instructions to overtake the Emperor quickly before he reached Antioch.) And thus the Emperor's expedition, which he undertook for the sake of the Franks, and with the desire of wiping out the Turks who were fighting furiously with them, and above all their leader Curpagan – this expedition was stopped both by the report which the Franks had brought and by the news of Ishmael's advance against him. For he calculated what would probably happen in the future, namely, that it was an impossibility to save a city which had only just been taken by the Franks and

Ἀγαρηνῶν αὐτίκα πολιορκουμένην, τῶν Κελτῶν τὰς σφζούσας ἀπεγνωκότων ἐλπίδας καὶ βουλευομένων τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἐρήμου παραχωρηῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ μόνους περισῶσαι διὰ φυγῆς. **3.** Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν γένος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτόνομόν τε καὶ ἀξύμβουλον, στρατηγικῇ δὲ εὐταξία καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ μηδέποτε χρώμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν μάχη καὶ πόλεμος παρασταίῃ, περιυλακτοῦντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀκάθεκτοί τε εἰσιν οὐ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμόνες, ὡς ἐς μέσας φάλαγγας τῶν πολεμίων εἰσπίπτοντες ἀφόρητοι, εἰ ὅλως τὸ ἀντικαθιστάμενον ὑποχαλάσειεν· εἰ δὲ στρατιωτικαῖς ἐμπειρίαῖς λόχους οἱ πολέμοι πολλακίς καταστήσαιεν καὶ τεχνικῶς αὐτοὺς μετελευσονται, εἰς τούναντίον πᾶν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῖς περιίσταται. Τὸ γὰρ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, εἰς πρώτους ρυτῆρας ἀνύποιστοὶ εἰσιν οἱ Κελτοί, τὸ δὲ γε μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ λίαν εὐχείρωτοι διὰ τε τὸ τῶν ὄπλων βάρος καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης θυμοειδὲς καὶ ἀλόγιστον. **4.** Διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀποχρώσας πρὸς τοσαῦτα πλήθη δυνάμεις ἔχων μήτε τὰς τῶν Κελτῶν γνώμας μεταβαλεῖν μήτε ξυμβουλῇ τούτους βελτίονι εἰς τὸ ξυμφέρον μετενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, δέον ἐλογίζετο μὴ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρωγὴν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου προσπολέσειε. Πτοηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἐπικαταλαμβανόντων αὐτὸν ἤδη Τουρκικῶν ἀμυθῆτων λαῶν οἱ ἔποικοι τῶν μερῶν Φιλομηλίου παρανάλωμα βαρβαρικῆς γένωνται μαχαίρας, εἰς νοὺν βάλλεται διακηρυκεῦσαι μὲν ἀπανταχῇ τὴν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἔφοδον· καὶ παραυτίκα διεκηρυκεύετο καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκάστη προεξελθέτω τῆς τούτων ἐλευσεως, τὰ σώματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα φέρειν δύνανται διασώζοντες. **5.** Εἴλοντο μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἅπαντες συνέψεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ γυναῖκες .... Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὠκονόμητο τῷ βασιλεῖ. Μέρος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ τοῦτο εἰς πολλὰ διελών, ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν, εἴ που προεκδρομάς τινας ποιουμένους τοὺς Τούρκους εὕροιεν, ξυμμίγνυσθαι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ καρτερῶς μαχομένους ἀναστέλλειν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔφοδον. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν τε ἐαλωκότων βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων Χριστιανῶν ἐπαναζεῦγνυσι πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσιν. **6.** Ὁ δὲ γε ἀρχισατράπης Ἰσμαήλ, μεμαθηκὼς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅτι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐξεληλυθῶς πολλὴν μὲν ἀνδροκτασίαν πεποικῶς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ κωμο-

while still in a state of disorder was immediately besieged from outside by the Hagarenes; and the Franks in despair of all help, were planning to leave only empty walls to the enemy and to save their own lives by flight. **3.** For the nation of the Franks in general is self-willed and independent and never employs military discipline or science, but when it is a question of war and fighting, anger barks in their hearts and they are not to be restrained; and this applies not only to the soldiers but to the leaders themselves for they dash into the middle of the enemies' ranks with irresistible force, especially if their opponents yield a little. But if the enemy with strategic skill often sets ambushes for them and pursues them methodically, then all this courage evaporates. In short, the ranks cannot be resisted in their first attack, but afterwards they are exceedingly easy to master both because of the weight of their arms and from their passionate and irrational character. **4.** For these reasons, as his forces were insufficient against such numbers, and he could not change the Franks' decision, nor by better advice convert them to their advantage, he considered he had better not proceed any further, lest by hastening to the assistance of Antioch he might cause the destruction of Constantinople. He was afraid, too, in case the countless Turkish tribes overtook him, that the inhabitants of the regions of Philomelium [p.284] would fall victims to the barbarians' swords, so he arranged to have the approach of the Hagarenes announced throughout the country. The announcement was immediately made and the order given that each man and woman should leave their homes before the Turks arrived, and thus save their persons and as much property as each could carry. **5.** They all elected at once to accompany the Emperor, not only the men but the women too.... This was the arrangement the Emperor made about the prisoners. Next he detached a part of the army, broke it up further into several sections and dispatched them against the Hagarenes, with orders that, if they met any Turks making advance movements, they were to engage them and fight fiercely, and thus retard their attack on the Emperor. He himself, with the whole crowd of barbarian prisoners and of the Christians who had joined him, returned to the capital. **6.** When the arch-satrap Ishmael heard of the Emperor's doings, namely, that he had left Constantinople and effected great slaughter, laid many small

πόλεις ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι παντελῶς ἐρειπώσας, πολλήν τε λείαν καὶ δορυαλώτους ἀναλαβόμενος ἐπαναζεύγνυσι πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν μηδὲν ἔργον αὐτῷ καταλειπῶς, ὡς τῆς ἄγρας ἀπέγνω, ἐν ἀμηγάνοις καθίστατο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέραν τραπόμενος τὸ πῶπερτ πολιορκῆσαι ἐπέγνω, ὅπερ πρὸ μικροῦ κατασχὼν εἶχεν ὁ περὶ κλυτὸς ἐκεῖνος Γαβρᾶς Θεόδωρος, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ἀγχοῦ τούτου ῥέοντα ποταμὸν ἅπαν ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέθετο. Τοῦτο μεμαθηκῶς ὁ Γαβρᾶς διεσκοπεῖτο νυκτὸς ἐπεισεπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Ἄλλ' ὅποιον μὲν πέρας τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γαβρᾶν ἔσχηκε καὶ ὅθεν οὗτος ὄρμητο καὶ ὁποῖος ἦν, ταμειυσάσθω ὁ λόγος ἐς τὸν προσήκοντα τόπον· τὰ νῦν δ' ἐχέσθω τοῦ προκειμένου. 7. Οἱ δὲ γε Λατῖνοι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ συνεχοῦς πολιορκίας δεινῶς πιεζόμενοι, προσεληλυθότες τῷ εἰς Ἑλενούπολιν τότε ἡτηθέντι πέτρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, ἠτοῦντο βουλήν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ἄγνούς, φησι, τηρῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς ὑποσχόμενοι, μέχρις ἂν τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καταλάβητε, παρέβητε, οἶμαι, τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπαρήγει ὡς τὸ πρότερον ὁ Θεός. Δεῖ οὖν ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἀποκλαύσασθαι ἀμαρτίας ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ, καὶ δάκρυσιν θερμοῖς τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐνδειξαμένους καὶ παννύχιος δεήσεσι. Τότε δὴ σχολάσω καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὸ Θεῖον ἐξιλεούμενος.” πείθονται ταῖς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παραινέσεσι. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐκ θείας ὁμφῆς κινηθεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας τῶν κομήτων παρηγγυᾶτο δεξιόθεν διορῆσαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κάκεισε τὸν ἅγιον εὐρηκέναι ἦλον. Τὸ ἐπιταχθὲν οὖν πεποιηκότες, ἐπεὶ μὴ εὔρισκον, ἐπαναστρέψαντες μετὰ ἀθυμίας τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου διαμαρτίαν ἀπήγγελλον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκτενέστερον τὴν δέησιν ποιησάμενος ἐπιμελέστερον τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου ἀναψηλάφησιν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέταττεν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐπλήρουν τὸ κελευσθὲν καί, τὸν ζητούμενον εὐρηκότες, δρομαίως τῷ πέτρῳ προσέφερον χαρᾶ καὶ φρίκη συνεχόμενοι. 8. Κάκτοτε ὡς ἀγνωτέρῳ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Ἰσαγγέλῃ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸν σεπτὸν καὶ θεῖον ἐνεχείριζον ἦλον. Τῇ γοῦν μετ' αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνυπόπτου πύλης κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξώρμησαν. Τότε δὴ ὁ καλούμενος Φλάντρας ἠτήσατο τοὺς λοιποὺς μίαν ταύτην αἴτησιν παραχωρηθῆναί οἱ, μετὰ τριῶν μόνων κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων τῶν ἄλλων πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐξιππάσασθαι. Δέδοται δὴ τούτῳ τὸ αἰτηθέν· καὶ ὀπηνίκα αἱ φάλαγγες ἐκατέρωθεν ἰλαδὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου σύναψις

towns he passed through the ruins, collected a large quantity of spoil and captives, and was now returning to the capital and had left him nothing to do, Ishmael was at a loss for he despaired of capturing his prey. Consequently he turned in another direction and resolved to besiege Païpert which had been taken shortly before by the illustrious Theodore Gabras, and on reaching the river flowing past the town, he encamped his whole army there. When informed of this, Gabras thought of attacking him at night. Bt the result of Gabras' enterprise and his origin and character shall be reserved for a fitting moment in my history; for the present we must keep to our subject. 7. Now the Latins being terribly pressed by famine and the blockade, went to Peter, the man who had been conquered at Helenopolis, their Bishop, as has been already explained, and asked him for counsel. He said to them, “You promised to keep yourselves pure until you reached Jerusalem, and this promise, I think, you have broken, and for this reason God has not been helping you now, as He did formerly. Therefore you must now turn to the Lord and bewail your sins in sack-cloth and ashes, and shew your repentance by many tears and vigils spent in prayer. I myself too will spend my time in propitiating the Deity towards you.” They obeyed the bishop's instructions. And after a few days the bishop inspired by a divine voice assembled the chief Counts and urged them to dig on the right side of the altar, and there [285] they would find the Holy Nail. They did as he bade and as they did not find it, they returned all discouraged and announced that they had failed in their quest. He accordingly prayed still more earnestly and bade them conduct their search for the object more carefully. They again did his bidding and when they had found what they sought, carried it headlong to Peter, overcome with joy and awe.

8. And then they entrusted that holy and venerable Nail to Isangeles to carry in battle as he was the holiest of them all. The following day, they sallied out upon the Turks from a secret door. On this occasion the man called Flanders begged the others to grant him just one request, namely, to allow him with three friends only to ride out first against the Turks. This request was granted him, and, when the armies stood drawn up in squadrons on either side and were preparing

ἠὺτρέπιστο, αὐτὸς τοῦ ἵππου ἀποβάς καὶ προσουδίσας ἑαυτὸν τρισσάκις τῷ Θεῷ ἐπηύξατο ἐκεῖθεν τὴν βοήθειαν ἐξαιτούμενος. Βοησάντων δὲ πάντων· “Ὁ Θεὸς μεθ’ ἡμῶν”, ὅλους ῥυτῆρας κατ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κουρπαγᾶ ἐνέδωκεν ἐπὶ τινος λόφου ἱσταμένου. Εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ὑπαντίασαντας τοῖς δόρασι βαλόντες κατὰ γῆς ἔρριψαν. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐκδειματωθέντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι πρὸ τοῦ συρραγῆναι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, θείας πάντως δυνάμεως ἐπαρηγόουσης τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς· κὰν τῷ φεύγειν παραπορήσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ταῖς δίναις τῶν ποταμίων συσχεθέντες ῥευμάτων ἀπεπνίγησαν, ὡς ἀντὶ γεφύρας χρηματίσαι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποπνιγέντων τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένοις. 9. Ἐφ’ ἱκανὸν οὖν καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας διώξαντες πρὸς τὴν Τουρκικὴν ταφρεῖαν ὑπέστρεψαν, κάκεισε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς σκευὰς εὐρηκότες καὶ ἦν συνεπεφέροντο λείαν ἅπασαν, ἀναλαβέσθαι μὲν ἠθέλον παραχρῆμα, πολλὴν δὲ οὖσαν διὰ τριακονθημέρου μόγις ταύτην εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἐξίσχυσαν. Ἐπ’ ὀλίγον οὖν αὐτοῦ που ἐγκατερίσαντες ἐφ’ ᾧ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου κακοπαθείας ἑαυτοὺς διαναπαῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀντιόχου φροντίδα ποιούμενοι ἀνεζήτησαν τὸν ταύτην φρουρήσοντα. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαῖμοῦντος, καθὰ γε πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι φθάσας ἠτήσατο. Παρακεχωρηκότες δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐξουσίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου αὐτοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα φερούσης ἦσαντο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διέρχεσθαι πολλὰ μὲν τῶν παραλίων κάστρων κατέσχον· ὅποσα δὲ ἐρυμνότατα ὄντα πλείονος ἐδεῖτο τῆς πολιορκίας παραδραμιόντες τῷ τέως αὐτά, πρὸς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσπευδον. Περιζώσαντες δὲ τὰ τείχη καὶ πυκναῖς προσβολαῖς πολιορκοῦντες, αὐτὴν διὰ μιᾶς σεληνιακῆς περιόδου κατέσχον πολλοὺς τῶν ἐντὸς Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Ἑβραίων ἀνηρηκότες. Πάντων δὲ ὑποταγέντων αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἀντιβαίνων οὐδεὶς, τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἅπασαν τῷ Γοντοφρῆ ἀναθέμενοι ῥῆγα τοῦτον ὠνόμασαν.

for the shock of battle, he dismounted and after prostrating himself on the ground three times he prayed to God and invoked His help. Then they all shouted. “God with us!” and at full gallop he rode straight at Curpagan himself who was standing on a hillock. Speedily they struck with their spears the Turks they encountered, and threw them to the ground. The Turks were so terrified by this, that, even before the battle had commenced, they turned to flight as God was evidently aiding the Christians. Most of the Turks in their flight were in their distraction caught in the eddies of the river and drowned, so that those who came after used the bodies of the drowned in place of a bridge.

9. After pursuing the fugitives for a considerable distance they returned to the Turkish lines where they found the barbarian baggage and all the booty they carried with them, this latter they wanted to remove at once, but it was so much that they scarcely managed to convey it all to Antioch in thirty days. They stayed on the spot for a little time to rest after the hardships of the war, and at the same time they took thought for Antioch and looked for a man to guard it. This man was Bohemund who had asked for this position even before the city was captured. So they conceded him full powers over Antioch and themselves set out on the road to Jerusalem. And on their way they took several of the maritime fortresses, but those, which were very strong and would have necessitated a lengthy siege, they passed by for the present as they were anxious to reach Jerusalem. They encircled its walls and made frequent attacks on them and besieged [286] the town and within one lunar month they took it and killed many of the Saracenic and Jewish inhabitants. When they had brought all into subjection and no one resisted them, they invested Godfrey with supreme authority by unanimous consent, and called him ‘king’.

## §7

1. Διαμηνυθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν ἐφόδου τῷ ἐξουσιαστῇ Βαβυλωνος Ἀμεριμνῆ, καὶ ὅπως παρ’ αὐτῶν ἦ τε Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐάλω καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ Ἀντιόχου καὶ ἄλλοι πολλαὶ πόλεις αἱ ταύτη παρακειμένηαι παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν κατεσχέθησαν, τηλικαῦτα πολὺ πλῆθος συναγροχῶς ἔκ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀράβων Σαρακηνῶν τε καὶ Ἁγαρ-

1. The tidings of the Franks’ expedition was brought to Amerimnes, Prince of Babylon, and he heard how they had taken Jerusalem and also occupied Antioch, and several other towns in its vicinity, so he collected a great multitude of Armenians, Arabs, Saracens and Hagarenes and dispatched them to oppose the Franks. Godfrey

ηνῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξαπέστειλε. Τούτου διαμηνυθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τηρικαῦτα ὀπλίσαντο κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ καταλήθοντες εἰς τὸ Ἰάφα τὴν ἐκείνων περιέμενον ἔφοδον· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν κατέλαβον τὸ Ῥάμελ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ μεγάλομάρτυς Γεώργιος μεμαρτύρηκε, καὶ ἐνωθέντες τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐρχομένῳ στρατεύματι τοῦ Ἀμεριμνῆ συνῆψαν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν. Καὶ τὴν νικῶσαν εἶχον εὐθὺς οἱ Κελτοί. **2.** Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν καταλαβόντος ἐξ ὀπισθίων τοῦ προμετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἠττήθησαν οἱ Λατίνοι μέχρι τοῦ Ῥάμελ περισωθέντες. Μόνος δὲ ὁ Βαλδουῖνος κόμης ἀπὴν φυγαδεῖα χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡς ἀνανδρος, ἀλλ' ὡς τι κρεῖττον προμηθευσόμενος περὶ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατεύματος. Καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ κυκλοτερῆ τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ῥάμελ ποιοῦμενοι θάπτον τοῦτο κατέσχον. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων τηρικαῦτα κτείνονται, πλείους δὲ καὶ ζωγρία πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἐστάλησαν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑποστρέφον τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἅπαν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ἰάφα ἠπεύγετο· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον αἰεὶ. Ὁ δὲ γε ἀνωτέρω ῥηθεὶς Βαλδουῖνος, τὰς παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων ἐαλωκυίας κωμοπόλεις ἀπάσας περιῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους τε συναγροχῶς ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς, ἀξιόμαχον στράτευμα συνεστήσατο κἀντεῦθεν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ἐπελθὼν ἠττησε κατὰ κράτος. **3.** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ῥάμελ τῶν Λατίνων ἦτταν μεμαθηκῶς, περιαλγῆσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κομητῶν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, ἅτε γινώσκων αὐτοὺς κατὰ τε ὥραν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ περιφάνειαν γένους τῶν πάλαι ὑμνουμένων, οὐκ ἔφερεν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτους δορυαλώτους ἐπὶ ξένης εἶναι. Ἐνθεν τοι μεταπεμψάμενός τινα Βαρδαλῆν καλούμενον χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδούς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάρρυσιν πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκπέπομφεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀμεριμνῆν γράμματα περὶ τῶν κομητῶν διαλαμβάνοντα. Ὁ δὲ, τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνελίζας γραφάς, ἄτερ τιμῆς τοὺς κόμητας ἀπεδίδου μετὰ περιχαρείας πλὴν τοῦ Γοντοφρέ. Ἐκεῖνον γὰρ προφθάσας πρὸς τὸν ἀτάδελφον αὐτοῦ Βαλδουῖνον τιμῆς ἀπέδοτο. Καταλαβόντας δὲ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν τοὺς κόμητας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντίμως ἐδέξατο χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδούς καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τούτους διαναπαύσας χαίροντας ἐξαπέστειλεν οἴκαδε. Ὁ δὲ Γοντοφρέ ῥῆξ Ἱεροσολύμων αὐθις ἀποκαταστάς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Βαλδουῖνον εἰς Ἔδεσαν ἐκπέπομφε. **4.** Τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ Ἰσαγγέλλῃ ἐπέσκηψε τὴν μὲν Λαοδίκειαν Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Τζιντζιλούκῃ ἀναθέσθαι, τὸ δὲ γε Μαρακῶς

announced this to the Franks who accordingly prepared to meet them, and marched down to Jaffa and there awaited their coming; from there they went to Ramel where the great martyr George suffered, met the army of Amerimnes advancing towards them and at once joined battle with them. And the Franks soon overcame them.

**2.** But on the following day when the vanguard of the enemy caught them up from behind, the Latins were beaten and ran for their lives to Ramel. Count Balduinus alone was absent from the battle as he had fled, not from cowardice, but to take measures for his own safety and to prepare an army to fight the Babylonians. The Babylonians followed them and encompassed the town of Ramel and took it after a short siege. Many of the Latins fell there, but the greater number were sent as prisoners to Babylon. After that the Whole Babylonian army turned round and hurried to besiege Jaffa. For such is the barbarian custom. Meanwhile Balduinus, whom I mentioned above, visited all the small towns which the Franks had taken, and by collecting from them a considerable number of foot- and horse-soldiers, he organized a decent army and marched with it against the Babylonians and defeated them completely.

**3.** When the Emperor heard of the Latins' discomfiture at Ramel he was very grieved at the Counts being taken prisoners as he had known them in the bloom of physical strength and of such nobility of descent as the heroes of old, and could not bear to think of their being prisoners in a foreign country. So he sent for a man called Bardales, gave him a large sum of money for their redemption and sent him to Babylon with letters about the Counts for Amerimnes. After reading the Emperor's letter, Amerimnes willingly set all the Counts except Godfrey free without any ransom. For Godfrey had already been released for a ransom by his [287] own brother Balduinus. When the Counts reached the Capital the Emperor received them honourably, gave them much money and after they were sufficiently rested, sent them home full of gratitude. But Godfrey after being again elected king of Jerusalem sent his brother Balduinus to Edessa.

**4.** Then the Emperor ordered Isangeles to hand over Laodicea to Andronicus Tzintziluces and the forts of Maraceus and Balaneus to the soldiers of



καὶ τὸ Βαλανέως τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν Εὐμάθιον δοῦκα Κύπρου τῷ τότε ὑπάρχοντα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ προσωτέρω βαδίσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν κάστρων κατασχέσεως ὡς ἐνὸν διαγωνιῆσθαι· ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκε τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεῖς. Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ παραδοῦναι τὰ κάστρα τοῖς ἀνωτέρω δηλωθεῖσιν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἀντάραδον καὶ ταύτην ἀμαχητὶ ἐχειρώσατο. Τοῦτο ἐνωτισθεῖς ὁ Ἀταπάκας τῆς Δαμασκοῦ δυνάμεις συναθροίσας ἱκανὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐστρατεύσατο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις πρὸς τοῦτον πλῆθος οὐκ εἶχε, βουλὴν ἐβουλεύσατο οὐ τοῦτον ἀνδρείαν ὀπόσον συνετήν. Θαρρήσας γὰρ τοῖς ἐντοπίοις ἔφη ὡς· “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦ κάστρου παμμεγέθους ὄντος ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ κρυβήσομαι· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὀπηνίκα ὁ Ἀταπάκας καταλάβῃ, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς μὴ ὁμολογήσητε, πτοηθέντα δὲ με φυγάδα γενέσθαι διαβεβαιώσατε”. 5. Καταλαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀταπάκας καὶ ἐρωτήσας περὶ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη, ἐπεὶ ἀποδεδρακέναι τοῦτον ἐπίστευσε, κεκμηκῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιορίας ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήξατο. Τῶν δὲ ἐντοπίων πᾶσαν φιλοφροσύνην εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνδεικνυμένων, τεθαρρηκότες οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ὑποτοπάσαντες τοὺς ἰδίους ἵππους πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἔλυσαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγγέλης μέσης ἡμέρας τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν τὰς ἀκτῖνας βάλλοντος καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτόν (εἰς τετρακοσίους δὲ περίσταντο) αἴφνης τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας διὰ μέσης τῆς αὐτῶν παρεμβολῆς ὤρμησεν. Ὅποῖο μὲν οὖν ἐκθύμως εἰώθασιν μάχεσθαι, τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἀφειδήσαντες τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἰστάμενοι ἀνεδέξαντο πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φυγαδεύειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπεπειρῶντο πραγματεύεσθαι σωτηρίαν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πεδιάδος εὐρὺ καὶ τὸ μὴ τι ἔλος παρακεῖσθαι ἢ βουνὸν ἢ φάραγγα ταῖς τῶν Λατίνων χερσὶν ἅπαντας παραδέδωκεν. Ἐνθεν τοὶ καὶ παρανάλωμα ξιφῶν πάντες γεγόνασιν· ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ κατεσχέθησαν. Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν Τούρκων καταστρατηγήσας κατὰ τῆς Τριπόλεως χωρεῖ. 6. Ἄνεῖσι γοῦν κατευθὺ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν τοῦ ἀντικρῦ Τριπόλεως διακειμένου βουνοῦ, μέρους ὄντος τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὡς ὀχύρωμα τοῦτον ἔχειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου καταρρέον ὕδωρ εἰς Τρίπολιν διὰ τοῦ πρानοῦς τοῦ τοιοῦτου βουνοῦ ἐπισχεῖν. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὰ συμβάντα δηλώσας ἠτεῖτο ἐρμυνότατόν τι ὀχύρωμα γενέσθαι πρὸ τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσάν δυνάμεις πλείονας καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῷ δουκὶ Κύπρου τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολιχνίου κτίσιν ἀνέθετο, ἐπισκήψας ἵνα διὰ τοῦ

Eumathius, at that time Duke of Cyprus; and go on further and do his best to get possession of the other forts by fighting. And this he did in obedience to the Emperor's letter. After having handed over the forts to the men mentioned above he went to Antaradus, and made himself master of it without fighting. Directly this came to the ears of Atapacas of Damascus he gathered a large supply of troops and marched to meet him. As Isangeles had not sufficient forces to face such a number, he conceived a plan which was more clever than courageous. For he said boldly to the inhabitants, “As this fortress is very large, I will hide myself in some corner; and when Atapacas arrives, you must not tell him the truth, but assure him that I fled because I was frightened.”

5. So when Atapacas arrived and asked about Isangeles, he believed the story that he had run away, and being weary from his journey pitched his camp close to the walls. As the inhabitants showed him every kindness, the Turks felt safe and, not suspecting any hostile action, they turned their horses loose into the plain. One day at noon when the sun cast its rays vertically, Isangeles, strongly armed, and his men with him (these were about four hundred) suddenly threw open the gates and dashed right into the middle of their camp. Those of the Turks who were accustomed to fighting bravely did not spare their lives but stood up to him, and submitted to a battle; the rest tried to secure their own safety by flight. Owing to the width of the plain and its not being broken by any marsh or hill or ravine, the Latins were able to overpower them all. Thus all fell victims to the sword, only a few were captured. After overcoming the Turks by this stratagem, he marched to Tripolis.

6. Immediately on arrival he went up and seized the summit of the hill (which is a branch of Lebanon) opposite Tripolis, in order to have his fortified camp there and also to divert the water which flowed down the slopes of this hill to Tripolis. He then wrote a report to the Emperor of what he had accomplished, and begged him to have a well-fortified stronghold [p. 288] built there before more troops arrived from Chorosan and overwhelmed him. The Emperor entrusted the Duke of Cyprus with the erection of such a fort and ordered him to dispatch the fleet quickly

στόλου πάντα τὰ συνοίσοντα ταχέως ἐξαποστέλλη καὶ τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον πολίχνιον οἰκοδομήσοντας ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης ὑποδείξειε τόπον. Γέγονε τοῦτο τῷ τέως. 7. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰσαγγέλης ἐξώθεν τῆς Τριπόλεως στρατοπεδεύσάμενος πάντα κάλων κινῶν περὶ τὴν ταύτης ἄλωσιν οὐκ ἐνεδίδου. Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμούντος τὴν τοῦ Τζιντζιλούκη εἰσέλευσιν εἰς Λαοδικεῖαν μεμαθηκῶς τὴν ἔχθραν, ἣν πάλαι κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγκυμονήσας εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἐξαγαγὼν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀποχρώσης τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Ταγγρὲ κατὰ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐκπέμπει ταύτην πολιορκήσοντα. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τούτου φήμης μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη διαδραμούσης ἀκοάς, εὐθύς μὴδὲ μικρόν τι μελλήσας οὗτος καταλαμβάνει τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν καὶ λόγους συνείρει πρὸς τὸν Ταγγρὲ διὰ παντοίων λόγων συμβουλευὼν αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ κάστρου πολιορκίας ἀποσχέσθαι. Ὡς δὲ πολλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινολογούμενος καταπειθῆ τοῦτον οὐχ εὔρισκεν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἄηδειν ἐδόκει παρὰ κωφῷ, ἐκεῖθεν παλινοστήσας καταλαμβάνει αὐθις τὴν Τρίπολιν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδοπωσοῦν τῆς πολιορκίας ἀφίστατο. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Τζιντζιλούκης τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ Ταγγρὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν στενῷ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν συνελαύνεται, βοήθειαν ἐκεῖθεν ἠτεῖτο. Βραδυνόντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐλθὼν τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ πιεζόμενος, προδοῦναι τὸ κάστρον ἠρετίσατο

with all the requisites and also the masons to build this fort on the spot Isangeles signified to them.

7. This was done while Isangeles was encamped outside Tripolis and never ceased straining every nerve to take it. On the other hand, when Boheimund was informed of Tzintziluces' entry into Laodicea, the enmity which he had so long fostered against the Emperor, burst out openly, and he sent his nephew Tancred with a considerable army to besiege Laodicea. A rumour of this had hardly come to Isangeles' hearing before, without the slightest delay, he rushed to Laodicea and opened negotiations with Tancred, and by various arguments tried to persuade him to desist from besieging the town. But when after a long colloquy he found he could not move him, and only seemed to be 'singing to a deaf man,' he departed and went back again to Tripolis. And the other did not relax the siege in the slightest; consequently when Tzintziluces saw Tancred's determination, and he and his were being reduced to straits, he asked for help from there (or from Cyprus). But the authorities in Cyprus were dilatory, and, as he was now very hard beset both by the siege and the pressure of famine, he elected to surrender the town.

## §8

1. Τούτων οὕτω τελουμένων, ἐπεὶ τετελευτηκότος τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ ἕτερον ἔδει πάλιν ρῆγα γενέσθαι τὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀναπληροῦντα τόπον, εὐθύς οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Λατῖνοι μετεκαλοῦντο τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην ἀπὸ Τριπόλεως ρῆγα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ποιῆσαι ἐθέλοντες. Ὁ δὲ ἀνεβάλλετο τέως τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἀπέλευσιν. Εἰσελθόντος οὖν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, ἐπεὶ ἀναβαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγνώκεσαν, μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν Βαλδουῖνον περὶ τὴν Ἔδεσαν τότε ἐνδιατρίβοντα ρῆγα Ἱεροσολύμων κατέστησαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην ἀσμένως ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ τὸν Βαλδουῖνον μεμαθήκοι τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, παρακατεῖχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὀπηνίκα καὶ τὸ τῶν Νορμάνων φοσσάτον κατέλαβεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχον ἀδελφοὺς δύο Φλάντρας καλουμένους. 2. Οἷς πολλὰ πολλάκις ὁ βασιλεὺς συμβουλευόμενος τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι φοσσάτοις ὁδεῦσαι καὶ διὰ τῶν παραλίων τὰ

1. During the course of these events Godfrey died and, as it was necessary to elect another King to take his place, the Latins in Jerusalem at once sent to Tripolis for Isangeles, intending to make him King of Jerusalem. But he kept on postponing his departure for Jerusalem. Consequently when the Latins in Jerusalem heard he had gone to the metropolis and was lingering there, they sent for Balduinus, who was then at Edessa, and appointed him King of Jerusalem. The Emperor received Isangeles with great pleasure and when he heard that Balduinus had accepted the sovereignty of Jerusalem, he kept him with him. At this time a Norman army arrived whose leaders were two brothers called Flanders.

2. The Emperor repeatedly advised them to travel by the same road as the armies that had gone on before, and to reach Jerusalem by the coast and

Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαβεῖν καὶ οὕτως τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Λατίνων ἐνωθῆναι, πειθομένους τούτους οὐχ εὕρισκεν ἄτε τοῖς Φράγγοις ἐνωθῆναι μὴ βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ὁδεῦσαι ὁδὸν διὰ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ κατευθὺ χωρῆσαι τοῦ Χοροσάν οἰομένους κατασχεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πάντη ἀσύμφορον τοῦτο γινώσκων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν μὴ θέλων τοῦ τούτου λαοῦ (πεντήκοντα γὰρ ἦσαν χιλιάδες ἵππεων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑκατὸν πεζῶν), ἐπεὶ μὴ πειθομένους τούτους εἶρα, τὸν δεῦτερον, ὃ φασι, πλοῦν ἐρχόμενος, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην καὶ τὸν Τζίταν συνεκπέμπει τούτοις ἐφ' ᾧ συμβουλευεῖν τε τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ τῶν παραλόγων ὁρμῶν ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνασειράζειν αὐτούς. Διαπεραιωθέντες οὖν τὸν τῆς Κιβωτοῦ πορθμὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν ἐπειγόμενοι τὴν Ἄγκυραν καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἐφόδου ταύτην κατέσχον. Καὶ οὕτω τὸν Ἄλυν διαβάντες πολίχνιον τι κατέλαβον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον, θαρρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐπενδυθέντες οἱ ἱερεῖς στολὰς εὐαγγέλιόν τε καὶ σταυροὺς κομιζόμενοι ὡς Χριστιανοῖς τούτοις προσήσαν. Οἱ δὲ ἀπανθρώπως καὶ ἀπηνῶς οὐ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀναιροῦσι καὶ ἀφροντίστως τοῦ λοιποῦ ὡς πρὸς Ἀμάσειαν ἀπονεύσαντες τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. **3.** Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι, ἐμπειροπόλεμοι ὄντες, προκαταλαβόντες τὰς κώμας πάσας καὶ τὰ χορτάσματα πάντα ἐνέπρησαν, ἐφθακότες δὲ τούτους ὀξέως προσέβαλον. Δευτέρα δὲ ἦν καθ' ἣν ὑπερίσχυσαν τούτων οἱ Τοῦρκοι. Καὶ τηλικαῦτα αὐτοῦ που κατασκηνώσαντες χάρακά τε πηξάμενοι τὰς σκευὰς ἐναπέθεντο. Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν αὐθις ἄμφω ἐμάχοντο τὰ στρατεύματα. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι κυκλοτερῶς κατασκηνώσαντες οὐ χορταγωγίας χώραν τούτοις ἐδίδουν οὔτε μὴν τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ποτὸν ἐξάγειν συνεχώρουν. Τὴν ἑαυτῶν οὖν πανωλεθρίαν ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἤδη ὁρῶντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἀφειδήσαντες τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν, τετράς δὲ ἦν, καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενοι τὸν μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνεδέξαντο πόλεμον. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι, εἰς χεῖρας τούτους ἔχοντες, οὐκέτι μετὰ τῶν δοράτων οὐδὲ διὰ τόξων πρὸς αὐτούς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι καὶ τῶν κουλεῶν ἐξεγκύσαντες ἀγγέμαχον τὴν μάχην ἐποιοῦντο καὶ παρευθὺ τρέπουσι τοὺς Νορμάνους. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸν ἴδιον χάρακα σύμβουλον ἀνεζήτησαν. **4.** Ὁ δ' ἄριστος αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ τὰ λῶφονα τούτοις ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ μὴ εἰσακουσθεὶς οὐ παρῆν. Λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη καὶ τοῦ Τζίτα γνώμην καταφεύγουσιν,

thus join the rest of the Latin army. But he found that they would not listen as they did not wish to join the Franks, but wanted to travel by another route more to the east and march straight to Chorosan in the hope of taking it. The [p.289] Emperor knew that this plan was quite inexpedient and as he did not wish such a large crowd to perish (for they were fifty thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot) he tried 'the next best thing,' a the saying is, when he found they would not listen to him. He sent for Isangeles and Tzitas and asked them to accompany the Normans, to advise them to their advantage and to restrain them as far as possible in their mad enterprises. After crossing the straits of Gibotus they hastened on to Armenia and on reaching Ancyra took it by assault; next they went over the Halys and reached a small town. This was inhabited by Romans and consequently the citizens feared nothing; the priests clad in their sacred vestments, and carrying the gospel and crosses went out to meet their fellow-Christians. But the Normans in an inhuman and merciless fashion slaughtered not only the priests but the rest of the Christians also, and then quite heedlessly continued their journey, moving in the direction of Amaseia. **3.** But the Turks, long practised in war, seized all the villages and food supplies, and burnt them, and when they caught up with the Normans they attacked them at once. It was on Monday the Turks got the better of them. The Latins fixed their camp on the spot where they were, and deposited their baggage, and the next day both armies met in battle again. The Turks next encamped in a circle round the Latins, and did not allow them to move out either for foraging or even to lead the beasts of burden or horses to water. The Franks now saw destruction staring them in the face, and with utter disregard of their lives, armed themselves strongly the following day (this was Wednesday) and engaged the enemy in battle. The Turks had them in their power, and therefore no longer fought with spears or arrows, but drew their swords and made the battle a hand-to-hand fight and soon routed the Normans, who retreated to their camp, and sought a counsellor.

**4.** But the excellent Emperor to whom they would not listen when he gave them sensible advice, was not at hand, so they appealed to Isangeles and Tzitas for advice, and at the same time enquired

ἅμα δὲ καί, εἰ χώρα τις τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησίον παράκειται, ἐπυρθάνοντο ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτήν. Καὶ δὴ τὰς τε σκευὰς καὶ τὰς σκιναῖς καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν αὐτοῦ που καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἵπποις ἐποηθέντες ὡς εἶχον τάχους πρὸς τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν τοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ καὶ τῆς παυράης ἔθεον. Ἐπεισπεσόντες δ' ἄθροον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τούτων τῷ χάρακι πάντα ἀφείλοντο. Εἶτα κατόπιν τούτων διώξαντες τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν ἐφθακότες ἀνεῖλον· τινὰς δὲ καὶ κατασχόντες πρὸς τὸν Χοροσὰν δεῖγμα ἀπήγαγον. 5. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Τοῦρκων κατὰ τῶν Νορμάνων ἀνδραγαθήματα· ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης καὶ ὁ Τζίτας μετὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὀλίγων ἰππέων τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαμβάνουσι. Δεξάμενος δὲ τούτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ χρήματα δοὺς ἱκανὰ καὶ διαναπαύσας ἤρετο ὅπου τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰρετὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι. Οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπεζήτησαν. Φιλοτιμησάμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς δαψιλῶς διαποντίους ἐκπέμπει τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ τὸ πᾶν ἀναθέμενος. Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης μεγαλοπόλεως ἐξεληθὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα ἀνεζήτει ἀπέλευσιν· καὶ δὴ καταλαμβάνει αὐθις τὴν Τρίπολιν χειρώσασθαι ταύτην γλιχόμενος. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νόσῳ θανασίμῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ πνέων τὰ ἔσχατα, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιὸν Γελιέλμον ὥσπερ τινὰ κληρὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασχθέντα κάστρα τούτῳ ἀπεχαρίσατο, ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ ταγμάτων καταστήσας. Τούτου τοίνυν τὴν τελευταίαν μεμαθηκώς, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Κύπρου διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσεν, ἵνα Νικήταν τὸν Χαλίντζην μετὰ χρημάτων ἱκανῶν πρὸς τὸν Γελιέλμον ἐκπέμψῃ ἐφ' ᾧ ὑποποιήσασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρασκευάσαι ὁμομοκέναι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστιν βεβαίαν φυλάξαι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὅποιαν ὁ ἀποβεβιωκῶς θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ἰσαγγέλης μέχρι τέλους ἐτήρησεν

whether there was any place under the Emperor's jurisdiction near by to which they could repair. They actually left their baggage, tents and all the infantry where they were, and rode off as speedily as they could on their horses to the sea-coast of the Armenian theme and Paurae. Then the Turks made a sudden descent upon the camp and carried off everything and afterwards pursued and overtook the infantry and [p. 290] annihilated them completely, except for a few whom they captured and carried back to Chorosan as specimens. 5. Such were the exploits of the Turks against the Normans; and Isangeles and Tzitas with the few surviving knights reached the capital. The Emperor received them, and gave them plenty of money, and after they were rested asked them whither they wanted to go; and they chose Jerusalem. Accordingly he lavished more presents upon them and sent them by sea, leaving everything to their discretion. But Isangeles on leaving the capital desired to return to his own army and therefore went back to Tripolis, which he longed to subdue. Afterwards he fell a victim to a mortal disease and, when breathing his last, sent for his nephew Gelielmus and bequeathed to him as a species of inheritance all the towns he had conquered and appointed him leader and master of all his troops. When the news of his death was brought to the Emperor, he immediately wrote to the Duke of Cyprus, and ordered him to send Nicetas Chalintzes with plenty of money to Gelielmus in order to propitiate him and influence him to swear on oath that he would maintain unbroken fidelity to the Emperor just as his deceased uncle Isangeles had preserved his to the end.

## §9

1. Εἶτα μεμαθηκῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὴν τῆς Λαοδικείας παρὰ τοῦ Ταγγρὲ κατάσχεσιν πρὸς τὸν Βαῖμοῦντον γράμματα ἐκτίθεται οὕτως περιέχοντα· “Τὰ ὄρκια οἶδας καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἃς οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησαντο. Νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς πρῶτος παρασπονδήσας τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέσχευε καὶ ἄλλα τα φρούρια ὑποποιήσάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν. Ἀπόστηθι τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, δίκαιόν τι

1. Soon the Emperor learnt of the seizure of Laodicea by Tancred, and therefore sent a letter to Bohemund which ran as follows: “You know the oaths and promises which not only you but all the Counts took to the Roman Empire. Now you were the first to break them, by retaining possession of Antioch, and then taking more fortresses and even Laodicea itself. Therefore withdraw from Antioch and all the other cities and do what is just and right, and do not provoke more wars

πρᾶγμα ποιῶν, καὶ μὴ θέλε πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ μάχας κατὰ σαυτοῦ ἐρεθίζειν.” Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμοῦντος τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑπαναγνοὺς γραφάς, ἐπειδὴ μὴ τῷ συνήθει ψεύδει χρήσασθαι οἷός τε ἦν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριδῆλως τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐλεγχόντων, πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα τῷ φαινομένῳ κατένευσεν, αἰτίαν μέντοι τῶν κακῶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων εἶναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔλεγε, γράψας ὡς: “Οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτων αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ σύ. Ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ κατόπιν ἡμῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔρχεσθαι πολλῆς, οὐκ ἠθέλησας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἔργοις πιστώσασθαι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶ μῆσι πολλὰ μογήσαντες πρὸς πολεμίους ἀπεμαχόμεθα καὶ λιμόν, οἷον οὐδεὶς πῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τεθέαται, ὡς τοὺς πλείστους ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀπηγορευμένων κρεῶν βεβρωκέναί. Ἐφ’ ἱκανὸν δὲ ἐγκαρτερούντων ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δοθεὶς ἡμῖν εἰς ἀρωγὴν πιστότατος οἰκέτης τοῦ σοῦ κράτους Τατίκιος οὕτω κινδυνεύοντας καταλιπὼν ἡμᾶς ὤηχετο. Εἴλομεν δὲ τὴν πόλιν παραδόξως καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσᾶν εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων καταλαβούσας δυνάμεις κατετροπώσαμεθα. Καὶ πῶς δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄπερ οἰκείοις ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις ἐκτησάμεθα, ῥαδίως οὕτως ἀποποιήσασθαι...” **2.** Ὑποστρεψάντων δ’ ἐκεῖθεν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς τὰς τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντου ὑпанέγνω γραφάς, διαγνοὺς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αὐθις εἶναι τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον μὴδ’ ὅπως οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβληθέντα, δεῖν ἔγνω τῶν ὀρίων τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον αὐτοῦ ὁρμὴν ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνακόπτειν. Δυνάμεις τοίνυν πολλὰς μετὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου κατὰ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὸ ἐλλογιμώτατον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου, ἄνδρας μαχιμωτάτους καὶ ἄρεως ὑπασπιστὰς ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Βάρδαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Μιχαήλ, ἀκμάζοντας καὶ ἀρτιφυεῖς τὸ γένειον. Οὓς νηπιόθεν προσλαβόμενος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὰ στρατωτικά ἐκπαιδεύσας ὡς εὐνουστέρους τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ παραδίδωσι μεθ’ ἐτέρων χιλίων ἀνδρῶν γενναίων Κελτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐφ’ ᾧ συμπαρομαρτεῖν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπέικειν ἐν ἅπασιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τυχόν τῶν καθ’ ὥραν ξυμπιπτόντων δι’ ἀπορρήτων γραμμάτων δηλοῦν αὐτῷ. Ἔσπευδε δὲ τὴν ἅπασαν χώραν τῆς Κιλικίας κατασχεῖν, ἵν’ ἐντεῦθεν ῥᾶον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐξαρτῆ. **3.** Ἀπάρας οὖν ὁ Βουτουμίτης σὺν ὅλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀττάλου ἐφθακῶς, ἐπεὶ τὸν Βάρδαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Μιχαήλ μὴ ὑπέικοντας ἐώρα τῷ τούτου θελήματι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν συμβαίῃ στασιάζειν κακὰ τούτου

and troubles for yourself.” Now Bohemund after reading the Emperor’s letter could not reply by a falsehood, as he usually did, for the facts openly declared the truth, outwardly he assented to it, but put the blame for all the wrong he had done upon the Emperor and wrote to him thus, “It is not I, but you, who are the cause of all this. For you promised you would follow us with a large army, but you never thought of making good your promise by deeds. When we reached Antioch we fought for three months under great difficulty both against the enemy and against famine, which was more severe than had ever been experienced before, with the result that most of us ate of the very foods which are forbidden by law. We endured for a long time and while [291] we were in this danger even Taticius, your Majesty’s most loyal servant, whom you had appointed to help us, went away and left us to our danger. Yet we captured Antioch unexpectedly and utterly routed the troops which had come from Chorosan to succour Antioch. In what way would it be just for us to deprive ourselves willingly of what we gained by our own sweat and toil?”

**2.** When the envoys returned from him the Emperor recognized from the reading of his letter that he was still the same Bohemund and in no wise changed for the better, and therefore decided that he must protect the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and as far as possible, check his impetuous advance. Accordingly he sent Butumites into Cilicia with numerous forces and the pick of the military roll, all very warlike men and devotees of Ares, amongst them too Bardas and the chief cup-bearer Michael, both in the flower of youth with beards newly-grown. These two the Emperor had taken to himself from childhood and trained thoroughly in military science; he now gave them to Butumites as being more loyal than the rest besides another thousand men of noble birth, Franks and Romans, mixed, who were to accompany him and obey him in everything and also acquaint him himself by secret letters of the hourly happenings. His desire was to subdue the whole province of Cilicia and thus more easily carry out his designs upon Antioch. **3.** Butumites started with all his forces and reached the city of Attalus; there he noticed that Bardas and the chief cup-bearer, Michael, would not comply with his wishes and to prevent the whole army perhaps mutinying, and all his labour being in vain, and

κενόςπουδος ἢ σπουδὴ τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ γένηται καὶ ἄπρακτος τῆς Κιλικίας ἀποπεμφθεὶ, παραχρῆμα τὰ περὶ τούτων δηλοῖ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν συνδιατριβὴν παραιτούμενος. Ὁ δὲ, τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἰωθυίας γίνεσθαι βλάβας γινώσκων, γοργῶς ἐφ' ἐτέραν ὑπόθεσιν τούτους τε καὶ ὁπόσους ὑπόπτους εἶχε διὰ γραμμάτων προὔτρέπετο, ἵνα τὴν Κύπρον τάχιον καταλαβόντες τῷ Εὐφορβηνῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τὴν δουκικὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου Κύπρου ἀναδεξαμένῳ, συνόντες ἐν πάσιν ὑπέικωσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως τὰ γράμματα δεξάμενοι θάττον πρὸς τὴν Κύπρον διαπλώζονται· μικρὸν οὖν χρόνον μετὰ τοῦ δουκὸς Κύπρου ἐνδιατρίψαντες τῇ συνήθει ἀναισχυντία καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέκρητο. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ λοξὸν αὐτοὺς ὑπεβλέπετο. Οἱ δὲ νεανίαί, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ αὐτοὺς κηδεμονίας μεμνημένοι, διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γραμμάτων τοῦ δουκὸς πολλὰ κατέτρεχον τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀνακαλούμενοι. Ἀναπτύξας δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν γραφὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τινὰς τῶν τῆς μείζονος τύχης, ὅσους ὑπόπτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἶχε, σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε, πτοηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ λύπης ἴσως συναπαχθῶσιν ἐκείνοις, εὐθὺς τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ ἐπέσκηψεν ἀναλαβέσθαι τούτους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ὅς φθάσας εἰς Κυρήνηαν καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος τούτους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνελάβετο. 4. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτων, τοῦ Βάρδα φημί καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαιονοχοῦ Μιχαήλ· ὁ δὲ γε Βουτουμίτης μετὰ τοῦ Μοναστρᾶ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καταλειφθέντων λογάδων ἡγεμόνων τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐφθακῶς, ὡς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους εὔρε σπεισαμένους μετὰ τοῦ Ταγγρέ, παραδραμῶν τούτους καὶ τὸ Μαρᾶσιν καταλαβὼν κατέσχευεν αὐτό, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας ἀπάσας κωμοπόλεις καὶ τὰ πολίχνια. Καὶ ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις εἰς φρουρὰν τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν μιζοβάρβαρον καταλιπὼν Μοναστρᾶν, περὶ οὗ ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἐμέμνητο, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανέστρεψεν.

his being obliged to return from Cilicia without accomplishing anything, he at once wrote to the Emperor full details about these men, and asked to be relieved of their company. The Emperor vividly aware of the harm that is wont to result from such beginnings, turned them and the others he suspected into another direction by writing to them to go to Cyprus with all speed and join Constantine Euphorbenus, who held the position of Duke of Cyprus at the time, and obey him in everything. On receiving the letters they gladly embarked for Cyprus. But after they had been a short time with the Duke of Cyprus, they began their usual impudence with him, in consequence of which he looked upon them askance. But the young men mindful of the Emperor's affection for them wrote to the Emperor and ran down Euphorbenus, and asked to be recalled to Constantinople. After perusing their letters the Emperor, [292] who had sent several of the richer men (of whom he was suspicious) with these two to Cyprus, was afraid lest these might from annoyance join the two in rebellion, and straightway enjoined Cantacuzenus to go and bring them back with him. Directly Cantacuzenus arrived in Cyrenea he sent for them and took them back. 4. This is what happened to those two, I mean Bardas and the chief cup-bearer Michael. Butumites meanwhile with Monastras and the picked officers who remained with him, reached Cilicia and found that the Armenians had already concluded a truce with Tancred. So he passed them by and seized Marasin and all the neighbouring villages and forts; then he left the semi-barbarian Monastras (who has often been mentioned in this history) as governor with sufficient troops to protect the whole country, and himself returned to the capital.

## §10

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξερχόμενοι οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς κατάσχεσιν τῶν πόλεων Συρίας ὑπέσχοντο τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πίσεως ἰκανά, εἰ τούτοις συνάρηται πρὸς τὸν προκειμένον αὐτοῖς σκοπόν, ὁ δὲ καταπειθὴς τοῖς λόγοις τούτων γεγωνὸς καὶ ἐτέρους δύο τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκούντων ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρεθίσας οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλίσας διήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δρόμωνα

1. When the Franks moved out of Jerusalem to take the cities of Syria, they promised the Bishop of Pisa large rewards, if he would assist them in their proposed object. He agreed to their request and stirred up two others who dwelt on the coast to do the same; and then without any delay equipped biremes and triremes and 'dromones' and other fast-sailing ships amounting to nine

καὶ ἕτερα τῶν ταχυδρόμων πλοίων εἰς ἑνακόσια περιστάμενα ἔξεισιν ὡς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπερχόμενος. Ἰκανὰ δὲ τούτων ἀποτεμόμενος εἰς προνομήν τῆς Κορυφοῦς, τῆς Λευκάδος, τῆς Κεφαληνίας καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου ἀπέστειλε.

**2.** Ταῦτα μανθάνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν χωρῶν προσέταξε γενέσθαι πλοῖα. Καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἱκανὰ κατασκευάζων, ἐκ διαλειμμάτων εἰς μονῆρες εἰσερχόμενος ἐπέσκηπτε τοῖς κατασκευάζουσιν ὅπως χρῆ ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Γινώσκων δὲ τοὺς πισσαίους τοῦ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν πολέμου ἐπιστήμονας καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην, ἐν ἐκάστη πρῶρα τῶν πλοίων διὰ χαλκῶν καὶ σιδήρων λεόντων καὶ ἄλλοίων χερσαίων ζῶων κεφαλὰς μετὰ στομάτων ἀνεωγμένων κατασκευάσας, χρυσῶ τε περιστείλας αὐτὰ ὡς ἐκ μόνης θέας φοβερὸν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ διὰ τῶν στρεπτῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων μέλλον ἀφίεσθαι πῦρ διὰ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε διέναι, ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν τοιούτων ζῶων τοῦτο ἐξερεῦγεσθαι. Οὕτω γοῦν ταῦτα κατασκευάσας, μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν Τατίκιον ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας νεωστὶ παραγενόμενον, αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα πλοῖα παραδεδωκῶς περιφανεστάτην κεφαλὴν ὠνόμασε· τῷ δὲ γε Λαντούλφῳ τὸν ἅπαντα στόλον ἀναθέμενος, μέγαν δοῦκα προὔβαλετο ὡς τῆς ναυμαχίας εἰδήμονα ἄριστον.

**3.** Ἐξελθόντες οὖν τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως μηνὸς παριππεύοντος Ἀπριλλίου μετὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου τὴν Σάμον κατέλαβον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τῇ χέρσῳ προσορμίσαντες ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον ἐπὶ τῷ διὰ τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἐπὶ πλέον ἀσφαλισαμένους κατοχυρῶσαι αὐτά. Μεμαθηκότες δὲ τὴν τοῦ πισσαϊκοῦ στόλου διέλευσιν τὰ πρυμνήσια λύσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἔθεον ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κῶ. Πρώας δὲ τῶν πισσαίων ἐκεῖσε καταλαβόντων ἐσπέρας οὗτοι ταύτην κατέλαβον. Μὴ ἐντετυχηκότες δὲ τοῖς πισσαίοις ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν Κνίδον περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον τῆς ἀνατολῆς διακειμένην. Κεῖθι δὲ παραγενόμενοι, ὡς τῆς ἄγρας ἠστόχουν, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐφευρηκότες τῶν πισσαίων αὐτοῦ που καταλειφθέντας ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅπου ὁ πισσαϊκὸς ἐξώρμησε στόλος· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔφασαν. Καὶ παραχρῆμα λύσαντες τὰ πρυμνήσια θᾶπτον τούτους κατέλαβον μετὰ πατάρων καὶ Ῥόδου. Τούτους δ' οἱ πισσαῖοι θεασάμενοι μόθου παραντίκα σχῆμα διατυπώσαντες πρὸς μάχην οὐ τὰ ξίφη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς καρδίας ἔθηγον. Ἐπικαταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου κόμης τις πελοποννήσιος περιχύτης καλούμενος

hundred and sailed forth to meet them. He detached a number of the ships and sent them to pillage Corfu, Leucas, Cephalenia and Zacynthus.

**2.** On hearing this the Emperor ordered ships to be furnished by all the countries under the Roman sway. He had a number built in the capital itself and would at intervals go round in a monoreme and instruct the shipwrights how to make them. As he knew that the Pisans were skilled in sea-warfare and dreaded a battle with them, on the prow of each ship he had a head fixed of a lion or other land-animal, made in brass or iron with the mouth open and then gilded over, so that their mere aspect was terrifying. And the fire which was to be directed against the enemy through tubes he made to pass through the mouths of the beasts, so that it seemed as if the lions and the other similar monsters were vomiting the fire. In this manner then these ships were prepared; he next sent for Taticius, newly returned from Antioch, and gave him these ships and named him their supreme head. But the whole fleet he put under the command of Landulph and raised him to the dignity of Great Duke, as he was the most experienced in naval warfare.

**3.** They left the capital in the course of the month of April and sailed to [293] Samos with the Roman fleet. There they disembarked and hauled the ships up on land in order to make them stronger and more durable by tarring them over. But when they heard that the Pisan fleet had sailed past, they heaved up their anchors and hurried after them towards Cos; and reached that island in the evening while the Pisans had reached it in the morning. As they did not meet the Pisans they sailed to Cnidus which lies on the Eastern Continent. On arriving there, although they missed their prey, yet they found a few Pisans who had been left behind and enquired of them whither the Pisan fleet had gone, and they answered 'to Rhodes.' So they immediately loosed their cables and soon overtook them between Patara and Rhodes. When the Pisans caught sight of them they speedily arranged their fleet in battle-order and whetted their minds, as well as their swords, for the fray. As the Roman fleet was drawing near, a certain Peloponnesian count, Perichytes by name, and a very expert navigator, had his ship of a single bank of oars

ναυλοχεῖν ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος, ὡς τούτους ἐθεάσατο, ταῖς κόπαις τὸ ἴδιον περώσας μονῆρες ὡς εἶχε κατ' αὐτῶν ἴεται. Καὶ διὰ μέσου τούτων ὡς πῦρ διελθὼν εἰς τὸν ῥωμαϊκὸν αὐθις ἐπανέστρεφε στόλον. 4. Ὁ μέντοι ῥωμαϊκὸς στόλος οὐκ εὐτάκτως τῆς μετὰ τῶν πισσαίων μάχης ἀπεπειρᾶτο, ἀλλ' ὀξέως καὶ ἀσυντάκτως τούτοις προσέβαλε. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λαντοῦλφος, πρῶτος προσπελάσας ταῖς πισσαϊκαῖς ναυσίν, τὸ πῦρ ἔβαλε καὶ οὐδὲν τι πλέον εἰργάσατο τοῦ πυρὸς σκεδασθέντος. Ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος Ἐλεήμων κόμης, ἀναισχύντως μεγίστῳ πλοίῳ κατὰ πρύμναν προσβαλὼν, τοῖς πηδαλίοις τούτου περιπεσὼν καὶ μὴ εὐχερῶς ἔχων ἐκεῖθεν διαπλώσασθαι, κατεσχέθη ἄν εἰ μὴ γοργῶς πρὸς τὴν σκευὴν ἀπεῖδε καὶ πῦρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφείδεν οὐκ ἄστοχα ἔβαλεν. Εἶτα τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ θάτερα γοργῶς μεταφέρον καὶ ἐτέρας παρακρήμα τρεῖς μεγίστας ἐπυρπόλει τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα καὶ συστροφὴ ἀνέμου τὴν θάλατταν ἀθρόον ἐπισπεσοῦσα διετάραττε τὰς τε ναῦς συνέτριβε καὶ μονοῦ βυθίζειν ἠπειλεῖ (ἐρρόχθει γὰρ τὸ κῦμα, ἐτετρίγεσαν αἱ κερααῖαι τὰ θ' ἰστία διερρήγγυντο), ἐκδειμαθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ πεμπόμενον πῦρ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθάδες ἦσαν τοιούτων σκευῶν ἢ πυρὸς ἄνω μὲν φύσει τὴν φορὰν ἔχοντος, πεμπομένου δ' ἐφ' ἃ βούλεται ὁ πέμπων κατὰ τε τὸ πρᾶνὲς πολλακίς καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα), τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου κλύδωνος συγχυθέντες τὸν νοῦν φυγαδείας ἦσαντο. 5. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὁ δὲ τοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου νησιδίῳ τινὶ προσώκειεν οὕτως πῶς καλουμένῳ Σεύτλῳ. Αὐγαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες τῆ Ῥόδῳ προσώρμισαν. Τῶν πλοίων οὖν ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ὅσους ἔφθασαν κατασχέειν καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τοῦ Βαϊμόντου ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἐξεδειμάτουν αὐτοὺς ὡς μέλλοντες τιμῆς πάντας ἀπεμπολεῖν ἢ κατασφάττειν. Ὡς δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτους πρὸς τοῦτο ἑώρων αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀπεμπόλησιν ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθεμένους, εὐθὺς ξίφους παρανάλωμα πεποιήκασιν. 6. Οἱ δὲ γε περιλειφθέντες τοῦ πισσαϊκοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὸ τὰς παρατυχοῦσας νήσους καὶ τὴν Κύπρον λήζεσθαι ἀπέβλεψαν· ἐνθα τυχὼν ὁ Φιλοκάλης Εὐμάθιος κατ' αὐτῶν ἴεται. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς δειλῶς συσχεθέντες μὴδὲ τοῦ ἐξιόντος προνομῆς χάριν ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αὐτῶν λαοῦ πεφροντικότες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείονας περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔασαντες, ἀσυντάκτως οὕτω λύσαντες τὰ πρυμνήσια πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ἀπέπλεον τὸν Βαϊμόντον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες. Καὶ δὴ καὶ καταλαβόντες προσελήλυθεσάν τε αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην

rowed very quickly against the Pisans directly he saw them; and he passed right through the midst of them like fire, and then returned to the Roman fleet. 4. The Roman fleet however did not venture upon a regular sea-battle with the Pisans, but made a series of swift, irregular attacks upon them. Landulph himself, first of all, drew close to the Pisan ships and threw fire at them, but aimed badly and thus accomplished nothing but wasting his fire. Then the man called Count Eleemon very boldly attacked the largest vessel at the stern, but got entangled in its rudders, and as he could not free himself easily he would have been taken, had he not with great presence of mind had recourse to his machine and poured fire upon the enemy very successfully. Then he quickly turned his ship round and set fire on the spot to three more of the largest barbarian ships. At the same moment a squall of wind suddenly struck the sea and churned it up and dashed the ships together and almost threatened to sink them (for the waves roared, the yard arms creaked and the sails were split). The barbarians now became thoroughly alarmed, firstly because of the fire directed upon them (for they were not accustomed to that kind of machine, nor to a fire, which naturally flames upwards, but in this case was directed in whatever direction the sender desired, often downwards or laterally) and secondly they were much upset by the storm, and consequently they fled. 5. That is what the barbarians did. The Roman fleet for its part ran to a little island, [294] locally called Seutlus, and when day dawned sailed away from there and entered the harbour of Rhodes. There they disembarked and led out all the prisoners they had succeeded in taking, amongst them Bohemund's nephew, and tried to frighten them by saying they would either sell them as slaves or kill them. As they noticed the prisoners were quite unmoved by these threats and thought nothing of slavery, they slaughtered them all on the spot. 6. The survivors of the Pisan fleet turned their attention to pillaging whatever islands they touched and especially Cyprus; Philocales Eumathius happened to be there and advanced against them. At this the sailors were so distraught by fear that they did not even give a thought to the men who had gone away from the ships for foraging, but left the greater number on the island, hurriedly loosed their cables and sailed away to Laodicea to Bohemund. When the sailors who had been left on the island to collect plunder



ἀσπάζεσθαι ἔλεγον· ὁ δέ, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος, ἀσμένως αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ περὶ τὴν ἡῶνα καταλειφθέντες λαφυραγωγίας ἔνεκα ὑποστρέψαντες τὸν ἴδιον στόλον οὐχ ἐώρων, ἔρριπτον ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἀπεπνίγοντο. 7. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου θαλασσοκράτορες καὶ αὐτὸς δὴ ὁ Λαντοῦλφος καταλαβόντες τὴν Κύπρον συνεληλυθότες περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπερωτᾶν ἐβουλεύοντο. Πάντων οὖν ὁμογνωμονησάντων πρὸς τοῦτο, στέλλεται ὁ Βουτουμίτης πρὸς τὸν Βαῖμουῦντον. Τοῦτον οὖν θεασάμενος καὶ παρακατασχὼν ἐπὶ ὄλαις πέντε καὶ δέκα ἡμέραις, ἐπεὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν καὶ λιμὸς κατελήφει καὶ ὁ Βαῖμουῦντος αὐτῆς Βαῖμουῦντος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἠλλοίωτο οὔτε μὴν εἰρηνεύειν ἐμεμαθήκει, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν φησιν· “Οὐ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ εἰρήνην αὐτὸς ἐνταυθοῖ παραγέγονας, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐμπρήσαι ναῦς. Ἄπιθι τοίνυν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ σοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνακρωτηρίαστον τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀπολυθῆναι.”

8. Ἀπάρας οὖν ἐκεῖθεν καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαντας περὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆς Κύπρου. Καὶ τὴν Βαῖμουῦντου πονηρὰν γνώμην ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν μηνυμάτων διαγνόντες καὶ ὡς ἀδύνατον σπείσασθαι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες, ὅλοις ιστίοις τὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ὕγραν ὑπέπλεον κέλευθον. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Συκὴν τρικυμίας μεγάλης καὶ κλύδωνος διεγερθέντος σφοδροῦ τὰ πλοῖα τῆ χέρσῳ προσραγέντα ἡμίθραυστα πάντα γεγόνασι πληγὴν τῶν νηῶν ὧν ἐξῆρχεν ὁ Τατίκιος. 9. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν πισσαϊκὸν στόλον ᾧδὲ πη προκεχωρήκει· ὁ δὲ Βαῖμουῦντος φύσει πονηρότατος ὧν ἐδεδίει, μὴ τὸ Κούρικον ὁ βασιλεὺς προκατάσχη καὶ στόλον ῥωμαϊκὸν τῷ λιμένι προσορμίσας φυλάττη μὲν τὴν Κύπρον, ἀπείργη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας διὰ τῆς παραλίας τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέλλοντας ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμάχους. Ταῦτα οὖν λογιζόμενος αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἀνοικοδομήσαι καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασχεῖν ἐβουλεύετο. Πόλις γὰρ πρότερον οὔσα ἐρυμνοτάτη τὸ Κούρικον ἐν ὑστέροις ἔφθασεν ἐριπωθῆναι χρόνοις. Ὁ δὲ γε αὐτοκράτωρ, ταῦτα προμηθευσάμενος καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ προκαταλάβων, πέμπει τὸν ἐκτομίαν Εὐστάθιον, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κανικλείου ἀξίας μέγαν δρουγγάριον τοῦ στόλου προχειρισάμενος, ἐπισκήσας αὐτῷ σπεῦσαι καταλαβεῖν τὸ Κούρικον καὶ διὰ τάχους ἀνοικοδομήσαι τε αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Σελεύκειαν στάδια ἕξ τούτου ἀφισταμένην καὶ δύναμιν ἀποχρῶσαν καταλιπεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς δοῦκα δὲ προχειρίσασθαι Στρατήγιον τὸν Στραβόν, ἄνδρα μικρὸν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ταῖς δὲ

returned and did not see their own fleet, they threw themselves into the sea in desperation, and were drowned.

7. The commanders of the Roman fleet including Landulph himself met in Cyprus and decided to make overtures for peace. As all agreed to this, Butumites was sent to Bohemund. The latter saw him and detained him quite fifteen days, then famine oppressed Laodicea, and as Bohemund was still Bohemund and not changed at all, and had not learnt to speak words of peace, he sent for Butumites and said, “You did not come here for the sake of peace or of friendship, but in order to set fire to my ships. Be gone now; and you have reason to be thankful that you get away from here unharmed.”

8. So he sailed away and found the men who had sent him in the harbour of Cyprus. From his report they recognized more fully Bohemund's wicked disposition, and the impossibility of peace being made between him and the Emperor, so they left Cyprus and with all sails set they sailed over the watery ways to the capital. But opposite Syce a great tempest and violent sea arose and the ships were dashed on shore and half-broken, all except those Taticius commanded. 9. Such were the events connected with the Pisan fleet. Bohemund with his extreme natural astuteness was afraid that the Emperor might proceed to seize Curicum, keep the Roman fleet in its harbour and thus protect Cyprus and at the same time prevent his allies from Lombardy coming to him along the eastern coast. Because of these considerations he decided to rebuild the town himself and occupy the harbour. For [295] Curicum had formerly been a very strongly fortified town, but allowed in later times to fall into ruin. The Emperor had already thought of this and anticipated Bohemund's plan by sending the eunuch Eustathius (whom he promoted from the rank of Canicleius to Great Drungaire of the fleet) with orders to occupy Curicum with all speed. Further he was to rebuild it quickly, and the fort Seleucia as well, which was six stades distant, then leave an adequate garrison in each and appoint Strategius Strabus Duke over them, a man of small body, but of long and varied military experience. He was moreover to have a

πολεμικαῖς ἐμπειρίαῖς πολὺν τε καὶ μέγιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν λιμένα στόλον ἱκανὸν προσορμίσαι καὶ παραγγεῖλαι ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ ἐνεδρεῦναι τοὺς ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας εἰς ἄρωγὴν τοῦ Βαῖμούντου ἐρχομένους, ἐπαρήγειν δὲ καὶ τῇ Κύπρῳ. **10.** Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ ῥηθεις δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου καὶ προκαταλαβὼν τὰ τοῦ Βαῖμούντου διανοήματα ἀνεγείρει μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἀποκαθιστᾶ κατάστασιν. Παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ κατοχυρώσας διὰ τάφρων γυρόθεν δυνάμεις τε ἱκανὰς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις καταλιπὼν μετὰ τοῦ δουκὸς Στρατηγίου κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ στόλον ἀποχρῶντα ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν κατὰ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰσηγήσεις ἐπαναζεύγνυσι πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, καὶ μεγάλως παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπαινεθεὶς δαψιλῶς περιφιλιμῆται.

large fleet at anchor in the harbour and order them to keep a careful look-out for the men coming from Lombardy to Bohemund's aid, and also to help to guard Cyprus.

**10.** So this Drungaire of the fleet I have mentioned went forth, and anticipating Bohemund's intentions, repaired the town and restored it to its former condition. He also rebuilt Seleucia and made it surer by digging trenches all round, and left a good number of troops in each town under the Duke Strategius. Finally he went down to the harbour and left a considerable fleet in it according to the Emperor's instructions and then travelled back to the capital, where he received great commendation from the Emperor and lavish rewards.

## §11

**1.** Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸ Κούρικον· μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀναμαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι καὶ γενούσιος στόλος εἰς συμμαχίαν τῶν Φράγγων ἐξελθεῖν ἐτοιμάζεται, στοχασάμενος ὅτι οὐ μικρᾶς βλάβης παραίτιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἔσονται, τὸν μὲν Καντακουζηνὸν διὰ τῆς ἠπειροῦ μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ Λαντούλφον γοργῶς ἐξοπλίσας μετὰ στόλου διὰ θαλάσσης ἀπέστειλε παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸ τάχος καταλαβεῖν τὰ κατωτικὰ ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μετὰ τῶν Γενουσίων ἐκείσε διερχομένων ἀναδέξασθαι πόλεμον. Τούτων οὖν ἀπελθόντων ἔνθα καὶ προσετάχθησαν, χειμῶν βαρὺς ἐπιέγρονε καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νηῶν συνέβη διαθραυσθῆναι. Ὅσπερ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν χέρσον ἐξεκκύσαντες ἐπιμελῶς τὴν διὰ τῆς ὑγρᾶς πίσεως ἐπίχρισιν ταύταις ἐπέφερον. **2.** Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καντακουζηνός, τὸν τῶν Γενουσίων στόλον περὶ τὰ κατωτικὰ διαπλέοντα ἐγγύς που εἶναι μεμαθηκώς, ὑποτίθεται τῷ Λαντούλφῳ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀναλαβέσθαι (τοσαύτας γὰρ μόνας συνέβη τῷ τότε ἀποπλέειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξεκκυσθεισῶν τῆς θαλάσσης) καὶ ἀπελθόντα κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Μαλέου προσοκεῖλαι αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑποθήκας, καὶ διερχομένων τῶν Γενουσίων, εἰ μὲν τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποθαρροῖη πόλεμον, εὐθὺς τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι μάχην, εἰ δ' οὐ, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν νηυσὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πλωτήρισιν εἰς Κορώνην προσοκεῖλαντι περιποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δ' ἀπελθὼν καὶ τὸν πολὺν στόλον τῶν

**1.** Such then were the doings at Curicum. After the lapse of a year Alexius was informed that the Genoese Fleet was also preparing to enter into alliance with the Franks and foresaw that they would be likely to cause great injury to the Roman Empire. Hence he dispatched Cantacuzenus by land with a considerable force, and Landulph by sea with the fleet which had been hurriedly prepared and ordered him to get to the most southern parts of the coasts as quickly as possible in order to open battle with the Genoese who had to pass there. After these two had departed on the routes indicated, a severe and intolerable storm caught them, by which many of the ships were badly battered. They hauled them up on the dry land again and carefully applied a coating of wet pitch. **2.** Then when Cantacuznus was informed that the Genoese fleet was close at hand sailing southward, he proposed to Landulph to take the eighteen ships (the only ones he then had at sea as the others were drawn up on land) and sail to the promontory of Malea; there to wait, according to the Emperor's advice, and when the Genoese fleet passed to engage them in battle at once if he had the courage [296] to fight with them; but if not, then to secure safety for himself and ships and their crews by landing at Corone. He sailed away and when he saw the large Genoese fleet he abandoned the idea of fighting with them and hastened to Corone.

Γενουσίων θεασάμενος καὶ ἀπαγορεύσας τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην θάπτον τὴν Κορώνην κατέλαβεν. **3.** Ὁ δὲ Καντακουζηνός, τὸν ὅλον ῥωμαϊκὸν στόλον ὡς ἔδει περιποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε συναγαγὼν, ὡς εἶχε τάχους κατόπιν τῶν Γενουσίων ἐδίωκε. Μὴ ἐφθακῶς δέ, τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν κατέλαβε, σπεύδων πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου πολέμους ὅλη γνώμη καὶ χειρὶ ἀποδύεσθαι. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔργου ἀνάμενος, τὸν λιμένα κατέλαβε καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τῆς τειχομαχίας οὐκ ἀφίστατο. **4.** Ὡς δ' ἄπρακτος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔμενε μυριάκις μὲν προσβαλὼν, τοσαυτάκις δ' ἀποτυχὼν καὶ πῆ μὲν ὑποποιοῦμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθε, πῆ δὲ μαχόμενος ἀπετύγχανε, τειχίον τι διὰ ξηρῶν λίθων κυκλοτερῆς δειμάμενος ἀναμεταξὺ τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῶν τειχῶν Λαοδικείας ἐν τρισὶ νυχθημέροις, κᾶκτοτε ὡς ἔρεισμα τοῦτο κτησάμενος, ἕτερον πολίχινον δι' ἐγγυρῆγον ὕλης ἐντὸς τούτου θάπτον ἀνήγειρεν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ὡς ἐξ ὀρμητηρίου τινὸς γενναιότερον τῆς τειχομαχίας ἀντέχοιτο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργους δύο διὰ τοῦ στομίου τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα οἰκοδομήσας, ἄλυσιν σιδηρᾶν διαμπερῆς τούτων εἰσελάσας, δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπετάφρευε τὰς ἴσως ἐλπιζομένας εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκ θαλάττης ναῦς. Ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ θάλατταν πολιχνίων κατέσχε, τό τε Ἀργυρόκαστρον καλούμενον, τὸ Μαρχάπιν, τὰ Γάβαλα καὶ ἄλλα τα μέχρις αὐτῶν συνόρων Τριπόλεως ἐφθακῶς, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν φόρους τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς ἐδίδου, ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πολλοῖς ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπανεσώθησαν. **5.** Ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς δέον λογισάμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ξηρᾶς πολιορκεῖσθαι τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν, γινώσκων ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν δεινὸν Βαϊμούντον καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ μηχανάς, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος δεξιὸς ἦθος ἀνθρώπου ἐν βραχεῖ καταμαθεῖν, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δολερᾶς καὶ ἀποστατικῆς γνώμης κατάληψιν ἀκριβῆ ἔχων, τὸν Μοναστρῶν μετακαλεσάμενος μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀπέστειλεν, ὥστε ἐν ταυτῷ τὸν μὲν Καντακουζηνὸν ἐκ θαλάττης, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἠπείρου πολιορκεῖν τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Μοναστρῶν ἐφθακῆναι τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὸ κάστρον αὐτὸ κατέσχε· τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλᾶ νῦν ἢ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον πεζοὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἵππεῖς ἑκατόν. **6.** Τούτων οὖν τῶν πολιχνίων τὴν κατάσχεσιν ὁ Βαϊμούντος ἀκηκόως, μεμαθηκῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φυλάσσοντος κόμητος τὴν τῆς Λαοδικείας ἀκρόπολιν, ὅτι

**3.** But Cantacuzenus gathered the whole Roman fleet, as was right, and called up all the men who were there with him and then sailed in pursuit of the Genoese as fast as he could. He did not catch them and therefore went to Laodicea as he wished to prosecute the war with Bohemund with all his might and main. And indeed he began his task at once by taking possession of the harbour, and then by day and night he carried on the siege of the town. **4.** However he accomplished nothing, for his countless attacks were as regularly repulsed, and he could neither win over the Franks by persuasive arguments nor gain anything by fighting. Then in three days and nights he built a circular wall of stones without mortar between the sea-shore and the walls of Laodicea, and after that by using this wall as a fortification, he quickly erected a second citadel inside it of such material as came to hand, in order that from this as a base he might carry on the siege more rigorously. He also built two towers on either side of the harbour's mouth and threw an iron chain across from them and by this means erected a bar against the ships which were perhaps expected to come by sea to the succour of the Franks. During this period he took a number of the forts on the coast, the one called Argyrocastron, Marchapin, Gabala and others right up to the confines of Tripolis; these places formerly paid tribute to the Saracens, but in this last year had been regained by the Emperor for the Roman Empire at the cost of much toil and labour. **5.** Now the Emperor considered that Laodicea ought to be besieged from the land-side as well; as he had lengthy experience of Bohemund's wiliness and machinations, and was clever at grasping a man's character in a short time, and had accurate knowledge of the man's treacherous and rebellious nature, he sent for Monastras. Him he dispatched overland with the requisite forces, so that while Cantacuzenus besieged Laodicea by sea, he should do the same on land. Before Monastras arrived, Cantacuzenus had taken possession of the harbour and the town; but the citadel, which it is now the usual custom to call Cula, was still held by five hundred foot-soldiers and one hundred horse of the Franks. **6.** When he learnt of the seizure of these towns, and was also informed by the Count in command of the citadel of Laodicea, [297] that he was in need of food, Bohemund united all his forces to

ἐπιδεῆς ἐστὶ χορτασμάτων, μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων πασῶν <ταῖς> τοῦ τε ἀνεμιοῦ αὐτοῦ Ταγγρὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἐνωθεὶς καὶ βρώσιμα παντοῖα ἐπισάξας ἐν ἡμίονοις καὶ τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χορτάσματα θάπτον εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ κουλά, μετὰ δέ γε τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθὼν τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Τίνα σκοπὸν ἔχων πρὸς οἰκοδομὰς καὶ κτίσεις ἀπέβλεψας ...” Ὁ δέ· “Οἶδας ὅτι δουλείαν ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν αἰρουμένας πόλεις ἐνωμότως παραδοῦναι κατέθεσθε. Εἶτα αὐτὸς καταψευσάμενος τῶν ὀρκίων, ἀθετήσας δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ταυτηνὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, μεταγνοὺς αὐθις κατέσχευε, ὥστε μάτην αὐτὸς ἐνταυθοῖ παρεγενόμεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν αἰρουμένας πόλεις ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι.” Ὁ δὲ Βαϊμοῦντος· “Διὰ χρημάτων ἢ διὰ σιδήρου ταύτας ἐλπίζων ἐξ ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν ἤκεις...” Ὁ δέ· “Τὰ χρήματα οἱ συνεφεπόμενοι ἡμῖν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκθύμῳ ἀγωνίζεσθαι”. Ὁ δὲ Βαϊμοῦντος θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ἔφη· “Ἄτερ χρημάτων ἴσθι ὡς οὐδὲ φρούριον κατασχεῖν δυναθῆς”. Καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν φάλαγγας παρέθηξε μέχρις αὐτῶν πυλῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐξιπάσασθαι. 7. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τὰ τεῖχη τηροῦντες δίκην νιφάδος τοὺς οἴστοις κατὰ τῶν τοῖς τεῖχεσι προσπελαζόντων Φράγγων ἐπαφίεντες μικρὸν τι τοῦτους ἀπώσαντο. Καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας εἰσήλθεν ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Ὑποπεύσας δὲ τὸν φυλάσσοντα κόμητα μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν Κελτῶν, ἕτερον εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστησεν ἐκεῖνους ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελάσας. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν ὄντας ἀμπελώνας ἠρίπωσεν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμποδῶν τοῖς ἰπάζεσθαι μέλλουσι καθεστάναι Λατίνοις. Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω καταστήσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελθὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχου κατέλαβεν· ὁ δέ γε Καντακουζηνὸς οὐκ ἡμέλει παντοίως πολιορκῶν τε καὶ διὰ μυρίων μηχανῶν τε καὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ ἐλεπόλεων, συνταράσσων τοὺς ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Λατίνους. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μοναστρᾶς, διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐρχόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ φοσσάτου, παραλαμβάνει τὴν τε Λογγινιάδα, τὴν Ταρσόν, τὴν Ἄδαναν καὶ τὴν Μάμισταν καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν.

those of his nephew Tancred and Isangeles, loaded mules with all kinds of provisions, reached Laodicea and introduced them into the Cula very expeditiously. Then in an interview with Cantacuzenus, he asked him, “What object had you in view in the erection of these walls and buildings?” He replied, “You know that you all promised service to the Emperor and agreed in accordance with your oath to hand over to him the cities you took. Then you transgressed your oath, disregarded also the terms of peace and after taking this town and handing it over to us, you changed your mind again and kept possession of it, so that my journey hither to take over the towns you had captured, is bootless.” Then Bohemund asked, “Did you come in the expectation of taking these towns from us by money or by the sword?” and the other replied, “The money has been given to our brave followers to make them fight bravely.” Then Bohemund said in a rage, “Let me tell you that you will never be able to take even a tiny fort from us without money.” After that he incited the troops under him to ride right up to the gates of the town. 7. Cantacuzenus' men kept the wall and discharged arrows thick as a snowstorm against the Franks when they approached the walls, and forced them to retreat a little, so Bohemund immediately recalled them all and entered into the Acropolis. And because he suspected the Count in charge of the town and also the Franks under him he appointed another in his place and sent the former away. At this time he also had the vineyards near the walls uprooted, so that they might not be an obstacle in future to the Latins when on horseback. After making these arrangements he left and returned to Antioch. Cantacuzenus on his side did not neglect carrying on the siege in various ways and by numberless machines and devices and siege-engines he greatly disturbed the Latins in the Acropolis. And now Monastras who was coming overland with the cavalry seized Longinias, Tarsus, Adana, Mamista, in fact, the whole of Cilicia

## §12

1. Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπειλὰς ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ὀρρωδῆσας καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ χρήσιμα πρὸς ἄμυναν (οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ἡπειρον εἶχε στράτευμα οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν στόλον·

1. Bohemund was now getting alarmed by the Emperor's threats and had no means of protecting himself (for he had neither an army on land nor a fleet at sea; and danger menaced him from both

ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐπεκρέματο) μηχανᾶται τι τοιοῦτον σφόδρα μὲν ἀγεννές, σφόδρα δὲ πανουργότατον. Πρῶτον γὰρ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν καταλείψας τῷ τοῦ Μαρκέση Ταγγρὲ καὶ τούτου ἀδελφιδῷ, αὐτὸς ἀπανταχόθεν φήμας πέμπει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ἀποτεθνήκει, καὶ ζῶν ἔτι ὡς περὶ κατοικομένου αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην διέθετο. **2.** Καὶ ἡ φήμη διέτρεχεν ἀπανταχῇ πτερῶν ταχύτερα καὶ τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον νεκρὸν ἐκήρυττε. Καὶ δῆτα ὡς ἑώρα τὰ τῆς φήμης ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν, λάρναξ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν .... ξυλίνη καὶ ναῦς διήρης, ἐν κατατιθεμένη ἡ λάρναξ, καὶ ὁ ἔμπνους οὗτος νεκρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σουδεῖ, ὅπερ ἔστι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίγειον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπλει. Καὶ διαπόντιος ὡς νεκρὸς ἐκομίζετο, τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν νεκρὸς καὶ τῇ σορῷ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτὸν σχήμασιν (καὶ γὰρ ἕκασταχοῦ γινόμενοι ἀπέτιλλον τε τὰς τρίχας οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ σαφῶς ἀνωλόλυζον), τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἐκεῖνος ἐκτάδην κείμενος μέχρι τούτων νεκρὸς ἦν, τὰ δ' ἄλλο εἰσέπνει τε τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀπέπνει διὰ τινῶν κρυφίων ὀπῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις· ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατὰ πελάγους τὸ σκάφος γένοιτο, τροφῆς τε αὐτῷ μετεδίδοσαν καὶ ἐπεμελοῦντο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ θρήνοι καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μαγγανεύματα. **3.** Ἴνα δὲ καὶ δοκοῖη ὁ νεκρὸς ἕωλος εἶναι καὶ ὀδωδῶς, ἀλεκτρυόνα ἀποπνίξαντες ἢ ἀποσφάζαντες ἐνέθησαν τῷ νεκρῷ. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην ἡμέραν βαρυστόματος ἦν τοῖς ὄσφρησιν ἔχουσιν. Καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τοῦ χρωτὸς εἶναι τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντου τὸ βαρὺ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἠπατημένοις· πλέον δ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος τοῦ ἐπιπλάστου κακοῦ συναπέλαυνεν, ὥστε ἔγωγε θαυμάζω πῶς τοσαύτην ὑπήνεγκε τῆς ῥινὸς πολιορκίαν ζῶν ἔτι μετὰ νεκροῦ συμφερόμενος σώματος. Ἄλλ' ἐντεῦθεν μεμάθηκα ὡς ἄρα πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος δυσανάκλητον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἂν ἐφορμήσειε, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ φορτικώτατον ὃ μὴ ἐνέγκοι καθάπαξ ἐμβαλὼν ἐαυτὸ πρὸς αὐθαιρέτους κακώσεις. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος μηδέπω ἀποθανῶν, ἀλλὰ σχήματι μόνῳ ἀποθανῶν οὐκ ἀπόκησε ζῆν μετὰ ἀποθανόντων σωμάτων. Τέχνη μὲν οὖν τοῦ βαρβάρου αὕτη πρώτη καὶ μόνη κατὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην πέφηνεν εἰς καταστροφὴν ἀποβλέπουσα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. Οὐδὲ πρὸ ταύτης βάρβαρος ἢ Ἕλλην τοιαῦτα κατὰ πολεμίων ἐμηχανήσατο οὐτ' ἂν, οἶμαι, μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς θεάσατο βίος. **4.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Κορυφῶν καταλάβοι, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρῶρειάν τινα γενόμενος καὶ κορυφὴν καὶ κρησφύγετον τὴν Κορυφῶν ταυτηνὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκινδύνῳ τυγχάνων, ἀνήγερτό τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δόξῃ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν νεκροφόρον

sides), so he devised a plan which was exceedingly sordid, and yet exceedingly ingenious. First of all he left the town of Antioch to his nephew Tancred, the son of Marceses (i.e. a Marquis), and had a report spread about himself, [298] which said that Bohemund had died, and while still alive he arranged that the world should think of him as dead. **2.** And the report spread more quickly than a bird can fly and proclaimed that Bohemund was a corpse! And when he found that the report had taken good hold, a wooden coffin was soon prepared and a bireme, in which the coffin was laced, and also he, the living corpse, sailed away from Sudei, which is the harbour of Antioch, to Rome. Thus Bohemund was carried across the sea as a corpse, for to all appearance he was a corpse to judge by the coffin and the demeanour of his companions (for wherever they stopped the barbarians plucked out their hair and mourned him ostentatiously), and inside he was lying stretched out dead for the time being, but for the rest inhaling and exhaling air through unseen holes. This took place at the sea-ports; but when the boat was out to sea, they gave him food and attention; and then afterwards the same lamentations and trickeries were repeated. **3.** And to make the corpse appear stale and odoriferous, they strangled or killed a cock and placed it with the corpse. And when a cock has been dead for four or five days its smell is most disagreeable for those who have a sense of smell. And this smell seemed to those who are deceived by outward appearance to be that of Bohemund's body; and that villain Bohemund enjoyed this fictitious evil all the more; I for myself am astonished that he being alive could bear such a siege of his nostrils, and be carried about with a dead body. And from this I have learnt that the whole barbarian nation is hard to turn back from any undertaking upon which they have started, and there is nothing too burdensome for them to bear when they have once embarked upon difficult tasks of their own choice. For this man, who was not dead except in pretence, did not shrink from living with dead bodies. The device of the barbarian was unique in the world of our time, and was directed towards the downfall of the Roman hegemony. Never before this time did any barbarian or Greek devise such a plan against his enemies nor, do I fancy, will another such ever be seen in our lifetime. **4.** When he reached Corfu, it was as if he had reached some mountain-ridge and peak of refuge in this Corfu, and was now safe, so he arose from the

ἐκεῖσε λάρνακα καταλείψας, ἡλίου τε ἐνεφορεῖτο πλείονος καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνέπνει καθαρωτέρου καὶ περιενόστει τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κορυφῶ· ὃν ἑώρακότες ἐν ξένη καὶ βαρβαρικῇ στολῇ ἀνεπυθάνοντο τό τε γένος καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τίς τε εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἦκει καὶ εἰς οὓς παραγίνεται. **5.** Ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπερέωρα πάντων, ἀνεζήτει δὲ τὸν δοῦκα τῆς πόλεως. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὗτος Ἀλέξιός τις θέματος Ἀρμενιακοῦ γενόμενος· Ὁν θεασάμενος, μετὰ σοβαροῦ τοῦ βλέμματός τε καὶ σχήματος καὶ σοβαρᾶ τῇ φωνῇ χρώμενος καὶ ὄλωσ βαρβαρικῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι προσέταττεν Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὅτι “Σοὶ ἐγὼ Βαϊμοῦντος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου, ὃν ὁ ἀνέκαθεν χρόνος καὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ βασιλείαν ἐδίδαξεν, ὁπόσος τίς εἰμι τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν. Ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἄν καὶ τὴν ῥοπήν λάβοιμι, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἀνασχοίμην, ἴστω Θεός, τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ γεγενημένων κακῶν. Ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ διὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὴν Ἀντιόχου κατέλαβον καὶ Συρίαν ὅλην ἠνδραποδιασάμην τῷ ἐμῷ δόρατι, πολλῆς παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς στρατιᾶς πικρίας ἐνεφορήθην, ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων παραπεμπόμενος, καὶ εἰς μυρίας συμφορὰς καὶ πολέμους βαρβαρικοὺς ἐμβαλλόμενος. **6.** Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἴσθι με, κἂν ἀπέθανον, πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναβεβιωκότα καὶ τὰς σὰς διαδεδρακότα χεῖρας. Πάντα γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ πᾶσαν χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην διαλαθὼν ἐν σχήματι ἀποτεθηκότος, νῦν καὶ ζῶν καὶ κινούμενος καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πνέων ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κορυφοῦς διαπέμπω πάνυ μεμισημένας ἀγγελίας τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἃς καὶ ἀναμαθὼν οὐκ ἄν περιχαρῶς ἀποδέξαιο, ὡς τῷ μὲν Ταγγρῆ καὶ ἐμῷ ἀνεπιῶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν παρακατεθέμην, πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀντίμαχον ἀξιόμαχον καταλείψας αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἄπειμι χώραν, σοὶ μὲν νεκρὸς φημιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ζῶν καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δεινὰ βουλευόμενος. Ἐφ’ ὃ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ Ῥωμανίαν κλονήσῃ, καὶ ζῶν ἀποτέθηκα καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἔζησα. Εἰ γὰρ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἠπειρον καταλάβοιμι καὶ Λογγιβάρδους καὶ πάντας Λατίνους καὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Φράγγους ὀψαίμην, ἄνδρας Ἄρεως μνήμονας, πολλῶν φόνων καὶ πολλῶν αἱμάτων τὰς σὰς ἐμπλήσω πόλεις καὶ χώρας, ἕως ἄν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ δόρυ πηξάιμην.” Εἰς τοῦτον ἄρα ὁ βάρβαρος ἀλαζονεῖας ἐπήρτο.

dead and left the corpse-bearing coffin there and basked in more sunlight and breathed purer air and wandered about the town of Corfu. And the inhabitants seeing him in his foreign and barbaric garb asked his lineage and his fortune, and who he was, whence he came and to [299] whom he was going. **5.** However, he treated them all with contempt and asked for the Duke of the town. The Duke happened to be a certain Alexius of the Armenian theme. When Bohemund saw him he looked at him haughtily and with haughty bearing and speaking haughtily in his barbarian language ordered him to give Alexius the Emperor the following message. “The message I send to thee, I, that Bohemund the son of Robert, who has in these past years taught thee and thy Empire how strong I am in courage and perseverance. God knows that, wheresoever I may go and whatever crisis of fortune I experience, I shall never bear patiently the wrongs that have been done me. For ever since I passed through the Roman Empire, and took Antioch and enslaved the whole of Syria by my sword, I have had my fill of bitter treatment from thee and thy army, disappointed in one hope after another and involved in countless misfortunes and barbaric wars. **6.** But now let me tell thee that, though I died, I have come to life again, and have slipped through thy hands. For in the guise of a dead man I eluded every eye and hand and mind, and now, alive and moving about and breathing the air, I send thee from this town of Corfu news which will be very distasteful to thy Majesty, and which thou wilt certainly not receive with overmuch joy. To my nephew Tancred I have entrusted the city of Antioch and have left him as a worthy opponent to thy generals. But I myself, who was reported to thee and thine as dead, am going to my own country as a living man to myself and mine and full of dire intentions against thee. For to shatter the Roman Empire under thy sway, I died when alive, and came to life when dead. For as soon as I reach the continent opposite and see the men of Lombardy, and all the Latins and Germans and the Franks, our subjects and most warlike men, I shall fill thy towns and countries with many murders and much bloodshed until I plant my spear on Byzantium itself.” To such a pitch of arrogance was the barbarian carried.

## Liber XII

### §1

1. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραιώσεως ἔργα, καὶ ὅποσα πραγματευσάμενος κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος φαίνεται τὰ σκῆπτρα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτῷ μνηστευόμενος, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ὑποχώρησιν μετὰ ῥαδιουργίας προμηθευσάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τυχῶν τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν ναυλοχίαν καθαπερὶ νεκρὸς φερόμενος ποιησάμενος τὴν Κορυφῶν κατέλαβεν, ὧδέ πη περιγεγράφθω· ἐχέσθω δ' αὖθις ὁ λόγος τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνα τούτου πράξεων. καταλαβὼν δὲ ὁ νεκρὸς ὁδωδὼς τὴν Κορυφῶν, καθά γε καὶ εἴρηται, καὶ ἀπειλησάμενος διὰ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε δουκὸς τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ὅποσα ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσε, πρὸς τὴν Λογγιβαρδίαν τὸν ἀπόπλουν ποιησάμενος ἔργου ἤπτετο, σκεπτόμενος αὖθις τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν καταλαβεῖν καὶ συμμάχους διὰ τοῦτο σπεύδων συναγοχένοι πλείους τῶν πρὸ τοῦ. καὶ περὶ κήδους τῷ ῥήγι Φραγγίας ὁμιλήσας, τὴν μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ εἰς ἰδίαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα ἐξέδοτο, τὴν δὲ γε ἑτέραν διαπόντιον πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐφ' ᾧ συναφθῆναι τῷ ἀνεπιῷ αὐτοῦ Ταγγρέ. εἶτα δυνάμεις ἀπανταχόθεν μυριοπληθεῖς συλλεξάμενος ἐκ πάσης τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως τοὺς κόμητας μεταπεμψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς στρατευμάτων τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν διαπεραιώσιν ἐπετάχυνεν. 2. ὁ γοῦν βασιλεύς, τὰ διὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξίου πρὸς αὐτὸν διαμνησθέντα ἀκηκόως, εὐθὺς κατὰ πάσας τὰς χώρας, Πίσσαν τὴν καὶ Γένουαν καὶ Βενετίαν, γράμματα ἐπέστελλε, προπαρασκευάζων αὐτοὺς μὴ συναπαχθέντας τοῖς ἀπατηλοῖς τοῦ Βαϊμούντου λόγοις ἐκεῖνῳ συμφέσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ περιῶν ἀπάσας τὰς χώρας καὶ πόλεις πολλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καταδρομὴν ἐποιοῖτο, παγάνον ὀνομάζων καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολέμιον. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τριακοσίους φθάσας κατέσχε τότε κόμητας, ὅποτε τὰ ἄπειρα πλήθη τῶν Κελτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐσπέρας διαπεραιωσάμενα τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν τε Ἀντιόχου πόλιν καὶ τὴν Τύρον καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας ἀπάσας πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐμάστιζον, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐμφρούρους εἶχεν (ἢ δὲ φρουρὰ δεινὴ τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων), καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀλώσεως καὶ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν συμπεσόντα τούτοις δεινὰ μεμαθηκῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐδάκνετό τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὄλος τῆς ἐκεῖνων ἀναρρυσέως ἐγεγόνει. καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Νικήταν τὸν Πανουκωμίτην μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἐξαπέστειλε, γραφὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσας δι' ὧν τοὺς δορυαλώτους ἐκεῖνους ἠτεῖτο κόμητας, πολλὰς ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὰς χάριτας, εἰ τούτους λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν

1. Now the deeds that were done consequent on Bohemund's first crossing, and all the schemes he devised against the Emperor in his desire to win the sceptre of the Roman Empire for himself, and the manner in which he effected his retreat by cunning, but certainly with great success, in that he made the voyage by being conducted as a corpse and so reached Corfu - may be regarded as described fairly in the foregoing. And now my history must relate Bohemund's further doings. After the odoriferous corpse reached Corfu, as has been said, and sent a threatening message to the Emperor by the Duke of that island, as already told in this history, he crossed over into Lombardy and set to work. For he intended to occupy Illyria again and was anxious to collect more allies than before for this purpose. And after conferring about a matrimonial alliance with the King of France, the latter gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and sent another by sea to Antioch to be united in marriage to Bohemund's nephew, Tancred. Next Bohemund collected innumerable forces from all quarters and every town and country, and sent for the Counts with their respective armies and hurried on his crossing to Illyria. 2. Directly the Emperor received the message forwarded to him through Alexius, he sent letters to the various states, Pisa, Genoa and Venice to warn them beforehand and prevent their being seduced by Bohemund's false words, and joining him. For Bohemund did in truth visit all the towns and countries, inveighing bitterly against the Emperor and calling him a pagan and an enemy of the Christians. 3. During the time that countless hosts of Franks crossed from the West into Asia and were proving a scourge to Antioch, Tyre and all the surrounding towns and countries, the Babylonian had managed to capture three hundred Counts and was keeping them bound [301] in prison where their treatment was as cruel as it used to be in olden times. When the Emperor heard the details of their capture and the consequent sufferings that had befallen them, he was cut to the heart and occupied himself entirely with their deliverance. Accordingly he sent for Nicetas Panucomites and dispatched him to the Babylonian with money and also handed him a letter in which he begged for those captive Counts and promised the Sultan many benefits if he would release them from their chains. After seeing Panucomites and hearing from him the message sent by the Emperor, the

ἀπολύσει. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος τὸν Πανουκωμίτην θεασάμενος καὶ ἀκούσας, ἄττα δὴ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς αὐτὸν διεμηνύθη, ἀνελίξας δὲ καὶ τὰς γραφὰς λύει μὲν παραχρῆμα τοὺς κόμητας τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐξάγει δὲ τῆς φρουρᾶς· οὐ μέντοι γε παντελοῦς ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦς ἀξιοῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πανουκωμίτη παραδίδωσι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τούτους ἐξαποστείλας μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν τῶν ἀποσταλέντων χρημάτων ἀναλαβόμενος, εἴτε δὲ ὡς μὴ ἀποχρῶντα πρὸς τοσοῦτων λύτρον εἴτε καὶ δωροληψίας ἐκφεύγων ὑπόνοιαν καὶ ὡς μὴ φαίνοιτο τιμῆς τούτους ἀποδόμενος, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν τὴν χάριν ἀπονέμων τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀκίβδηλον, εἴτε καὶ πλειόνων ἐφιέμενος, Θεὸς ἂν εἰδείη. 4. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλαβόντας θεασάμενος ὑπερηγάσθη μὲν τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου γνώμην καὶ τεθαύμακεν, ἐπιπόνως δὲ τούτους περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ἐπερωτήσας καὶ μεμαθηκῶς ὅπως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον καὶ τοσοῦτων κύκλων περιόδου ἐμφρουροι ὄντες οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἥλιον ἐθέασαντο οὐδὲ τῶν δεσμῶν ἐλύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῶν παντοίων ἄγευστοι τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διαμεμενήκεσαν μόνου ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος μεταλαμβάνοντες, οἰκτεῖρας τοῦ πάθους καὶ θερμὸν καταστάζας δάκρυον πολλῆς παραχρῆμα ἡξίου φιλοφροσύνης χρημάτων τε ἐπιδοῦς καὶ ἄμφια παντοῖα παρασχῶν ἐς βαλανεῖα τὲ προτρεπόμενος καὶ παντοίως τῆς τοσαύτης κακότητος ἀνακτήσασθαι τούτους μηχανώμενος. οἱ δὲ ἔχαιρον ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἶ πεπόνθασιν, οἱ πρὶν ἐχθροὶ καὶ πολέμιοι, οἱ παραβάται τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρκίων καὶ ὑποσχέσεων, τὴν τοσαύτην ἐς αὐτοὺς κατανοοῦντες ἀνεξικακίαν. 5. ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας μεταπεμψάμενος τούτους ἔφη· „ἄδειαν ὑμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ δίδωμι, ἵνα ὅποσον βούλεσθε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαρτερήσητε μεθ' ἡμῶν. ὀπνηῖκα δὲ τις τῶν οικείων ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἐθελήσῃ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀκωλύτως καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι φερούσης ἄψαιτο συνταξάμενος ἡμῖν καὶ οὕτως διὰ χρημάτων καὶ παντοίας ἄλλης οἰκονομίας ἐφοδιασθεὶς καλῶς διευθετηθεῖ. καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ ἀπεῖναι ἄδειαν ἔχειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι καὶ τὸ βουλευτὸν ὡς ἐλευθέρους κατὰ τὴν οικείαν γνώμην πράττειν“. ἦσαν μὲν οὖν τέως οἱ κόμητες μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παντοίας, ὡς εἴρηται, θεραπείας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ δυσασπαστῶς αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Λογγιβαρδίαν ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος καταλαβόν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσε, πλείω τῶν προτέρων στρατευμάτων σπεύδων συναγαγεῖν πολλὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατέτρεχε κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν περιῶν καὶ παγάνον αὐτὸν λαμπρᾶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀνακηρύττων καὶ τοῖς παγάνοις ὄλη γνώμη ἐπαρήγοντα, τοῦτο ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μεμαθηκῶς τοὺς ῥηθέντας κόμητας, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ αὐτῶν προθυμουμένων ἤδη πρὸς τὰς

Babylonian read the letter and immediately freed the captives from their bonds and had them brought out of prison. However he did not grant them absolute liberty but handed them over to Panucomites to conduct to the Emperor and this without accepting even a farthing of the money that had been sent. Whether this was because he did not consider the sum sufficient for the ransom of so many men or whether he was anxious to avoid the imputation of corruptibility and did not wish to appear to have sold them for a price, but to have conferred a pure and genuine favour on the Emperor, or whether he aimed at further rewards, God alone can, say. 4. When the Emperor saw these men arrive, he was overjoyed and marvelled at the barbarian's decision; he questioned them minutely about all that had befallen them and learned how they had been kept in prison for a very long time and many months without ever once seeing the sun or being freed from their chains, and besides this they had remained all that time without tasting any kind of food except bread and water. In pity for their sufferings the Emperor shed a bitter tear and at once shewed them much kindness, giving them money, providing clothes of all sorts, conducting them to the baths and endeavouring in every way to help them recover from their ill-treatment. The Counts were delighted at the kind way they were treated by the Emperor, they his former foes and opponents, who had broken their promises and oaths to him, and they appreciated his forbearance towards them. 5. After some days he sent for them and said, "For the future I give you permission to stay as long as you like in this city with us. But if anyone of you has a longing for home and wishes to return thither, he can start on his homeward journey without let or hindrance, after taking leave of us, and in addition being well provided with money and every other necessary for the journey. I simply wish to give you [302] permission to go or to stay and to do what you like according to your own judgment as free men." For some time already, as I have said, they had received great attention from the Emperor and were reluctant to leave him. But when, as before mentioned, Bohemund reached Lombardy and was busy gathering together larger armies than his former ones, and was going round to all the towns and villages decrying the Emperor and loudly proclaiming him a pagan who was assisting the pagans with all his might-the Emperor on hearing this gave the aforementioned Counts lavish presents and sent them off home. He did this, firstly because they themselves had already begun to wish to return home, and



σφῶν ἀπιέναι χώρας, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πρὸς ἔλεγχον τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διακηρυκευομένων, δαυλιεῖς τὰς δωρεὰς ἐπιχορηγήσας αὐτοῖς οἴκαδε ἐξαπέστειλεν. **6.** αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Θετταλοῦ πόλιν σπουδαίως ἐξήει, ἅμα μὲν καὶ τοὺς νεήλυδας τὰ στρατιωτικὰ παιδεύειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βαϊμούντον ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμης ἀπείργεσθαι τῆς ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας πρὸς τὴν ἡμεδαπὴν διαπεραιώσεως. ἀπελθόντες τοῖνυν οἱ κόμητες ἐκεῖνοι ἔλεγχοι τοῦ Βαϊμούντου γεγονασιν ἀψευδέστατοι, ἀπατεῶνα ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ μὴδ' ἐπὶ τῷ τυχόντι ἐπαληθεύοντα, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτὸν πολλακίς ἐλέγχοντες καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἀποκηρύττοντες, μάρτυρας αὐτοπίστους ἑαυτοῦς παριστῶντες.

## §2

**1.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραίωσις ἀπανταχῆ διεδίδοτο καὶ πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δυνάμεων καὶ ἀναλόγου στρατεύματος ἀντικαθισταμένου πρὸς τὰ κελτικὰ πλήθη, οὐκ ἔμελλεν οὐδ' ἀνεδύετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν μετεπέμπετο, τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν φημί καὶ τὸν Μοναστράν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ἐφρούρει, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ταρσόν. τούτους οὖν ἐκεῖθεν μεταπεμπόμενος οὐκ ἐρήμους τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φρουρουμένας χώρας καὶ πόλεις κατέλιπεν· ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν τὸν Πετζέαν μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐπέμπει δυνάμεων, ἐς δὲ γε Ταρσὸν καὶ ἀπάσα τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν Μοναστράν πόλεις καὶ χώρας τὸν Ἀσπιέτην· ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος εὐγενὴς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ὀρμώμενος καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία διαβεβοημένων, ὡς ἡ φήμη τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἐκήρυττε, κἄν ὁ τότε καιρὸς οὐ πάνυ τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἐξήλεγξεν ὅσον γε τὰ εἰς στρατηγικὴν δύναμιν. **2.** ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτροπεύων Ταγγρέ, ὃν ὁ λόγος φθάσας καταλέλοιπεν ἐν Συρίᾳ, φήμας τὲ ὑπεπέμπετο πυκνάς, ὡς ἄρα ταχὺ καταλάβοι τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐφ' ᾧ πολιορκήσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφελέσθαι χειρῶν ἄτε ἰδίαν οὔσαν καὶ τῷ δόρατι τούτου τῶν Τούρκων ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν. καὶ οὐ μόνον φήμας τοιαύτας πανταχόσε κατέπεμπε, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἠπεῖλει τὰ χεῖρω τούτων, ἃ καὶ τῷ Ἀσπιέτῃ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐνεχειρίζετο· καὶ οὐκ ἠπεῖλει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπειλῶν πρόδρομά τινα καὶ ἐποίει καὶ καθυπισχνεῖτο ποιεῖν, δυνάμεις τὲ συναγροχῶς ἀπανταχόθεν ἐξ Ἀρμενίων τὲ καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ τούτους καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γυμνάζων καὶ πρὸς παρατάξεις καὶ μάχας ἐξομαλίζων τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἔστιν οὗ καὶ εἰς προνομάς ἀποστέλλον καὶ τὸν καπνὸν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρεμφαινῶν, τὰ τε πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ παντοιοτρόπως πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀνιστῶν. **3.** ἀλλὰ

secondly, in order that they might refute the tales which Bohemund had been publishing about him. **6.** But he himself departed hurriedly for the city of Thetталus, partly in order to train the recruits in military exercises, and partly to hinder Bohemund from his reputed desire of crossing from Lombardy into our Empire. The Counts when they left became most trustworthy evidence against Bohemund, they called him a cheat who never spoke the truth even in ordinary cases, they often refuted him to his face and denounced him in every town and village, and were in themselves credible witnesses.

**1.** As Bohemund's crossing was being spoken of on all sides and the Emperor recognized that he still required many more forces to have an army of proportionate size to oppose to the Frankish masses, he did not delay or hesitate, but sent for the men from Coelo-Syria, I mean Cantacuzenus and Monastras; for the former was holding Laodicea and the latter Tarsus. Now when he summoned these men, he did not leave the towns and provinces under their care unprotected, but sent Petzeas with other troops to Laodicea, whilst to Tarsus and all the towns and provinces under Monastras he sent Aspietes. This man was a noble descended from an Armenian family, renowned for its bravery, as report said at that time, though the crises which then arose did not prove him to be anything of the kind, at least as regards strategic ability. **2.** For Tancred, the governor of Antioch, who, as we have already told, was now in Syria, repeatedly spread the rumour abroad, that he would descend on Cilicia very soon to besiege its towns and wrest it from the Emperor's hands, as it was his own, and he had taken it from the Turks by force of arms. He did not only disseminate such rumours, but even threatened far worse things by letters, which were [303] daily handed in to Aspietes. And he did not merely threaten, but did a few things, illustrative of his threats, and undertook to do still more. He collected troops from all sides from the Armenians and Franks, drilled these daily, and trained the army gradually to form up in line and engage in battle; sometimes he sent it out on foraging expeditions, thus symbolizing the smoke which precedes a fire; he was also preparing siege-engines and getting himself ready in every way for a siege. **3.** So much then for his doings; but the Armenian Aspietes, just as if nobody were

ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος Ἀσπιέτης, ὡσπερ μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένου μὴδὲ φοβοῦντος μὴδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπικρεμαννύντος κίνδυνον, ἐκάθητο ῥαθυμῶν βαρυτάτους πότους νύκτωρ ἑαυτῷ συνιστῶν, καίτοι ἀνδρικότατος τε ἦν καὶ Ἄρεως ὑπασπιστῆς γενναιοτάτος, ἐπὶ δὲ Κιλικία προσώκειλε, πόρρω δεσποτικῆς χειρὸς γεγυγώς καὶ ἐναυθεντήσας τοῖς πράγμασι τρυφαῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐκδεδώκει παντοίας. οὕτως ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἐκεῖνος ἐκθηλυνόμενος καὶ διαρρέων διηνεκῶς, ἐπειδὴ καταλάβοι ὁ τῆς πολιορκίας καιρὸς, ἀναπεπτικῶς ὄφθη πρὸς στρατιώτην φερεπονώτατον τὸν Ταγγρέ, καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τὰς βροντὰς ἐκείνου τῶν ἀπειλῶν κατεκροτήθη τὴν ἀκοήν οὔτε κεραυνοφόρου τούτου ἐληλυθότος διὰ τῶν κατὰ Κιλικίαν πορθήσεων πρὸς τὰς ἀστραπὰς ἐνητένιζεν. 4. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ταγγρὲ ἀθρόον ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας στρατεύσας στρατὸν μυριάνδρον καί, διχῆ τούτους διελόμενος, τοὺς μὲν διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου πέμπει ταῖς Μόψου πόλεσι, τοὺς δὲ ναυσὶ τριήρεσιν ἐμβαλὼν διὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἄγει τῷ ποταμῷ Σάρωνι. ρεῖ δὲ ἄνωθεν οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρων καὶ διὰ μέσου παραρρέων τῶν δυεῖν πόλεων Μόψου, τῆς τε καταλελυμένης καὶ τῆς ἰσταμένης, ἐς τὸ Συριακὸν ἐκδίδωσι Πέλαγος. ἀφ' οὗ αἱ νῆες ἀναπλεύσασαι τοῦ Ταγγρὲ καὶ τῷ στόματι πελάσασαι τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὰς γεφύρας ἀνήχθησαν, αἱ τὰς ἀμφοτέρας πόλεις ξυνάπτουσι. περιερρεῖτο τοίνυν ἡ πόλις ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ στρατεύματι βαλλομένη· ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ ῥαδίως εἶχον διαναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι, καὶ πεζομαχεῖν ἐκ θατέρου οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτὴν ἐπιθλίβοντες. 5. ὁ δὲ, ὡσπερ μηδεμιᾶς καινοτομίας ὑπόουσης μὴδὲ τοσοῦτου σμήνου στρατιωτῶν περιβομβοῦντος κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγα τούτων ἐφρόντιζεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι παθὼν καὶ ἀναξίως τότε τῆς αὐτοῦ γενναιότητος διατεθείς· τοῦτο εὐμισητότατον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατεύματι πεποίηκε. τί οὖν ἔδει παθεῖν τὰς κίλικας πόλεις ὑπὸ τηλικούτου καταστρατηγούμενας ἀνδρός; τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὁ Ταγγρὲ ῥωμαλεώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνει καὶ εἰς στρατηγικὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν σφόδρα θαυμαζομένων, πολιορκῆσαι δὲ πόλεις ἀφυκτότατος στρατηγός. 6. καὶ θαυμάσειέ τις ἐνταυθοῖ γεγυγώς, πῶς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διέλαθε τὸ τοῦ Ἀσπιέτου ἀπειροπόλεμον, ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ὑπεραπολογησαίμην τοῦμοῦ πατρός, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπίσημον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πέπεικεν, ὡς ἦ τε τοῦ γένους λαμπρότης καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος περιβόητον πολλὰ συνεισενεγκεῖν ἔχοι τῇ τοῦ Ἀσπιέτου ἀρχῇ. ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν τὰ πρῶτα φέρων ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ βασιλικῷ καταγόμενος αἵματος· ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτὸν ἠξιώκει πάσης ἀνατολῆς καὶ εἰς ὑπερηφάνους βαθμίδας ἀνήνεγκεν ἄλλως τε καὶ πείραν τῆς

threatening and terrifying him or menacing him with such terrible danger, sat carelessly at his ease and nightly indulged in heavy drinking. And yet he was very brave and a most valiant soldier; but when he was put into Cilicia, far away from a master's hand and had full authority, he abandoned himself to all sorts of wantonness. Consequently when the moment of the siege arrived, that wretched Armenian, who was steadily growing more effeminate and leading a loose life, showed that he had become quite helpless in face of that most patient soldier, Tancred. For his hearing was not disturbed by the thunder of his threats and when Tancred came wielding the thunderbolt through scenes of devastation to Cilicia, he did not even glance up at the lightning. 4. Tancred suddenly led out his enormous army from Antioch and, forming it into two divisions, sent half overland to the towns of Mopsus [\*= Mopsuestia or Malmistra], the other half he embarked on triremes and took them by sea into the mouth of the river Saron. This river runs down from the Taurus mountains, and flows between the two cities of Mopsus, the one in ruins, the other newly built, and empties itself into the Syrian sea. Tancred's ships sailed from this sea and when they had entered the mouth of this river, they went up it as far as the bridges which unite the two cities. In this way the city was encircled and attacked on both sides. For Tancred's men were able easily to fight against the city from the sea on the one side, while on the other the army could fight and harass it from the land. 5. As if nothing out of the common were happening, and no mighty swami of soldiers were buzzing round the city, Aspietes most strangely, and in a manner quite unworthy of his courage, paid little heed to these things. This caused him to be most heartily hated by the imperial army. What then was likely to be the fate of the Cilician cities when captured by such a man? for besides being the strongest of all his contemporaries [304] and one of the most respected for military experience, Tancred was most deadly in the art of besieging a town. 6. Now any one reading as far as this might wonder that the Emperor was not aware of Aspietes' lack of military experience. But I would say in defence of my father that the nobility of his descent influenced the Emperor and that the brilliance of his ancestry and the fame of his name contributed much to Aspietes' receiving this appointment. For he held the highest rank among the Arsacidae and was born of royal blood. It was for this reason that my father appointed him Stratopedarch of the whole East and promoted him to very high honours,

ἀνδρείας ἐκείνου λαβών. 7. καὶ γὰρ ὁπόταν τῷ Ῥομπέρτῳ συνεκρότησε πόλεμον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐμὸς γενέτης, καθάπερ ἐμνημόνευσα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐκείνου σύρραξιν Κελτὸς τις ὑπερωμίας ἰθύνας τὸ δόρυ καὶ μυωπίσας τὸν ἵππον καθάπερ τις σκηπτὸς ἐμπίπτει τῷ Ἀσπιέτῃ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ξίφους ἐπιδραζάμενος δέχεται τὴν τοῦ Κελτοῦ βιαίαν φορὰν καὶ τιτρώσεται μὲν καιριωτάτην πληγὴν, τοῦ δόρατος τὸν πνεύμονα μὲν παραμείψαντος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς ῥάχεως διενεχθέντος. ὁ δὲ μήπω συγχυθεὶς τῇ πληγῇ μὴδὲ τῆς ἔδρας ἐκकुλισθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐδράσας ἐαυτὸν ἰσχυρότερον παῖει τὸν βάρβαρον κατὰ τῆς κόρυθος καὶ δίχα διαιρεῖ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν κόρυθα, καὶ πίπτουσι καὶ ἄμφω τῶν ἵππων, ὁ μὲν νεκρὸς ὁ Κελτὸς, ὁ δ' Ἀσπιέτης ἔτι ἐμπνέων· ὃν οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνελόμενοι γεγονότα παντάπασιν ἕξαιμον καὶ καλῶς ἐπιμεληθέντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἤνεγκαν, δεικνύντες καὶ <τὸ> δόρυ καὶ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κελτοῦ διηγούμενοι. ταύτης τῆς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀνδρείας καὶ τόλμης τὸ τῆνικαῦτα τῷ Ἀσπιέτῃ μεμνημένος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τούτοις ἐπισυνάνας τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους εὐκλειαν ἀξιόμαχον στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν πρὸς τὸν Ταγγρὲ στρατοπεδάρχην τετιμηκῶς, καθάπερ φθάσασα γέγραφα.

especially after he had had a proof of his courage. 7. Once when the Emperor, my father, joined battle with Robert, as we have related, in the heat of that battle a certain Frank exceedingly tall, directed his spear, spurred on his horse and fell upon Aspietes like a thunderbolt. The latter grasping his sword received the Frank's terrific onslaught and was wounded most severely, for the spear pierced his lung and passed out through his spine. However Aspietes was not perturbed by the blow nor unhorsed, but settling himself more firmly in his seat, struck the barbarian on his helmet and cut both the helmet and the head in half. And then both fell from their horses, the Frank dead and Aspietes still breathing. His attendants picked him up, all drained of blood, tended him well and then carried him to the Emperor, showed him the spear and the wound and reported the death of the Frank. The Emperor was for some reason or other mindful of this former act of bravery and daring and taking it in conjunction with his descent and consequent reputation sent him as a [presumably] able general to Cilicia to oppose Tancred and appointed him Stratopedarch, as I have just written.

## §3

1. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων· πρὸς δὲ γε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐνδιατρίβοντας ἡγεμόνας ἐτέρας ἐκπέμπει γραφὰς κατευθὺ Σθλανιτζῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐντειλάμενος ποιεῖσθαι. τί δέ; τοὺς μὲν προμάχους μετεκαλεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπεπτόκει ῥαστώνης ἀπολαύων καὶ βαλανεῖοις χρώμενος, ὅποια εἰώθασιν οἱ τὸν βοσκηματώδη βίον προελόμενοι βασιλεῖς; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα ὄλωσ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔτι ἠνείχετο· ἐξεληλυθὼς δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐληλύθει χωρῶν τὴν Θεσσαλοῦ πόλιν καταλαβὼν εἰς μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον ἐπινεμήσεως τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης εικοστοῦ <πέμπτου> ἔτους ὄντος, ἐξ οὗ τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἡνίας περιεζώσατο. 2. καὶ τὴν αὐγούσταν δὲ παρεβιάσατο συνεξεληλυθέναι μετ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἐκείνης τοιοῦτος τίς ἦν· οὐ πάνυ τι δημοσιεύεσθαι ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἰκουροῦσα ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης ἔργα ἐποίει, λέγω δὲ βιβλῶν τὲ ἀνελίξεις τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ εὐποίας καὶ χάριτας εἰς ἀνθρώπους, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους οὓς οἶδεν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ τε τοῦ βίου θεραπεύειν Θεὸν καὶ προσευχῇ προσανέχειν καὶ καταλλήλοις ὧδαῖς. ἐπειδὴν δὲ μέλλοι δημοσιεύσειν ἑαυτὴν κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὡς

1. This is sufficient about these men. To the various generals engaged in the West he sent other letters enjoining them to march to Stlilanitza without delay. What happened next? Did he after summoning the protagonists, relapse into ease, and enjoy his leisure and the pleasure of the baths, as the Emperors who prefer a bestial life, are wont to do? No, certainly not, why he could not even endure staying in the palace any longer. He left Byzantium, as stated above, travelled through the western countries, and reached Thessalonica in the month of September in the fourteenth Indiction and in the twentieth year of his taking up the reins of government. 2. And he constrained the Empress to go with him [305] against her will. For her disposition was of such a nature that she did not willingly appear much in public, but generally kept at home and attended to her duties, such as reading the books of the Saints and communing with herself and doing acts of kindness and charity to men, especially to those who were, as she saw from their conduct and manner of life, true servants of God, and she persevered in prayers and a succession of hymns. Whenever it behoved her to appear in public as Empress on some very

βασιλίδα, αἰδοῦς τὲ ὑπεπίμπλατο καὶ ἐρύθημα εὐθὺς ἐξηνθήκει ταῖς παρειαῖς. **3.** καὶ ἡ μὲν φιλόσοφος Θεανὼ τοῦ πήχεως αὐτῆς γυμνωθέντος, ἐπειδὴ τις παίζων εἰρήκει πρὸς ταύτην „καλὸς ὁ πήχυς“, „ἀλλ’ οὐ δημόσιος“, εἶπεν ἐκείνη. ἡ δὲ βασιλίς καὶ μήτηρ ἐμή, τὸ τῆς σεμνότητος ἄγαλμα, τὸ τῆς ἀγιότητος καταγώγιον, μὴ ὅτι γε πήχυν ἢ βλέμμα δημοσιεύειν ἠγάπα, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἐκείνης ἤθελεν εἰς ἀσυνήθεις παραπέμπεσθαι ἀκοᾶς· τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐκείνη χρῆμα θαυμάσιον εἰς αἰδῶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη οὐδὲ θεοί, φησί, μάχονται, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τὰς συχνὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκστρατεύσεις αὐτῷ παρακολουθεῖν. **4.** κατεῖχε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡ σύμφυτος αἰδῶς ἔνδον τῶν βασιλείων, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα φίλτρον καὶ ἡ διάπυρος πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀγάπη ἐξῆγεν αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ βουλομένη τῶν ἀνακτόρων διὰ ταυτασί τὰς αἰτίας· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὸ συμπεσὼν αὐτῷ νόσημα τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐδεῖτο πλείστης. καὶ γὰρ ἀλγηδόνας εἶχε δριμείας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκ τῆς ποδαλγικῆς διαθέσεως καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐπαφὴν οὕτω προσίετο ὡς τῆς ἐμῆς δεσποίνης καὶ μητρός, ἐμμελῶς τὲ γὰρ αὐτῷ προσεφέρετο καὶ προσψάουσα δεξιῶς τὰς ὀδύνας τῶν ποδῶν ὑπεκούφιζέ πως. ὁ γὰρ τοι βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος (καὶ μοι μηδεὶς τῆς περιαιτολογίας ἐπιμεφέσθω· τὰ γὰρ οἰκεῖα θαυμάζω· μὴδ’ ὡς καταψευδομένην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑφοράσθω· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λέγω) πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν πόλεων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐχώριζεν αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγάπης, οὐκ ἀλγηδόνας, οὐχ’ ἡδοναί, οὐ πολέμων κακώσεις, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα, οὐχ’ ἡλίου φλογώσεις, οὐ χειμῶνων δριμύτητες, οὐ προσβολαὶ βαρβάρων παντοδαπαί, ἀλλ’ ἀκλινῶς εἶχε πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα καὶ ὠκλαζε μὲν πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῶν νοσημάτων, ἀντανέθορε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων. **5.** δεύτερον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον αἴτιον τοῦ τὴν βασιλίδα συνοπαδὸν εἶναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ὅτι τοι πολλῶν ἐπιβούλων ἀναφυομένων ἀπανταχόθεν πολλῆς ἐδεῖτο τῆς ἐπιβλέψεως καὶ ὡς ὄντως πολυομμάτου δυνάμεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν αὐτῷ ἐπίβουλος ἦν καὶ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἡ ἑσπέρα προσανέφυε τι κακόν, καὶ ἡ πρωία ἐτέκταινε χεῖριστα, μάρτυς τούτων Θεός. ἄρ’ οὖν οὐκ ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐπιβουλεύομενον ὑπὸ μυρίων ὀμμάτων φρουρεῖσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐπιτοξαζόντων αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παραθηγόντων, τῶν δ’ ἀφιέντων, ὁπότεν οὐκ ἐνῆν τι δρᾶσαι, λοιδοροὺς γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ κακῶς εἰπεῖν; **6.** τίνα τοίνυν ἔδει παρεῖναι τῷ βασιλεῖ σύμμαχον παρὰ τὴν σύμφυτον σύμβουλον; τίς μᾶλλον ἐκείνης πλέον ἐπεσκέπτετο μὲν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὑπεβλέπετο δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας; τίς ὀξεῖα μὲν τὸ

necessary occasion, she was overcome with shyness and her cheeks were mantled with blushes. **3.** Similarly the philosopher Theano, when her forearm once became uncovered and somebody jokingly said, “What a beautiful forearm!” replied “Yes, but not a public one.” And so the Empress, my mother, the image of dignity, the temple of holiness, did not only dislike shewing her arm or eyes to the public, but did not even like her voice to be carried to unaccustomed ears. Such a wonderful example of modesty was she! But since, as it is said, not even the gods can fight against necessity, she was obliged to accompany the Emperor on his frequent expeditions. **4.** Her natural modesty would have kept her at home in the palace, but her devotion and ardent love for the Emperor drove her out of it even against her will for various reasons, the first of which was that the illness, which had attacked his feet, necessitated very constant care. For in consequence of this gouty affection, the Emperor had piercing pains and would not submit to anybody's touch as readily as my mother's, for by touching him carefully and rubbing skillfully she could assuage the pains to a certain extent. (And now let nobody accuse me of bragging, for I admire domestic virtues, nor suspect me of telling falsehoods about the Emperor, for I am only telling the truth.) The Emperor in very truth ever considered his own comfort and affairs as secondary to the welfare of the cities. For nothing could separate him from his love of the Christians, neither pains nor pleasure nor the miseries of wars, nor anything either great or small, neither the blazing heat of summer, nor the biting cold of winter, nor any barbarian attack. He was quite undaunted by all these things, and if he did sink under a combination of diseases he would spring up again at the call for help. **5.** The second and more important reason why the Empress accompanied the Emperor was because so many plots cropped up on all sides that he needed constant guarding, and literally a many-eyed protecting power. For, as night wove plots for him, so did the middle of the day; [306] the evening would bring forth some fresh evil and the morning devise the worst; God is witness of this. Was it not necessary therefore that the Emperor against whom so many wicked men conspired, should be watched over by a thousand eyes? for some aimed their arrows at him, others whetted their sword in secret, and others, if opportunity for action was wanting, let loose their slanderous tongue and malicious talk. Who had more right to be by the Emperor's side to help him than she, his natural counsellor?

συμφέρον ἐκείνῳ ἰδεῖν, ὀξυτέρα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σκευωρούμενον κατιδεῖν; διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἦν ἡ ἐμὴ μήτηρ τῷ δεσπότῃ μου καὶ πατρί, καὶ νύκτωρ ἄγρυπνον ὄμμα καὶ ἡμέρας περιφανέστατος φυλακτήρ καὶ τραπέζης καιροῖς ἀντίδοτος ἀγαθὴ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τροφῶν ἀδικίας φυγαδευτήριον φάρμακον. ταῦτα τοίνυν τὰ αἷτια τὴν σύμφυτον αἰδῶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείνης παρηγκωνίζετο, καὶ ἐθάρρει τοὺς ἄρρενας ὀφθαλμούς, καίτοι οὐδὲ τότε τῆς συνήθους εὐκοσμίας ἐπελανθάνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέμματι καὶ σιγῇ καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτὴν θεραπεία τοῖς πλείοσι μὲν ἀγνωστοτέρα ἐτύγχανε (καὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι βασιλὶς παρέπεται τῷ στρατεύματι, ὁ φερόμενος ταῖν ἡμίονοις οἰκίσκος ἐδείκνυ καὶ τὸ ἄνωθεν βασιλικὸν καταπέτασμα, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπηλυγάζετο τὸ θεῖον ἐκείνης σῶμα), 7. μόνον ὅτι πρόνοιά τις ἀρίστη τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον τοῦ βασιλέως διεξάγοι καὶ φρουρὰ βασιλέως ἀκοίμητος παρὰ πᾶσι διεγινώσκετο καὶ ὄμμα ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ μὴ ἐπινυστάζον τοῖς πράγμασι. καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, ὅσοι περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εὖνοι, περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φρουρὰν διεπονούμεθα τε καὶ συνηρόμεθα τῇ δεσποίνῃ καὶ μητρὶ ἕκαστος ὡς εἶχεν ὅλη ψυχῇ καὶ γνώμῃ μὴδ' ἐπινυστάζοντες ὅλως. ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσκώμμονας καὶ τὰς φιλολοιδόρους γλώττας γεγράφεται. τὸν τε γὰρ ἀνάιτιον ὑπ' αἰτίαισιν ἄγουσι (καὶ τοῦτον οἶδε τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρόπον καὶ ἡ Ὀμήρου Μοῦσα) καὶ τὰ καλῶς πεπραγμένα διαφραυλίζουσι καὶ ὑπὸ μέμνιν ποιοῦσι τὸ ἄμεμπτον. 8. καίτοι ἐκείνη κατὰ τὴν ἐκστρατείαν τὴν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ γεγονυῖαν (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεποίητο) τὸ μὲν τι ἄκουσα, τό δ' ἐκουσίως συνείπετο· οὐ γὰρ συνεισβαλεῖν ἔδει τὴν βασιλίδά τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν; Τομύριδος ταῦτα καὶ Σπαρέθρας τῆς Μασσαγέτιδος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς ἐμῆς Εἰρήνης. ἄλλοσε γὰρ ἐτρέπετο τὸ ταύτης ἀνδρείον καὶ ἄλλως ἐξώπλιστο, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δόρατι οὐδὲ τῇ κυνέῃ τοῦ Ἄιδου· ἀλλ' ἀσπίς μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θυρεὸς καὶ ξίφος τὸ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καλῶς ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι καὶ τὰς τοῦ βίου ἐπαναστάσεις, ἃς οἶδεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικειμένως, ἢ περὶ τὰ πράγματα δραστηριότης καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἐπιπληκτικώτατον καὶ ἡ ἀνυπόκριτος πίστις, ὡς Σολομώντι δοκεῖ. οὕτως ἡ ἐμὴ μήτηρ καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτους πολέμους ἐσκεύαστο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα εἰρηνικωτάτη ἦν κατὰ τοῦνομα.

9. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν τῆς συμπλοκῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔμελλε, πρὸς δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τῆς συμπλοκῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφεώρα καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλίσασθαι τῶν φρουρίων σκοπὸν εἶχε, τὰ δὲ κατοχυρῶσαι καὶ ὅλως εὐδοῦσα πάντα τὰ κατὰ τοῦ

6. Who better than she looked after the Emperor and suspected the conspirators? for she was quick in seeing what would be to his advantage, but still quicker in detecting his enemies' intrigues. For these reasons my mother was all in all to the ruler, my father, she was a sleepless eye at night, a most illustrious guardian by day, a good antidote to dangers at table and a salutary counter-potion to mischiefs arising from food. These were the reasons that thrust aside this woman's innate shyness, and gave her the bold eyes of a man (or encouraged her to meet the eyes of men); yet even in these circumstances she did not lose her usual modesty, but by her quiet looks and silence and by her self-respect remained little known to the majority. The only thing that showed the Empress was following the army was a litter borne by two mules and covered with the imperial curtains, for the rest her divine body was concealed from view. 7. One thing alone all acknowledged, namely, that some most excellent foresight conducted everything to do with the Emperor's malady, and that she was his tireless guardian, an ever-wakeful eye which never slumbered over its duties. And such of us as were well-disposed to the Emperor aided and abetted the mistress, my mother, in her care to the utmost of our respective ability, nor did we ever relax. I have written this especially for those who are fond of scoffing and reviling. For they bring a charge even against the innocent (the Homeric Muse, too, knew this human trait) and they disparage noble deeds and find fault with the faultless. 8. And thus on the expedition which took place at that time (the Emperor was marching to meet Bohemund) she accompanied him, partly against, and partly of, her own will. For it was not necessary for the Empress to take part in the attack on the barbarian army. For how could she? that would have been all very well for Tomyris and the Massagetan Sparethra, but not for my Irene. Her courage was used in another direction and though she was fully armed it was not with Athena's spear or the helmet of Hades, but her shield and [307] buckler and sword were for standing up bravely against the chances and vicissitudes of life to which she knew rulers were always exposed; her activity in business, her stem resistance to passion and her genuine loyalty were such as Solomon lauds. Thus my mother was prepared for wars of that kind, but in other respects she was as peaceful as her name. 9. But since the moment for the struggle with the barbarian was impending the Emperor was busy preparing everything for this struggle, and saw to the forts being made secure and where necessary,

Βαϊμούντου καταστήσασθαι ἔσπευδε, συνεξυπήγετο καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας εἰρήκειμεν, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκινδύνῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτι καθεστηκότων καὶ μήπω καιροῦ πολέμων ἐπιδημηκότος. ἀναλαβομένη τοίνυν ὀπόσον διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἄλλης ποιότητος προσῆν αὐτῇ χάραγμα καὶ ἕτερα ἅτινα τῶν χρημάτων ἕξεισι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐν τῷ διέναι τὰς ὁδοὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπαίταις καὶ τοῖς σισυροφόροις καὶ γυμνοῖς δαυιλῆ τὴν χεῖρα παρεῖχε· καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ αἰτησάμενος καὶ κενὸς ἀπελθὼν. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀποτεταγμένην σκηνὴν κατελήφει, οὐ πρὸς ῥαστώνην εὐθὺς ἀπέκλινεν εἰσὼ ταύτης γεγυμνασμένη, ἀλλ' ἀναπεταννύσα ταύτην ἄνετον τοῖς αἰτούσι παρεῖχε τὴν εἴσοδον· τοῖς τοιούτοις γὰρ καὶ μάλα εὐπρόσιτος ἦν καὶ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὴν ὁρᾶσθαι τὲ καὶ ἀκούεσθαι. οὐ χρημάτων δὲ μετεδίδου τοῖς πένησι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λώονα συνεβούλευε, καὶ ὀπόσους μὲν εὐρώστους τὰ σώματα κατενόει, ῥαθύμως δὲ περὶ τὸν βίον ἔχοντας, πρὸς ἔργα καὶ πράξεις προὔτρεπετο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν κομίζοντο, καὶ μὴ δι' ἀμέλειαν ἀναπετωκότας θύραν ἐκ θύρας ἐπαιτοῦντας περινοστεῖν. **10.** καιρὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐργασίας ἀπεῖργε τὴν βασιλίδα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δαυὶδ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πόμα κινῶν φαίνεται· ἡ δὲ γε βασιλις αὕτη καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν ἐλέφ συγκεραννύσα καθ' ἑκάστην ἐδείκνυτο. καὶ πολλὰ ἂν εἶχον εἰπεῖν περὶ ταύτης τῆς βασιλίδος, εἰ μὴ τὸ θυγάτριον εἶναι ψεύδους παρεῖχεν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ ὅτι μητρὶ χαριζόμεθα· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ταῦτα ὑπονοοῦντας παρέξομαι τοῖς λόγοις συνεπιμαρτυροῦντα τὰ πράγματα.

further strengthened; in a word, he did his best to get everything in good trim against Bohemund's arrival. And he took the Empress with him partly for his own sake and the reasons we have given, and partly because there was no danger at the moment, and the time for war was not yet at hand. The Empress took with her all the gold and coined money of other quality she had as well as some of her other precious possessions and left the city. And throughout the journey she gave with lavish hand to the beggars, the men clad in leather and the naked; no one who asked of her went away empty-handed. Even when she reached the tent appointed for her, she did not immediately enter and lie down to rest, but threw it open and gave the beggars free access. For to this class she was very accessible, and allowed herself to be both seen and heard by them. And she did not only give money to the poor, but also good advice. If she noticed any of strong physique who led a lazy life, she urged them to find work and employment and earn the necessities of life in that way, rather than grow lax through sloth and go about begging from door to door. **10.** And no juncture kept the Empress away from such work. Now David is known to have mixed his drink with tears; but this Empress could be seen to mix her food and drink daily with pity. I could have said a great deal about this Empress, were it not that a loved daughter's testimony might have been suspected of falsehood and flattery of her mother. But for those who have such suspicions, I will adduce facts in corroboration of my words.

#### §4

**1.** τὸν δὲ γε αὐτοκράτορα τὴν Θεσσαλονικὴν καταλαβόντα μεμαθηκότες οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων λήξεων, καθάπερ τὰ βαρέα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπὶ κέντρον φέρεται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἅπαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφοίτων. ἀκριβὲς μὲν οὖν οὐ προηγήσατο τῶν Κελτῶν καθαπερὶ τῶν πρότερον διελθόντων, ἐν οὐρανῷ δὲ κομήτης ἐφάνη μέγας καὶ τῶν πάλαι φανέντων ὁ μέγιστος, ὃν οἱ μὲν δοκίδα, οἱ δ' ἀκοντίαν ἔφασαν εἶναι· ἔδει γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων καινισθῆναι ξενοπρεπῶν πραγμάτων προοίμια ἅτινα προκαταγγελτικὰ τούτων μηνυθῆναι ἄνωθεν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτον θεᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα νυχθημέροις ὅλοις παμφαίνοντα, ἐφαίνετο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δυτικῶν μερῶν ἐξῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου διήκων. ὃν οἱ θεώμενοι ἅπαντες ἐκδειματούμενοι ἐζήτουν, τίνων ὁ ἀστήρ ἄγγελός ἐστιν. **2.** ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ μὴδὲ πάνυ τοῖς τοιούτοις προσέχων, ἀλλὰ φυσικῆς τινὸς

**1.** Directly the men of the western provinces heard that the Emperor had arrived in Thessalonica, they all assembled round him there, exactly as heavy bodies are drawn by gravity to the centre. This time, indeed, a locust did not precede the advent of the Franks as it did before; but a large comet appeared in the sky, the largest of all that had ever been seen before, and some pronounced it to be a beam-meteor, and others a javelin-meteor. For it was only [308] right that some unusual signs, predicting the strange things that were shortly to happen, should be sent from above. And this comet was to be seen shining brightly for a whole forty days and nights; and it seemed to rise in the West and travel across towards the East. All who saw it were dumbfounded and asked of what this meteor was the portent. **2.** The Emperor did not as a rule pay

ἐξηρτῆσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰτίας δοξάζων, ὁμῶς ἡρώτα τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινούς. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν τὴν τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀξίαν πρόφην εἰληφότα Βασίλειον (ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος πολλὴν τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος) περὶ τοῦ φανέντος ἀστέρος ἐπυνθάνετο. ὁ δὲ ἐς νέωτα φυλάξειν ἐπηγγέλατο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ ἀπελθὼν οὐ κατέλυε (τέμενος δὲ τοῦτο ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου πάλαι ἀνοικοδομηθέν), ἐπεὶ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ὁ ἥλιος ἦν, περιεσκόπει τὸν ἀστέρα. διαπορουμένῳ δὲ καὶ καμώντι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπνώσαι ξυμβέβηκεν καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὸν ἅγιον θεάσασθαι ἱερατικῶς ἐσταλμένον. ὁ δὲ περιχαρῆς γεγωνῶς οὐκέτ' ὄναρ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ὄρα. ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ γνωρίσας τὸν ἅγιον, ἔμφοβος γενόμενος, μεθ' ὑποστολῆς ἠτεῖτο τίνων ἀγγελτικῶς ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστὶ γνωρίσαι οἱ. ὁ δὲ Κελτῶν κίνησιν προσημαίνειν τοῦτον ἔφη· „τὸ δὲ σβέννυσθαι τὴν τούτων αὐτοῦ που κατάλυσιν δηλοῖ“. **3.** ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ φανέντος ἀστέρος τοιαῦτα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν Θεσσαλονικὴν καταλαβὼν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, ἠτοιμάζετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραίωσιν ἐκπαιδεύων μὲν τοὺς νεολέκτους τόξον τὲ τείνειν καὶ βέλη κατὰ σκοποῦ πέμπειν καὶ περιφράττεσθαι θυρεῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξενικὰς ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῶν διὰ γραμμάτων παρασκευάζων δυνάμεις, ἴν', ὀπηνίκα καιρὸς καλοίη, θάττον παραγένωνται. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ ἐπεποίητο πρόνοιαν τὴν τε πόλιν τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀσφαλισάμενος καὶ ἡγεμόνα ταύτης τὸν δευτέρον υἱὸν Ἰσαακίου τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος Ἀλέξιον καταστησάμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων καὶ τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεων καὶ αὐτῆς Εὐρώπης στόλον παρεκελεύσατο ἀπαρτίσαι. πολλῶν δὲ παρεμποδίζόντων τὴν τοῦ στόλου κτίσιν διὰ τὸ μήπω τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου κατεπείγειν διαπεραίωσιν, ὁ δ' ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐπέιθετο λέγων δεῖν εἶναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀνύστακτον φύλακα καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μόνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω ὄρα μῆτε μὴν φειδοῖ χρημάτων καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἀνέτοιμον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀπηνίκα ἔφοδον ἐχθροῦ αἰσθηταί. **4.** ταῦτα τοίνυν δεξιότατα διαθέμενος, ἐκεῖθεν μεταναστὰς καταλαμβάνει τὴν Στρούμπιτζαν, κάκειθεν αὐθις ἄχρι τοῦ Σλοπίμου. μεμαθηκῶς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος ἦταν κατὰ τῶν Δαλματῶν προαποσταλέντος δυνάμεις ἀποχρώσας ἐκπέμπει ἐς ἀρωγήν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βολκάνος εὐθὺς πονηρότατος ὢν ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὰ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοὺς ζητηθέντας ὁμήρους ἐκπέμπει. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐγκατερήσας ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα καὶ μῆνας δύο, ὡς τὸν Βαϊμούντον ἔτι τοῖς τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας μέρεσι διατρίβοντα ἐπεπληροφόρητο, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντος ἤδη,

much attention to such matters, for he was of opinion that they arose from some natural cause, yet even he questioned the men who understood these things; and summoned Basilius (this man showed great devotion to the Emperor), who had lately received the honourable post of Prefect of Byzantium, and consulted him about the comet which had appeared. Basilius said he would defer his answer till the next day, and he returned to his lodging (which was a chapel built long ago in honour of the evangelist John) and watched the comet when the sun was about setting. While he was thus worried and wearied with calculations, he happened to fall asleep, and in his sleep beheld the saint dressed in priestly robes. All overjoyed, he fancied he 'saw no illusive dream, but a reality. Hence on recognising the saint he was fearful and begged him timidly to make known to him the message of the comet. And the saint replied that it foretold the movement of the Franks and' its setting denotes their destruction in the same quarter of the globe.' Such is the story of the comet that appeared. **3.** The Emperor arrived in Thessalonica, as already stated, and there prepared for Bohemund's crossing by training the recruits in stretching the bow and shooting arrows at a mark and protecting themselves with their shields; by means of letters he was also procuring troops from foreign countries so that they might come quickly when required. He also showed great care for Illyria, strengthened the city of Dyrrachium and appointed Alexius, the Sebastocrator Isaac's second son, prefect of it. At the same time he ordered the Cyclades, and all the maritime towns of Asia and even of Europe, to get a fleet ready; and when several objected to building a fleet as Bohemund was in no haste to cross yet, he would not listen to them, but said that a general must be a watchful guardian, and not only be prepared for immediate happenings, but look far ahead, and by no means be caught unprepared when danger threatened through having stinted money, especially if he knew that the enemy was advancing. **4.** After having settled these matters very cleverly, he left Thessalonica for Strubitz and went on from there to Slopimus. On [309] hearing that John, the Sebastocrator's son, who had been sent ahead previously had been defeated by the Dalmatians, he sent enough troops to succour him. Bolcanus meanwhile, who was very guileful, at once opened negotiations for peace with the Emperor and sent him the hostages he had demanded. The Emperor lingered on in those parts for a year and two months, and then he was informed that Bohemund was still staying about in Lombardy and as winter was already

τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰς σφῶν οἰκίας ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην καταλαμβάνει. ἐν δὲ τῷ τὴν πρὸς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀνύειν ἐτέχθη ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου κατὰ τὴν Βαλαβίσταν συνεπαγόμενος ἐν τῷ τίκτεσθαι καὶ ἕτερον θῆλυ. ἐκεῖσε γοῦν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ἐκτελέσας εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. 5. γέγονε δὲ καὶ τι τοιοῦτον· περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ Κωνσταντινίου Φόρου, χαλκοῦς τίς ἀνδριάς ἴστατο καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀπέστραπτο ἐπὶ πορφυροῦ κίονος περιόπτου, σκῆπτρον μὲν κατέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ λαῖα σφαιραν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν. ἐλέγετο δ' οὖν εἶναι οὗτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνδριάς, Ἀνθήλιον δέ, οἶμαι, οἱ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκῆτορες αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον. ὃν ὁ μέγας ἐν βασιλεῦσι Κωνσταντίνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μετέθηκεν ὄνομα, Κωνσταντίνου αὐτοκράτορος ἀνδριάντα αὐτὸν προσειπών. ἐπεκράτησε δὲ ἡ ἀρχῆθεν τεθεῖσα προσηγορία τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ ἦτοι Ἀνήλιος ἢ Ἀνθήλιος ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλέγετο. τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐξ αἰφνιδίου πνεύσαντες ἄνεμοι πλατύτατοι λίβες ἐκεῖθεν τὲ ὄσαν καὶ εἰς γῆν ἔρριψαν, περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τοῦ ἡλίου τότε ὀδεύοντος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς οἰωνὸς τοῖς πλείοσιν ἔδοξε καὶ μᾶλλον ὀπόσοι μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχον· ὑπεπιθύριζον γὰρ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον τὸ συμβᾶν προμηνύειν. ὁ δὲ „ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἓνα κύριον ἐπίσταμαι“, ἔλεγε, „πτώσεις δὲ εἰδώλων θάνατον ἐπάγειν οὐδόλωσ πιστεύειν ἔχω. ὀπηνίκα γὰρ Φειδίας τίς, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἢ τίς τῶν λιθοξόων λίθον ἀποξέσας εἶδωλον ἀπεργάσοιτο, ἀναστήσει μὲν καὶ νεκρούς, παράξει δὲ καὶ ἔμψυχα; καὶ εἰ ταῦτα, τῷ τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργῷ τί καταλειφθήσεται; ‘ἀποκτενῶ’ γὰρ ‘καὶ ζῆν ἐγὼ ποιήσω’, φησί, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε εἰδώλου πτώσις ἢ ἀνέγερσις“. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάντα τῇ μεγίστῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνετίθει προνοία.

setting in, he dismissed all the soldiers to their homes and himself returned to Thessalonica. Whilst he was journeying to Thessalonica, the first son of the prince John Porphyrogenitus was born at Balabista and a little girl was born at the same time. The Emperor attended the services of the commemoration of the Proto-martyr Demetrius in Thessalonica and then returned to the Capital. 5. Here the following incident occurred. Nearly in the middle of the Forum of Constantine there was a bronze statue looking towards the East standing on a conspicuous purple pillar and holding a sceptre in its right hand, and in its left a sphere fashioned of bronze. This was said to be the statue of Apollo, but the inhabitants of Constantinople used to call it Anthelios, I believe. But that great one among kings, Constantine, the father and master of the city, changed its name to his own, and called it a statue of the Emperor Constantine. Yet the name given originally to the statue persisted, and everybody called it Anelios or Anthelios. Suddenly a very violent southwest wind arose, blew this statue off its pedestal and hurled it to the ground, the sun was then in the sign of the Bull. Most interpreted this as a bad omen, especially the Emperor's ill wishers; for they whispered that this accident portended the Emperor's death. But he said, "I know only one Lord of life and death, and do not believe for a minute that the fall of an image can cause a death. For come, tell me when a Pheidias or any sculptor by hewing stone produces a statue can he bring the dead to life or bring forth living creatures? and, if he can, what will be left for the Creator of all things? For 'It is I that will kill and I will make alive,' He says, and not the fall or the erection of this or that statue." And indeed he always referred everything to the great providence of God.

## §5

1. κυκεῶν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἄλλος αὐθις κακῶν ἐξεγήγερτο, ὃς οὐχ' ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐξηρτύετο ἤδη· ἄνδρες γὰρ τινες, ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ γένους εὐκλεία μεγάλα ἀνχοῦντες, κατὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐμελέτησαν σώματος φόνιον πνέοντες. καὶ θαυμάζω, ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἱστορίας γεγонуῖα, πόθεν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος κακῶν τὸν βασιλέα περιεστοίχισεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ, οὐδὲν ἦν οὐδ' ὀποθενοῦν, ὃ μὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐκεκίνητο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἔνδον ἀποστασίας ἦσαν μεστὰ καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐπαναστάσεως ἔγεμε, καὶ μήπω πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀντικαταστάντος τὰκτὸς πάντα

1. And now a fresh potion of ills had been mixed again for the Emperor; this one was not prepared by ordinary people, but certain men, very proud of their courage and [310] brilliant descent, who breathed murder, plotted against the imperial life. And at this point of my history I stop to wonder how it came about that the Emperor was surrounded by such a crowd of dangers. For there was nothing and no quarter from which agitations did not arise against him. At home disaffection was rife, and abroad rebellions never ceased. And at a time, when the Emperor had not yet over-



περιεφλέγμαινε, βαρβάρους ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον τυράννους τῆς τύχης αὐτῆς ὡσπερ τινας γίγαντας αὐτοφυεῖς ἀναβλαστανούσης, καίτοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἅπαντα πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ διοικονομουμένου τὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα μὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κατακλύζοντος. **2.** τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀξιωμάτων τιμαῖς κατεκῦδαινε καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλας καταπλουτίζων ἀεὶ οὐκ ἀνήκε, τοὺς δὲ ὅπουδῆποτε βαρβάρους, ἀφορμὰς μὴ διδοὺς πολέμων μὴδ' ἀνάγκην ἐπάγων αὐτός, ἀνασοβῶντας ὅμως ἀνέστελλεν, ὡς ἔστι κακῶν στρατηγῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡσυχάζόντων, αὐτοὺς ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνερεθίζειν τοὺς πέρηξ εἰς πόλεμον. εἰρήνη μὲν γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶ πολέμου παντός, τὸ δ' ἀνθελέσθαι ἀεὶ αὐτόθεν τὸ ἔνεκά του καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τέλους ἀεὶ ἀμελεῖν, τοῦτο ἀνοήτων ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημαγωγῶν καὶ ὄλεθρον πραγματευομένων τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος τούναντίον ἅπαν ἐποίει καὶ τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν ἐκτόπως ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ παροῦσαν ἀεὶ πανταχόθεν συνεῖχε καὶ ἀπούσης ἐπηγρύπνει πολλάκις, ὅπως ἐπανέλθοι. καὶ ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ φύσιν μὲν εἰρηνικός, ἀναγκαζόντων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων πολεμικώτατος. καὶ ἔγωγε ἂν φαίην θαρρῶντως περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκεῖνου, ὡς ἄρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χαρακτήρος, πολλοῦ χρόνου καταλειπότης τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνου ἐπανεληλυθέναι τρόπον τινὰ τότε πρῶτως τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία ἐπιξενουμένου. **3.** ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔλεγον τοῦ λόγου ἀρχομένη, ὅτι θαυμάζειν ἔχω τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπίχυσιν· τὰ τε γὰρ ἔξω καὶ τᾶνδον πάντα ἦν ἰδεῖν κυμαινόμενα πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ' ὅ γε βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ κρύφια καὶ προησθάνετό τε καὶ παντοδαποῖς μηχανήμασι πόρρω τὰς βλάβας ἀπήλαυνε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδοθεν τυράννους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν βαρβάρους ἀνταγωνιζόμενος ἀεὶ προφθάνων ὀξύτητι νοῦ τὰς τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἐπιβουλάς καὶ ἀνακόπτων τὰς τούτων ὁρμὰς. καὶ ἔγωγε στοχάζομαι ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην τῆς βασιλείας, ὅτι πανταχόθεν συνέρρευσε τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἐτετάρακτο αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ πᾶν ἀλλότριον ἐμεμῆνει κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων, ὡς εἴ τις οὕτως ἔχοι κακῶς, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν πολεμείσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων κατατρυχέσθαι τὰς σάρκας διαμασσώμενον, τοῦτον δὲ ἀνεγείραι τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἵνα πρὸς τὰ πανταχόθεν κακὰ ἀντιμηχανῶτο, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ τηνικαῦτα συνιδεῖν ἔδει· ὅ τε γὰρ Βαϊμοῦντος ὁ βάρβαρος ὁ πολλάκις ἡμῖν εἰρημένος ἐξηρτύετο κατὰ τῶν σκῆπτρων Ῥωμαίων βαρῦτατον στρατεύμα ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὸ τυραννικὸν τούτου πλήθος ἐτέρωθεν ἀντεπηγείρετο, καθάπερ ἄνωθεν τοῦ

come the difficulties at home, all the world outside burst into a blaze just as if Fortune were making the barbarians abroad and the pretenders at home spring up simultaneously like the seff-grown Giants. And this in spite of the Emperor's administrating and managing the government in a very peaceful and humane way, and overwhelming everybody with kindnesses. **2.** For some he gladdened with honours and promotions, and never ceased enriching by handsome gifts; while as for the barbarians of whatever country they were, he never gave them any pretext for war nor enforced the necessity of it upon them, but when they made a tumult he checked them; for it is bad generals who in a time of universal peace purposely excite their neighbours to war. For peace is the end of every war, but to choose war in every case instead of peace for the sake of anything and always to disregard the good end, this is the characteristic of senseless generals and demagogues and men who are working for the destruction of the state. Now the Emperor Alexius used to do just the opposite and was exceptionally desirous of peace, and when it existed he always did his utmost to maintain it, and when it was broken, often lay awake thinking how to restore it. By nature he was peaceful, but under the compulsion of circumstances, very warlike. And I can boldly assert of this man that after imperial dignity had long been absent from the Roman Court, it returned in a certain degree under him and him alone, and was then first entertained as a guest by the Roman ruler. **3.** But, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, I cannot but be astonished at the influx of wars; for everything both at home and abroad was seen to be in a state of tumult. However, the Emperor Alexius perceived his enemies' secret and hidden plans beforehand, and by various devices he warded off their harmful effects. Both when he was fighting against the pretenders at home or the barbarians abroad, he ever anticipated the plots of the plotters by his keen instinct, and thus frustrated their attempts. From all these things I infer the Fate of the kingdom [311] because dangers accumulated from every direction, and the body politic was disturbed, and every foreign nation was raging against the Roman Empire; it was as if a man were so unfortunately placed as to be attacked by enemies from without, whilst he was being exhausted physically by cruel pains, and yet Providence roused him up to make a stand against these manifold ills; as was to be observed in this case. For the barbarian Bohemund, whom we have mentioned so frequently, was preparing for his attack on the Roman throne by collecting an

λόγου πεπροοιμίασται. 4. τέσσαρες μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ζύμπαντες οἱ τῆς βουλῆς καταρχόμενοι, Ἀνεμάδες τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τὰς κλήσεις ὁ μὲν Μιχαήλ, ὁ δὲ Λέων, ὁ ἕτερος <...>, ὁ ἄλλος <...> προσηγορεύετο. ἀδελφοὶ δ' ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σώματα πρότερον καὶ τότε τὴν γνώμην· εἰς ταῦτο γὰρ ἅπαντες συνεφρόνησαν, ἀποκτείνειν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιλήψεσθαι σκήπτρων. συνυπήγοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν εὐγενῶν, οἳ τε Ἀντίοχοι γένους ὄντες περιφανοῦς καὶ οἱ Ἐξαζήνοι καλούμενοι, ὃ τε Δούκας καὶ ὁ Ὑαλέας, ἄνδρες ἐκθυμότατοι τῶν πάποτε γεγενημένων πρὸς μάχας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Νικήτας ὁ Κασταμονίτης καὶ Κουρτίκιος τις καὶ ὁ Βασιλάκιος Γεώργιος. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου πρωτεύοντες, τῆς δὲ γε συγκλήτου ὁ Σολομῶν Ἰωάννης· ὄν διὰ πλούτου περιουσίαν καὶ γένους λαμπρότητα βασιλέα χρίσειν ὁ Μιχαήλ ὁ καὶ κορυφαῖος τῆς τετρακτύος τῶν Ἀνεμάδων σχηματιζόμενος ἐπηγγέλλετο. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σολομῶν οὗτος τῆς συγκλήτου λογάδος τὰ πρῶτα φέρων οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνεξηπατημένων αὐτῷ, βραχυῶς μὲν ἦν τὴν ἡλικίαν, κουφότατος <δὲ> τὴν γνώμην ἀριστοτελικῶν τὲ καὶ πλατωνικῶν μαθημάτων ᾤετο εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλυθέναι· οὐ μὴν εὖ ἤκε τῆς φιλοσόφου εἰδήσεως, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐτετύφωτο διὰ περιουσίαν κουφότητος. 5. λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλοις ἰστίοις ἀπένευε καθάπερ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἀνεμάδων ἐμπνεόμενος. ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἄρα τὰ πάντα πλάνη· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἐν νῷ τοῦτον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιχαήλ ἐς τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἀναγαγεῖν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῆς κουφότητι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιχείρησιν ἀπερχῶντο. αἰεὶ τι ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ρεύματος ἐπισπῶντες καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς βασιλείας ποιοῦντες ὑπότυπον ὅλον ἑαυτοῖς τιθασσὸν ἐποιήσαντο γνώμης τοιαύτης ἔχοντες, ὡς εἰ εὐοδα πράξαιεν καὶ ἡ τύχη αὐτοῖς εὐνούστερόν πως ἐνατενίσσειε, τὸν μὲν παραγκωνίσαιτο ἀφέντες ψαίρειν ἐπὶ πελάγους, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν σκήπτρων ἀνθεξοῖντο μικρὰν τινα δόξαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν αὐτῷ ἀπονείμαντες. οἱ μέντοι γε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λόγοι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ φόνον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπηγγέλλοντο οὐδὲ ξιφουλκίας ἐμέμνηντο, οὐ μάχης οὐδὲ πολέμων, ἵνα μὴ καταπτοήσαιεν τὸν ἄνδρα, πάλαι τοῦτον εἰδότες πρὸς ἅπαν εἶδος πολέμου δειλότατον. τοῦτον τοίνυν τὸν Σολομῶντα ὥσπερ δὴ κορυφαϊότατον τῶν ἄλλων ἐνηγκαλίσαντο, συνυπήχθησαν δὲ τῇ τούτων βουλῇ καὶ ὁ Σκληρὸς καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου τῷ τότε διηνυκῶς Ξηρός. 6. ὁ μέντοι Σολομῶν κουφοτέρας ὄν γνώμης, καθάπερ ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἐξαζήνου καὶ Ὑαλέα καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν Ἀνεμάδων μελετωμένων συνείς, ἐν χερσὶν ἦδη

immense army, and on the other side this party of pretenders rose against the Emperor, as we said before in the preface. 4. The originators of the conspiracy were four in all, by surname Anemades, and their Christian names were Michael, Leo, < . . . > and < . . . > They were brothers, firstly by birth, and secondly by disposition; for they all agreed on this point, to kill the Emperor and seize the sceptre. Others of the nobility associated themselves with them, namely, the Antiochi of illustrious race, and the two called Exazeni, that is Ducas and Hyaleas, the boldest men in battle that ever were, and besides them Nicetas Castamonites and a certain Curticius and George Basilacius. These were all leaders in the military party, and of the Senate there was John Solomon. Because of the latter's superfluity of riches and brilliant lineage, Michael, the leader of the Anemades quartette, deceitfully promised that Solomon should be appointed Emperor. Now this Solomon, who was the head of the senatorial body, was shortest in stature and lightest in mind of the senators as well as of his fellow-dupes. He thought he had completely exhausted the doctrines of Aristotle and Plato, but he had not really a good store of philosophic knowledge, for he was puffed up by his extreme lightheadedness. 5. For the rest he directed his course towards the throne under full sail as if wafted along by the Anemades. But they were utter impostors. For Michael and his brothers had not the slightest intention of raising him to the throne, far from it, but they used the man's wealth and his levity for their own purpose. They continually helped themselves to his stream of gold, and by puffing him up with promises of the throne, they rendered him quite subservient to themselves. They intended, if they were successful and fortune smiled upon them, to elbow him out of the way, and leave him fluttering on the sea, and when they themselves had grasped the sceptre, they would assign [312] him but little glory and prosperity. And when speaking about the plot in his presence, no mention was made of the Emperor's murder or the drawing of a sword, or of a battle or war, so as not to alarm this man, for they knew of old that he was a great coward in anything to do with war. Accordingly they embraced Solomon as if he were the chief leader of the party. Involved in this plot were also Sclerus, and Xerus, who had then completed his term of office as Prefect of Constantinople. 6. Now, as said above, Solomon was of a lightheaded disposition and as he understood nothing of what was meditated by Exazenus and Hyaleas and the Anemades themselves, imagined he

τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων κατέχειν οἰόμενος προσ-  
ωμίλει τισὶ καὶ ὑπεποιεῖτο ὑποσχέσεσι δωρεῶν  
καὶ ἀξιομάτων τούτους ὑπαγόμενος. φοιτήσας δέ  
ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ δράματος κορυφαῖος  
Μιχαὴλ ὁ Ἀνεμάς καὶ θεασάμενος ὁμιλοῦντά τινι  
ἐπυνθάνετο, τί ἂν εἴη τὸ λεγόμενον. ὁ δὲ Σολο-  
μῶν μετὰ τῆς συνήθους ἀπλότητος φησὶν ὡς  
„ἀξίωμα αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν  
συνέθετο κοινωνὸς ἡμῖν τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πάντων  
ἔσσεσθαι“. ὁ δὲ μορίαν τούτου καταψηφισάμενος  
καὶ περίφοβος γεγονώς, ὡς μηδὲ ἔμευθεῖν  
πεφυκότα διαγνοῦς, οὐκέθ' ὡς τὸ πρότερον πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἐφοῖτα.

already held the Roman Empire in his grasp, and  
would talk to people and try to win them over by  
promises of gifts and honours. Once Michael  
Anemas, the chief actor in the drama, went to him  
and seeing him talk to somebody asked what he  
was saying; Solomon with his usual simplicity  
replied, "He asked me for a certain post, and on  
my promising it he agreed to become one of us in  
the plot." Michael cursed his foolishness and  
grew very frightened as he realized that the other  
was incapable of holding his tongue, and  
consequently did not visit him as frequently as  
before.

## §6

1. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται, τοὺς Ἀνεμάδας φημὶ  
καὶ Ἀντιόχους καὶ τοὺς τούτων συνωμότας, κατὰ  
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὴν σκαιωρίαν ἐποιοῦντο  
σώματος, ἴν', ὀπηνίκα καιροῦ εὐθέτου τύχοιεν,  
παρευθὺ τὸν μελετώμενον κατὰ τοῦ αὐτο-  
κράτορος φόνον εἰς ἔργον προάξωσιν. ὡς δὲ παρὰ  
τῆς προνοίας ἄδεια οὐδεμία τούτοις ἐδίδοτο καὶ ὁ  
καιρὸς παρερρῦετο, πτοηθέντες μὴ κατάφωροι  
γένωνται, ὃν ἐπεζήτουν καιρὸν ἔδοξαν εὐρη-  
κέναι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετὰ τὸ διυπνισ-  
θῆναι κατὰ δειλὴν ἐφάν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν  
φροντίδων ἐγγινομένην ἄλμην καταγλυκαίνειν  
ἐθέλων ἐνίστε συμπαίστορας εἶχε τῶν συγγενέων  
τινάς παίζων τὸ ζατρίκιον (παιδιὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς  
τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τρυφῆς ἐξευρημένον καὶ εἰς  
ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐληλυθός), οἱ τὴν τυραννικὴν  
ἐξοπλίσαντες χεῖρα διὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ  
κοιτωνίσκου ἔμελλον ὡς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα χωρῆσαι  
τὸν φόνον ὠδίνοντες. 2. ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικῆς  
κοιτωνίσκου οὗτος, οὐπὲρ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτυχον  
εὐναζόμενοι, κατὰ τὴν εὐώνυμον κεῖται πλευρὰν  
τοῦ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς Θεομήτορος ἀνεγηγεμένον  
τεμένους κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ τοῦ  
μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ὄνομα ταύτη  
ἐπέγραφον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν αἶθριον ἔδαφος ἦν  
ὑπὸ μαρμάρων κατεστρωμένον, καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο  
ἐξάγουσα πύλη τοῦ τεμένους ἄνετος πᾶσι τοῖς  
ἐθέλουσιν ἦν. ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ἐσκέψαντο εἰσελθεῖν  
εἰς τὸν τεμένους καὶ τὰς τὸν βασιλικὸν  
κοιτωνίσκον ἀποκλειούσας κατεάξει πύλας κἄθ'  
οὕτως εἰσελθόντες ἀνελεῖν διὰ ξίφους τὸν  
αὐτοκράτορα. 3. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ μαιφόνου  
ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ἠδίκηκότος  
διεσκοποῦντο· ἔσφηλε δὲ τὴν τούτων βουλήν ὁ  
Θεός, δηλωθέντος δὲ τοῦ δράματος διὰ τινος τῶ  
αὐτοκράτορι παραχρῆμα μετεπέμποντο ἅπαντες,  
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννην τὸν Σολομῶντα καὶ  
Γεώργιον τὸν Βασιλάκιον εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα  
εἰσαχθῆναι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέτρεψεν ἐγγυτέρω γενο-

1. Now the soldiers, I mean the Anemades, the  
Antiochi and their fellow-conspirators, planned  
mischief against the Emperor and arranged that  
directly they found an opportune moment, they  
would at once carry into execution the Emperor's  
premeditated murder. But since Providence  
denied them opportunity and time was running  
on, and they were afraid they might be detected,  
they imagined they had found the occasion they  
sought. For, on awaking from sleep in the early  
morning, in order to dissipate the humours (lit.:  
'sweeten the brine') engendered by his many  
anxieties the Emperor occasionally played at  
chess with one of his relations (this game was  
invented by the luxurious Assyrians, and brought  
thence to us); so these men, with arms in their  
plotting hands, intended to pass through the royal  
bedroom and get at the Emperor in their longing  
for his murder. 2. This imperial bedroom, where  
the Emperors then slept, was situated on the left  
side of the chapel in the palace dedicated to the  
Mother of God; most people said it was dedicated  
to the great martyr Demetrius. To the right was an  
atrium paved with marble. And the door leading  
to this from the chapel was always open to all.  
They intended, therefore, to enter the chapel by  
this door, to force open the doors which shut off  
the [313] Emperor's bedroom and thus to enter  
and dispatch him by the sword.

3. This indeed is what those guilty men purposed  
against him who had done them no wrong. But  
God wrecked their plans. For somebody revealed  
the plot to the Emperor, who at once summoned  
them all. First he had John Solomon and George  
Basilacius introduced into the palace to a place  
close to the small room in which he happened to  
be with his family around him. He wanted to ask

μένους τοῦ οἰκίσκου, ἐν ᾧ περ αὐτὸς ἐτύγγανεν ὦν μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν συγγενείας, ἵνα διὰ τινων ἐξερωτώη αὐτούς, ἀπλουστεροῦ φρονήματος τούτους πάλοι γινώσκων κακ τούτου ῥαδίως τὰ βεβουλευμένα μεμαθηκέναι οἰόμενος. ὡς δὲ πολλάκις ἐρωτώμενοι ἔξαρνοι ἦσαν, ἔξεισιν ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ Ἰσαάκιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶντα ἀπονεύσας ἔφη: „οἴσθα πάντως, Σολομῶν, τὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθότητα. εἰ μὲν τὰ βεβουλευμένα πάντα ἀπαγγείλης, συμπαθείας παραχρῆμα ἀξιωθήσῃ, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀνήμεστοις βασάνοις παραδοθήσῃ“. ὁ δὲ ἐνατενίσας καὶ τοὺς περικυκλοῦντας τὸν σεβαστοκράτορα βαρβάρους θεασάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἑτερόστομα ξίφη κραδαίνοντας, ἔντρομος γεγρονώς, παραχρῆμα ἅπαντα ἀπαγγέλλει τοὺς τε συνίστορας ὁμολογήσας, μηδὲν δὲ περὶ τοῦ φόνου εἰδέναι δισχυριζόμενος. εἶτα παραδοθέντες τοῖς τὴν φυλακὴν τούτων ἐμπειστημένους τῶν ἀνακτόρων καὶ διαιρεθέντες ἔμφρουροι γεγόνασι. **4.** τοὺς δὲ γε λοιποὺς αὐθις ἠρώτων περὶ τοῦ δράματος ὁμολογήσαντες δὲ ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲ τὸν φόνον ἐπικρύψαντες, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦτον μεμελετηκέναι ἐγνώσθησαν καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀνεμᾶς Μιχαήλ, ὁ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς κορυφαῖος, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος φόνιον πνέων, ἅπαντας περιορίσας καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἐδήμευσε περιουσίας. ὁ μέντοι οἶκος τοῦ Σολομῶντος περιφανῆς ὦν ἐδόθη πρὸς τὴν αὐγούσταν, ἐκείνη δὲ, ὅποια περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἶκτον λαβοῦσα τῆς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ὁμευνέτιδος, ἀπεχαρίσατο τοῦτον αὐτῇ μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφελομένη. **5.** τὸν μέντοι Σολομῶντα ἔμφρουρον εἶχεν ἡ Σωζόπολις, τὸν δὲ Ἀνεμᾶν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς πρωταίτιους καὶ τὴν ἐν χρῶ κουρᾶν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος ψιλώσας διὰ μέσης πομπεῦσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρεκελεύσατο, εἶτα ἐξορυχθῆναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παραλαβόντες οὖν τούτους οἱ σκηνικοὶ καὶ σάκκους περιβαλόντες, τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς ἐντοσθίους βοῶν καὶ προβάτων ταινίας δίκην κοσμήσαντες, ἐν βουσὶν ἀναγαγόντες καὶ ἐγκαθίσαντες οὐ περιβάδην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θατέραν πλευρὰν τούτους διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἤγον αὐλίδος. ῥαβδοῦχοι ἔμπροσθεν τούτων ἐφαλλόμενοι καὶ ἄσμάτιόν τι γελοῖον καὶ κατάλληλον τῇ πομπῇ προσάδοντες ἀνεβῶν, λέξει μὲν ἰδιώτιδι διηρμοσμένον, νοῦν δὲ ἔχον τοιοῦτον· ἐβούλετο γὰρ τὸ ἄσμα πάνδημον πᾶσι παρακελεύεσθαι <ἐξελθεῖν> τὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν τοὺς τετυραννευκότας τούτους κερασφόρους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες τὰ ξίφη κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔθηξαν. **6.** ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ἡλικία ἐς τὴν τοιαύτην θεᾶν συνέτρεχεν, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς, τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρας, ἐξελθούσας λαθραῖαν τὴν θεᾶν ποιῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ τὸν Μιχαήλ ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἐθεάσαντο ἐνατενίζοντα καὶ χεῖρας ἰκέτιδας ἐς οὐρανὸν

them a few questions, and as he had long known that they were very simple-minded, he thought he would easily learn the details of the plot. But in answer to his repeated questions they denied everything; then the Sebastocrator Isaac approached them and nodding to Solomon said, “Solomon, you know well the goodness of my brother, the Emperor. Now if you will give a full account of the plot you will be granted an immediate pardon, but, if not, then you will be handed over to horrible tortures.” Solomon looked fixedly at him, and then at the barbarians standing in a circle round the Sebastocrator, brandishing their one-edged axes on their shoulders, and forthwith fell to trembling, and revealed everything and gave the names of his fellow-plotters, but insisted that he knew nothing about any intention to murder. They were then handed over to the men assigned to guard them and put into separate prisons. **4.** Afterwards the Emperor and his brother questioned the rest about the plot; they confessed everything and even avowed their intention to murder. When it was found that the soldiers had arranged this, or rather Michael Anemas, the ringleader of the plot, who had murderous feelings against the Emperor, they were all banished, and their property confiscated. However, Solomon’s house was given to the Empress, as it was very beautiful. But she, with her usual kindness, took pity on Solomon’s wife, and gave it back to her without taking the slightest thing out of it. **5.** And Solomon was kept imprisoned in Sozopolis. But Anemas and the others who were the prime authors with him, had their heads closely shaven and their beards cut off, and then the Emperor ordered them to be led through the middle of the Agora and afterwards have their eyes gouged out. So the masters of the ceremonies took them and dressed them in sacks and decorated their heads with the entrails of oxen and sheep as if they were fillets, then placed them on oxen, not astride, but sideways, and conducted them through the court of the palace. Lictors gambolled before them, singing [314] a ridiculous song suitable to the procession in a loud voice; it was expressed in rude language, and its meaning was somewhat like this: It called on everyone to < . . . > . For the song aimed at bidding all the public come out and look at these horn-bearing pretenders who had whetted their swords against the Emperor. **6.** So people of every age flocked together to view this spectacle, and even we, the Emperor’s daughters, went out to see it secretly. When the people saw Michael looking up to the palace and raising suppliant hands to heaven, and by gestures asking that his

αἶροντα, αἰτούμενον ἐν σχήματι χειρας ἐξ ὧμων ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ πόδας ἐκ γλουτῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, ἅπαντα φύσις πρὸς δάκρυον καὶ οἰμωγὰς κεκίνηται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς, αἱ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρες. ἐγὼ δέ, βουλομένη τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ τοιούτου ῥύσασθαι κακοῦ, τὴν βασιλῖδα καὶ μητέρα ἅπαξ καὶ δις προὔκαλούμην ἐς θεάν τῶν πομπευομένων· ἐκηδόμεθα γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος χάριν (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τᾶληθές) μὴ τοιούτων ἀποστεροῖτο στρατιωτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Μιχαήλ, ὅσῳ καὶ βαρυτέρα ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφος ἐξενήνεκτο. 7. ὀρώσα ὅποσον αὐτὸν ἐξεταπεινῶν ἢ ξυμφορᾶ, ὅπερ οὖν ἔλεγον, ἐξεβιαζόμεν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑμαντῆς, εἴ πως τοῦ κινδύνου ῥυσθεῖεν οἱ ἄνδρες ἤδη τούτοις ἐγγύθεν ἐφεστηκότος· σχολαιοτέραν γὰρ τὴν πορείαν οἱ σκηνικοὶ ἐποιοῦντο, χῶραν πραγματευόμενοι συμπαθείας τοῖς μαιφόνους. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνη ἀπώκνει τὴν ἔλευσιν (καθῆστο γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, οὗ τὰς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐντεύξεις κοινῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἐνώπιον τῆς Θεομήτορος), κατελθοῦσα καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν περίφοβος ἐστηκυῖα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀπεθάρρουν τὴν εἴσοδον, νεύμασι τὴν βασιλισσαν προὔκαλούμην. καὶ δὴ πεισθεῖσα εἰς τὴν θεάν ἀνέρχεται, καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν Μιχαήλ ὄκτειρέ τε καὶ δάκρυον ἐπαφεῖσα τούτῳ θερμὸν ἐπανατρέχει πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἅπαξ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς καὶ πολλάκις ἐξαιτουμένη χάρισασθαι τῷ Μιχαήλ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. 8. καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπεται ὁ τοὺς δημίους ἀπείρξων· καὶ δὴ σπεύσας προφθάνει τούτους ἐνδοθεν τῶν λεγομένων Χειρῶν, ἃς ὁ διαβάς οὐκέτι ῥύεται τοῦ δεινοῦ. οἱ γὰρ τὰς χαλκᾶς ταυτασὶ χειρας βασιλεῖς πῆξαντες ἐπὶ τινος ὑψηλοτάτης περιωπῆς καὶ μετεώρου λιθίνης ἀψίδος τοῦτο κρατῆσαι ἐβούλοντο ὡς, εἰ μὲν τις ἐντὸς τούτων γένοιτο, ὃν ὁ νόμος θανάτῳ κατέκρινε, καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ φθάσει τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατοροῦθεν φιλανθρωπίας, ἐλεύθερος ἔσται τῆς συμφορᾶς, ὡς τῶν χειρῶν τούτων σημαινουσῶν, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτους πάλιν ἐνηγκαλίσαστο καὶ ὄλαις κατέσχε χερσὶ καὶ μήπω τῶν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας χειρῶν ἀπολέλυκεν· εἰ δ' ὑπερβαῖεν ἐκείνας, σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦτο ὡς δῆθεν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον κράτος τούτους ἀπώσατο. 9. τῆς τύχης οὖν ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων, ἣν ἐγὼ θεῖαν ψῆφον εἶναι λογίζομαι, καὶ δεῖ καλεῖν ἐκείνην εἰς ἀρωγὴν· ἢ γὰρ τὰ τῆς συμπαθείας ἐντὸς ἔφθακε τῶν Χειρῶν καὶ ἐξήρηντο τῶν κινδύνων οἱ δυστυχοῦντες, ἢ τὰς Χείρας παρωδευκότες καὶ πόρρω σωτηρίας εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνατίθημι πρόνοιαν, ἢ καὶ τότε τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἐξορύξεως τῶν ὀμμάτων τοῦτον ἐξείλετο. Θεὸς γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ τῆνικαῦτα ἐκίνησεν εἰς τὴν τούτου συμπάθειαν. ὁ γὰρ τοι τῆς σωτηρίας

arms should be torn from his shoulders, and his legs from his buttocks, and his head be cut off, every creature was moved to tears and lamentations, and we, the Emperor's daughters, more than all. And I in my desire to rescue the man from such misery repeatedly implored the Empress, my mother, to come and see the procession. For to tell the truth we were concerned about the men for the Emperor's sake, for in them he would be deprived of such good soldiers, especially Michael on whom the heaviest sentence had been pronounced. 7. Accordingly, when I saw how humbled he was by his misfortune, I tried to force my mother, as I was saying, in order that the men might perchance, be saved from the danger which stood so near them. For the conductors were leading the procession very slowly with the purpose of giving an opportunity for pardon being granted to the guilty. But as she delayed coming (for she was sitting with the Emperor and they were conjointly making intercessions to God before the Mother of God) I went down and standing fearfully outside the doors, for I did not dare to go in, I tried to draw her out by signs. And finally she was persuaded and came out to see the sight. When she saw Michael she pitied him and ran back to the Emperor, shedding bitter tears, and besought him, not once or twice, but repeatedly, to spare Michael's eyes. 8. He at once dispatched a messenger to stop the executioners; and, by hurrying, the man got there just before they had passed inside the 'Hands' as they were called; for he who has once passed them, can no longer be saved from his fate. For the Emperors had fixed up these bronze hands in a very conspicuous place on a lofty stone arch with the fixed intention that if a man, condemned to death by law, should be short of them, and on the way receive a pardon from the hand of the Emperor, he was to be freed from his punishment. For the Hands signified that the Emperor took the men back into his arms and held them firmly, and did not loose them [315] from the hands of his mercy. But if they passed the Hands, this was a sign that in all truth the imperial majesty rejected them. 9. The fate of men under punishment is therefore in the hands of fortune, which I interpret as the decree of God, and it is right, therefore, to implore His help. For either mercy reaches them short of the Hands and the wretches are delivered from danger, or they have passed beyond the Hands and are far from salvation. But I attribute it all to God's providence, which on this occasion delivered the man from the gouging out of his eyes. For it seems probable that it was God who moved

ἄγγελος σπεύσας ἔνθεν τῆς ἀψίδος, ἐν ἧ αἰ  
χαλκαῖ χεῖρες ἦσαν ἐμπεπηγμένοι, τὸ τῆς συμ-  
παθείας γραμμάτιον ἐπιδοῦς τοῖς τὸν Μιχαήλ  
ἄγουσιν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦτον λαβὼν ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ  
καταλαβὼν τὸν ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ὠκοδομη-  
μένον πύργον κεῖθι τοῦτον καθεῖρξε· τοῦτο γὰρ  
ποιῆσαι κεκέλευστο.

us on that day to take pity on the man. For the  
messenger of salvation hastened and reached this  
side of the arch on which the bronze Hands are  
fixed, gave the letter granting the pardon to the  
men leading Michael, took him and came back  
with him, and on reaching a tower, built close to  
the palace, confined him there, for such were his  
orders.

## §7

1. οὐπω δ' οὗτος τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἠλευθεροῦτο καὶ  
τὸν Γρηγόριον αὐθις ἢ τοῦ Ἀνεμᾶ εἶχεν εἰρκτῆ.  
πύργος δ' ἦν εἷς τίς τῶν ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἐν Βλαχέρναις  
ἀνακτόρων διακειμένων τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὁ τοῦ  
Ἀνεμᾶ καλούμενος, ὡσπέρ τι λάχος τὴν  
ἐπωνυμίαν ταυτηνὴ κληρωσάμενος διὰ τὸ πρότως  
τὸν Ἀνεμᾶν σιδηρόδετον δέξασθαι ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν  
αὐτῷ χρονοτριβήσαντα χρόνον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπινεμή-  
σεως παριπεουσύης δωδεκάτης δούξ προβληθείς  
Τραπεζοῦντος ὁ ἤδη ῥηθείς Γρηγόριος ἀποστ-  
ασίαν πάλαι ὠδίνων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τραπεζοῦντα  
ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς φῶς ἐξήγαγε τὸ ἀπόρητον.  
ἐπανιόντι γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τῷ  
Δαβατηνῷ τῆς δουκικῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν Ταρωνίτην  
μετατεθείσης συναντήσας, δεσμώτην εὐθὺς αὐτὸν  
καὶ ἔμφρουρον εἰς Τήβενναν εἶχεν, οὐ τὸν  
Δαβατηνὸν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν  
Τραπεζοῦντιῶν ἱκανοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τοῦ  
Βακκηνοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ  
τῆς εἰρκτῆς οὐκ ἐλύοντο, ὁμοφρονήσαντες  
ἅπαντες τοὺς μὲν φρουροῦντας αὐτοὺς τοῦ  
ἀποστάτου αἰκίας καθυποβαλόντες ἔξω τῶν  
τειχῶν ἐξαγαγόντες πόρρω που ἀπήλασαν, αὐτοὶ  
δὲ τὴν Τήβενναν σφετερισάμενοι κατεῖχον. 2. ὁ  
δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις διὰ γραφῶν ποτὲ μὲν  
μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ξυνεβούλευε τῆς  
κακίστης ἀποστῆναι πράξεως, εἰ βούλοιο συμ-  
παθείας τυχεῖν καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἀναχθῆναι  
κατάστασιν, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ἠπειλεῖ, εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο.  
ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπειχε τοῦ ὑπακούειν τοῦ  
αὐτοκράτορος τὰ λόφονα συμβουλευόντος, ὡς καὶ  
γραφὴν πολὺστιχον πρὸς αὐτόν ἐκπεπομμένα  
καθαπτομένην οὐ μόνον τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ  
τοῦ στρατοῦ λογάδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν  
συγγενῶν καὶ γαμβρῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. ἐκ  
ταυτησὶ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς διαγνοὺς αὐτόν ὁ  
αὐτοκράτωρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον  
προβαίνοντα καὶ εἰς παντελῆ ἀπόνοιαν ἤδη  
συνελαυνόμενον καὶ ἀπογνοὺς αὐτοῦ παντάπασι,  
τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἐφιστα-  
μένης Ἰωάννην τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφιδοῦν τῆς πρωτο-  
τόκου αὐταδέλφης, ἐξάδελφον δὲ πατρόθεν τοῦ  
ἀποστάτου, πέμπει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρῶτον μὲν  
λόγον μᾶλλον συμβουλευσόμενον τὰ σωτήρια,  
οἰόμενος πεισθῆναι τούτῳ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς

1. Michael had not yet been liberated from prison  
before Anemas' prison received Gregory again.  
Forthistower was one of those in the city-walls  
near the palace of Blachernae, and was called the  
'Tower of Anemas' just as if it had got this name  
by fate as Anemas was first to be confined there  
in chains and was to spend a long time in it. For  
in the course of the twelfth Indiction the Gregory  
already mentioned who had long been hatching  
rebellion, on being appointed Duke of Trapezus,  
disclosed his secret on his journey to Trapezus.  
For he met Dabatenus (who was returning to Con-  
stantinople after handing over the post of Duke to  
Taronites), took him prisoner and kept him in jail  
in Tebenna; and not Dabatenus only, but also  
several of the leading Trapezuntines, among them  
the nephew of Bacchenus. As they were not  
released from imprisonment, they all united,  
subjected the jailers put over them by the rebel to  
ill-treatment, led them outside the walls and drove  
them some distance away. Then they appropriated  
Tebenna and held it.

2. The Emperor sent many letters to recall him  
and at other times advised him to desist from his  
wicked doings if he wished to obtain mercy and  
be restored to his former status; or again he would  
threaten him if he did not obey. But Gregory so  
far from listening to the Emperor's wise counsel,  
actually sent him a letter of many pages in which  
he attacked, not only the most important members  
of the Senate and the army, but even the  
Emperor's relations and marriage-connections.  
From this letter the Emperor became certain that  
[316] Gregory was daily going on the downward  
path, and was heading towards complete madness  
and consequently despaired of him. In the  
fourteenth Indiction he sent his nephew John, the  
son of his eldest sister, and the rebel's cousin on  
his father's side to him; he was at first to give him  
salutary advice, for he thought Gregory would  
listen to him because of their bond of kinship and  
consanguinity. But if he would not listen, John  
was to oppose him with a large force and resist  
him manfully by land and sea.

συγγενείας γνησιότητα καὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτου αἵματος ἀμφοῖν κοινωνίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο, ἀνδρικῶς ἀντικαταστήναι διὰ τε ξηρᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης πολλὰς συνεπαγόμενον δυνάμεις. **3.** μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τούτου ἔλευσιν ὁ Ταρωνίτης Γρηγόριος ἐξελθὼν ὡς πρὸς Κολώνειαν ἀπήει (πολίχιον δὲ τοῦτο ἐρυμνότατον καὶ ἀνάλωτον) ἐφ' ᾧ μετακαλέσασθαι τὸν Τανισμάνην εἰς ἀρωγήν. τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ἀπιέναι μεμαθηκῶς ὁ Ἰωάννης, τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου στρατεύματος ἀποδιελόμενος καὶ λογάδας Ῥωμαίους κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν, οἱ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καρτερὰν τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεδήσαντο μάχην. δύο δὲ γενναῖοι ἐντυχόντες αὐτῷ κατέσχον διὰ τῶν δοράτων καταβαλόντες τοῦ ἵππου, κἄθ' οὕτως ἀναλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωάννης ζωγρίαν ἄγει τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπομοσάμενος μὴδὲ θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸ παράπαν μήτε ὁμιλίας ἀξιῶσαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· πολλὰ δὲ ὁμῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκείνου ὑποκρινομένου τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι ἀποστερηῆσαι. **4.** μόγις οὖν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεγύμνωσε κατανεύσας δῆθεν ταῖς αὐτοῦ παρακλήσεσι, πολλὰ παρεγγυησάμενος μὴ ἔκφορον τὸν λόγον ποιήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τὴν ἐν χρῶ κουρείαν κειράμενον τὴν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τὸν πῶγωνα διὰ μέσης περιαχθῆναι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσε, κἄθ' οὕτως εἰς τὸν ἤδη ῥηθέντα πύργον τοῦ Ἀνεμᾶ εἰσαχθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἔμφρουρος ὢν ἀσύνετος ἦν ἀπονοίας ῥήματα πρὸς τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας ὁσημέραι ἀποφοιβάζων, πολλῆς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιμελείας διὰ μακρῶν ἡξιοῦτο χειρῶν, ὥστε μεταβαλεῖν καὶ μετανοίας ἐνδείξασθαι τρόπον. ὁ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ αὐθις ἦν, μετεκαλεῖτο δὲ συχνῶς τὸν ἐμὸν καίσαρα πάλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίως ἔχων. καὶ παρεχῶρει τούτῳ τηρικαῦτα καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τῆς πολλῆς αὐτὸν ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἀθυμίας καὶ συμβουλευεῖν τὰ λύονα. ὁ δὲ βραδὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολὴν ἐφαίνετο· ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονα καιρὸν ἔμφρουρος ἦν. εἶτα συμπαθείας ἀξιωθεὶς τοσαύτης φιλοφροσύνης ἀπήλαυε καὶ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῆς ὀπίσης οὐδὲ προτοῦ, ὅποιος ὁ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

**3.** When Gregory Taronites heard he was coming he at once left for Colonea (a very strong and impregnable fort) in order to call Tanismanes to his aid. John was informed of this as he was starting, so he detached the Franks and some picked Roman troops from his army, and sent them against Gregory. They overtook him and engaged him in a fierce battle, in which two brave soldiers attacked him with their spears and struck him down from his horse. They then conducted him to John, who led him captive to the Emperor though he had sworn not even to see him, still less to deign him worthy of conversation on the way. And yet he interceded strongly for him to the Emperor, who pretended that he intended to deprive him of his eyes. **4.** At last the Emperor reluctantly avowed his hypocrisy, yielded to John's prayers but exhorted him repeatedly not to let their conversation be divulged. Three days later, he had Gregory's hair and beard shaven off close to the skin and led in that condition through the middle of the Agora and then imprisoned in the tower of Anemas of which I have just spoken. Since even in prison he was still foolish and uttered words of madness daily to his jailers the Emperor bestowed great care upon him for a long time, in the hope of making him change and give proof of repentance. However he was the same as before and often asked for my Caesar as in former days he had been friendly with us. Consequently the Emperor gave my Caesar permission to visit him in order to lift him out of his deep despondency and give him good advice. But the other seemed very slow in changing for the better, and for that reason he remained prisoner for a long time. When he was granted pardon, he enjoyed such kindness and gifts and honour as never before, for such was the Emperor's clemency in these matters.

## §8

**1.** οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιβούλους καὶ τὸν ἀποστάτην Γρηγόριον οικονομήσας οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Βαϊμούντον ἐλάθετο, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Κοντοστέφανον Ἰσαάκιον μέγαν δοῦκα τοῦ στόλου προὔβαλετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπαπειλησάμενος τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκκοπήν, εἰ μὴ φθάσας προκαταλάβοι τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραιώσιν. πέμπει δὲ καὶ συνεχῆ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα

**1.** Having thus attended to the matter of the conspirators and the rebel Gregory he did not on account of these forget Bohemund, but summoned Isaac Contostephanus, and promoted him to be Great Duke of the fleet, and sent [317] him to Dyrrachium and further threatened him that his eyes would be put out if he did not manage to arrive in Illyria before Bohemund crossed. He also continually sent letters to his nephew

Δυρραχίου Ἀλέξιον, τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ, ἐπαλείφων τοῦτον καὶ παρασκευάζων ἐγρηγορέναι διαπαντὸς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπισκοποῦντας αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρακελεύεσθαι, ὡς μὴ λάθοι ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος διαπεράσας, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς δηλωθῆναί οἱ διὰ γραμμάτων.

2. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ· ὁ δὲ Κοντοστέφανος ἐντεταλμένον ἔχων μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸν ἀναμεταξὺ Λογγιβαρδίας ἐπιμελῶς τηρεῖν πορθμὸν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον προπομπούς τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε κομισομένους ἀπείργειν καὶ μὴδὲ τὸ τυχὸν κομίζεσθαι οἱ ἐκ Λογγιβαρδίας <τὸ> παράπαν συγχωρεῖν, ἀπελθὼν ἠγγόνησε τὸν ἐπιτήδειον τόπον τῶν ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν διαπλωιζομένων. οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραβλεψάμενος τὰ προστεταγμένα εἰς Ἰδρουῖντα διαπερᾶ, ὅπερ πόλις ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας διακειμένη τῷ ἐκεῖθεν ἱσταμένῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ἀποβλέποντι δεξιόθεν διακειμένη. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν γυνὴ τις ἐφρούρει, μήτηρ, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τοῦ Ταγγρέ, εἴτε ἀδελφὴ τοῦ ἐν πολλοῖς ἤδη ρηθέντος Βαϊμοῦντος εἴτε καὶ μή, συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἔχω· οὐ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς εἰ πατρόθεν ἢ μητρόθεν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ὁ Ταγγρὲ συγγένειαν ἐκέκτητο. 3. ἐκεῖσε παραγενόμενος καὶ προσορμίσας τὰς νῆας ἀπεπειράτο τῶν τοῦ Ἰδρουῖντος τειχῶν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας εἶχεν ἤδη. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἢ ἐντὸς οὕσα γυνὴ φρενήρης οὕσα καὶ σταθηρὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐθεάσατο, ὀπηνίκα τὰς ναῦς κεῖθι προσώρμισεν, εἰς ἓνα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς ἀποστείλασα σπουδαίως τοῦτον μετεκαλεῖτο, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς θαρσήσαντος ἤδη, ὡς ἐν χερσὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐφημίαν ποιουμένων ἀπάντων, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καταστᾶσα ταῦτο τοῦτο παρεκελεύετο ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κοντοστέφανον πρέσβεις ἀποστείλασα, δουλείαν ὠμολόγει τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εἰρηνικῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ σπονδὰς ὑπισχεῖτο ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὲ ἐξελεύσεσθαι τὰ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἀνακοινωσομένη, ὡς πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ δηλωθεῖν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀπαιροῦσα τὸν τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου λογισμόν, εἴ που ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καταλάβοι ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὴν σκηνὴν, καθάπερ τοὺς τραγικούς φασι, ρίψασα μάχης ἀνθέξειτο. 4. συμμιγοὺς οὖν τῆς εὐφημίας ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐντὸς ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐκτὸς γινομένης καὶ πάντα τὰ περίεξ κατελιφούσας, ἐπεὶ τοιούτοις λόγοις καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις ψευδέσι τὸν τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου ἀπῆρπει λογισμόν ἢ στρατιῶτις ἐκείνη γυνή, ὡς εἴρηται, καταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ προσδοκώμενος μεθ' ὧν συνυπήγετο κομήτων καὶ ὁμόσε κατὰ τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου χωρήσας ἠττᾶ κατὰ κράτος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἅπαντες ὡς ἄπειροι τῆς διὰ ξηρᾶς μάχης τῆ

Alexius, the Duke of Dyrrachium, stirring him up and bidding him keep a sharp look-out and to order those who were at guard on the sea to do the same, to prevent Bohemund's crossing secretly, but to send word of his crossing at once by letter.

2. That is what the Emperor did. Now Contostephanus' only orders were to watch the straits of Lombardy carefully and to prevent the ships crossing which Bohemund was sending ahead to carry all his apparatus from the one coast to the other-in fine, not to allow anything whatever to be conveyed from Lombardy to Illyria. When he departed he did not even know the likeliest spot from which the ships would sail across to Illyria, and not only that, but he disregarded orders and crossed to Hydruntum, which is a town situated on the coast of Lombardy. This town was commanded by a woman, Tancred's mother, it was said, whether she was the sister of Bohemund (so often mentioned in this history already) or not, I cannot say positively, for I do not know for certain whether Tancred was related to Bohemund on his mother's side, or his father's.

3. When Contostephanus reached the town and brought his ships to anchor, he made an attack on the walls [of Brindisi] and very nearly captured the city. But the woman inside who had a sound mind and a determined character, directly he had anchored his ships there, sent for one of her sons and bade him come with all speed. By now the whole fleet was in great spirits, thinking the town was theirs, and all began shouting acclaim to the Emperor; and the woman in this difficulty ordered the inhabitants to do likewise. At the same time she sent envoys to Contostephanus confessing her allegiance to the Emperor, and promised to make terms of peace with him, and said she would come out to Contostephanus to consult him about them so that he could explain everything to the Emperor. She devised all this to keep Contostephanus in suspense, hoping that perchance in the meantime her son might arrive, and then she would throw off the mask, as they say of the tragedians, and attack him in battle. 4. Thus while all the men inside and outside the town were hurrahing and the shouts filled the whole neighbourhood, and that martial woman, as I said, was holding Contostephanus in suspense by her messages and promises, the son she expected [318] actually arrived with his fellow-counts, at once attacked Contostephanus and routed him completely. All the men of the fleet being unversed in land-fighting threw themselves into the sea. Now there were a goodly number of



θαλάσση ἑαυτοὺς προσέρριψαν, τῶν δέ γε Σκυθῶν προεκδραμόντων (παρήσαν γὰρ ἱκανοὶ μετὰ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος) ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης εἰς προνομὴν, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς τοιοῦτοις βαρβάροις, συμβέβηκεν ἀλῶναι τούτων ἐξ τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὓς καὶ ἀποσταλέντας θεασάμενος ὁ Βαίμοῦντος καθάπερ τι μέγιστον πόρισμα τούτους λαβὼν εὐθύς πρὸς Ῥώμην ἀπήει. **5.** καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ τῷ πάπᾳ διαλεχθεὶς καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὅλον κινήσας κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων μῆνιν κατὰ τοῦ ἡμεδαποῦ γένους ἀνερεθίσας, ἵνα μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάπαν Ἰταλοὺς ἐκμήνειεν, ὁ Βαίμοῦντος καὶ τοὺς ἐαλωκότας τῶν Σκυθῶν παρεστήσατο ὡσπερ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὡς ἄρα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξιος, δυσμενῶς ἔχων τὰ πρὸς Χριστιανοῦς, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἀπίστους καὶ ἀλλοκότους ἱπποτοξότας ἐφίστησι κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄπλον κινουῦντας καὶ τόξον ἐντείνοντας· καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστου λόγου τοιοῦτου ὑπεδείκνυ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐκείνους τῷ πάπᾳ σκυθικῶς ἐσταλμένους καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πρὸς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον ἀποβλέποντας, καὶ τούτους κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν Λατίνων παγάνους ἄνω καὶ κάτω προσηγόρευε, καταμωκώμενος καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα. πανούργως δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ πρᾶγμα μετεχειρίζετο τοῦ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν πολέμου, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἀρχιερατικὴν γνώμην συμπεΐσειεν, ὡς εὐλόγως ἄρα κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔχθρας κεκίνητο, ἐν ταυτῷ μνηστευόμενος καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόματον συλλογὴν ἀγροικότερων καὶ ἀνοήτων. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐχὶ τῶν ἀγχοῦ καὶ πόρρω βαρβάρων αὐτόμολος ἦκεν εἰς τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν πόλεμον, ἀρχιερατικῆς γνώμης ἐπιτροπύσης καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου εὐλόγου πᾶσαν ἵππον καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ χεῖρα στρατιωτικὴν ἐξοπλίζοντος; τοῖς τούτου λόγοις οὖν συνελαθεὶς ὁ πάπας καὶ ὁμογνωμονήσας αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ἐπέτρεψε διαπεραίωσιν.

**6.** ἐπανακτέον δ' αὖθις τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ προκειμένον. ἐκθυμότερον μὲν οὖν οἱ ἠπειρώται στρατιῶται τῆς μάχης ἀντείχοντο· τοὺς δέ γε λοιποὺς τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ῥόθιον ὑπεδέξατο. κἀντεῦθεν λαμπρὰν οἱ Κελτοὶ εἶχον εἰς χεῖρας νίκην· οἱ δέ γε γενναιότεροι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ τῆς μείζονος τύχης, ὧν φέριστοι μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνος Νικηφόρος Ἐξαζηνὸς ὁ Ἰαλέας καὶ ὁ τούτου ἐξάδελφος Κωνσταντῖνος Ἐξαζηνὸς ὁ καλούμενος Δούκας καὶ ὁ ἀνδρικότατος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Εὐφορβηνὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξίας καὶ τύχης, μνησάμενοι θουρίδος ἀλκῆς ἐπιστραφέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκεις σπασάμενοι, ὅλη χεὶρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐμάχοντο τὸν ὅλον ἀναδεξάμενοι πόλεμον καὶ ἠττήσαντες αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν νίκην ἤρανο.

Scythians in the Roman army and some of these (as is the barbarians' custom) had run ahead during the battle to forage, and in this way it happened that six of them were taken captive. They were sent to Bohemund and, when he saw them, he considered them a very great asset, and went straightway with them to Rome. **5.** There he approached the apostolic seat, and conversed with the Pope and raised his fierce ire against the Romans and fanned the ancient grudge of those barbarians against our race. And in order to excite the Pope's and his Italians' rage still further, Bohemund brought in the captured Scythians as a convincing proof that the Emperor Alexius was hostile to the Christians, as he used unbelieving barbarians and monstrous mounted archers to wield weapons and draw their bows against Christians. And in every conversation of this kind he drew the Pope's attention to those Scythians who were in Scythian dress and, as usual, looked extremely barbaric; and all the time he kept calling them 'I pagans'; as the Latins' habit is, and mocking at their name and appearance. Very cunningly, as you see, he handled this affair of the war against the Christians, in order that he might convince the high-priestly mind that he had good reason to be aroused to enmity with the Romans; at the same time wooing the support of a voluntary army of the more rustic and stupid men. For who among the barbarians close by, or further off, would not come of his own accord to a war against us when the high-priest gave his consent, and an apparently just cause aroused every horse, man and soldierly arm? The Pope was constrained by Bohemund's arguments, and agreed with him, and sanctioned his crossing into Illyria.

**6.** And now I must return to the subject in hand. The land-soldiers did indeed put up a valiant fight, but the others were engulfed in the waves of the sea. Consequently the Franks had a brilliant victory in hand, but our braver soldiers, especially those of the higher rank, pre-eminent among whom were Nicephorus Exazenus Hyaleas and his cousin Constantine Exazenus, called Ducas, and that most courageous man, Alexander Euphorbenus, and others of similar worth and rank—these, I say, mindful of 'impetuous valour' turned back, drew their swords and fought [319] with all their might and main and revived the battle and carried off a brilliant victory over the Franks. **7.** In this way Contostephanus obtained relief from the attacks of the Franks and slipped his

7. ἀνακωχὴν οὖν ὁ Κοντοστέφανος ἐντεῦθεν λαβὼν τῆς κελτικῆς ἐπελεύσεως λύσας ἐκεῖθεν τὰ πρυμνήσια μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς τὸν Αὐλῶνα καταλαμβάνει. ἐπεὶ δέ, ὁπότε πρώτως τὸ Δυρράχιον καταλαβὼν τὰς ὑφ' αὐτὸν πολεμικὰς ναῦς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δυρραχίου μέχρι τοῦ Αὐλῶνος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς καλουμένης Χιμάρας διέσπειρεν, ἀπέχοντος μὲν τοῦ Δυρραχίου τοῦ Αὐλῶνος σταδίου ἑκατόν, τῆς δὲ Χιμάρας τοῦ Αὐλῶνος αὐθις ἀπεχούσης σταδίου ἐξήκοντα, τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ἐπειγομένην ἤδη ἐμάνθανε διαπεραιώσιν, στοχασάμενος ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν Αὐλῶνα διαπεράσαι αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἦττονα εἶναι τὸν πρὸς τὸν Αὐλῶνα πλοῦν τοῦ πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖν πλείονα τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ Αὐλῶνος ποιήσασθαι, ἀπελθὼν μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων δουκῶν ἐτήρει ἐπιμελῶς τὸν ἀναμεταξὺ πορθμὸν τοῦ Αὐλῶνος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰάσονος βουνοῦ σκοποὺς ἐπιστήσας ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν περιθρεῖν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπισκοπεῖν.

8. Κελτὸς δὲ τις ἐκεῖθεν ἄρτι διαπεραιωθεὶς ἐβεβαίον τούτοις τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ἐπὶ ξυροῦ εἶναι διαπεραιώσιν. τοῦτο οἱ Κοντοστέφανοι μεμαθηκότες καὶ ἀποδειλιῶντες πρὸς τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ναυμαχίαν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ φήμη μόνη τούτους κατέπληττε) νοσεῖν ἐσκήψαντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖσθαι βαλανείων. καὶ ὁ Λαντοῦλφος {καὶ} τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἐξηγούμενος, ἐμπειρίαν πολλὴν τῆς ναυλοχίας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολέμου ἐκ πολλοῦ κεκτημένος, πολλὰ τούτοις παρηγγυᾶτο ἐργηγορέναι διαπαντὸς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου караδοκεῖν ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ Κοντοστέφανοι, ἐν τῷ πρὸς Χιμάραν ἀπίενα βαλανείου χάριν, τὸν καλούμενον δεῦτερον, τὸν δρουγγάριον τοῦ στόλου, μετὰ τοῦ ἐξκουσσάτου μονήρους κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν Γλώσσαν σκοπέα κατέλιπον οὐ πόρρω πού τοῦ Αὐλῶνος διακειμένην. ὁ δὲ γε Λαντοῦλφος κατὰ τὸν Αὐλῶνα προσέμενε μετὰ τινῶν συμμέτρων νηῶν.

cables and sailed away with his whole fleet to Valona. When he had first come to Dyrrachium he had posted his ships of war all about from Dyrrachium itself up to Valona and even up to the place called Chimara (now Dyrrachium is one hundred stades distant from Valona and Chimara is sixty stades further away from Valona). But now that he heard that Bohemund's crossing was imminent, and as he surmised that he would probably cross to Valona, for the passage to Valona was shorter than that to Dyrrachium, he decided that a stricter guard must be kept over Valona. So he sailed with the other Dukes and kept a careful watch on the intervening straits from Valona; he placed scouts on the ridge of the hill called Jason to keep a lookout over the sea and watch for the ships.

8. A Frank (Gr. *Celt*) who had just crossed from Italy assured them that Bohemund was on the very point of starting. On being informed of this, the Contostephani who shrank with dread from a naval battle with Bohemund (and were indeed terror-stricken by the mere thought of it) pretended they were ill and must therefore go to the baths. Landulph, commander of the whole fleet, who had a long and varied experience of sea-craft and of naval battles, kept exhorting them to be continually on their guard, and to expect Bohemund's arrival. But the Contostephani, when leaving for Chimara to take the baths, left the man called the second Drungaire of the fleet with the monoreme Excussatum on watch near the promontory Glossa which is not very far from Valona. And Landulph remained at Valona with a suitable supply of ships.

## §9

1. τούτων οὕτω διατεθέντων οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν ἢ λουσόμενοι ἢ κατὰ σχῆμα λουσόμενοι· ὁ δὲ Βαϊμούντος δώδεκα μὲν ληστρικὰς νῆας τάξας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν διήρεις ἀπάσας οὔσας καὶ εἰρεσίαν πολλὴν κεκτημένας, ὡς καὶ ἠχητικόν τι καὶ κατάκροτον ἐκτυποῦσαν ταῖς τῶν κωπῶν συνεχέσιν ἐπεμβολαῖς, κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου στόλου συντάξας στρογγύλας νῆας ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους καθάπερ περίβολον ἐντὸς τὸν πολεμικὸν συνέκλειε στόλον. καὶ εἶπεσ ἄν ἰδὼν καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς θεασάμενος πόλιν εἶναι διαπόντιον τὴν πλέουσαν ναυστολίαν. συνεπέβαλε γὰρ τι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἦ τε

1. After making these arrangements the Contostephani on their side went off to take the baths, or so pretended. Bohemund on his side arranged twelve pirate-vessels around his own, all biremes, with a large number of rowers, who by the regular beat of their oars made a loud, echoing noise. In a circle round this fleet he placed merchant ships on either side, like a fence inside of which he enclosed the ships of war. And if you had seen it, viewing it even from afar from some headland, you would have likened this fleet under sail to a floating city. For Fortune also favoured him to a certain degree. For the sea was quite calm except

θάλασσα ἀκύμαντος ἦν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον κατὰ τὸν νῶτον ἐπέφρισεν αὔρας λιγείας ἐπιπνεούσης καὶ ὅσον ἐξογκούσης τὰ τῶν ὀλκάδων ἰστία· ἐποίει γὰρ ἐκεῖνας μὲν οὐριοδρομεῖν, τὰς δ' ἔρεσσομένας τῶν νηῶν ταῖς πλεούσαις εὐθυδρομεῖν καὶ κρότον ἐξάκουστον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ Πελάγους τοῦ Ἀδριαντικοῦ ἑκατέραις ταῖς ἡπείροις ἤχεῖν. οὕτως ἦν θέαμα θάμβους ἄξιον ὁ βαρβαρικός οὗτος στόλος τοῦ Βαϊμούντου, ὃν εἰ καὶ οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κοντοστεφάνους ὠρρώδησαν, οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην οὐτ' ἂν δειλιάς τοὺς ἄνδρας γραψαίμην· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτον καὶ τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα στόλον καὶ ὁ ἀργοναυτικός ἐκεῖνος ἐδεδοίκει στόλος, μὴ ὅτι γε Κοντοστέφανοι καὶ Λαντοῦλφοι καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες.

2. ὁ γὰρ τοι Λαντοῦλφος τὸν Βαϊμούντον θεασάμενος οὕτω φρικτῶς διαπλωιζόμενον μετὰ μυριοφόρων ὀλκάδων, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν ἀκριβέστερον, ἐπεὶ οὐχ' οἷος τε πρὸς τοσοῦτους μάχεσθαι ἦν, μικρὸν τοῦ Αὐλῶνος παρεκκλίνας ἄδειαν τῷ Βαϊμούντῳ δίδωσι. δεξιᾷ δὲ τύχη χρησάμενος ἐκ Βάρεως ἐπὶ τὸν Αὐλῶνα περαιωσάμενος, ἅπαν τὸ διαπόντιον αὐτοῦ στράτευμα εἰς τὴν περαιάν ἀποβησάμενος, πρῶτα μὲν ἐλήισατο τὴν παραλίαν ἅπασαν, ἀμύθητον στράτευμα ἐπαγόμενος φραγγικόν τε καὶ κελτικόν καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς Θούλης νήσου στρατεύονται Ῥωμαίοις τότε δὴ αὐτῷ προσχωρήσαντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δυναστείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ πλείους τοῦ γερμανικοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτιβήρων. τούτους γὰρ ἅπαντας συλλεξάμενος πάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Ἀδρίου ὑφήπλωσε γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ληισάμενος τῇ Ἐπιδάμνῳ προσέβαλεν, ἦν Δυρράχιον ὀνομάζομεν, ταύτην τὴν πόλιν σκοπὸν ἔχων ἐλεῖν κἄθ' οὕτως τὴν ἐπιτάδε μέχρι τῆς Κωνσταντινίου ληίσασθαι.

3. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν εἴπερ ἄλλός τις εἰς πολιορκίαν ὁ Βαϊμούντος καὶ τὸν Πολιορκητὴν ἐκεῖνον Δημήτριον ὑπερβαλλόμενος τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πᾶσαν ἐν νῶ βαλλόμενος πάσας ὠδίνας μηχανικὰς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐκίνησε. πρῶτα μὲν κύκλῳ περιβαλόμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα καὶ τὰ ἐγγὺς καὶ πορρωτέρω τῆς πόλεως Δυρραχίου πολιορκῶν, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπαντιαζόντων αὐτῷ στρατευμάτων Ῥωμαϊκῶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐρημίας οὔσης τῶν ἀποκωλούντων αὐτόν, καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν καὶ κλόνων ἐγγινομένων καὶ φόνων, καθάπερ ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως Δυρραχίου ἀπέβλεψεν. 4. ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἤκειν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Δυρραχίῳ μάχην τοῦ τυράννου Βαϊμούντου, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὅπως ἔχει θέσεως ἡ πόλις. κεῖται μὲν ἐπ' αὐταῖς

for a gentle southerly breeze which just rippled the surface and [320] swelled the sails of the merchant vessels. This just enabled them to sail with the wind wldle the ships that were rowed kept level with the sailing vessels and from the middle of the Adriatic sea the noise this fleet made was audible on both continents. So this barbarian fleet of Bohemund's was a sight well fitted to inspire awe, and, if the sailors of the Contostephani shrank from it in horror, I cannot blame them, nor would I accuse the men of cowardice. For even the famous Argonautic fleet would have been afraid of him and his fleet arranged in this fashion, much more so then the Contostepbani, the Landulphs and other such folk.

2. Indeed, when Landulph saw Bohemund crossing the sea with this dread array and with transports carrying myriads of men, as we have already more accurately described, he sailed away a little from Valona as he was unable to fight against such numbers and gave Bohemund a free entry. The latter made use of his good fortune and crossed from Bari to Valona and disembarked all the army he had brought over the sea on the opposite coast, and then first of all devastated the whole sea-coast. For he brought an incredibly large army of Franks and Gauls, and men from the island of Thule who usually fought for the Romans, but through force of circumstances had on this occasion joined him; and besides this there were many of the Germanic race and of the Celtiberians. Next he dispersed all these troops which he had mustered over the whole country along the Adriatic sea and after ravaging that systematically he attacked Epidamnus, which we call Dyrrachium; for his intention was to take this town and then devastate all the country right up to Constantinople.

3. Now Bohemund was skilled above all men in the art of sieges even surpassing the famous Demetrius Poliorcetes, and as he had set his whole mind on Epidamnus, he moved up all his engineering contrivances against that town. First he encompassed with his army and besieged all the places close to, and those at some distance from, the town of Dyrrachium; at times the Roman armies would oppose him, and at others there was nobody at all to interfere with him. After several battles and encounters and massacres he contemplated, as we said before, besieging the town of Dyrrachium itself. 4. But before speaking of the tyrant Bohemund's fight for Dyrrachium it is necessary to explain the position of the city. It is situated on the very shores of the Adriatic sea. In front of it lies the deep, long sea

ἡίοσι τοῦ Ἀδριαντικοῦ Πελάγους· ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ ὑφήπλωται πέλαγος πολὺ καὶ μακρὸν καὶ κατὰ πλάτος μὲν παρατεῖνον εἰς τὴν περαιάν τῶν Ἰταλῶν, κατὰ μῆκος δὲ ἀνιὸν καὶ ἐπικάμπτον πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὲ καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐέτονας βαρβάρους, ὧν καταντικρὸν κεῖται τῶν Ἀπουληίων ἡ χώρα. καὶ καθόλου μὲν ὁ Ἀδρίας ὁδε περατοῦται· τὸ μέντοι Δυρράχιον, ἡ Ἐπίδαμνος, ἀρχαία πόλις καὶ ἑλληνίς, κατωτέρω μὲν κεῖται τοῦ Ἐλισσοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ εὐώνυμα μέρη τούτου, ἀνωτέρω δὲ ὁ Ἐλισσὸς καὶ δεξιώτερος. 5. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἐλισσός, εἴτε ἀπὸ τινος ποταμοῦ Ἐλισσοῦ ὀνομαζομένου συμμιγνυμένου τῷ Δρυμόνι μεγίστῳ ποταμῷ εἴτε οὕτως ἀπλῶς τὸ πολίχιον ὀνόμαστο, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἐλισσὸς μετέωρόν ἐστι πολίχιον καὶ πάντη δυσάλωτον, κάτω καὶ περὶ τὰς πεδιάδας ὁρῶν τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοιοῦτον δὲ ἀσφαλές, ὥστε καὶ ἠπειρόθεν καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης πολλὴν ἀρωγὴν ποιεῖν Δυρραχίῳ· ὃ πολιχνίῳ, τῷ Ἐλισσῷ, καὶ ἀποχρησάμενος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξιος εἰς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δρυμόνος ναυσιφόρου τυγχάνοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπειροῦ τὴν πόλιν Δυρραχίου κατησφάλισατο, τὰ χρειώδη ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης εἰσάγων, ὅσα τὲ εἰς τροφὴν τῶν αὐτόθι στρατιωτῶν τὲ καὶ οἰκητόρων, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὄπλα καὶ μάχας ἦν ἐπιτήδεια. 6. ὁ δὲ Δρυμὼν οὗτος ὁ ποταμός, ἵνα τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ρεύματος τούτου προσιστορήσασαι, ρεῖ μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λυχνίτιδος λίμνης (ἦν ἡ νῦν γλῶττα ἐκβαρβαρώσασα Ἀχρίδα προσηγόρευσε ἀπὸ Μόκρου τοῦ Βουλγάρων βασιλέως τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα Σαμουήλ, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖν βασιλείοις Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Βασιλείου τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων γεγονότος) διὰ τινῶν τάφρων ἑκατὸν, ἃς γεφύρας ἐπονομάζομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀπορρέουσιν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινῶν ἀρχῶν διαφόρων τῆς λίμνης διηρημένοι ποταμοὶ καὶ εἰς ἑκατὸν ἦκοντες οὐ λήγουσι, κἄθ' οὕτως τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Δεῦρην ἐνούμενοι (ἐξ οὗ καὶ Δρυμὼν ἐπονομάζεται) καὶ συνεχεῖς αὐτῷ γινόμενοι πλατύνουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ μέγιστον ἐξεργάζονται. ὃς τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν Δαλματῶν παραμείβων καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνιὼν ἔπειτα ἐπικάμπτει πρὸς νότον καὶ περὶ τὰς ρίζας τοῦ Ἐλισσοῦ γινόμενος εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαντικὸν ἐκδίδωσι Κόλπον. 7. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τε τῆς θέσεως Δυρραχίου καὶ Ἐλισσοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἑκατέρων τῶν τόπων γεγράφθω. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, ἔτι εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐνδιατρίβων, μεμαθηκῶς διὰ γραφῶν τοῦ δουκὸς Δυρραχίου τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμόντου διαπεραίωσιν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν ἐξέλευσιν. ἀνύστακτος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δούξ Δυρραχίου, μὴ διδοὺς τὸ παράπαν ὕπνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὀπηνίκα διέγνω διαπλωισάμενον τὸν Βαϊμόντον περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεδιάδα καὶ τῆς νηὸς ἀποβε-

which in breadth [321] stretches across to the opposite coast of Italy; in length by turning to the north-east it goes right up to the barbarian Vetones, opposite whom lies the province of Apulia. These form the boundaries of the Adriatic. The town Dyrrachium, or Epidamnus, an ancient Greek city, lies somewhat lower than Elissus and on its left side, for Elissus stands higher and more to the right.

5. This Elissus is either named after some river Elissus, a tributary of the great river Drymon, or the fortress was simply given the name, I cannot say which it was. Now Elissus is a fort built on a hill and quite impregnable, and looks down upon Dyrrachium in the plains, as the saying is; and it is so secure that both by land and sea it can afford great assistance to Dyrrachium. Of this fort Elissus the Emperor Alexius made use in order to help the city of Epidamnus both from the side of the river Drymon which was navigable, and from the land-side he strengthened Dyrrachium and brought in necessaries by land and water, everything, in fact, that was required for the sustenance of the soldiers and citizens in it or in the way of arms and equipment for fighting.

6. This river Drymon (for I must add a few words about this stream) runs down from the lake Lychnis through some hundred channels, which we call 'bridges.' The present corrupted language calls this lake Achris, after the King of the Bulgarians, who lived in the time of the Emperors Constantine and Basilus Porphyrogeniti, and was at first called Mocrus, and latterly Samuel. For separate rivers amounting to one hundred in number come out of this lake as if from different sources, they never fail and flow separately in this way until they join the river near Deure, from which point it is called Drymon, and when united to this they widen it out and make a very big river of it. It flows past the extreme end of Dalmatia, and goes north, then it bends to the south, washes the feet of Elissus, and empties itself into the Adriatic gulf.

7. Let this be sufficient about the position of Dyrrachium and Elissus and the security of both places. Whilst still lingering in the capital the Emperor heard by letters from the Duke of Dyrrachium of Bohemund's crossing and therefore hastened his departure. For the Duke of Dyrrachium was most vigilant and did not even allow himself any sleep, and when he knew for certain that Bohemund had sailed across to the plains of Illyria, disembarked from his ships, and

βηκότα καὶ αὐτόθι που πηξάμενον χάρακα, Σκύθην μεταπεμψάμενος, ὑπόπτερον δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν τούτου διαπεραιώσιν ἐδήλου. ὃς ἐπανιόντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου καταλαβὼν, δρομαῖος εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσουδίσας τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραιώσιν τρανώς ἐβόα. ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε παρόντες ἐπάγησαν, οὐπὲρ ἕκαστος ἔτυχε, καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου κληῖσιν ἀποναρκήσαντες· ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, πλήρης θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ὢν, λύων τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος „πρὸς ἄριστον“, ἔφη, „τὸ παρὸν τραπώμεθα· τὰ δέ γε κατὰ τὸν Βαϊμούντον αὐθις κατασκευώμεθα“.

pitched his camp there, he sent a Scythian, a ‘winged’ messenger as they are called, to the Emperor to announce his crossing. He found the Emperor returning from the chase, [322] and running in at full speed and bowing his head to the ground he shouted in a piercing voice that Bohemund had crossed. All those present stood stark-frozen each in his place, for at the mere name of Bohemund they lost their wits. But the Emperor, full of courage and resource as ever, loosed the strap of his shoe and said, “For the present let us go to lunch, afterwards we will discuss the matter of Bohemund.”



## BYZANTINE SOURCES ON LANDS AND PEOPLES

### GEORGE PACHYMERES



The *Historiae Relationes* of George Pachymeres is one of the best preserved and most informative of Byzantine historical sources from the Palaiologan period. The author was, according to his own words, born in Nicaea in 1242 but moved to Constantinople soon after the city was recovered from its Frankish occupiers in 1258. There he studied philosophy and rhetoric before entering the church and becoming a *notarios*. He wrote and edited various works on mathematics, Aristotelian philosophy and some poetry but it was as the author of the monumental *Historiae Relationes* by which he is best remembered. The beginning of the work overlaps with the *Historiae* of George Akropolites (d. 1282) and the final books with the *Historia Romana* of Nicephorus Gregoras. The events Pachymeres narrated broke off abruptly in and around 1307 suggesting that the author probably died around that time. Pachymeres's encyclopaedic interest meant that his history contains a great deal of information not often found in contemporary authors. It contains a great deal of important information on Turks and Mongols not found in other histories of the period. Moreover, it gives the fullest account in Greek, naturally from the Byzantine point view, of the intrusion of the Catalan Grand Company under the direction of Roger de Flor in Byzantine politics.

The *History* of Pachymeres, despite its obvious usefulness to historians of Late Byzantium, is not as often consulted or cited by Anglophone scholars as it deserves. The work suffered from a lack of modern editions and a complete English translation. For long, the unsatisfactory edition of Bekker (1835) was the only Greek text generally available to research scholars. The first volume, in two parts, of an excellent modern edition with French translation by A. Failler and V. Laurent (d. 1973), appeared in 1984. However, it was not until 1999-2000 that the remaining three volumes, edited entirely by Failler, were finally published. A disastrous fire, however, at the Entrêpot des Belles Lettres on 29<sup>th</sup> May 2002, destroyed almost all copies of Failler's edition of Pachymeres ready for distribution. Though now reprinted, many major libraries still do not possess the last three volumes of Failler's work as they have not been supplied with them through abrupt changes to subscriptions to the Series Parisiensis of CFHB brought about by the fire.

#### **Edition:**

*Georgii Pachymeris de Michaële et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantini (Bonn, 1835)

#### **Edition and translation:**

A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*, Vol. 1 in two parts, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Vol. XXIV/1 (Paris, 1984)

A. Failler *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*, Vol. 3-5 (= II-IV), Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Vol. XXIV/3-5 (Paris, 1999-2000).

#### **Translation:**

Nathan J. Cassidy, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of Book One and Book Two of the Historia of Geōrgios Pachymerēs*, PhD Diss., University of Western Australia, 2004.

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S. Lampakes, *Georgios Pachymeris, Proedidikos and Diaiophylax* (Athens, 2004).

SELECTIONS FROM  
GEORGE PACHYMERES  
ON MONGOLS AND CATALANS



*HISTORIAE RELATIONES*

Eds. A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Georges Pachymères, Relations historiques*, 5 vols,  
Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXIV/1-5 (Paris, 1984-2002)

BOOK II

24-25<sup>16</sup>

**24. The affair of the caliph and of the Persians; how they submitted  
to the Tocharioi (i.e. Tartars / Mongols)**

**κδ'. Τὰ κατὰ τὸν χαλυφᾶν καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅπως Τοχάροις ὑπετάγησαν.**

Τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῶν Τοχάρων, οὓς ἡ κοινὴ Ἀταρίου λέγει συνήθεια, δίκην <sup>15</sup> συρρευσάντων χειμάρρου κατὰ Περσίδος, ὁ μὲν χαλυφᾶς χρυσοῖς παρ' ἐκείνων ψωμιζόμενος ἐτελεύτα, οὐ μᾶλλον κατὰ χρεῖαν σφαγῆς ἢ κατὰ χλεύην, ὡς ἐξὸν τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκχέειν καὶ νικᾶν τὸν ἐχθρόν, ὁ δ' ἠγάπα πλέον ἐκείνων ἢ ἑαυτὸν, ὡς καὶ χρυσοτραγήσων ἄντικρυς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως κατ' οἰκείαν κρίσιν δῆθεν ἐπνίγετο, τὰ δὲ τῆς Περσίδος ἤδη ἐνόσει καὶ κακῶς <sup>20</sup> εἶχεν, ὡς μηδὲ δίχα φόβου καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν σουλτάν Ἀζατίνην ἐᾶσθαι. Κατωρρόδουν γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ κατημέλουν, ζητοῦντες καθ' αὐτὸν ὡς εἶχεν ἕκαστος σφίξεσθαι. Καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς Περσίδος ἐκλυδωνίζετο, τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπανισταμένων, ὥστε καὶ δύο τῶν μεγιστάνων ἐκεῖθεν προσχωρήσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν σουλτάν, ὡς βλακικῶς διῆγε καὶ (F183) ἰδιώτην ἀκόλαστον, ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ὑπεριδόντας· οἱ Βασιλικοὶ δ' οὗτοι ἦσαν, ἄνδρες ἐκ Ῥόδου μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες, ἐκ θυμελικῆς δ' ἐπιτηδεύσεως τῷ σουλτάν προσφκειωμένοι, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καί, ὡς εὔηκοντες τοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ πρῶτα φέροντες ἐν ἐκείνῳ, βρύοντες δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ πολλῷ, ὅσος ἦν ἐν <sup>5</sup> ἐκπώμασιν καὶ ὅσος κατειργασμένος εἰς χαλυφικὸν νόμισμα· τὸ δὲ τῶν βήλων, ἔτι δὲ (B130) λίθων καὶ μαργάρων αὐταρκες ἦν τοὺς εἰδότας θαυμάσαι. Παλαιᾶς γοῦν φιλίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπομνησθέντες, ἱκανοῦ δοκοῦντος σφίσι καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος, εὔ παρ' ἐκείνων παθόντος πάλαι, κατὰ τοῦπιὸν ἀπομνημονεύειν τὴν χάριν, βασιλέως καταστάντος καὶ δυναμένου,

At that time the Tocharioi (i.e. Mongols), who in common parlance are called Atarioi, poured upon Persia like a flood. The caliph died because he was fed pieces of gold, not because they needed to kill him, but rather out of mockery; for although he could have poured out gold and defeated his enemies, he valued it more highly than his own life, and so in truth he became an eater of gold. Thus while he choked on the consequences of his own decision, the situation in Persia weakened and became worse, to the point where not even the Sultān Azatinēs was allowed to be free from fear. For the Persians trembled in fright before this people and neglected to act, each seeking to save himself as best as he could. The empire of the Persians was tempest-tost, with the satraps rising in revolt, to the extent that two of the nobles crossed over into the territory of the basileus, out of an open contempt for the sulātñ, who lived in indolence and private licentiousness. These nobles were the Basilikoi, men of Rhodian origin who passed from the theatrical profession into the sultān's circle, and who then not only gained the first place with him, because they were men of sound judgement, but were swamped with gold, some in the form drinking cups and some as coinage stamped with the caliph's name; and as for carpets, precious stones and loose pearls, they had so much that those who knew of it were amazed. Now they remembered their former loyalty to the basileus, thinking it likely that the ruler, who had been well treated by them in times

<sup>16</sup> Eng. trans. Nathan J. Cassidy, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of Book One and Book Two of the Historia of Geōrgios Pachymerēs*, PhD Dissertation, University of Western Australia (Perth, 2004), 64-67.



τὰ πιστὰ |<sup>10</sup> λαβόντες διὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις βασιλικῶν καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς εὖ διαθέμενοι, ὄλω ῥυτῆρι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα χωροῦσιν ἐν αὐτομόλων σχήματι. Ὁ δὲ δέχεται τε ἀσμένως καὶ τιμᾷ τοῖς προσήκουσι, τὸν μὲν παρακοιμώμενον τοῦ κοιτῶνος καταστησάμενος τὸν Βασίλειον, θάτερον δὲ τὸν Βασιλικὸν μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην ἀποδείξας· καὶ ἐχρᾶτο τούτοις, δεξιῶς ἐς ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς τὰ |<sup>15</sup> πράγματα φαινομένοις, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλία τοῦ βασιλέως προσῆν. Οἱ δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοθεν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς οἰκονομίαν λαβόντες, πιστῶς μάλα καὶ εὐνοικῶς, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους μετασχηματισθέντες, ὑπηρετοῦντο τῷ βασιλεῖ· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως συνίστησι τὰς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εὐνοίας ὡς ἡ κατ' ἄζιαν χάρις τοῖς ἄξίως οἰσομένοις ἐξ ἐτοιμοῦ προτεινομένη.

|<sup>20</sup> Τότε καὶ ὁ σουλτάν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κραδαινομένων, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὸ φανὲν τῶν Τοχάρων ἔθνος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἰδίων πραγμάτων ἔνεκα, (B131) καὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειε, τῶν ἀπάντων διεγυγερμένων, ἔγνω ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, πρὸς δὲ καὶ γηραιᾷ μητρί, χριστιανῆ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐση, καὶ ἀδελφῆ, καταφεύγειν εἰς βασιλέα, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ μόνως ἔξω βοήθειαν |<sup>25</sup> καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανήξων αὐθις ἐξ ὑπερτέρας χειρὸς καὶ ἰσχύος· μηδὲ γὰρ πιστεύειν ἔχειν ἐτέρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ προρρηθεὶς Μελῆς, πρὸ χρόνων αὐτομολήσας, παρὰ βασιλέως κατεῖχτο, ὃν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπόπτειν ὁσημέραι μὴ λυθεῖς ἐπιστῆ μετὰ πλήθους καὶ οὐκ ἀνυστά οἱ τὰ εἰς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἐντεῦθεν γένοιτο. Ἐπίστεινε δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐς βασιλέα παλαιαῖς ἐκείναις (F185) φιλοφρονήσεσι καὶ ἐθάρρει φανείς ἀνύσαι τὰ πρὸς θυμοῦ. Συμφορήσας τοιγαροῦν πλήθος χρυσίων οὐ ραδίως ἀριθμητὸν καὶ τὸν Περσῶν πλοῦτον περιβαλλόμενος, ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, τοῦ Πισσιδίας προαγαγοῦντος, ὡς βασιλέα χωρεῖ. Ὁ δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τούτῳ· |<sup>5</sup> πλὴν μάλα φιλοφρονησάμενος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον καὶ θαρρεῖν διδοὺς ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανήξοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλάβοι, αὐτοῦ συνεργοῦντος, ἐφῆκε διάγειν ὡς οἱ σύνηθες ἦν αὐτῷ οἴκοι τῆς Περσίδος ἄρχοντι. Ὅθεν καὶ σέλμασι βασιλικοῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ παρηδρίαζε καὶ φοβεροὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε (B132) σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς συμβόλοις ἐχρᾶτο, ἐρυθροβαφὲς πέδιλον ὑποδούμενος. |<sup>10</sup> Τὰ πιστὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ πράξειν εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἐξ ὑπογούου χάριν ἣν κατὰ καιρὸν διδοὺς ἤλπιζε παρὰ τοῦ λαβόντος τὰ κρείττω· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἄρα οὐ σταθερά τις ἐλπίς τοῖς νοοῦσι βαθύτερον. Ἀλλὰ τότε, τὸν καιρὸν θεραπεύων, ὁ

past, would subsequently return the kindness, now that he had become basileus and was well able to do so. After receiving secret assurances in an imperial letter, they put their affairs in order and started at full speed towards the basileus like deserters. The latter received them warmly, and honoured them fittingly, appointing Basileos *parakoimōmenos tou κοιτῶνος* and naming the other Basilikos *meγas hetairearchēs*; he made use of these men because they seemed well conversant with affairs, and the imperial favour was bestowed upon them. These men, who from their own resources had great riches, also received not a little in pensions from the basileus, becoming Romans and serving the basileus with complete loyalty and goodwill. For nothing generates goodwill towards the empire like an appropriate favour offered promptly to those who will be worthy of it.

Then, when those around him were in a state of agitation, both by reason of the appearance of the people of the Tocharioi and because of the state of their own affairs, and since there was nothing that he could do in this general panic, the sultān also decided to take refuge with the basileus along with all his wives and children and also with his aged mother, a devout Christian, and her sister, this was the only place from which he could obtain help to return when the time was ripe with a stronger hand in force; there was no one else to whom he could entrust his safety, as the Melēk previously mentioned, who had deserted him some years previously, was in the custody of the basileus, and every day the sultān feared that he would be released and would attack him with a strong force and that in consequence the exercise of authority would become impossible for him. He also trusted in the old signs of friendship that he had shown the basileus and he was confident that he would gain what he desired as soon as he arrived. So, after gathering together such a mass of gold that it could not easily be valued, and appropriating for himself the riches of the Persians, he crossed to the territory of the basileus with his wives and children, heralded by the metropolitan of Pissidia. Receiving them all with pleasure, as could be expected, the basileus did not know what to do with him; however, he showed the sultān great kindness and assured him that in due course he would return and recover his power with his help, and then allowed him to live in the style to which the ruler of the Persians was accustomed. As a result the sultān sat beside the basileus on the imperial dais, surrounded by his fearsome bodyguards and using the *isngnia* of

βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ μᾶλλον γυν-  
αῖκας καὶ τέκνα, κατὰ συντήρησιν πρὸς Νίκαιαν  
πέμπει, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκείνοις  
παρέχων, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ <sup>15</sup> βλαβεῖεν, ἀφύλακτοι ὄντες·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν ἐδόκει συνεκστρατεύειν τῷ  
βασιλεῖ, ἀήθεις ὄντας καὶ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος· τὸ  
δὲ πάλιν σφᾶς διατρίβειν ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς, ἀνα-  
χωροῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον  
γένοιτο. Τὸν δὲ γε σουλτάν συμπεριάγων αὐτῷ  
σὺν προσηκούσῃ τιμῇ, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου  
συνεσκίαζε πρᾶξι, ἦν τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, ὡς εἴρηται,  
ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἐκείνων <sup>20</sup> προσέταττε, τῇ δ'  
ἀληθείᾳ δι' ἐκείνων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων τὸ ἐν  
ἀσφαλεῖ τὸν σουλτάν εἶναι καὶ μὴ συνισχημένον  
πραγματευόμενος.

Προκατελάμβανε γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τοχάρων  
ἄρχοντα Χαλαοῦ εἰρήνην, ὡς ἐνευκαιρήσοντος  
(B133) ἐντεῦθεν ἐκείνου τοῖς τῆς Περσίδος, μὴδ'  
ὀνομαζομένου τοῦ σουλτάν ἐν ταύτῃ. Καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο, ἡμερῶν ἐφ' ἡμέραις τριβομένων, τὰ <sup>25</sup> τῶν  
Περσῶν ὑπεκλίνοντο τοῖς Τοχάροις, ὡς καὶ τινας  
οὓς ἂν εἴποι τις σκηνίτας καὶ τῇ πολιτεία  
ἀπηχθημένους, μὴ θέλοντας ὑποτάττεσθαι, καθ'  
αὐτοὺς εἶναι, ἐπειλημμένους τῶν ἡμετέρων  
ὄχρωμάτων, πλὴν καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπο-  
τοπάζοντας (F187) κίνδυνον, εἰ φανερώς  
ἐπιτιθεῖντο, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ καθόλου  
ἐνσπόνδους εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καθ' ἓνα δὲ νυκτὸς  
λοχῶντας, τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων κλέμμασι  
χρησθαι· ἃ δὴ καί, τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἴσου πρὸς  
ἐκείνους ποιοῦντων, οὐ πόνος ἦν. Ἐκ παντὸς δὲ  
τρόπου τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Τοχάρων δι' <sup>5</sup> ἐννοίας ἔχων  
ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀνυπόστατον τὴν ὁρμὴν κατὰ τὸ  
εἰκὸς δοκοῦν ἔχειν, ἄρτι κινήσαν, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ  
τὰ ὄχρωμάτα Πέρσας καὶ λίαν ὑπεποιεῖτο, ὡς  
θριγγοῖς ἐλπίζων χρᾶσθαι, εἰ ἐπιβρίσειαν ἐκείνοι·  
ἐκείνοις δ' εἶχε διὰ μελέτης καὶ ἄλλως  
σπένδεσθαι διὰ κήδους· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ  
φοβερὸν ἐδόκει καὶ μόνον πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον  
(B134) ἐννοεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἕως <sup>10</sup> ἐκείνου καὶ  
τοῦνομα μόνον εἰς φόβον ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι.

power, wearing red shoes. He trusted that things  
would go well because of the recent service that  
he had rendered, hoping to obtain better things  
from the one who had received it. That this hope  
was ill-founded was apparent to those who  
thought about it more clearly. But then the  
basileus, taking advantage of the opportunity,  
sent the followers of the sultān, especially his  
wives and children, to Nikaia for safekeeping;  
ostensibly this was to ensure their security, so that  
they would come to no harm through being  
unguarded. For it did not seem a good idea that  
they should join the basileus on campaign, being  
unaccustomed to it, belonging in the women's  
apartments; furthermore, their remaining behind  
in the East while the basileus went away from it  
would not lead to any danger. In taking the sultān  
with him, and treating him with fitting honour,  
the basileus veiled the measure undertaken  
regarding his family, a measure which he had  
ostensibly commanded for the sake of their  
protection, as has been said, when in reality it was  
intended, while assuring their safety, to secure the  
sultān without having to do so through force.

For the basileus was already concluding a  
peace treaty with Hülegü (Gr. Chalaou), the chief  
of the Tocharioi, to give Hülegü an opportunity to  
occupy the lands of the Persians easily, and the  
sultān was not even mentioned in this treaty.  
Because of this, as one day followed another, the  
country of the Persians began to be subject to the  
Tocharioi, even some whom one might call  
nomads and enemies of any settled society,  
because they preferred independence to sub-  
mission; these occupied some of our fortresses,  
but since they suspected that it would be dan-  
gerous to attack openly, they bound themselves as  
a group and in general to the basileus, but  
individually they engaged in nocturnal ambus-  
cades and lived by conducting raids on our  
people. But since our people did the same to them  
there was no great loss. Since the basileus was  
totally convinced that the race of the Tocharioi,  
which ahd only recently arisen, would probably  
turn out to be irresistible he made vigorous  
attempts to win over the Persians in the fortresses,  
in the hope that they would act as a buffer if the  
Tocharioi attacked: he was even more concerned  
to conclude an agreement with the latter through  
marriage, for the very thought of making war on  
them seemed so frightening that even their name  
caused him to be filled with fear and dread.

**25. The attitude of earlier basileis to the news of the Tochaioi κε'. Ὅπως εἶχον οἱ πρὶν βασιλεῖς περὶ Τοχάρους ἀκουόμενους.**

25. Πρώην μὲν γὰρ ὁ Δούκας Ἰωάννης κλέος μόνον ἐκείνων ἤκουε καὶ καταχύρου τὰ φρούρια σίτω καὶ ἄρμασιν, ὧν τὸν μὲν καὶ εἰς χρόνους προσέταττεν ἀποτίθεσθαι, βούλλαις μολυβδίναις τὸν ἐνόητα τοῖς ἐποίκοις σφραγίζων, |<sup>15</sup> φέροντας δ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιτάττων σιτίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐτίθει τοῖς κτησομένοις, ὡς ἐκείνων πᾶν τὸ εἰς περιουσίαν ὄν ὑστερεῖν· προικοδοτοῦντας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν σεβασμίαν εἰκόνα τὰ ὄπλα προσέταττε καταγράφεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ ἔχειν εἰδέναι τί τὸ ἐξορμησαν τῶν σφῶν φωλεῶν ἔθνος καὶ ὁποίοις τοῖς ἦθεσι χρᾶται, κἂν εἰρηνεύειν θέλοι, κἂν μάχεσθαι. Τόσον ἦν ἄδηλον ἕως τότε |<sup>20</sup> τὸ ἔθνος· παρὰ πολλοῖς δ' ἐλέγοντο κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ γε διαίταις ἀπειρημέναις ἠκούοντο χρώμενοι, ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρωποφαγεῖν ἐπιστεῦοντο.

Θεοδώρου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ ἐλέγοντο διὰ Περσίδος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πρεσβεύεσθαι — καὶ ἦν ὁ λόγος ἀληθινός —, φόβος καὶ τάραχος ἦν. Ἔγνω δ' ὁμοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὸ φοβερὸν πλασάμενος, ἐκείνους κατασοφίσασθαι. |<sup>25</sup> Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προαπέστελλεν ὡς δῆθεν ἀγγελοῦντας ἐπὶ Περσίδος (B135) ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπίζοιτο, καὶ οἱ ταχυδρομοῦντες ἐπέμποντο· μισθὸς δ' ἦν τοῖς ἀγγελοῦσι ταῦτα, εἰ κινδυνεύοιεν ἐνιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόστατον πᾶσιν ὁμολογοῦντες ἔθνεσι, δαψιλῆ τέκνοις σφετέροις καὶ γυναιξὶ σιτηρέσια. Εἶτα δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι προσελαύνουσι πέμψας τοὺς |<sup>30</sup> ὑπαντήσοντας, ὡς δῆθεν καὶ σφίσι τὰς ὁδοὺς ὀδηγήσαι, δι' ὅτι δυσχώρων (F189) ἐξέπιτηδες τόπων ἐκείνους διαβιβάζειν προσέταττε, κἂν τις ἀποκναίων ἐρωτῶν τὴν δυσχωρίαν, οὕτω πᾶσαν ἔχειν τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαϊδος γῆν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς ἐτοίμως ἐχόντων τῷ μὴ εἰδέναι πιστεῦειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα πολλὰ πονέσαντες παραγένοντο, τῆνίκα καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα φοβερὰ |<sup>3</sup> ὑπενόει, ὡς αὐτίκα καὶ ἐκ τῆς θέας φοβήσων. Ἐπέταττε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν ταῦτῳ συνελθεῖν καί, ὀπλισθέντας κατὰ φρήτρας καὶ φύλα καὶ τάξεις, ἐν ποσοῖς τισι τῶν ὁδῶν διαστήμασιν ἵσταμένους, καταφράκτους σιδήρω, φόβον κατὰ παιδιὰς ἐμποιεῖν· τὸ δὲ γε τῆς γερουσίας καὶ ὅσον ἦν τῶν (B136) ἐν τέλει καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς αἵματος, πάντας πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐσκευασμένους |<sup>10</sup> καὶ στολαῖς καὶ γενναῖῳ τῆς ψυχῆς παραστήματι, ὡς αὐτίκα τὸ κατὰ πόδας λαπάξοντας, πολλακίς διόντας ἐξ ἀφανῶν, ἐς

25. In the past Iōannēs Doukas only heard a report of them, and yet he strengthened the defences of the fortresses with grain and arms; he ordered that the stores be filled with a year's supply of grain, and by means of bulls (*bullae*) sealed with lead he seized the grain he found with the inhabitants, and ordered them to eat supplies brought in from elsewhere; and he also provided all necessary things to the holders of property, so that everything else which brought abundance would follow after. He decreed that when a dowry was arranged, weapons should be listed beside the holy icon. It was not possible to know who this people was which had emerged from its lair, or its customs, or whether it wanted peace or war. This people was until that time as yet unknown; many said that they had the heads of dogs, and it was rumoured that they practised forbidden arts, even to the point that they were believed to be cannibals.

But when Theodōros was ruling, and it was said that they were sending ambassadors to him through Persia — and this report was true — there was fear and confusion. Nevertheless the basileus sought to outwit them and put an image of fear in their minds. First he sent men to Persia in advance, supposedly to indicate to them that he was prepared to march against them, and these couriers were sent out. There was to be compensation for these emissaries, in case they ran into danger while proclaiming to all peoples the invincibility of the Roman empire, in the form of generous *sitēresia* for their wives and children. Following this he despatched guides to meet the ambassadors who were approaching, supposedly to show them the way, and he expressly instructed them to take them by a difficult route and, if anyone wearily inquired about the difficulty of the journey, to respond that all of the lands of the Roman empire were in a similar condition, knowing that they would be ready to believe this out of ignorance. When the ambassadors had arrived before the basileus, after these heavy exertions, he came up with other crafty stratagems, which would at once inspire terror at the spectacle. For he ordered the whole army to gather in one place with the men, drawn up in their phratries, tribes and battalions and he posted them, cataphracts in iron, on the roads at a number of points in order to make them fear like children. He also ordered the senate, all the high officials and those related to the basileus by blood, who presented a magni-

ταὐτὸ ξυμπίπτειν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι ταῖς ἀληθείαις, δοκεῖν δ' ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους καὶ μηδέποτε τοὺς αὐτούς, τρόπον δακτυλιδίου σφενδόνην μὴ ἔχοντος, ἦν τις βούλοιο ἐπ' ἐκείνου τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὕστερον θεωρεῖν, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν πολλάκις |<sup>15</sup> λαμβανόμενον εἶναι, δοκεῖν δ' ἕτερον τῆ μεταλλαγῆ· αὐτὸν δὲ βασιλικῶς ἐσταλμένον, μηδὲν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐλλείποντα, ἄνω που καθῆσθαι, σπάθην φέροντα ταῖς χερσί, βήλοισ τε πολυτελέσι περικεκλεισμένον, ἄλλων καὶ αὐτῶν φοβερῶν περισταμένων, ἱκανῶν ὄντων καὶ τούτων καταπλήξει τὸν ὀρώντα καθ' ἑαυτούς· οὕτως ποιεῖν χρηματίζειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μακρὰν μὲν ἵσταμένοις, |<sup>20</sup> ὅσον εἰκάζειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὀρᾶν τὰ δρώμενα, ἐξαίφνης δ' ἐξ ἀδήλου τῶν παραπετασμάτων διανοιχθέντων, οὕτως ἐγγενέσθαι σφίσι βλέπειν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μάλα σοβαρευόμενον, ὀλίγα τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, μεταξυλογούντων τινῶν, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα δοκοῦντα, ὡς μόνον λεγόμενα καταπλήξει· καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀφοσιωσάμενον τὸν χρηματισμόν, ἀποπέμπειν |<sup>25</sup> διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν δυσχωριῶν τοῖς ὁδηγοῖς ἐπαναγομένους.

Τὰ γοῦν πρότερα ταῦτ' ἦσαν, (B137) καὶ οὕτω δεδιότας ξυνέβαιεν ἀντιφοβεῖν ἐκ συνέσεως. Τότε δ' ὁμαλῶς καὶ ἠπίως πάνυ ἐπεχείρουν πρεσβεύεσθαι μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρέσβεις δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτίκα καὶ κατὰ κήδη σπένδεσθαι μελετᾶν. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς μερῶν κρατυνομένων καὶ |<sup>30</sup> κατ' ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς ὄντων, τὰ κατὰ δύσιν καὶ αὔθις ἐκύμαινον.

ficent appearance because of their robes and their noble bearing so they seemed ready to immediately overcome anything that got in their way, to pass by many times, approaching from unseen points and coming to the same place, so that although they were really the same people, they seemed to be different ones, always others and never the same, like a ring which does not have bezel, and which one might look at on one occasion and again on another; it is the same object which is seen each time, but it seems to be another by being transferred. As for the basileus, dressing himself in his imperial garb and neglecting nothing which could inspire fear, he sat on his elevated seat, holding in his hands his sword and surrounded by precious tapestries, while other people, equally formidable, who were just as able by themselves to strike terror into the beholder, stood around him. And it was in this manner that he received the ambassadors, keeping them at a distance sufficient for them to infer the presence of the basileus, and see what passed; then suddenly the curtains were opened by mysterious means, and they were thus able to see him sitting in state upon his throne, and to speak and hear a few words through the agency of interpreters; and these words also seemed to be terrifying, in that their mere utterance inspired fear. Then, after completing the formal audience in a short while, he sent them away under the conduct of guides by difficult roads again.

Now that is what had previously happened, and in that way those who were fearful were able to inspire fear in return, through application of intellect. But at this time, with regularity and goodwill, ambassadors were sent to them and their ambassadors received in turn, with the result that a peace treaty cemented by a marriage was put in place. In this way the situation in the Eastern regions was brought under control, and promised high hopes, while the situation in the Western regions began to boil over again.

BOOK II<sup>17</sup>

## 5

**(F241) III.5 How the Ethiopians, who were swollen in number, treated Syria.****On the subject of Nogai.**

**ε'. Ὅπως αὐξηθέντες Αἰθίοπες τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν διεπράξαντο καὶ τὰ κατὰ <sup>5</sup> τὸν Νογαῖν.**

5. Ταῖς γὰρ συνεχέσι μετακομίσεσι τῶν βορέαθεν μειρακίσκων πλῆθος ἐν καιρῷ συστάν στρατιωτικὸν ἠῦξήσέ τε τὴν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ὀρμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐπήδων, ὡς πολλάκις, (B179) τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσφαλεῖ θαρροῦντας, ὑπερορίους ἐκφέρειν πολέμους καὶ κατὰ χριστιανῶν ἀνδρίζεσθαι. Τῶν γὰρ Ἰταλῶν τὴν τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης παραλίαν κατεχόντων καὶ Φοινίκης ἀρχόντων <sup>10</sup> καὶ αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων, διαμφισβητούντων δ' ἐξ ὑπερτέρας ἰσχύος καὶ τῶν τῆς Παλαιστίνης τόπων, ὡς ἀγιότητος δόξαν ἐχόντων, καὶ μάλα εικότως διὰ τὰς ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Σωτῆρος διατριβὰς καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τεραστικά, αὐτοὶ γε, θαρσήσαντες ταῖς ἐκ τῶν Σκυθῶν συστάσαις δυνάμεσιν, ἐξελθόντες πᾶσαν ἐκείνην τὴν γῆν Μυσῶν, τὸ λεγόμενον, <sup>15</sup> λείαν ἐποίουν, ἕως οὗ κατ' ὀλίγον — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπένδεσθαι, ἐχθροὺς γε ὄντας καὶ λεγομένους τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ—, καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ἐξώσαντες, αὐτὰς εἰς ἔδος κατήρειψαν. Καὶ νῦν κεῖται μὲν ἡ περιφανὴς Ἀντιόχεια, κεῖται δὲ ἡ Ἀπάμεια, κατέσκαπται <sup>20</sup> τε Τύρος καὶ Βηρυτός, καὶ Σιδῶν τὰ ὅμοια πάσχει. Ἐτέρωθεν δὲ θρηνεῖ Λαοδίκεια, Τρίπολις τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖς, τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἄστυα, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν ἦσαν λογίζονται. Καὶ δὴ Δαμασκὸς ἡ καλλίστη, τὰ ποτε τῆς Ῥωμαϊδος ὄρια καθ' ἑῶνα, ἠφάνισται παντελῶς· καὶ ὄλωσ πλὴν τῶν εἰς Ἀρμενίους τελούντων οὐδὲν ὅ τι συνίσταται. Ὁ δὲ παμπληθὴς ἐκείνων λαὸς <sup>25</sup> πανταχοῦ γῆς διεσπάρη ἀνευθεν τῶν πεσονόντων, (B180) τῶν μὲν πολέμου νόμῳ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως νόμῳ μαρτυρικῶ, μὴ καταδεχομένων τὴν ἄρνησιν. Καὶ

5. In fact, due to the continual transfers of young children from the northern regions, a mass of soldiers was constituted over time, and this increased the ardour of the Ethiopians. They went beyond the limits, to the point that, given their confidence in their internal security, they often carried the war beyond their frontiers and resolutely attacked the Christians. The Italians in fact occupied the whole coast of Syria, reigned over Phoenicia, even dominated Antioch, and also disputed with a superior force the places of Palestine, which had a reputation for holiness, and above all naturally because of the stay that the Saviour made there, his passion and the marvels of the *oikonomia*.<sup>18</sup> The Ethiopians, therefore, confident in their forces that they built up with the Scythians, rushed forward and converted this entire land into what is called a prey of Mysians until little by little the Italians were able to come to an agreement with those people who were enemies of the venerable cross and were called as such. After having driven the Italians even from the largest cities, they had these latter razed to the ground. And now the famous Antioch has fallen, as has Apamea, while Tyre and Beirut have been destroyed, and Sidon has suffered the same fate. On the other side, Laodicea is in tears, Tripolis and Ptolemais, those great cities of the Italians, are deemed to be as if they had never existed. And superb Damascus, which formerly constituted the frontier of the Romania to the east, has been completely annihilated;<sup>19</sup> there is absolutely nothing left outside of the regions that belonged to the

<sup>17</sup> English translation of Pachymeres from this point onwards is by Camilla Ferard and Samuel N.C. Lieu (unpubl., revision pending).

<sup>18</sup> As opposed to theologia, which concerns itself with the relations of the persons of the Trinity between each other, the term *oikonomia* indicates the external manifestations of divine action, the work “ad extra”, and more precisely, as is the case here, the incarnation. of the Son. (Cf. F240 fn.1)

<sup>19</sup> The historian briefly reports the conquest of Syria and Palestine by the Egyptians (the Ethiopians in the author's terminology), under the reign of the Mamluk Sultans, thanks to the reinforcements of the Cumans (the Scythians) brought from the Crimea with the agreement of Michael VIII. It is surprising to find Damascus here, as the city had been continually Muslim since 635. Similarly, it was more than a century since Apamea had ceased to be Christian. Antioch on the Orontes was taken and destroyed by the Sultan Baybars in 1268. The other cities mentioned were occupied by the Mamluks in 1287 (Laodicea), 1289 (Tripoli) or 1291 (Tyre, Beirut, Sidon, Ptolemais). (Cf. F240 fn. 3)

**(F243)** ταῦτα μὲν Αἰθιοπῶν τὸ χριστιανικὸν ἀπώναντο ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀβουλίαις ἢ κακονοίαις ἢ αὐτονόμοις ὄρμαῖς καὶ ὀρέξεσι.

Τοχάρων δὲ τοῦ θράσους καὶ ἔτι ἀνέχομεν, οὐ δυνάμεσιν οὐμενοῦν θαρσαλείαις, ἀλλὰ φιλικαῖς εἴτ' οὖν δουλικαῖς ὑπελεύσεσι, κήδη ποιοῦντες καὶ ἴ<sup>5</sup> δωροφοροῦντες συχνάκις τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ μέγιστα, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἄλλο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ χρόνοις ὑστέροις συνέστη πρὸς τοὺς δυτικοὺς Τοχάρους, ἔκποθεν ἀφανῶν ἐπιστάντας καὶ τὰ βόρεια κατασχόντας, συνάλλαγμα τῷ ἄρχοντι τούτων Νογαῖ, ἐκδότος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέραν παῖδά οἱ ἐκ σκοτίων σπερμάτων γεγεννημένην, Εὐφροσύνην τοῦνομα, ἐξ ᾧν συνέβαινε μετὰ φιλίας ἐκείνους ἴ<sup>10</sup> ἔχειν ἃ δὴ προσταλαιπωροῦντες πολέμῳ μόλις ἂν ἐκτῶντο.

Armenians.<sup>20</sup> The whole mass of the inhabitants of these cities dispersed throughout the earth, except for those who died, some by the law of war, others in different ways by the law of martyrdom, since they refused to renounce the faith. So, there we have the benefit that Christendom received from the Ethiopians due to our recklessness or our evil acts or our selfish impulses and appetites.

As for the Tatars, we are still managing to check their audacity, certainly not thanks to courageous troops, but rather at the cost of friendly, that is to say servile, arrangements, by contracting matrimonial alliances and frequently making the finest and greatest of gifts. Thus, after that, and many years later, another alliance took place. This second alliance was contracted with the Western Tatars, who had arisen from some obscure place and who had occupied the northern region, in the person of their leader Nogai, to whom the Emperor gave another daughter who had been born to him illegitimately and who was named Euphrosyne. It ensued that these people obtained in friendship what at the cost of great suffering they would barely have acquired by war.

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<sup>20</sup> After the taking of Saint-Jean-d'Acre (18 May 1291) or Ptolemais, with which the author closes the table of conquests of the Sultan of Egypt, there remained only two Christian States in the East: Cyprus and Lesser Armenia (Cilicia). (Cf. F241, fn. 4)

## BOOK V

## 3-4

**3. How Mary, the daughter of Eulogy, was given in marriage to Constantine, the Emperor of the Bulgarians.**

**γ'. Ὅπως τῷ Βουλγάρων βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἡ τῆς Εὐλογίας θυγάτηρ Μαρία εἰς γάμον ἐξεδόθη.**

<sup>125</sup> 3. Καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Βουλγάρων Κωνσταντίνου συζύγου Εἰρήνης μεταλλαξάσης, εἰς σπονδὰς ὁ κρατῶν ἐκεῖνον θέλων συνάζει, ἐς ὃ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Αἴμον καὶ αὐτῇ γε Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη ἀνακωχὴν γενέσθαι, ἐπὶ πολὺ δαπανωμένων τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις, πέμψας διαπρεσβεύεται, (B343) ὑπισχνούμενος εἰς κῆδος ἐκεῖνον δοῦναι καὶ τὴν (F443) ἀδελφιδὴν ἑαυτοῦ Μαρίαν, τὴν τῶν θυγατέρων τῆς Εὐλογίας δευτέραν, ἣ δὴ συνώκει πρότερον ὁ Φιλῆς Ἀλέξιος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος. Καὶ δὴ τῶν ὄρκων προβάτων, ὡς συλλαμβάνεσθαι τούτοις καὶ Μεσέμβρειαν καὶ Ἀγχιάλον — ἐκεῖνου γὰρ οὕσας κατασχεῖν βασιλέα, καὶ αὐθις ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν πρὶν ἔχοντα λαμβάνειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γενησομένῳ ὡς προῖκα κῆδει—, <sup>15</sup> ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν τοῦ κήδους ἐπλήρου ὡς λίαν φιλοτίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς· συνεξῆει γὰρ τῇ νυμφευθησομένῃ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης κὰν Σηλυβρία γενόμενοι, ἐκεῖσε δεσποινικῶς μετασκευασάμενοι τὴν εἰς γάμον πεμπομένην τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἐκεῖνην μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστη δоруφορία πρὸς <sup>10</sup> ἐκεῖνον ἀπέλυον, αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπέστρεφον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ κήδους οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλήρου· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀνεβάλλετο, ταῖς μὲν ἀληθείαις εἰδὼς ἐντεῦθεν παραιρησομένην τὴν Ῥωμαῖδα τὰ κράτιστα, τῷ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ προφάσεις ἐπλάττετο πιθανάς, ἄλλας τε καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὐθὲως δοῦναι, μὴ τῶν ἐποίκων καταδεχομένων τῶν <sup>15</sup> πόλεων· Ῥωμανίας γὰρ εἶναι μέρος ἐκείνας καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτούς, μὴ εἶναι δ' εὐλογον Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ Βουλγάρους τελεῖν. Οὐ μὴν δ' εἰς τέλος ἀπέλεγε τὴν δόσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ προσανήρτα καιρόν, τὸν τῆς τεκνογονίας δῆθεν, ὡς ἂν καὶ κληρονόμου τούτῳ (B344) φανέντος ἐκ γένους Ῥωμαϊκοῦ, εὐπροσωποῖτο καὶ ἡ ἀπόδοσις. Τὰ δ' ἦσαν γέλως ἄντικρυς καὶ συνειρόμενον <sup>20</sup> ψεῦδος τῷ χρόνῳ συγκρύπτοντος. Ὅμως δέ γε καὶ ἄκων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὑπέμενε καὶ ἐσπένδετο, εἰ καὶ ἡ δοθεῖσά οἱ οὐ τοσοῦτον βοηθὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅσον τῇ Ῥωμαῖδι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ἐκεῖνου παιδίον ἑώρα τὸν Μιχαῖλ ἑαυτῇ, δεινὰ τῇ Ῥωμαῖδι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ἐκεῖνου παιδίον ἑώρα τὸν Μιχαῖλ ἑαυτῇ, δεινὰ

3. Shortly after, as Irene, the wife of Constantine, the Emperor of the Bulgarians, had died, the sovereign wanted to enter into a pact, so that a truce could be reached for the region of Haimos, as well as for Macedonia and Thrace, especially as the armies were extremely exhausted by the continual wars. He sent him an emissary, with a promise to give to him in marriage his own niece Mary, the second of the daughters of Eulogy, to whom Alexis Philes, the Grand Servant, had been previously married. And in fact, the oaths took place, which included Mesembrea and Anchialos. The Emperor held these cities, which belonged to Constantine, and it was right that their former owner should take them back as a dowry at the time of the future alliance. The Emperor fulfilled the formalities of the marriage with the greatest of imperial pomp. In fact, the Emperor in person and the Patriarch accompanied the future bride. Once arrived at Selybria, after having dressed in Empress's attire the one who was to be sent in marriage to Constantine, they sent her to this latter with a very numerous escort, while they themselves returned.

It was thus that the Emperor acquitted himself of the formalities of the marriage, but as far as the cities were concerned, he prevaricated. As he was in fact well aware that the Rhomaide would be seriously amputated by this arrangement, he forged specious pretexts for Constantine, in particular the impossibility of an immediate surrender, since the inhabitants of these cities did not accept it. These latter were in fact part of Romania, they were themselves Romans, and it was not reasonable that Romans should be subjected to Bulgarians. However, it was not that the Emperor definitively refused to hand them over, but he made it conditional on a circumstance, namely the birth of a male child. When an heir of the Roman race appeared for him, the transfer would also be well considered. But this was obviously derisory and a series of misleading remarks on the part of those who were playing for time. Nevertheless Constantine, however unwillingly, kept his patience and ratified the treaty,

ἐποίει καὶ τὸν σύζυγον κατηνάγκαζε τὰς σπονδὰς τε διαλύειν καὶ πολεμεῖν, τὰς πόλεις προσαιτουῦντα. Κάντεῦθεν καὶ δεινὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα ξυνέβαινε, καὶ <sup>125</sup> ξυμβεβήκει ἂν πλεῖστα, εἰ μὴ γε ὁ βασιλεὺς, κῆδος πρὸς τὸν Νογᾶν ἐπὶ νόθῳ τῆ Εὐφροσύνη φθάσας ποιῆσαι, ἀνεῖχέ τε τὰς ὀρμὰς ἐκείνου τῆ πρὸς τὸν (F445) Νογᾶν δεξιῶσει καὶ διέλυε τὰ βουλευματα, ὡς αὐτίκα κατόπιν ἐπιδραμουμένων τῶν Τοχάρων, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλέως.

although the one given to him was not so helpful to this man as she was to the Rhomaide. When she saw herself having a male child by him, Michael, Mary was seized with indignation and forced her husband to break the agreements and go to war to claim the cities. This is why there occurred not inconsiderable evils, and these would have been immense, had not the Emperor, by previously entering into an alliance with Nogai in the person of his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne,<sup>21</sup> was able to restrain Constantine's impulses by this obliging gesture towards Nogai, and thus ruin his projects, because if he were to attack the Emperor's territories, the Tatars would immediately attack him from the rear.

**4. On the subject of Nogai and the Tatars, their past, their first Emperor and lawgiver.  
δ'. Τὰ περὶ τοῦ Νογᾶ καὶ Τοχάρων, ὅπως εἶχον τὸ πρῖν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως  
καὶ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν.**

<sup>15</sup> 4. Ὁ δὲ Νογᾶς οὗτος κράτιστος ἦν ἀνὴρ τῶν Τοχάρων, εἰς στρατηγίαν τε ξυνετὸς καὶ τρίβων τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὃς ἅμα πλείσταις δυνάμεσιν ἐξ ὁμογενῶν Τοχάρων, οὓς αὐτοὶ Μουγουλίους λέγουσιν, ἐξαποσταλεῖς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Κασπίας ἀρχόντων τοῦ γένους, οὓς κἀνιδας ὀνομάζουσιν, εἰσβάλλει τοῖς ἀνα τὸν Εὐξείνιον βορείους ἔθνεσιν, ἃ δὴ τὸ πάλαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουε, τῆς πόλεως δ' ἀλούσης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς στενὸν (B345) καταστάντων <sup>10</sup> Ῥωμαίοις, τῶν κυρίων ἀπολειφθέντα, αὐτόνομα ἦν. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἀκονιτὶ φανεῖς προσελάμβανε καὶ κατεδουλοῦτο. Ἰδὼν δὲ χώρας ἀρετώσας καὶ ἔθνη εἰς ἀρχὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἀτάρκτη, ἀφηνιάζει μὲν τῶν πεμψάντων καὶ ἐαυτῶ τὰ ἔθνη προσκτᾶται. Ὡς δὲ χρόνου τριβομένου, ἐπιμιγνύντες σφίσι οἱ <sup>15</sup> περὶ τὴν μεσόγειον κατοικημένοι, Ἄλανοι λέγω, Ζίκχοι, Γότθοι καὶ Ῥῶς καὶ τὰ προσοικουῦντα τούτοις διάφορα γένη, ἔθνη τε τὰ ἐκείνων μανθάνουσι καὶ γλῶτταν τῶ ἔθει μεταλαμβάνουσι καὶ στολήν, καὶ εἰς συμμαχοὺς αὐτοῖς γίνονται. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ὁ

4. This Nogai was a powerful man among the Tatars. He was a wise strategist and experienced in business, it was with very many forces, which were composed of Tatars of the same race, whom these people call Mongols, that he was sent by the leaders of his nation, who were on the Caspian and which we call Khans. He threw himself on the peoples who were settled north of the Euxin and who were formerly subject to the Romans, but who, once the City was taken and the situation of the Romans had become precarious, deprived of their rulers, found themselves independent.<sup>22</sup> So, as soon as Nogai appeared, he had little difficulty in conciliating them and subjugating them to himself. When he saw the fertile countries and populations capable of forming a state on their own, he revolted against those who had sent him and appropriated these populations. In time, the inhabitants of the interior, I mean the Alans, the Zechians, the Goths, the Russians, and the various bordering nations<sup>23</sup> mingled with them, learned their habits and over time changed

<sup>21</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 1984 a (around 1272). The marriage of Euphrosyne, illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII, to Nogai, a leader of the Golden Horde, must be dated to 1269 or 1270;. This marriage is also reported by Gregoras (I, 149.17-19 CSHB), who connects it to the last campaign of Michael VIII against John Doukas of Thessaly in 1282 and who gives the first name of Irene to the daughter of the Emperor. On Nogai and Euphrosyne, see p. 242 No. 1 and 2. (Cf. F443, fn. 6)

<sup>22</sup> While he is not mistaken about the establishment of the Mongol tribes, Pachymeres designates here by Khan, not the Great Khan, but the Khan of the Golden Horde, whose capital was at Sarai, not far from the Caspian Sea. (Cf. F444, fn. 1)

<sup>23</sup> Pachymeres mentions various peoples from the north of the Black Sea. The Alans, the Zechians or Circassians and the Goths were respectively of Iranian, Sarmatian and Germanic origin. The Rhôs (Rhôsoi in the abbreviated version) are Scandinavians. After the death of Nogai, a troop of Alans came to swell the army of Andronicus II. (Cf. F444, fn. 2)



ἐπελθὼν τῶν Τοχάρων λαὸς ἐνδίδωσι, καὶ ἀνυπόστατοι, ὅπου ἴοιεν, γίνονται ταῖς <sup>20</sup> δυνάμεσιν, ὡς καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄνω κυρίων, πολέμου νόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀποστάντας ἰόντας, οὐχ ὅπως περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλῆναι, τὰ πλεῖστα πεσόντας.

Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπλότῃ μὲν χαῖρον καὶ φιλαλληλία, πονηρόν τε καὶ ὀξὺ πρὸς πολέμους καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτάρκες καὶ γε τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνεπιπόνητον <sup>25</sup> τε καὶ ἀπρομήθευτον. Ἐχρήσαντο γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν νομοθέτη οὐ Σόλωνι ἢ Λυκούργῳ ἢ Δράκοντι — οὗτοι γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τισὶν ἄλλοις οἱ νομοθέται σοφοὶ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς τὰ ἐς λόγον λόγοι —, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ ἀγνώτῃ καὶ τὸ πᾶν πονηρῷ, χαλκεῖ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, (B346) εἶτα δὲ καὶ εἰς (F447) κάνιν — ἄρχοντά τις εἶποι — καταστάντι, ὃς καὶ ἐκ Κασπίων πυλώνων ἀνιστῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐξελεῖν θαρρήσαν, καὶ σφίσιν ἀεὶ τὸ νικᾶν ὑπετίθει, εἰ τοῖς ἰδίῳ νόμοις προσέχοιεν. Οἱ δ' ἦσαν τοῖς ἀβροῖς ἀπέχεσθαι, τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι, τὸ φιλάλληλον ἔχειν, τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀποστρέφασθαι, τὸ κοινωνικὸν <sup>5</sup> ἀσπάζεσθαι, τὸ μηδὲν περὶ βίου σπεύδειν, τὸ ἀσασαί χρᾶσθαι τροφαῖς, μηδὲν τῶν βεβήλων ἔχοντας, τὸ γυναιξὶ ξυνοικεῖν πλείσταις καὶ ταύταις προσανατιθέμεναι τὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσπορισμὸν, ὡς ἅμα μὲν τὸ γένος πληθύνεσθαι, ἅμα δ' ἔχειν καὶ ὦν δέοιεν, τὸ μηδὲν τῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν κτημάτων προσκτᾶσθαι, μηδ' ἐμμένειν κτίσμασιν οἴκων, ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνειν καὶ μεταφοιτᾶν <sup>10</sup> πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, κἂν χρεῖα τροφῆς εἴη τῷ, ἢ οἷσι τῷ θηρᾶν ἢ καὶ, τὸν ἵππον ἐκκεντοῦντας, ἐκροφᾶν αἵματος, εἰ δὲ τῷ καὶ στεγανωτέρας προσδέοι τροφῆς, ἐγκάτῳ οἴδς τὸ αἷμα συγκλείοντας, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐφεστρίδα τιθέναι, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μικρὸν συσταθὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν θερμότητος, δεῖπνον προστίθεσθαι, κἂν τί που ῥάκος ἐντυχὼν τις εὔροι, ἐπιρράπτειν τῇ <sup>15</sup> ἀμπεχόνῃ, κἂν οἶον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἦ, κἂν ἢ ἀμπεχόνῃ μὴ δέοιτο — ὁ δὲ σκοπός, (B347) ὡς ἂν καὶ ἄνευ χρεῖας τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῆς χρεῖας ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, μὴ αἰσχύνοντο τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὰ νέα προσεπεμβάλλοντες —, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀνέσει παντοῖα ζῆν, σάριτταν καὶ ἐφεστρίδα καὶ ἔνδυμα καὶ αὐτὴν ζωὴν παρὰ τῶν τῆς γυναικωνίδιδος ἔχοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦν-

their language and their dress and became their allies. In a short time, the invading people of the Tatars were thus converted into an incalculable mass, and they have become an irresistible force, wherever they go, thanks to their armies. Thus, when some of the rulers cited above marched against them as secessionists and under the law of war, not only did they not prevail, but most of them failed and died.

This people delights in simplicity and mutual affection. It is cruel and quick in war. It has just enough to live on and does not worry or concern itself with subsistence. In fact, the original lawgiver that they had, and who was not Solon or Lycurgus or Draco, as these were the wise lawgivers of wise people and the learned lawgivers of people who had the intelligence of science, such as the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, and some others. On the contrary, he was a man who was unknown and vile in everything. He started out as a blacksmith, then he was established Khan, the leader, one might say. He led this people, who were determined to emigrate, though the Caspian Gates and he promised them that they would always win on condition that they observe their particular laws.<sup>24</sup> These are the following: have an aversion to delicate things, be content with everything that comes one's way, cultivate mutual love, flee individualism, seek society, take no pains for one's own subsistence, eat everything without considering anything impure, live with very many women and entrust to them the care of procuring the necessary, so that at the same time the race multiplies and that one had what one could need, not acquire any landed property and not spend time on building houses but come and go as required and, if they needed food, use the arrow to hunt or prick their horse in order to swallow its blood, and if someone needed a more solid food, the blood should be enclosed in a gut of sheep and placed under the saddle, since once it was slightly coagulated under the action of the heat released from it, it provided a meal, and if someone happened to find a piece of fabric, they should sew it to their garment, in whatever condition it was and even if the garment did not need it, since the goal was to train them to do this unnecessarily so that, when they were forced to do so in case of need, they would not be ashamed

<sup>24</sup> Genghis-Khan (Čingiz-Khan), whose name Pachymeres mentions below (p. 447<sup>21</sup>), was probably born in 1167, became the leader of the Mongol peoples in 1206 and died on 25 August 1227. The legend that Genghis-Khan was a blacksmith arises from the name he originally bore, which means blacksmith: Temūdjīn. In 1222, the Mongols crossed the Caspian Gates (defile of the Taurus) and then went as far as the Crimea. (Cf. F446, fn. 1)

τας τὰ <sup>20</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειν, μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσαντας. Ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου Τζιγκίσκανι — νῦν γὰρ ἀνεμνήσθην τοῦνομα — παραγγέλματα ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχοντες, ἀλήθειάν τε ἐν λόγοις ἀσκοῦσι καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν πράξεσι, τὸ μὲν ἐλευθερία προσῆκον ψυχῆς, τὸ δ' εὐθύτητι γνώμης, ὡς ἀνεξάπατητον μὲν εἶναι οἷς ἂν ἀκούοι τις ἐτέρου λέγοντος, ἀνεπιβούλευτον δὲ οἷς πράττοι ἂν <sup>25</sup> πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἕτερος. Ἀλλὰ Νογαῖν μὲν κηδεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τηλικάδε, τὸν ἐκείνων ἄρχοντα, πέμπων οὐκ ἀνίει πλεῖστα, ὅσα τε πρὸς ἐνδύματων χρῆσιν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τροφῶν ποικιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθοσμῶν οἴνων ὅλας πιθάκνας φιλοτιμούμενος. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν μαθῶν ἡγάπα λαμβάνων καὶ χρυσὸν <sup>30</sup> δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον ἐν ἐκπώμασι προσεδέχετο· τὰ δὲ ποικίλα ἢ πρὸς καλύπτρας ἢ πρὸς ἐνδύματα — ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα προσαποστέλλων ὁ βασιλεὺς — ἀφώμενος ταῖς χερσίν, ἀνηρώτα τὸν διακομισάμενον εἰ χρησιμεῖοι (F449) πρὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄπονον εἶναι καὶ (B348) ἀνάλητον ἢ καλύπτρα, εἰ ὁ ἐπανεσπαρμένος μάργαρος ἀμύνειν ἔχει ταύτη τὰς ἀστράπας, εἰ εἰς βροντῶν κτύπους, ὥστε μὴ ἐμβρόντητον γίνεσθαι τὸν φοροῦντα, ὁ λίθος συναίροιο, εἰ τὰ πολυτελεῖ αὐθις ἐνδύματα εἰς ἀπονίαν μελῶν συλλαμβάνοι. Εἰ μὲν <sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἔλεγον, παρερρίπτει, ἢ καὶ ἐνδυθεὶς ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ὅσον τὰς φιλίας ἀφοσιώσασθαι, ἀπεκδύμενος παραυτικά, μετελάμβανε κυνῆν ἢ προβατῆν τὴν συνήθη καὶ φορῶν ἐκυδροῦτο πλέον ἢ ὅσον ταῖς πολυτελεῖσι στολαῖς. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς καλύπτραις ἐποίει, τὰ πρὸς χρῆσιν ἀναγκαῖα τῶν περιττῶν, κἂν ἦν τῶν πολυτελῶν, ἀνθαιρούμενος. Εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνος πλαττόμενος <sup>10</sup> ὄνησιν φέρειν ἔλεγε τῷ φοροῦντι τὸ κτέρας τὴν οἰانوῦν τε καὶ ὀπουδήποτε, εὐθύς πιστεύων ἐφόρει, οὐ λίθοις οὐδὲ μαργάροις, ἀλλ' ὠφελεία προσέχων.

Τοῦτον τοιγαροῦν ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτοιμον τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου καταδραμεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σκυλεύειν χώραν, εἰ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκεῖνος ἐπίοι, οὐ Μεσεμβρείας μόνον στερρῶς ἀντείχετο καὶ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ <sup>15</sup> Σωζόπολιν καὶ Ἀγαθούπολιν καὶ Κανστρίτζιον

to insert new patches on old garments. Thus, living in a completely carefree way, on the one hand, by receiving sarissa, saddle, clothing, and food themselves from the gynaecium, and on the other hand, by waging war, seizing the property of others, without other anxieties. By holding firmly to these commandments of the legislator Genghis Khan<sup>25</sup> - for now I remember his name—they practice truth in word and justice in deed, the one befitting freedom of soul and the other uprightness of mind. There is thus no deception in what one may hear another say and there is no intrigue in what another may do to that one. But the Emperor then contracted an alliance with Nogai, their leader, and he never ceased to send him many gifts, both for clothing and for the culinary variety, liberally adding whole barrels of perfumed wines. Seeing what there was to eat and drink, Nogai received it with pleasure and also accepted gold and silver in the form of vessels. As for the various articles, either for hairstyle, or for clothing - since the Emperor was just as liberal in sending these to him -, he would feel them with his hands and ask the bearer if the hairstyle served to preserve the head from fatigue and pain, if the encrusted pearl could ward off the lightning, if the stone was of some help for strokes of lightning, so that the person who was wearing it would not be struck down, or, on the other hand, if the sumptuous garments contributed to preserving the limbs from fatigue. If they said no to him, he would reject them, or else, after putting them on for a short time, just enough to sacrifice the friendship, he would immediately take them off and resume his customary clothes of dog or sheepskin, since he gloried more in wearing them than he did these sumptuous garments. He did the same for the headdresses, preferring superfluous items, however sumptuous, to those that were of indispensable use. If the messenger falsely asserted that the item would bring the wearer any help of any kind, he would immediately wear it with confidence, in consideration not of stones and pearls, but of utility.

The Emperor therefore had Nogai at his disposal, ready to attack Constantine and to raid his country, if the latter invaded the lands of the Emperor. Not satisfied with just attaching himself firmly to Mesembrea and Anchialos, he still held Sozopolis, Agathoupolis, Kanstritzion and other

<sup>25</sup> The manuscript tradition shows that the etymology of the name of Genghis-Khan is not part of the common model of the three manuscripts A, B and C. Only A is faithful to the model. B and C inserted the note in the body of the text, but not in the same location. (F446, fn. 2)

καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα φρούρια, ἅπερ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπισκευασάμενοι προσεκτῶντο τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ λίαν ἐν χεροῖν (B349) εἶχε, μηδὲ φρουρίου σκιὰν προϊέμενος. Μεσέμβρειαν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ δικαίου πάλαι ποτ' εἶχε, λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Μυτζῆ.

fortresses firmly in his hands,<sup>26</sup> which the Emperor's forces restored and acquired for the Emperor, without yielding so much as a shadow of a fortress. In fact, he held Mesembreia by ancient law since he had received it from Mytzes.

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<sup>26</sup> Of these five cities located on the Black Sea, the first three were on the Gulf of Burgas: Mesembreia (Nesebar), Anchialos (Pomorie) and Sozopolis (Sozopol). Agathoupolis (Achtopol) was further south. The location of Kanstritzion is unknown. Mesembreia and Anchialos have already been mentioned. The three manuscripts transmitted the spelling Agathioupolis, which was corrected in the edition; in the two other cases where this toponym is mentioned in the History (Books XI and XIII), the manuscripts agree on the spelling Agathopolis. (Cf. F448, fn. 1)

## BOOK XI

## 12-14

## 12. The Latins who arrived on summons, and their actions.

## (F431) ἱβ' Περὶ τῶν ἐκ προσκλήσεως ἐλθόντων Λατίνων καὶ ὅποια ἔδρασαν.

12. Καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γαμηλιῶνα τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιμεμήσεως εἶδεν ἡ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τὸν Λατῖνον Ῥοντζέριον, ὡς μὴ ὄφελεν, ἅμα ναυσὶν ἰδίαις ἑπτὰ καὶ συμμαχικῶ στόλῳ ἐκ Κατελάνων καὶ Ἀμογαβάρων πλείστῳ, <sup>5</sup> εἰς χιλιοστύας ὀκτὼ ποσομένῳ, προλαβόντος ἐκείνον καὶ τοῦ Φαρ-έντα Τζιμῆ καὶ συμποσοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τζιμῆ εὐγενὴς ἦν, καὶ οὖς ἦγεν ἰδίους εἶχε καὶ ἀκλητὶ παραγέγονε, συμμαχήσων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, εἰ βούλοιο βασιλεύς, πλὴν ἐπὶ ῥητῶ τῷ μισθῷ· ὁ δέ γε Ῥοντζέριος ἐκ προσκλήσεως ἄνευσιν, ἀνὴρ γοργωπός, νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν, ταχὺς ἐς ὃ <sup>10</sup> ῥένοι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις θερμός· περὶ οὗ βραχεὰ βούλομαι προειπεῖν ὡς πέψυσμαι· εἰ δέ γε τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ἐκκλίνειεν, οὐχ ὁ γράφων ἀλλ' ἡ φήμη, τὴν μέμψιν φερέτω.

Οὗτος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν Πτολεμαῖδι, ὅτ' ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἦν καὶ τὸ περίπυστον ἐν πόλεσιν εἶχε, τῷ Τέμπλῳ κατὰ φρερίους ἐνήσκητο. Ὡς δ' <sup>15</sup> ἐκείνη παρ' Αἰθίοπων ἠλίσκετο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθι λόγοις ἐλέγομεν, καὶ τάκεϊ κατέστραπτο, χρήματα νοσφισάμενος (B394) τῆς μονῆς καὶ μακρὰς συσκευασάμενος νῆας, ἐπέιχεν Ἀγαρηνοῖς καὶ πειρ-

12. Alas! In the September following the second indiction, (the city of) Constantine witnessed the arrival of the Latin Roger (Gr. Rontzerios, <Germ. Rutger)<sup>27</sup> with his seven ships and a large, allied fleet of Catalans and Almogavars,<sup>28</sup> which amounted to eight thousand men. Ferran Ximenis had preceded him and completed the force.<sup>29</sup> However, Ximenis was an aristocrat and those he led were loyal only to him. So, whereas Ximenis later presented himself without summons, ready to ally himself against the Persians (i.e. Turks) if the emperor so wished, but with a specified pay, Roger arrived on invitation. This latter was formidable in appearance, young in age, quick in his action and ardent in his undertakings. I want to briefly say in advance what I have found out about him. If the story deviates from the truth, it is the rumour rather than the writer that is to blame.

This man (Roger) served as a temple-brother (i.e. a Templar)<sup>30</sup> at Ptolemais<sup>31</sup> in Syria, when the latter still existed and retained its renown among the cities. As we have said in previous chapters, when the place was captured and destroyed by the Ethiopians (i.e. Mamalukes), Roger was able to mount raids against the

<sup>27</sup> Roger (or Rutger) de Flor was the son of a German knight called Richard von Blum ('Flor' being the Catalan equivalent of the family name) who was killed fighting for the Hohenstaufens in 1265. Roger's mother, who was a well-born lady from Brindisi found that she had been deprived of any form of royal pension because of her late husband's association with the now defeated Hohenstaufens. The normal career of a knight was out of the question for Rutger von Blum who was the youngest son and born after his father's death (c. 1266). Although he was of German stock, Rutger or Roger was often referred to in Greek sources as 'the Italian' or 'the Latin' because of his connection with Brindisi. He took to working on the docks there and became a seaman for a corsair-captain who was in the service of the Knights Templar.

<sup>28</sup> The Almogavars who formed a major part of the Grand Company were often described as lightly armed warriors of Mozarabic descent but every attempt to derive the word *Almogavar* from Arabic has so far been unsuccessful. In reality they were no mere skirmishers but well armed pikemen (but also adept at the javelin) from clans that had taken to the hills after the Muslim invasion of Spain. They were trained to a high standard to unhorse heavily armed knights by making devastating use of their skill with the javelin against the chargers. The word 'Almogavar' is of Spanish Arabic origin and can mean either 'Corredor, algarero, soldado de frontera' or a 'raider' - the latter may well be a negative entity. For a detailed critical study of medieval sources on this important 'caste' of professional warriors from the 'marches' of the Kingdom of Aragon see R. Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegertum in der Crònica des Ramon Muntaner, Eine Studie zum spätmittelalterlichen Kriegswesen aufgrund katalnischer Quellen*, Geist und Werk der Zeiten No. 31 (Bern and Frankfurt, 1971) 57-61 and 105-09.

<sup>29</sup> Ferran (Ferdinand) Ximenis d'Arenos was a senior Catalan commander who resigned from the Grand Company prior to departure and took service with Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens.

<sup>30</sup> He is always referred to as Fra (i.e. Brother) Roger in Catalan sources.

<sup>31</sup> Ptolemais was the Hellenistic name for the port of Acre. It fell to the Mamelukes on 18 May 1291.

ατῆς βιαιότατος ἦν, πολλοὺς τ' ἔχων αἰρετιστὰς νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἀντείχετο. Πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπερηφανῶν ἐκ τῶν σκυλευμάτων τῶν κατὰ <sup>120</sup> θάλασσαν, τάξιν ἐκεῖνην τῶν φρερίων καὶ σχῆμα χαίρειν ἔῃ καὶ, ἐπὶ ναυσὶ κραταιωθεὶς πλείοσι, τῷ ἐκ τοῦ Μαφρὲ ἀνέκαθεν Θευδερῖχῳ Σικελίαν κατέχοντι, κατὰ τινα γονικὴν ἀποστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστατοῦντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς πολέμους καὶ μάχας πρὸς τὸν Κάρουλον καταστάντι, πρόσεισι, ῥόγαις τακταῖς βοηθήσων σὺν οἰκείῳ λαῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ κατὰ γε συμμαχίαν <sup>125</sup> συνὼν Θευδερῖχῳ, μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων προσεβοήθει. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ πόλεμος (F433) παῦλαν ἔσχεν καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐπιγαμίῳσι οἱ τέως πολεμοῦντες εἰρήνευον – τὴν γὰρ Αἰκατερίναν ὁ τοῦ ῥηγὸς ἀδελφὸς εἰς γάμον λαμβάνει, ὃν καὶ εἰς βασιλέα στέψας ὁ πάπας, καὶ δίχα τέρας, εἴτ' οὖν γῆς, ἐπικηρύξας κράτορα, περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνήρτα διὰ τὴν νύμφην οὔσαν τοῦ <sup>125</sup> Βαλδουῖνου ἐκγόνην –, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰλεουμένης πέμψας ὁ πάπας ζητεῖ τὸν Ῥοντζέριον. Ὁ μέντοι Θευδερῖχος, οὐ πρόπον γνοῦς οὐδ' ἄλλως δίκαιον προδιδόναι τὸν ἐπὶ καιροῖς ἀναγκαίῳσι φανέντα χρήσιμον – ἐφῆπται γὰρ αὐτόθεν οἱ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ὡς τὸ σχῆμα καταπατήσαντι –, ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ μὲν φιλοφροσύνην, τῷ πάπα δὲ πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα ὑπειξίν (B395) <sup>130</sup> ἡγησάμενος ἀπολύειν καὶ μὴ κατέχειν μήτε μὴν περιέπειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐκποδῶν ἐπήγγελε γίνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπου σωθήσεται.

Διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπορηθεὶς, ἐκεῖνος πέμπει πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ ἰκετεύει δέχεσθαι· ἔχειν γὰρ καὶ λαὸν ἱκανὸν συμμαχεῖν, ὅπου βούλοιο βασιλεύς. Ἦν γὰρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ὡς ἔδειξε, καὶ λῆμα ἔχων γενναῖον καὶ πλέως <sup>135</sup> ἀρεϊκοῦ φρονήματος, πολλῶν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τῷ τῆς γνώμης σπουδαίῳ καὶ βαθυσκέπτῳ λαὸν δουλαγωγῶν ἀτάσθαλον καὶ τούτῳ κατορθοῦν τὰ μέγιστα φημιζόμενος. Ὁ

Agareniens (i.e. Arabs) thanks to the monastic-funds he had embezzled and the long boats he had equipped. He was a very violent pirate, and with his many supporters he had undertaken nefarious enterprises. Proud of the wealth and munificence that he and his associates had obtained, thanks to the spoils from the sea, he bade farewell to this order and to the habit of the brothers. Having become strong thanks to his many ships, he joined Frederick (Gr. Theuderichos), who held Sicily by virtue of inheritance dating back to Manfred (Gr. Maphre)<sup>32</sup> who, due to being separated from the Church because of a hereditary excommunication, had waged wars and battles against Charles (Gr. Karolos) (of Anjou). Ready to help with his own army and for a stated pay, he entered into a longstanding alliance with Frederick and came to his aid with his own men. But the war ended<sup>33</sup> and the men, who were fighting each other until that time, made peace by a treaty reinforced by a marriage. In fact, the king's brother took Catherine (of Aterina) in marriage. The Pope crowned Frederick emperor but without symbols, that is to say without territory. He proclaimed him sovereign and left him pining for the City (of Constantine) on account of his wife who was the granddaughter of (the Latin Emperor) Baldwin (Gr. Baldouinos). Now that the Church had settled on these main issues, the Pope demanded that Roger be handed over. But Frederick thought it inappropriate or simply unfair to hand over the man who had shown himself useful in difficult times, since he would incur immediate punishment for having trampled his (Templar's) habit under foot. Due to his benevolence towards Roger and the concessions that he had already made to the Pope's requests, he considered it sufficient to dismiss him without arrest and mistreatment. He ordered him to disappear and to find a place to which to escape.

This is why, deprived of everything, Roger sent people to the emperor to ask him to receive him. He also had an army with him that was sufficient to fight wherever the emperor wished. In fact, it appears that he really did have a noble demeanour. He was full of martial courage and even more importantly, due to his acuteness and depth of spirit, he (also) commanded a proud army,

<sup>32</sup> Frederick II of Sicily, often called Frederick the Almogavar, was the third son of Peter I and Constance, the daughter of Manfred Hohenstaufen.

<sup>33</sup> The wars resulting from the so-called Sicilian Vespers came to an end with the Peace of Caltabelotta (31 August, 1302). Cf. A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins – The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Camb., MA, 1972), 128-34.

μέντοι γε βασιλεὺς, διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀρξάμενος ἤδη ξενοτροφεῖν, ὡς ἔρμαιον ἀρπάζει τὸ σύμβαμα καὶ, πέμπων πίστεις ἐκ χρυσοβούλλων, αὐτὸν ἀνεδέχετο καὶ λαὸν προσεδέχετο, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν τῷ τοῦ <sup>20</sup> μεγάλου δουκὸς τιμᾶν ἀξιώματι καὶ γε καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφιδῆ Μαρία τῆ τοῦ Ἀσάν θυγατρὶ καθιστᾶν, τοὺς δὲ γε περὶ αὐτὸν ῥόγαις ταῖς προσηκούσαις ἐξικανοῦν, ὑπηρετοῦντας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον. Τὸ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκόν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐξησθενηκὸς καὶ κατὰ δύσιν διασπαρὲν, παρεώρατο, ζητοῦν τὸν τεῦθεν (B396) ὅπου δουλεύσειε καὶ τραφήσαιο.

which had earned him the reputation of accomplishing the greatest of feats. As for the emperor, who had already begun to retain mercenary troops out of necessity, he seized the deal as a windfall and sent a chrysobull of guarantee to welcome Roger and gather the army, even to the point of honouring him with the dignity of Grand Duke, making him the bridegroom of his niece Marie, the daughter of Asen, and providing those around him with the appropriate pay should they be serving in war. As we have said, they disregarded the fact that the Roman army, weakened and scattered in the West, was now seeking where to serve to sustain itself.

### 13. About Michael the Despot and how he was arrested on suspicion (F435) *γ'*. Περὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ δεσπότη, ὅπως ὑποπτευθεὶς ἐπεσχέθη.

13. Παρ' ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ δεσπότης, αἰτίαις ὑποβληθεὶς, κενιδύνευκεν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἤπειγε τοῦτον εἰς Νίκαιαν συνάμα τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαῷ στρατηγήσοντα, ἐκεῖνος δὲ πολλάκις γράψας μετεκαλεῖτο τὸν <sup>5</sup> ἴδιον κάκεινοι κατερραθύμουν, διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξε χρῆσθαι τοῖς βασιλέως ὡς ὑπηρέταις, ἤδη ἀπολέμοις ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης γε γεγενημένοις, καὶ πέμπσας συνῆγε, πλὴν οὔτε βασιλέως εἰδότος, καὶ ὄρκους ἀπαιτῶν ἐκείνους, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας, καὶ κρυφῆδὸν λαμβάνων καὶ μέρει διδοῦς πρὸς ἐκείνους. Ἦν δ' ὁ ὄρκος βασιλεὶ πρέπων, οἶμαι, καὶ μόνω· εἶναι γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐχθροὶ <sup>10</sup> καὶ τῶν φίλων φίλοι τοῦ τέως δεσπότητος ἐπώμνουν. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλοτε προσαγγελθέν, βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα συνηθροικῶς, συνοικοῦντος καὶ τῆ τοῦ Τερτερῆ θυγατρὶ, λιπαρῶς ὑπόπτευε κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀπιστίας μελέτημα καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς εἰς κρίσιν ἐτίθει καὶ τὸν προσαγγελλόμενον κατεδίκασεν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ ῥηθήσεται.

13. This is the reason why the despot Michael was indicted and was in danger. In fact, the emperor urged Michael to go and take command at Nicaea with the army serving under his orders. However, although Michael had regularly written to summon his army, they were lagging behind. So, he decided to use the emperor's people in his service, who, by necessity, were no longer taking part in the war. He sent to assemble them, but without the emperor knowing and demanded oaths from those people, who were about a hundred in number, and in secret made them swear an oath and he swore an oath to them in return. But, in my opinion, the oath actually accommodated the emperor and him alone, since they swore to be the enemies of the enemies and the friends of the friends of the one who was until then despot. When this was reported to the emperor, he connected this fact to a multitude of others and, also to the fact that Roger was married to Terter's daughter, and he strongly suspected him of an attempt at disloyalty to him. He put the case to trial and convicted the accused. But we will talk about that later.

<sup>15</sup> Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς τοιαύτας ἐδίδου τὰς πίστεις τῷ Ῥοντζερίῳ. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα, ὡς ἂν καὶ (B397) μέγας τις δόξοι, οὐχ ὅσους ἀνὰ χεῖρας καὶ μόνους εἶχε, τοσοῦτους καὶ ἄγειν ἠβούλετο, ἀλλὰ προσφιλοτιμούμενος καὶ ἄλλους συνῆγε, ταῖς ἀπὸ βασιλέως ἐλπίσιν ἀναπτερῶν, ὥστε μὴδ' ἔχειν αὐτάρκεις ναῦς συνεκφέρειν τὸ στρατολόγημα, μὴδὲ γε χρήματα τόσα ὥστε <sup>20</sup> καὶ προκαταρκτικὰ διδόναι ἐπὶ βασιλεὶ ἐχεγγύω τὰ πλεῖστα παρέξοντι. Διὰ τοι ταῦτα καὶ Γεννοῦίτας προσσχὼν, ἐπὶ πίστεσιν ἐκιχράτο ταῖς ἐκ βασιλέως ὡσεὶ χιλιάδας εἴκοσι νομισμάτων, τὰ μὲν καὶ λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν νηῶν

So, the emperor afforded Roger such guarantees. Roger received the letter and had high hopes that what the emperor had entrusted in him would give him wings. In order to appear a grand personage, he considered it insufficient to only take those he had in his company, and he gathered others out of his own money (or pride). As a consequence, he did not have enough boats to transport the troops, nor enough money to distribute the starting salaries under the guarantee of the emperor who was to pay the larger sum. This is why he approached the Genoese, and, using the emperor's guarantee, he borrowed ap-

χρείαν ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ διαπλώσιν προσδεχόμενος.

<sup>25</sup> Γαμηλιῶνος μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῇ Κωνσταντίνου ἐφίστανται. Καὶ βασιλεὺς, τοσοῦτον λαὸν παρ' ἐλπίδα δεξάμενος, ὅμως τῇ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐλπίδι ἀναθαρρῶν, τοὺς λογισμοὺς κραταιότερον ἴστη καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ἐξήντηλει σφίσι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ θησαυροὶ πάντας, οὓς ἀνεπίμπλων οἱ πανταχόθεν δασμοί, ἐπισχεθέντων πάλλαι καὶ αὐτῶν ῥογῶν καὶ <sup>30</sup> προσοδίων τοῖς ἐν ἀνακτόρων δουλεύουσιν, ἃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίου (F437) εἰς μισθοὺς ἐτίθουν ἀναγκαίους τοῖς ὑπηρετουμένοις, ἐκείνοις ἐξεκενοῦντο. Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ῥοντζέριον εἰς μέγαν τιμήσας δούκα καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδίοις μεγαλύνας ὀνόμασι, γαμβρὸν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας καθίστη. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστᾶσι, πολλῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ἀπολαύσασσι (B398) δεικνύειν <sup>5</sup> τὴν χρῆσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν κενοῖς ἐπιστῆναι δόξωσιν. Ἐτάχθησαν οὖν εἰς Κύζικον ἀπελθεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἔχον τὸν φθόνον ἔρπειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, ὡς οἷόν τε διενόουν κάκεῖ πολύ τι συναχθὲν πλῆθος, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασιν ἱκανούμενον, ἐφέλκειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνάγκη, οἷς καὶ δεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κατακεκλεισμένοις συμμαχίας ᾤοντο.

proximately twenty thousand nomismata from them: he took a part himself and received the rest for the needs of the Genoese boats that ensured the passage of his army.

So, as has been said, it was in September (1303) that he arrived in Constantinople. Against all hope, the emperor now received such a large army. Hope of the (new) alliance gave him confidence, his resolve was strengthened, and he did all he could to source money for these people. The treasuries that contained the taxes collected from all sides were emptied, even though payment of the salaries and incomes, which had always been granted by the emperors as a salary that was needed for the servants of the palace, had been suspended for a long time. Moreover, he honoured Roger with the dignity of Grand Duke, officiated him using the titles that Roger had given himself, and also appointed him *gambros* as per the agreements. In reality, it was up to the newcomers, who had enjoyed numerous liberalities, to show how they could be useful, so as not to appear as if they had come for nothing. They were ordered to go to Cyzicus, since the Romans now understood that envy, or rather aggression, was insinuating itself intensely and that the gathering over there of a great crowd, which was well provided with goods and persons, would necessarily attract the Persians (i.e. Turks). This was why they thought that these people, thus blockaded, were in need of armed assistance.

#### 14. Fighting between the Catalans and the Genoese and the murder of the grand Droungarios.

<sup>10</sup> ἰδ'. Μάχη τῶν Κατελάνων καὶ τῶν Γεννουιτῶν καὶ φόνος τοῦ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου.

14. Ὡς γοῦν ἐξηρτύοντο καὶ ἤδη πρὸς ἐξόδοις ἦσαν, ἐπισυνίστανται Γεννουῖται οἱ κατὰ πόλιν τέως ζητοῦντες τὸ χρέος· βασιλέα γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖν ἑτέροις δανείσαντας οὐκ ᾔοντο δεῖν. Οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ χρέους βάρη προσανετίθουν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε χρησάμενοι ἔνεκα. Καὶ βασιλεὺς, τέως <sup>15</sup> οὐκ ἀνεχόμενος, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἀποδιδόναι κατένευε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φιλονεικίαν πᾶσαν ὑποτεμνόμενος, ἔπεμπε τὸν Μουζάλωνα Στέφανον, μέγαν δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλωῖμου ὄντα, καταστελοῦντα τὸν θόρυβον. Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐδέησε τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὥστε καὶ κατεκόπη σπάθαις αὐτῷ <sup>20</sup> γε ἵππῳ. Καὶ ἔρις ἐντεῦθεν μεγάλη μεταξὺ σφῶν ὠροθύνετο, (B399) τῶν μὲν ξενικῶν τὴν τοῦ Κοσμιδίου καταλαβόντων μονὴν κάκεινη ὡς ὀρμητηρίῳ χρωμένων καὶ μαχομένων, Γεννουιτῶν δὲ αὐτόθεν κατ' αἰγιαλοὺς βούτζοις καὶ τάρπαις καὶ σανίσιν ἀσφαλισθέντων κύκλῳ, κἀντεῦθεν ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους βαλλόντων τε καὶ βαλλομένων, ὡς καὶ πολλοὺς πεσεῖν ἀμφο-

14. As they were getting ready and were about to depart, the Genoese of the City rose up against them and demanded payment of the debt. In fact, they did not think they had to claim this from the emperor because, it was loaned to them by others. But the Catalans blamed the emperor for the burden of the debt as the money had been used for his benefit. The emperor, who previously had not agreed, nevertheless consented to restitution. That is why, to prevent any dispute, he sent Stephan Mouzalon, who was Grand Droungarios of the fleet, to stop the disturbance. However, the latter failed completely in this action and was cut down by a sword along with his horse. From then on a serious contest arose between them. The foreign troops seized the monastery of Kosmidion, which they used as a base from which to fight, while the Genoese immediately fortified themselves around the shore with barrels, baskets, and planks, and from there, as from a rampart,



τέρωθεν. |<sup>25</sup> Μόλις τὸν θόρυβον βασιλέως καταστορέσαντος, ἐπὶ Κυζίκου εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἀπέπλεον. Ἐκεῖσε δ' ἐπιστάντες πόλλ' ἄττα τῶν χαλεπῶν κατεπράττοντο, ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους καθήμενοι, χρήματα ἐκλέγοντες, βίους ἀρπάζοντες, γυναιξίν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιχειροῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων ὅσα καὶ ὠνητῶν κατακυριεύοντες δούλων.

(F439) Τέως ὁ μὲν Φαρέντα Τζιμῆς, αἰσχυνθεὶς οἷον τὰ δρώμενα καὶ πολλακίς ἐλέγξας οἷων μὲν ἀπήλαυσαν βασιλέως, οἷα δὲ πράττουσι καὶ, μὴ πείσας βαρβάρους ὄντας, καὶ αὐτοῦ κατεξανισταμένου τοῦ ἄγοντος, ἀπαίρειν ἔγνω. Ὅθεν καὶ συσκευασάμενος συνάμα ναυσὶν ἰδίαις καὶ οἰκείω λαῶ, ἐπ' |<sup>5</sup> οἴκου πορεύεται. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, καὶ ἔτι τῷ κατὰ Κύζικον προσκαθήμενοι τείχει καὶ ταῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐντρυφῶντες ἀτασθαλίαις, ὅπη καὶ λήξειαν τοιαῦτα πράττοντες, (B400) ἦν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοῶν· Ῥωμαίους γὰρ πανταχόθεν τὰ δεινὰ περιέστη, καὶ διεφώνουν πάσχοντες.

they fired and took fire, so that great numbers died on both sides. The emperor finally calmed the trouble, and the Catalans sailed to Cyzicus to winter there. Once there, they committed many misdeeds. They remained inside the ramparts, levied money, plundered the goods, harassed the wives of the men there, and ordered the inhabitants around as if these were slaves that had been duly purchased.

However, Ferran Ximenis was extremely ashamed of their deeds, and he often blamed them for committing such action given that they had benefited so much from the Emperor. As he failed to convince the barbarians, and as their leader himself now rose up against him, he decided to leave. So, he made his preparations and returned home with his boats and his army. But, while the Catalans still remained within the walls of Cyzicus so that they could enjoy the misfortunes they imposed on others, no one doubted where those who carried out such deeds would end up. In fact, misfortune was surrounding the Romans on all sides. But, despite their sufferings, they argued among themselves.

## 16-17

### 16. About the skilful feat accomplished by our people in Sardis.

#### (F441) 16. Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Σάρδεις τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ περινοίας ἀνδραγαθήματος.

|<sup>15</sup> 16. Ἦν μὲν οὖν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν δεινὰ, τῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς πόλεως οὐδὲν ὑποστάντων τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἀνυπόστατον ῥύμην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν φονευομένων, τῶν δ' ἀπανισταμένων, τῶν μὲν εἰς πόλεις καὶ φρούρια, τῶν δ' εἰς νήσους, ἄλλων δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ κατ' ἀντιπεραίαν ἀσφαλῆ, ὅπου ἂν καὶ σωθεῖεν βλεπόντων τε καὶ ὀρμώντων, τῶν δ' ἐντὸς καὶ λίαν ἐνδεῶς |<sup>20</sup> ἐχόντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν ἐξαπώλειαν. Βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ὡς οἷον τ' ἦν ἀντιπαλαμώμενος πρὸς τὰς τῶν δεινῶν ἐπιρροίας, Ἀλανῶν μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεγνωκῶς, ἐπὶ σαθροῖς δὲ σαλεύων τοῖς ξενικοῖς, πέμπει καὶ πρὸς Καζάνην, τὸν τῶν ἀνατολικῶν Τοχάρων, ὡς αὐτοὶ φαῖεν ἂν, κάνιν, καὶ γαμικᾶς ἐπιμιξίας προτείνει καὶ ἐπαμύνειν προσαξιῶ |<sup>25</sup> τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχάτως ἔχουσι πράγμασιν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν δέχεται, καὶ τὸ κῆδος – ἐπὶ γὰρ φυσικῆ θυγατρί, ἧς αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πατὴρ ἐνομίζετο, συνεφώνει – προσαπεδέχετο, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις ἀσφαλεῖς ἐδίδου

16. So, our situation was tragic. On the one hand, those living outside the cities could barely defend themselves against the relentless push of the Persians. That is why some were killed while others tried to find a place to which they could rush and be safe. Some went to the towns and fortresses, others to the islands, and others to the safe regions on the other shore.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, those living in the cities were seriously lacking in necessities due to the loss of the external lands. That is why the Emperor, who was struggling as best he could against the flow of misfortunes, and who was despairing of these Alans and his own army, while continuing to rely on corrupt foreigners, also sent an embassy to Ghazan, the Khan, as these Eastern Tatars say, to offer him a matrimonial alliance and request him to come to the aid of the dire situation of the Romans. The Kahn approved the request, accepted the alliance, gave his consent for a biological daughter, whose father was considered

<sup>34</sup> I.e., in Europe, and more precisely in Thrace. (Cf. f.440, fn. 19)



μετελεύσεσθαι τοὺς ἀλάστορας. (B403) Τοῦτο φημισθέν, ὡς εἰκός, τοῖς μὲν λοιποῖς ἄλλως ὀκονομεῖτο ἢ περὶ τὰς συστολὰς σπουδῆ, κἄν ἠφροντίστουν τῷ τέως· ἐνὶ δὲ <sup>30</sup> τούτων, τῷ Ἀλάιδι, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λυδίαν καταδραμόντι, ὥστε καὶ λείαν (F443) Μυσῶν, οὐ Λυδῶν φανῆναι τάκει, κατασεισθέντι τῇ φήμῃ τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἔδοξε προνοεῖν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τῶν ἐκ φυλακῆς συμφερόντων. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ τῶν Σάρδεων φρουρίον, ὄχυρόν ἄλλως ὄν ὡς παλαιᾶς ἀκρόπολιν πόλεως, καθ' ἓν ἄβατον μέρος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπόκρημον, διὰ <sup>15</sup> τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων ἐγκεκλεισμένοις ἐπίθεσιν πέμπων ἐπὶ ῥηταῖς ὁμολογίαις συνέπραττεν, ἐφ' ᾧ, τοῦ φρουρίου διαμεμερισμένου μακρῷ τινὶ τείχει καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἡμισυ μὲν ἐκείνους, ἡμισυ δ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, κἀντεῦθεν δεσμοῖς ὁμονοίας συνδεῖσθαι καὶ, ἀνέδην ἐξιόντας, ἐκείνους μὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔργοις προσανέχειν ἐξ ὧν τραφήσονται, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάντως ποιεῖν, αὐτῶν μὲν, <sup>10</sup> ὡς εἰκός, ἀπέχοντας, ἄλλοις δ' ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐξ ὧν κερδανούσι τὸν οἰκεῖον τρόπον καὶ ληστρικόν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτ' ἤξιουν, (B404) καὶ λιπαρῶς ἀντείχοντο τοῦ φρουρίου· τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνθίστασθαι μάταιον ἐνομίζετο, τὸ δ' εὐπειθεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν γειννίασιν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἀρνειοῖς καὶ λύκοις κοινὰ ταμέσθαι τὰ ὄρκια <sup>15</sup> –, ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ τοῦ ὑδρευέσθαι τε καὶ κατασπεῖρειν ἔνεκα ἀνεκτὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ συγκατέβαινον.

Καὶ δὴ πολλοὺς τινὰς τῶν Περσῶν ὑποδέχονται – σωροὺς δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰκός, σὺν αὐτοῖς εἶδέ τις ἄν –, παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐ συνοικοῦντες τοῖς εἰσαχθεῖσι παρ' ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ τείχος σφᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεῖργε. <sup>20</sup> Κατὰ τινὰ δὲ πυλίδαν καὶ συμμετεῖχον ἀλλήλοις ἔνιοι, ὡς ἐλέγετο. Ταῦτα γοῦν ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον, καὶ ἀνακωχὴν τῶν κακῶν κατὰ τὸ φρούριον εἶχον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς φήμης τῶν Τοχάρων κατ' ὀλίγον ἠσθένουν καὶ ἤδη θάρρος εἶχον ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῶν φόβων ἑαυτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον, οἱ τέως ἰκέται ἑαυτῶν γίνονται καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀναμνησκονται καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς <sup>25</sup> γειτον-

to be the Emperor himself,<sup>35</sup> and offered firm promises to pursue the accursed. The news of course spread, and the rest of the enemies took other means to restrict their activities, although they were not concerned for the time being. However, one of them, Alais, who was ransacking Lydia to such an extent that the goods of the place seemed more like a booty of the Mysians than of the Lydians, was shaken by the news, and in order to protect himself and his people, he decided to take the useful measures dictated by vigilance. He therefore sent a proposal for collaboration, by way of specific agreements, to the inhabitants of Sardis who, on account of the attacks of these people, were shut up in the fortress, which was highly robust due to its role as acropolis of the ancient city, and was impassable on one side and steep on the rest. As the fortress was divided in two by a strong and secure wall, our people would have half of it and his people the other half, and they would thus be united by the bonds of concord and be able to go out freely. Our people would go about their own work, from which they would draw their subsistence, while his people would go about their business without restriction, keeping themselves of course far from ours, while they could attack others and exploit them in their own thieving manner. These people therefore made this request and tenaciously clung to the fortress. As for the inhabitants, given that resistance seemed useless owing to the unsafe situation produced by the proximity of the enemies, and the fact that it was simply out of the question for lambs and wolves to enter into a common agreement, it seemed tolerable to obey out of current necessity and the exigency to water and to sow, and so they gave their consent.

They welcomed a large number of Persians, and one could of course see, at the same time as these latter, the mass of their goods. Although they did not cohabit with the people whom they had introduced, insofar as the dividing wall separated them one another, it was said that some communicated with each other through a small door. This was how it was for a time, and they had a respite from their troubles in the fortress. But as the rumour of the Tatars gradually weakened and these people started to gain in audacity and recover from their fears, those who had been supplicants up until then became their

<sup>35</sup> Pachymeres does not specify the identity of the biological daughter of Andronicus II promised to Ghazan. This could be Irene Palaiologina (*PLP*, No. 91848), who was later married to John II of Thessaly. (Cf. F440, fn. 22)

οὔσι βουλευονται. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ σόφισμα καθ' αὐτῶν· ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντεπιβουλευεῖν ἐκείνοις ἔχοντες, πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ διωπνίζοντο παρ' ἐκείνων, τὸ φθῆναι πρᾶξι παρὰ τὸ παθεῖν κερδαλεώτερον ἡγησάμενοι. Καὶ δὴ προλαβόντες τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, πέμπουσι (B405) πρὸς τὸν τηγικάδε τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντα, πριμικήριον ἐξ ἀξιώματος τῆς αὐλῆς· καὶ |<sup>30</sup> νυκτὸς ἐκείνος, λαὸν ἱκανὸν ἐξετοιμασάμενος, προσβάλλει τῷ φρουρίῳ, καὶ ἐμφανῆς ἦν, τοῖς μὲν προσδοκώμενος, τοῖς δ' ἀπροσδόκητος. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀσμένως δέχονται τοῦτον, τοῖς δ' ἐφίσταται κοιμωμένοις δεινὸς ὄνειρος, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν διατεθῆκει σφᾶς τὰ παγγάλεπα.

own masters again, remembered the previous situation and planned to attack their neighbours. However, in truth their intrigue turned back against them because it incited the Romans, who could also betray them on their side, to do likewise, since they considered it more advantageous to act first than to submit. Having prevented the treason of the Persians, they sent a mission to the person in command of the Roman troops at the time and who held the dignity of primicier of the court. At night, after having prepared a force sufficient enough, this latter threw himself on the fortress and made his appearance, which was expected by some but not by others. This was why some received him with joy, while for others it was like a nightmare that came to them in their sleep, and he henceforth inflicted the worst treatment on them.

**17. About the return of the Emperor Michael to the City.**  
**(F445) 17. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαήλεις τὴν πόλιν ἐπανελεύσεως.**

17. Ὁ μέντοι γε βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ραΐσας τῆς νόσου ἔτι μὲν παρὰ ταῖς Πηγαῖς ἦν, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ προσελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κύζικον τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυδοιμοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ περ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἀπονεῖμαι μὲν τὴν |<sup>3</sup> προσκύνησιν, ἀπολαοὶ δὲ γε τῆς θεᾶς δεσπότητος δοῦλος, ἄβατος ἦν ἢ πόλις τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος· τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ὑπογούου πραχθέντα παρ' Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ Κύζικον καὶ λίαν ὠδύνα τὸν βασιλέα ἀνάπυστά οἱ γεγονότα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμιλίαν ἀπέστραπται. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τελείας ἐπιβάς ὑγείας, συνάμα τῇ Αὐγούστη τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὕτη |<sup>10</sup> συνῆν ἐκείνῳ κατὰ τὰς Πηγάς ἀπαντήσασα, διαπεραιοῦται κατὰ δύσιν. καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέραις τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν χωρίοις ἐναυλισάμενος, ἐπεὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐπανήκειν ἐς πόλιν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἤπειγε τὴν ἐπιδημίαν, ἡμέρα μὲν εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν, ἡμέρα μὲν εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς καταλαμβάνει τὴν Δρίπειαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐξέρχεται μὲν βασιλεὺς, συνεξέρχεται δὲ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, |<sup>15</sup> καὶ μοναχοὶ καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντες συνεξίσασιν, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ὅσον ἦν ἔκκριτον, ἐκεῖθεν λείποντος. Καὶ τότε κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς (B406) ὁδοῦ βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ συναντᾷ, καὶ χρόνιος φαίνεται, καὶ ὡσπερ τις τροπαιοῦχος ὑπὸ πολλαῖς ταῖς εὐφημίαις τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται.

17. As for the Emperor Michael, he had recovered from his illness and was still at Pegai. He gave orders to absolutely forbid the entry to the city of the Grand Duke, who had come there, on the occasion of the battle that his people were conducting in Cyzicus, to show his reverence, as is natural, and for him, the slave, to delight in the sight of the master. In fact, the Emperor Michael had been greatly chagrined by the news of the recent actions of the Italians in Cyzicus, and this was why he shrank from conversing with this man. As he now enjoyed perfect health, he went to the West with his wife, the Empress, for she too was with him and had come to meet him at Pegai.<sup>36</sup> After having resided for several days in the villages of the West, as he had to return to the City and his father the Emperor Andronicus urged his arrival, on the 23rd of January he went to Dripeia. The next day the Emperor Michael left, and at the same time, his entire entourage, as well as the monks and all the dignitaries of the Church and even the distinguished citizens. And then, in the middle of the journey, the Emperor Michael arrived to meet the Emperor Andronicus, and after a long time he appeared. He entered the City like a victor, to numerous acclamations.

<sup>36</sup> Michael IX, who was accompanied by his wife, Mary of Armenia (IX, 5-6), crossed the Hellespont west of Pegai and must have come to shore in Europe at Kallioupolis, which was the usual crossing point, as specified by the editor of the Short Version. (Cf. F444, fn. 29)

**21. The misfortunes that reached the opposite shore,  
and further announcements of misfortunes in all places.**  
(F451) |<sup>20</sup> 21. Περὶ τῶν καταλαβόντων τὴν περαιὰν δεινῶν,  
καὶ ἔτι τῶν ὀπηδήποτε ἐξαγγελία.

21. Ἡῤῥανε δ' ὁσημέραι καὶ αὖθις τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν δεινόν, ὥστ' ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι πανταχοῦ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας. Τί γὰρ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπῆν; Καὶ ἐῷ τὰ μακρὰν· ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ θύρας ταῦτα καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος |<sup>25</sup> προαῦλια. Τὰ δ' ἦν εὐθὺς νηὸς (B411) ἀποβαίνοντι τῷ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Βοσπόρου περαιουμένῳ, ὥστ' ἀφεμένῳ θαλάσσης λαμβάνειν κίνδυνον. Ἀνέδην γὰρ διέτρεχον πανταχοῦ τῆς περαιᾶς, καὶ κατεσκῆνον ὅπου ἦν βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἰλαδὸν στρατεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀσυντάκτως καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὥστε κεῖσθαι τὴν περαιὰν τῆς Βυζαντίδος Σκυθῶν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, |<sup>30</sup> ἐρημίαν, μηδενὸς τολμῶντος φανῆναι, ὅτε συνέβαινε καὶ παραβολώτερόν (F453) τινὰς διαπράττεσθαι καὶ ἐκθέειν τολμῶντας, ζήλου τινὸς πειθοντος ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνδείας πιεζούσης, τριβομένου τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἐφοδίων σφίσι καταναλωμένων, ἅπερ οἴκοθεν ἀπεφέροντο. Τὰ δ' ἦσαν μᾶλλον εἰς κίνδυνον. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκωλύοντο, ἀπειλαῖς τῶν κρατούντων καὶ φόβῳ |<sup>5</sup> σωφρονιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες, ἦν πού τις προεξέδραμεν ἰκανὸς δοκῶν ἄγειν σύντομον – λοχαγὸν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶπη τις ἄν –, καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν, ἐξήρχοντο, ὥστε καὶ συνέβαινε ποτὲ μὲν εὐστοχεῖν ὀλίγοις πρὸς πολλοὺς γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀνόπλοις, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ σφάλεσθαι.

|<sup>10</sup> Καὶ οὐκ ἦν σχεδὸν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἢ μὴ τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν φρουρίοις προσβάλλοντες ἠκούοντο ἢ μὴ ἀπάγοντες αἰχμαλώτους ἢ μὴ φονεῦοντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτε καὶ ἰκεσίαις ἐχρώμεθα πρὸς Θεόν, τὸ οἴκτιστον. Διεῖχε δὲ μόνος ὁ (B412) πορθμὸς οὗτος. Καὶ πολλάκις μὲν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐφαίνοντο τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορῶσι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππει· κἄν που δέ τις ἢ ἐνδεία ἐξαπορούμενος |<sup>15</sup> κἀντεῦθεν ἐλπίζων κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων ἄλλοις, ἢ μὴν καὶ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἑτέραν ἢ τοῦ σφετέρου κτήματος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐξορμᾶν ἐτόλμα, αὐτίκα ἢ ἠλίσκετο ἢ ἐκτείνετο. Καὶ πολλοὺς ἄν εἶδες ἐσφαγμένους ἢ τετρωμένους εἰς θάνατον, ἔστι δ' οὗ καὶ κεφαλῆς ἄνευ καὶ κόρσας ἀναύχενας. Πεπλήθει δὲ τῶν ἀγρομένων ἢ πόλις, καὶ ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τοῖς

21. Every day the terror caused by the Persians increased again, so that there was no place that offered hope of salvation. In fact, what difficulty did not exist? I leave distant difficulties aside, but these difficulties were at our gates and in the vestibule of the imperial city. They were immediate for those who crossed the Bosphorus strait as soon as they disembarked from the boat to such a point that they encountered danger as soon as they left the sea. In fact, the Persians ran freely all over the opposite shore and camped wherever they wanted, but without mass campaigns, without order of battle and in small groups, so that the shore opposite Byzantium was akin to a Scythian desert where, like they say, no one dared to show themselves. It was at this point that some men began to act with more temerity and to carry out daring sorties. A certain zeal incited them or rather they were gripped by necessity, since the provisions which they had carried with them from home had become depleted over time. But it was fraught with danger, and so some turned away from it, tempered by the threats of the rulers and by fear. But others would go out, full of audacity, insofar as there was a man who would take the lead, a commander one might say, who seemed to have the capacity to carry out an expeditious action, and without the knowledge of all. Defenceless and unarmed against a great number, sometimes he would have some success, but often he would fail.

And hardly a day went by without news that the enemy was attacking the coastal fortresses or were kidnapping prisoners or murdering, and this was most pitiful especially as we were making supplications to God. Only the strait separated them from us. In the daytime infantry and cavalry could often be seen by those who looked on from here. But if anyone, constrained by need and thus hoping to profit from what had been abandoned by others, or because of some other necessity or to look after his own good, dared to go there, he would immediately be taken prisoner or killed. You could see many of them with their throats cut or mortally wounded, sometimes there were even headless bodies and *neckless heads*. The City was filled with beggars and inconvenienced by those

πανταχοῦ <sup>20</sup> κειμένοις εἰκῆ τε καὶ ὑπαιθρίοις, πνοῇ ζῆν καὶ μόνη πιστευομένοις· λιμὸς γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ γε λοιμὸς τοὺς ἀθλίους διεμεριζέτην. Καὶ οἱ ἀστικοὶ τοῦ κακοῦ παραπήλαυον, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δεινοῖς συνείχοντο καὶ ἄποροι διήεσαν καὶ ἀμήχανοι, οἱ δὲ ὅσον οὐπω τὰ τοῖς πλησίον συμβάντα καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπ' ἴσης ἤλπίζον.

<sup>25</sup> Οἱ δὲ μὴ μόνον Χηλῆ τε καὶ Ἀστραβητῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἱεροῦ φρουρίῳ προσβάλλοντες, τὰ πάνδενα διεπράττοντο, ὥσπερ ὑπνώττοντος βασιλέως ἢ μὴ ζῶντος. Νικομήδεια δ' ἐξησθένει λιμῶ τε καὶ ἐνδείᾳ ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ ἀμηχανώτερον μετεβάλλετο. Ἡ δὲ γε περίπυστος Νίκαια ἀποκέκλειστο καὶ, τὰς πέριξ χάριτας (B413) ἀποκειραμένη, ἐνδεία καὶ αὕτη ἐστενοχώρητο. <sup>30</sup> Καὶ νῦν μὲν Βηλόκωμις, νῦν δ' Ἀγγελόκωμις, νῦν δ' Ἀναγουρδὺς καὶ (F455) Πλατανέα καὶ τὰ Μελάγγεια καὶ τὰ πέριξ πάντα, τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἔρημα γεγονότα, θρήγους ἐφείλκοντο τῶν εἰδόντων. Ταῦτα Κρούλλα καὶ Κατοικία πεπόνθει καὶ χερίστα. Ὡς γὰρ ἀποκέκλειστο μὲν ἢ ἐξ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Νεαγκώμεως πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν καὶ αἱ παλαιαὶ καὶ συνήθεις <sup>5</sup> δίοδοι εἰς δεινήν ὑποψίαν καὶ πείραν ἦσαν, πολλάκις κινδυνευσάντων, ἢ δὲ κατὰ Κίον κατὰσκίος καὶ συνηρηφῆς, εἰκαίως πῶς πολισθεῖσα, διεκδρομῆ πρὸς Νίκαιαν ἤνοικτο, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐν φόβῳ μεγίστῳ

who lay everywhere at random and in the open air and whom one imagined alive merely by the fact that they were still breathing. In fact, famine and the plague were henceforth shared by these unfortunate people. The people of the City also suffered from evil; some were immediately gripped by misfortune and lost their means and resources, while others expected to soon suffer the same fate as their neighbour.

The enemies not only attacked Chele<sup>37</sup> and Astrabete, but even the fortress of Hieron, and they carried out the most terrifying of deeds, as if the Emperor were slumbering or no longer living. Nicomedia was weakened by famine and, due to lack of water, found itself in the greatest of troubles. The famous Nicaea<sup>38</sup> was closed and, cut off from surrounding amenities, and it too was hampered by shortages. Sometimes it was Belokōmis, sometimes Angelokōmis, sometimes Anagourdys, Platanea, or Melangeia<sup>39</sup> and all the surroundings which, emptied of their inhabitants, drew the lamentations of those who knew of it. Kroulla and Katoikia<sup>40</sup> suffered these evils, but worse. In fact, the road from Heraklion and Neankōmis<sup>41</sup> towards Nicaea was closed, and the old and usual routes were also terribly suspicious and risky, for one had often been in danger there. The shaded and covered passage from Kios<sup>42</sup> towards Nicaea, albeit a somewhat haphazard

<sup>37</sup> Chele, on the Black Sea, has already been mentioned above as a place of detention (see, in particular, Pachymeres I,10, F i, 257). Astrabete (sometimes Astrabike, Astrabikis or Astrabekia) is also found on the Black Sea, about forty kilometres east of Chele. As for the fortress of Hieron (Anadolu Kavak), which is located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, it faces Pharos (see F ii, 538 fn. 1), on the European side. The two fortresses controlled the entrance to the Bosphorus where the strait narrows). (Cf. F452, fn. 60)

<sup>38</sup> Threatened by Osman, Nicaea was isolated (X, 25-26) and only accessible through the lake gate. The long sentence that follows, where the parts of the phrase and the logic do not follow a clear logic, tends to describe the situation that reigned in the fortresses surrounding Nicaea. (Cf. F452, fn. 63)

<sup>39</sup> These fortresses, whose names were mostly mistranscribed by the first editor, are to the south of Nicaea. Three of them can be located: Belokōmis (Bilecik, about forty kilometres to the south-east), Angelokōmis (Inegöl, about fifty kilometres to the southwest) and Melangeia (Yenisehir, about twenty kilometres to the southwest). The construction of the sentence suggests that the fortresses of Anagourdys and Platanea are near Melangeia. Although the site of Anagourdys is unknown, Platanea is cited however as being located on the road from Bursa to Nicaea, like Melangeia. (Cf. F454, fn. 64)

<sup>40</sup> From the context, one would expect to find Kroulla and Katoikia to the north or west of Nicaea, since, due to the defeat of these fortresses, the roads which lead from the ports of the southern coast of the Gulf of Nicomedia towards Nicaea were cut off. In fact, Kroulla (Gurle) is a few kilometres from Lake Nicaea, near the southern road from Kios to Nicaea, while Katoikia (Kite) is even further west, halfway between Bursa and Lake Apollonias. (Cf. F454, fn. 65)

<sup>41</sup> Heraklion (Eregli) is on the southern coast of the Gulf of Nicomedia, five kilometres east of Prainetos. The toponym Nemikōmis, transmitted by manuscript C and retained by the first publisher, must be corrected, and replaced by the reading Neankōmis. (Cf. F454, fn. 66)

<sup>42</sup> As the enemy had cut off the direct route which led from Constantinople to Nicaea and which, after crossing the Gulf of Nicomedia, resumed at the ports on the southern shore of the gulf, they had to reach Kios (Gemlik) at the bottom of the gulf, arrive at Lake Nicaea (Lake Askania which will be mentioned below) by a protected passage, which had to follow the river connecting the lake to the sea (Garsak su), and then cross the lake from west to east. (Cf. F454-55, fn. 67)

καὶ ὑποψία – τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Ἀλιζῶσι καὶ οἱ Βέβρυκες ἐκ Πυλῶν καὶ Πυθίων παρωννυμώμενοι ἔπασχον – καὶ ἦν τοῖς ἀποβαῖσι |<sup>10</sup> θαλάσσης κατὰ τὴν Κίον, τὴν ἡμέραν προσκαρτερήσασι, νυκτὶ πιστεύειν τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ, καταλαβοῦσι τὸ ἀνοίγεσθαι, ἐπικειμένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα Νικαεῖς |<sup>15</sup> ἐκινδύνεον.

Διὰ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ὁ κρατῶν ἀναστέλλειν οὐκ (B414) ἔχων τῆς συμφορᾶς πέμπει τινὰ ἐκεῖσε παράλιον, τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀσκανίαν πλῶ χρησθαι, καὶ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πύλην τῆς πόλεως ἀποβαίνουσι, διεκπαίειν εἰς Νίκαιαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν τῷ τότε τὰς πύλας Σγοῦρον, στρατοπεδάρχη τῶν τζαγκρατόρων τετιμημένον, συνάμα τισὶ καὶ μερικαῖς ἐξόδοις χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἄλλους ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸ στρατεῦεσθαι ἰκανώσσει. Τῶν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Κατοικίαν μέρεσι |<sup>20</sup> φανέντων, ἀνατεθαρσῆκασιν οἱ λαοὶ καὶ ἐμφανεῖς ἦσαν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐλπίζοντες. Τὸ δ' ἦν συμφορὰ τούτοις καὶ ὄλεθρος· ἐπιτίθενται γὰρ παμπληθεῖ (F457) νυκτὸς ὡσεὶ πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ὁδοὺς, λαθόντες πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν, προκαταλαμβάνουσιν. Οἱ δ' ἐπεισπεσόντες ἐτέρωθεν ἐτοίμην ἐδίδουν δῆθεν πρὸς τὸ φρούριον τὴν φυγὴν κατὰ νότου φεύγουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ὑπιδέσθαι τὴν πεῖραν, ὅπου γε καὶ ὑπευδομένοις |<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἦν ἰκανὰ πρὸς τὸ σῶζεσθαι. Καὶ τότε οἱ μὲν ὑποστάντες ἐσφάττοντο, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια, πλῆθος μυρίον πρὸς τὸ φρούριον φεύγοντα, ἄγγρα ἦν ἐτοίμη τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι. Καὶ τέλος οἱ τέως τοῖς ἄλλοις προσεπαμύνειν ἀποστελλόμενοι δρασμῶ μηχανῶνται τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὰ προσαποβαλόντες τὰ βασιλικά χρήματα· ἔπειτα πῦρ ἐνάυσαντες, οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ

way through, did remain open, but under these conditions one felt the greatest fear and mistrust given that the inhabitants of Pylai and Pythia<sup>43</sup>, called the Bebrykes, were suffering the same treatment as the Chalcedonians and the Halizônes.<sup>44</sup> Those who disembarked from the sea at Kios were forced to remain there during the day and entrust their salvation to the night, and then, having reached the shore over there, sail on Lake Askania, before disembarking at the gate of the shore of the city and sneaking into Nicaea, because the gates could not then be opened due to the pressure exerted by the enemies. The Niceans were therefore also running the greatest of dangers.

This is why the sovereign, unable to bring the misfortune as a whole to an end, sent a certain Sgouros, who was honoured with the dignity of stratopedarchês of the crossbowmen, in the company of some men and with a modest sum of money, so that he could also equip other men from there and launch a campaign. When they appeared in the Katoikia region, the people were encouraged, and they obviously hoped to find safety. But instead, they encountered misfortune and ruin. In fact, about five thousand enemies attacked en masse at night, having previously occupied, unbeknownst to all, the roads which led to the fortress. By bursting in from the other side, their specific aim was to provoke the immediate flight to the fortress of those fleeing to the rear.<sup>45</sup> In fact, it did no good to dread the ordeal, since even fearing it did not suffice to be saved. Some that had resisted were then slaughtered, while the women and children, who fled in innumerable crowds towards the fortress, were easy prey for those who had occupied the entries in advance. Finally, those who were then sent to help the others managed to save themselves by fleeing, after having also sacrificed the imperial money itself. Then the enemies set fire to the place and completely destroyed its wonders. As Osman was

<sup>43</sup> Since Pylai (Topdji Iskelesi), at the entrance to the Gulf of Nicomedia, and even Pythia (Yalova), about fifteen kilometres further west, were threatened, they could not come to shore at the bottom of the gulf either in order to reach Nicaea. (Cf. F455, fn. 68)

<sup>44</sup> According to Pachymeres, the Bebrykes (ancient name of the people who inhabited this region of Bithynia, or, more precisely, the shore of the Propontis in Bithynia and Mysia) experienced the same difficulties as the inhabitants of the region of Chalcedon (on the Asian shore opposite Constantinople) and the Halizônes (ethnic synonym of Mesothynites). (Cf. F455, fn. 69)

<sup>45</sup> The ambush set at Katoikia by the Turks, more precisely by Osman according to the rest of the account, and the mission of Sgouros are briefly explained. The stratagem seems to have been that of pincers; a first contingent of Turks discreetly took up position around the entrances to the fortress and let the inhabitants out, while a second contingent attacked them lower down to force them back towards the fortress, where the first contingent snatched them up. (Cf. F456, fn. 72)



ἐκεῖ |<sup>10</sup> κάλλη εἰς τέλος ἠμάθουναν. Τότε καὶ Ἀτμὰν ὑποστρέφων σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ συνῆσαν σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν καὶ Βηλοκωμίται, προσλαβὼν ἐκείνους, κενῆ τῶν ἐποίκων Βηλοκώμει προσβάλλει καὶ κατὰ κράτος (B415) αἰρεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κτείνει, αὐτὸς δὲ, μυρίον πλοῦτον εὐρῶν, ἐξολβίζεται, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ οἱ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐκ τῶν ὄχυρωμάτων τοῦ τόπου περιποιεῖ.

|<sup>15</sup> Τούτων ἀπάνωτο τῶν δεινῶν καὶ Προῦσα, μόνη περιλειφθεῖσα τῶν ἔξωθεν καλλονῶν. Τούτων καὶ Πηγαὶ παραθαλασσία πόλις τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐπειράθη· τῶν γὰρ ἔξω πάντων συγκλεισθέντων ἐντός, ὅσοι καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔφυγον, ἐντίκτει νόσον λοιμώδη τὸ συνεπτύχθαι, καὶ ὁσημέραι λιμῶ καὶ κακοπαθείαις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆ νόσῳ ἐς ἑκατοστύας ἐπιπτον. Τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόστιμον |<sup>20</sup> ἐτέθη παρὰ βασιλέως ζημίας εἰς χιλιάδας ἐπ' αἰτία τοῦ μὴ τὸν μέγαν δέξασθαι δοῦκα, οὕτω τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνωδοδον ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ δέει τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κάκεινους τὰ τοῖς Κυζικηνοῖς ξυμβάντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ὅσον καὶ ὑποσχεῖν δυνατὰ τάκεῖ τολμηθέντα ἠγγέλλοντο· βίοι γὰρ ἠρπάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκες ὑβρίζοντο καὶ κόρια διεφθείροντο. |<sup>25</sup> Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων εὐθὺς ἐσकुλεύετο, ἀγαπητὸν ἔχων εἰ διδοὺς σφάζοιτο· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων τῆ τοῦ ἔχειν ὑποψία κατεδικάζετο, καὶ αἰώραις δειναῖς καὶ βασάνοις ἠτάζετο, ἔγκλημα φέρων τὸ μὴ χρημάτων θέλειν τὴν σωτηρίαν (B416) πορίζεσθαι. Πᾶσα δ' ἐκείνων περιουσία οὐ μᾶλλον τοῦ κεκτημένου ἢ τοῦ καταλαβόντος τῶν Ἀμογαβάρων ἐφαίνετο· οὕτω γὰρ ἰδιωνυμεῖτο τὸ ἔθνος, τῷ |<sup>30</sup> ἐξ Ἀβάρων, οἶμαι, κατάγεσθαι. Οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτόχθονες ταῦτ' ἐπασχον, ἀλλ' (F459) ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνατολὴ πᾶσα Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι καὶ ὡς προσφυγίῳ χρησάμενοι τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι, πάντες ἐκεῖ κατέδραμον, καὶ καινὴ τις ἄλωσις ἦν παρὰ τῶν οικείων τοῖς ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν φεύγουσιν. Ἐὼ σωματῶν ἀκρωτηριασμοὺς καὶ φόνους καὶ μισμάτων φορυτὸν ἄλλως, οἷς οἱ ἀμύνειν ἐπιστάντες τοὺς |<sup>5</sup> ἀθλίους πυργηρομένους ἐκ πάσης περιέβαλον ἀπηνείας· ὁ γὰρ σφᾶς ἄγων, τὸ μὲν προσθεραπεύειν θέλων ἐκείνους, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῳ πεπιστευκότας, τὸ δὲ καὶ δεδιῶς τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν κίνδυνον, εἰ, αὐτοῦ ἰκανῶς τὰ κατὰ χρεῖαν εὐρόντος, ὑστέροισιν ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ἠλπισμένων, οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν ἀναστέλλειν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεδίδου σφίσι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν πράττειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἰκανοῦμένοις |<sup>10</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἐκ

returning with his people and as the inhabitants of Belokômis had also allied themselves with the Romans and he had taken them prisoner, he attacked Belokômis, which was emptied of its inhabitants, took it by force and killed these people, while he himself rejoiced at having found infinite wealth there, and he secured his safety thanks to the forts of the region.

Bursa was also subjected to these misfortunes, after having remained the only survivor among the beauties outside the city. The coastal city of Pegai also experienced these difficulties, while all the people from outside the city, who had escaped the sword, were in fact shut up inside. The confinement caused the plague, and every day they died by the hundreds from starvation and mistreatment, not to mention disease. And a fine of several thousand nomismata was imposed on them by the Emperor for not having received the Grand Duke, since the Emperor Michael had so ordered it on his return from there and they had been fearful that they would also suffer what had happened to the inhabitants of Cyzicus.<sup>46</sup> It was in fact announced that the deeds which they had dared to commit there were neither tolerable nor of a nature to be suffered. The means to exist had in effect been taken away, the women were insulted, and the young girls were raped. He who owned anything found himself immediately stripped of it and was satisfied with handing it over just to remain in safety. But he who did not own anything was condemned on suspicion of owning, and he was tested by terrible hangings and tortures and accused of refusing salvation for a price of silver. All their wealth did not seem to belong to their owner any more than it did to the *Almogavar* who seized it. In my opinion, their nation was called in this way because they are descended from the *Avars*. It was not only the indigenous inhabitants who suffered from this, but all the *Anatolia* of the Romans so to speak, because everyone had rushed over there using the rampart as a refuge. Those fleeing the enemy faced another capture, which was effected by their own allies. I will pass over the bodily mutilations, the murders, and the quagmire of other defilements, with which those who were appointed to defend applied in all cruelty to the wretches who were trapped there. In fact, their

<sup>46</sup> When, at the end of his stay in Asia, Michael IX stayed at Pegai, he refused to receive Roger de Flor there (XI, 17). According to this passage, on his return to the capital, Michael IX renewed the prohibition made to the Catalans to enter the City, and, zenith of the contradictions of the power, Andronicus II imposed a fine on the City for having followed the instructions of his son.

βασιλέως σιτηρεσίους, κὰν οὐδὲν (B417) ἔτι κατώρθουν οὐδ' ὄλως ἔπραττον. Ἄλλ' ἀναληπτέον τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ εὐσύνοπτον.

Στρατηγὸς ἦν τῆδε Μαρούλης καὶ μέγας ἄρχων ἐξ ἀξιώματος ἐκλείζετο. Οὗτος τὰ μὲν πλείστα ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν ὑποκείμενος – οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐβούλετο πρόσταγμα –, τέως δ' οὖν καὶ τοὺς <sup>15</sup> οἰκείους κακῶς παρ' ἐκείνων πάσχοντας κατωκτίζετο, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ συνίστα καὶ περιέθαλπεν. Ἦπτο γὰρ κάκεινων τὸ κοινὸν ἐκεῖνο δεινόν, καὶ εἰς στρατιώτας τεταγμένους ἔτι καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐμπειροπολέμους πεζοὺς καὶ ἀνόπλους καθίστων καὶ τῶν κατ' οἶκον ἐστέρου, ὡσεὶ τινὰς ἀγρότας καὶ μετανάστας, ἐνθρυπτόμενοι σφίσιν. Οἱ δὲ, τῷ τοῦ κρατοῦντος <sup>20</sup> δέει καὶ τῷ ἐξ ἐμφυλίων πολέμων νομιζομένῳ κινδύνῳ ὑποστελλόμενοι, ὡς μὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη τῶν ἀνηκέστων, τέως ἐκ βίας ὄρμων καὶ πολλάκις ἐσφάδαζον ἀμυνόμενοι. Τέλος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγγὺς ἀγγελθέντων κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Γουλιέλμου πύργον, (B418) οἱ μὲν ἀπανταχόθεν συνάμα τῷ σφῶν στρατηγῷ τῷ Μαρούλῃ χωρεῖν οὐκ ἀπάκνουν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ δ' ἐλπισμὸν <sup>25</sup> μὲν παρεῖχον φανῆναι καὶ συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνήθων οὐμένουν οὐκ ἐλήθοντο· βραδέως γὰρ ἐζώννυντο, καὶ μόλις ἐκόσμου τοὺς ἵππους καὶ προμηθεῖς ἦσαν τοῦ ἀκινδύνου σφίσιν, ὡς φαίνεσθαι. Καὶ τὸ βράδος ἐδίδου μεσοῦντων αὐτῶν τὴν ὁδὸν, κατορθοῦν τοὺς προτέρους καὶ μόνους τὴν μάχην. Ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὑστέρου, οἱ δὲ κατωρθωκότες ὑπέστρεφον, ἐνταῦθα <sup>30</sup> τις εἶδε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων κακότηδες καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὡς φίλοις, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐχθροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις προσεφέροντο. Συνίασι γὰρ ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἐκείνοις οἱ κατωρθωκότες, καὶ, δέον ὀνειδίσειν σφίσι τὸ κατεβλακευμένον καὶ (F461) ἀμελές, οἱ δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ἐπειρῶντο, καὶ ὡς ἄλλοις πολεμίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγνωσαν προσβαλεῖν. Ἦν δ' ἐκείνοις τὸ τῆς πείρας σοφόν,

leader wanted to appease these people who had entrusted him with power, and he feared the danger that would come from them should he himself find enough of what was necessary while they themselves were deprived of what they were hoping for. So, he could not therefore suppress them in any way, and he allowed them to do whatever came into their mind, and even though they were also supported by the allowances of the Emperor, despite the fact that they had not yet succeeded in anything or had operated in any way at all. But it is necessary to continue with the account once again for more clarity.

The general of the place was Maroulēs, and he was honoured with the dignity of grand archon.<sup>47</sup> This man was very strongly attached to Roger and took care to be submissive to him, since he wanted the imperial prostagma, but nevertheless he also felt sorry for his people, who were being mistreated by the Italians, or rather he offered them support and comforted them. These people were also in fact suffering from the common misfortune. They were men who were still enlisted as soldiers and in fact experienced in war, and they were converted into infantry and unarmed men and deprived of their domestic goods, as if they were simple peasants and emigrants, while the Italians paraded around in front of them. These men were restrained by the fear of the sovereign and by the presumed danger of civil wars, and wanted to prevent the irremediable from being committed. But, nevertheless, it did happen that they rushed in anger and often struggled to defend themselves. Finally, as the approach of the enemies was announced at Fort Goulielmou, some did not hesitate to advance from everywhere against the enemies in the company of their general, Maroulēs, while the Catalans promised to appear and fight with them, but in fact failed to renounce their habits. They were slow to gird themselves with their weapons and would finish by harnessing their horses, while appearing to take great care to stay out of danger. They were so delayed that they were only halfway there when these men won the battle on their own. Given that some had delayed, and others returned after their exploit, it was then clear to see the wickedness of the allies, who conducted themselves with our men not as if they

<sup>47</sup> Maroulēs (*PLP*, No. 17141 and 92644) is mentioned by the historian in the two successive dignities of grand archon and of prefect of the army. Regarding the dignity of grand archon (38<sup>th</sup> rank according to the Appendix to the *Hexabiblos* of Harmenopoulos: Verpeaux, p. 300<sup>28</sup>). It is likely that this Maroulēs is identical to Phocas Maroulēs (*PLP*, No. 17157), who is mentioned twenty-five years later as domestic servant of the table and father of John Synadenos (*PLP*, No. 94090). (Cf. F458, fn. 80)

ὡς ἔδειξε, παρακερδαίνειν ἐκ τούτων τὰ λάφυρα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπέικων, διδοὺς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κέρδος, ἐσώζετο· ὁ δ' ὅπως οὖν ἀνθιστάμενος, οὐχ ἦττον φιλοκερδῆς |<sup>5</sup> ἢ φιλελεύθερος ὢν, εἰ ἀφαιρεθεῖ ἀνάνδρως τὸ τῆς νίκης σύμβολον οἰκείῳ αἵματι διακινδυνεύσας πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οὗτος, καιρίαν δεχόμενος ἀπηλλάττετο, τὸ πεσεῖν εὐκλεῶς τοῦ ἀκλεῶς στερηθῆναι τῶν ἐνάρων, ὡς εἰκόσ, ἀνθαιρούμενος.

Καὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν σφίσι τὰ κατορθούμενα εἰς ἦρος ἐξ ἀρκτούρου, ὅτε καὶ |<sup>10</sup> τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγη τις μοῖρα τῶν ὄλων, οὐκ ἔχοντες πλεον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖν ὢν πρὶν ἔπραξαν, τῶν αὐτοχθόνων (B419) φυγῆ χρησαμένων διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων καιρικὴν ἄδειαν, ἱκανὸν ναυσὶ φόρτον νηήσαντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἐς τροφήν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ πόδας τῶν περὶ Τζιμῆν καὶ οὗτοι ἐξώρμων, ὀλίγα τῶν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δοῦκα συνθεσιῶν φροντίσαντες. Τῶν |<sup>15</sup> δ' ἄλλων ἀργούντων διὰ παντὸς χειμῶνος περὶ τὴν Κύζικον, πρόφασις ἦν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀργίας τὸ, τοῦ τριμήνου πληρωθέντος ἐφ' ὅπερ ἔλαβον τοὺς μισθοὺς, μὴ καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἐτοίμου πέμπεσθαι ρόγας τῆς ἐς νέωτα ζυμμαχίας κατὰ τὰ σφίσι συμφωνηθέντα πρὸς βασιλέως. Διὰ τοι ταῦτα, ἐρυθριῶν οἶον διὰ τὸ σφῶν ἄπρακτον, ὁ αὐτῶν ἐξηγούμενος πρὸς βασιλέα ταχυναυτεῖ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν |<sup>20</sup> ἐκείνων ὡς οἶόν τε ἐπειλῶν, μόνα δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν μισθῶν ἀνελέγκας καὶ δεηθείς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλανοῖς ἱκανοῦσθαι θέλων ὡς ἀρεῖκοῖς τὰ ἐς πόλεμον – ἐφκει γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῷ μηδὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις πιστεύοντι –, τὰ μὲν ἐντεῦθεν λαβῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὀρισθεῖς ἐκ νήσων ἐκλέξει, διὰ ταχέων ὑπέστρεφεν, ὡς ἐτοίμως δεξόμενος καὶ ἵππους σταλέντας τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς, ὡς ἐζήτητο. Γέγονε |<sup>25</sup> ταῦτα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δι' ὅλης τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς πεῖραν διδοὺς καὶ λαμβάνων ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένειν καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι τὸν τὴν ρόγαν (B420) λαβόντα, οὕτω διένεμε τὰ τοῦ μισθοῦ χρήματα. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἴταλοῖς διούγκια χρυσοῦ καὶ τριούγκια μὴνὸς ἐκάστου ἐπλήρου, Ἀλανοὺς δ' ἕκαστον τρισὶ καὶ μόνους τοῦ μὴνὸς ἐνικάνου νομίσμασι, πρὸς τῷ

were friends, as would have been natural, but as if they were foes. In fact, when they returned, those who had accomplished the feat arrived to meet them, and although the Catalans should have been blamed for their negligence and recklessness, instead they undertook frightening deeds and decided to attack their allies as if they were other enemies. It turned out that the ruse of their enterprise was to benefit from their spoils. If a man yielded and handed over the gain taken from the battle, he was safe. But if a man resisted in some way, since he was no less attached to the gain than to freedom and because he would not be cowardly stripped of the proof of his victory after having exposed his blood before the enemies, he would receive a mortal blow and leave this life, preferring, as is natural, to die with honour rather than to be deprived of his spoils with dishonour.

Such were the exploits of the Catalans from the rising of the Arcturus in the spring, when a not inconsiderable portion of them loaded a large cargo onto the boats, made up especially of wheat and essential food, and also set off in the footsteps of the companions of Ximenis,<sup>48</sup> caring little for the agreements they had with the Grand Duke. If truth be said, now that the indigenous inhabitants had fled due to a temporary permission which they had obtained from them, the Catalans could do no more than they had previously done. The other men remained inactive all winter in Cyzicus and offered as a pretext for their inaction the fact that, at the end of the quarter for which they had received their wages, the payments were not immediately sent again for a new year of alliance as had been agreed with the Emperor. This is why their leader, who was greatly ashamed of their inactivity, took a rapid boat to go to the Emperor. Concealing the action of these men as well as possible, he mentioned solely the question of wages and presented his demands. He also wanted to receive supplies for the Alans, who were brave in war, since the Grand Duke no longer seemed to have confidence in his own people. After having collected a portion of the provisions from there and having received the order to extract the other portion from the islands, he returned quickly, thinking that he would also promptly receive the horses that had been sent to the Alans as requested. This did take place. Throughout Lent, he tested and allowed to be pressurised those men who were to

<sup>48</sup> Disgusted by the attitude of Roger de Flor and his troops towards the population, Ferran Ximenis of Arenos left Cyzicus shortly after the arrival in the city of the Catalan troops (XI, 14). He was later to return to the empire and fight again within the Catalan Company (XIII, 11, 19, etc.).



καὶ ἵππους τισὶ δοθῆναι, οὐδ' ἀπεξεδέχετο |<sup>30</sup> κατὰ τὰ συνθήματα· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέγαν μεταξὺ τούτων ἀνήγειρε κυδοιμὸν, ἐκ φιλαυτίας ἀναρριπισθέντα, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ῥηθήσεται. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἔξαρχον τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν καταστήσας νεῶν, οὐσῶν ὡσεὶ δώδεκα, ὃν ἀμηραλὴν ἢ ἐκείνων διάλεκτος ἐξυμνεῖ. ὀρισμῶ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος, στόλον ἐξαρτύσας ἐξ Ἰταλῶν, ἅμα παλλακαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ παντοδαποῖς (F463) πραγμάτων εἶδесιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐγκρατὴς ἦν καὶ ὧν ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβεῖν ἠπόρησεν, ἀνὰ τὰς νήσους ἐκπέμπει, σύνθημα δοὺς ἐκείνοις τὴν σφετέραν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄφιξιν, τοῦ καὶ σφᾶς ἅμα προσσχεῖν Ἀναία καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ μέρεσι συμμαχήσοντας. Τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων |<sup>5</sup> ἀπεπειρᾶτο ἐς ὃ καὶ κινήσειεν ἐκ Κυζίκου τέως, δυσπαλλάκτως διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖ βλακειαν τῆς χώρας ἔχοντας. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀκούειν τὰ κείνοις πεπραγμένα θέλησιν παραιτούμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἔχοντα, μόνην δ' ὀργὴν Θεοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐκείνων ἐπαιτιώμενος, εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὸν τότε (B421) πατριαρχοῦντα, συχναιῖς παννυχίσι |<sup>10</sup> καὶ λιτανείαις, ὧν οὐδ' αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πολλακίς ἀπελιμπάνετο, αὐταῖς ἰδίαις εὐχαῖς καὶ κανόσι τὰ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἰκεσίας καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ἐξανύοντα τῷ ἤδη θαρρεῖν ἐξανύτειν χρηστόν τι ἐντεῦθεν. Ὅμως δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις σαλεύων ἦν καὶ μόνοις, ὡς αὐτίκα, εἰ κινήσειεν, πράξειεν. Ἦῆκουε γὰρ καὶ περὶ Φιλαδελφείας τὰ πάνδεινα, καὶ ὡς Ἀλίσυρας σὺν |<sup>15</sup> Καρμανοῖς περιστάς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πρότερον χειρωσάμενος φρούρια, λιμῶ καὶ ἐνδεία τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν ἐλπισμοῖς ἐστὶ παραστήσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἤπειγε, καὶ ὄνου μὲν κεφαλὴ τόσων σίκλων ἐξωνουμένη ἠκούετο, αἶμα δὲ σφαγῆς προβάτου καὶ χοίρου εἰς χρυσοῦν τιμώμενον νόμισμα, πρὸς μικρὰν ἐνδείαν παραμυθίαν ἀρκέσον τοῖς ληψο-

receive their pay to ensure that they would remain and apply themselves, and so it was in this way that he distributed the money for the wages. He gave two or three ounces of gold each month to the Italians, while he only provided three nomismata to the Alans each month, without counting the fact that some of them were given the horses that he had received as per the agreements. This action aroused an enormous tumult between them, which was incited by egoism, and we will shortly recount this. Roger therefore set up a leader for his boats, which numbered about twelve, and who was glorified in their language by the name of admiral, and also by virtue of an appropriate order from the sovereign. He equipped a fleet composed of Italians, who had with them their concubines and all kinds of property of the country, which each owned and had managed to extract from this latter. He sent them to the islands, giving them as a signal his own arrival in Asia, so that they would come to shore at Anaia at the same time and bring help to these regions. And for those who remained, he undertook to get them out of Cyzicus at that time, for they were hard-pressed to leave the land due to the delights they experienced there. This is what he did.

As for the Emperor, he renounced the desire to hear about their actions, because he considered that they had nothing becoming about them, and he imputed all this to the wrath of God alone. He had with him the man who was patriarch at the time. This latter multiplied vigils and processions, which the Emperor seldom failed to attend, and he addressed his supplications to God through his own prayers and canons, above and beyond his forces, with the assurance of obtaining some immediate benefit. But he actually put all his hopes on the Catalans alone, in the thought that he would have immediate success if they set themselves in motion. He learned of the misfortunes of Philadelphia. In the company of the Karmans, 'Alishir<sup>49</sup> had encircled the city, having previously subjugated the fortresses, and he was waiting to subdue it using famine and scarcity. Famine was threatening. They found out that a donkey's head had been bought for so many

<sup>49</sup> 'Alishir is mentioned above (XI, 9) and presented further on, at the time of his decisive attack on Philadelphia, as the most powerful Turkish leader, with his Karmans (XI, 23). This is the first use, in the History, of the word "Karman" (Germiyân), which, rather than designating a dynasty and an emirate, is an ethnicity applied to a Turcoman tribe, one of the most powerful until the emergence of the Osmanlis. (Cf. F462, fn. 91)

μένοις. Διὰ <sup>20</sup> ταῦτα καὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐβδομάδος καταλαβούσης, κρονίου μηνὸς λήγοντος, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνταδέλφην τὴν τοῦ Ἀσάν Εἰρήνην ὡς πενθερὰν πλῶ χρησομένην Κυζικόσε ἀποστέλλει, οὐδενὸς χάριν ἄλλου ἢ τοῦ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐκμειλιξαμένην ὀρμηῆσαι· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εἰς ἐκστρατεῖαν εὐθετον, ἀκμὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐξ ὑπογούου λαβόντας ἔχειν <sup>25</sup> τὰς ρόγας καὶ ἐντελομίσθους εἶναι. Ὡς γοῦν μεθ' (B422) ἡμέρας ἐπέστη, ἐκείνη μὲν οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἐς ἐξόρμησιν συντεινόντων ὅπερ οὐκ ἔλεγέ τε καὶ ἔπραττεν, Ἴταλοι δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐν ὑπερημερίαις τρίβειν θέλοντες τὸν καιρὸν, μάχας ἐμφυλίους ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς ὑπερηφανίας καθίστων καὶ πρὸς Ἀλανοὺς εἰς διενέξεις ἀκαίρους ἐχώρουν.

<sup>30</sup> Παρώτρυνε γὰρ ὁ ζῆλος καὶ Ἀλανοὺς, ὅτ' ἐκείνων τριουγκίοις καὶ διουγκίοις μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἰκανομένων, αὐτοὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τινὶ ἐμισθοῦντο (F465) καὶ τῶν ἀπερριμμένων παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐδόκουν. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαφοραῖς τισὶ καὶ ἀπεχθείαις τὰς γνώμας ἐκείνων ἠλλοτριοῦντο. Ὡς γοῦν ἔτυχον μὲν τινες τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἀλήθοντες κατὰ μύλωνα, ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀμογαβάρων ἐξ ἀλαστορίας οὐτὶ ῥητῆς τῆ ἀλετριδὶ ἐπιχειροῦντες, ἐπέβαλον δὲ τὰς <sup>5</sup> χεῖρας καὶ τοῖς ἀλεύροις, ἔρις ἐντεῦθεν καὶ φιλονεικία διὰ λόγων τέως συνίσταται, καὶ Ἀλανός τις, ὡς λέγεται, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἠπειλεῖ ταῦτα σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη καὶ τὸν μέγαν διαθεῖναι δοῦκα ἅττα καὶ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον ἔδρασαν. Τοῦτο ῥηθὲν εἰκαίως οὐκ ἔλαθε, καὶ ἡ ὑποψία τοῦ λόγου δεινὴν ἐνέτεινε μῆνιν, καὶ ὡς ἤδη παθὼν ἀκούσας, ἐκεῖνος ἠμύνετο. <sup>10</sup> Ἐμπίπτουσι τοίνυν νυκτὸς Ἀλανοῖς ὀλίγοις πολλοὶ καὶ εὐτρεπεῖς ἀνετοιμοί· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν μάχην ἀναρριπίσαντες, πεφραγμένοι πελταῖς, τῷ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλεῖ πίσυνοι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ θύρας τῶν οἰκιῶν, (B423) οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποστεγοῦντες τοὺς οἴκους, στερρῶς κατηκόντιζον Ἀλανῶν. Οἱ δὲ, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ ἑαυτοὺς ἀρτόναντες, ὑφιστάμενοι ἐτοξάζοντο, καὶ ἔπιπτον ἐκατέρωθεν. <sup>15</sup> Ἄλλ' Ἴταλοι περιῆσαν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἐξηγουμένου Γεωργοῦς παῖς, ἀνὴρ μεγιστάν καὶ τὰς μάχας ἀρεϊκός, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις πίπτει κατακοντισθεῖς. Καὶ τότε πολλοὶ μὲν τρωθέντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεσόντες, καὶ ἄκοντες διελύοντο.

*shekels*,<sup>50</sup> and that the blood from the slaughter of a sheep or a pig was valued at a nomismata of gold, because it was enough for the recipients to dampen their craving for a short while. Therefore, as the great week had arrived and the month of March was ending, he sent by sea to Cyzicus his sister Irene, the wife of Asen, in her role as mother-in-law, for no other reason than for her to try and coax her son-in-law to leave. In fact, the weather was propitious for an expedition, and the army, which had just been paid, was in full force and in possession of its full wages. After several days she arrived and she tried to say or do anything that might lead to the departure, but the Italians, who were again intending to use procrastination, provoked civil battles in their great arrogance, and came to disagreements with the Alans.

In fact, the Alans were also incited by the rivalry. While the Italians were provided with three or two ounces each month, they themselves only received a small payment, which seemed like a pittance to them. That is why they expressed their feelings of hostility to them through quarrels and disputes. So, while some Alans were grinding in a mill and some Almogavars were harassing the miller with unheard-of violence and had also seized the flour, a quarrel and a conflict ensued and an argument, which was verbal for now. It is said that an Alan threatened in front of them that they would soon subject the Grand Duke to the same treatment that they had inflicted on the grand Domestikos.<sup>51</sup> Pronounced at random, these words were not forgotten, and these suspicious words gave birth to a terrible anger, and the Grand Duke avenged himself as if he had already suffered the act just by hearing about it. At night, a multitude of fully prepared men attacked a small number of unprepared Alans. They immediately launched the battle and, armed with shields and confident in their own safety, some at the doors of the houses and others by opening the roofs of the dwellings, they savagely cut down the Alans with javelins. The latter supplied themselves with what was needed and faced them by shooting the bow, and people were dying on either side. But the Italians prevailed, and the son of the leader of the Alans, Gorgios, an important and courageous

<sup>50</sup> The *shekel* is a currency often cited in the Old Testament (seqel), but the word is not used in the numismatic system of Byzantium. Pachymeres uses it as a simple literary equivalent of nomismata, a term by which the editor of the Brief Version also transcribed it. (Cf. F462, fn. 92)

<sup>51</sup> The Alans threatened to kill the Grand Duke Roger de Flor in the same way that the grand servant Alexis Rhaoul had been executed a few months earlier (X, 22). (F464, fn. 95)

Τῆ δ' ὑστεραία καὶ αἴθις καρτερὰ συνίσταται μάχη, τῶν μὲν ὑπερηφανούντων, Ἀλανῶν δ' οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἐχόντων τὸν τοῦ πεσόντος |<sup>20</sup> οἰκτιστον θάνατον. Καὶ τότε ἄμυνομένοις τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς εἰς τριακοσίους πεσεῖν ὑπῆρξεν, ὡς λέγεται. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο βοηδρομιῶνος ἐνάτη, ὅτε οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας δούξ οἷός τ' ἦν ἀμωσγέπως μεταξὺ τῶν μαχομένων φαινόμενος ἀναστέλλειν τὸν πόλεμον. Ὅμως ῥαΐσαντος τοῦ κακοῦ, πολλῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῖς δεδοικότεν τῶν ἐγχωρίων, τοῦ Γεωργοῦς μεθ' ἡμέρας |<sup>25</sup> ἐπιστάντος ἐπὶ διαπεπραγμένοις τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς, πολὺς ἦν ὁ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐξηγούμενος δώροις ἐκμειλίσσων τὸν βάρβαρον, εἰ κάκεῖνος υἱοῦ ποινήν καταθεθνηῶτος οὕτως ἀκόσμως οὐκ ἤθελε δέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ μετόπισθεν κότον εἶχεν ὄφρα τελέσσοι. Ἐπέστη πρῶντιν, κάκεῖνους μὲν εἶχεν ἢ Ἀχυράους, πεποσωμένους εἰς χιλιάδας, ὧν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν ἕξ ἦσαν, ἦσαν δὲ |<sup>30</sup> καὶ τὸ περιλειφθὲν (B424) Ἀλανῶν πλῆθος ὡς εἰς χιλίους· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦν ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν ἄρχοντα τὸν Μαρούλην· ὧν ἀπάντων ὁ μέγας δούξ ἐξηγεῖτο, αὐτὸς καθιστὰς τοὺς μισθοὺς, αὐτὸς παρέχων, καὶ τρόπον αὐτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ ἄγων καὶ φέρων ὅποι καὶ βούλοιο.

man in the battle, died when he was struck with a javelin, as did many others. After many were injured and many died, the Alans left, albeit unwillingly. But the next day, as the Catalans were parading around, and the Alans could not put up with the deplorable death of the deceased, a closely fought battle was engaged in once again. It was said that the Alans killed three hundred men in their quest for revenge. This took place on 9<sup>th</sup> of April, and even the Grand Duke himself was not able to stop the battle when he appeared in the midst of the combatants. However, as the evil had subsided, as many indigenous inhabitants also feared for their own lives, and as Gorgios had arrived several days after the murder of the Alans, the leader of the Italians was fully occupied with calming the barbarian with gifts, to try to get him to accept compensation for his son who had died so unbecomingly. However, *the leader of the Alans would continue to hold a grudge until he was able to satisfy it*. May arrived, and Achyraous<sup>52</sup> sheltered these people, who numbered in the thousands: there were six thousand Italians, while the number of surviving Alans amounted to a thousand. The remainder, the Roman element, was under the orders of the grand archon Maroulēs. The Grand Duke commanded everything. He fixed the salaries himself, he supplied them himself and, like a general-in-chief, went and plundered where he wished.

## 24-26

**24. About Attaleiotes, the inhabitants of Magnesia and Nostongos Doukas.****24. Περὶ τοῦ Ἀτταλειώτου καὶ τῶν Μαγνησιωτῶν καὶ τοῦ δούκα Νοστόγγου.**

24. Ὁ δὲ γε μέγας δούξ, ἐπ' ὀλίγον τῆ Φιλadelphείᾳ ἐνδιατρίψας καὶ ἱκανὰ χρήματα συλλεξάμενος, νόστου ἐμέμνητο καὶ δὴ, τάκεισε πάντα |<sup>15</sup> φρούρια κατασφαιλισάμενος, τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἑρμόν Μαγνησιώταις παραγίνεται. Καὶ τότε ὁ μὲν πρότερον καὶ ἀποστάτης δόξας ἐγγύς, εἷς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱπποκόμων, Ἀτταλειώτης τοῦπικλην, ἅτε παρ' εἶδησιν βασιλέως καὶ προσταγῆν κατασχὼν Μαγνησίαν καὶ ἰδίαις τισὶ θελήσεισιν συνάμα τοῖς αὐτόχθοσι διοικῶν, μηδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

24. After staying for a short while in Philadelphia and collecting a good sum of money, the Grand Duke thought of going back. Once he had consolidated all the fortresses of the place, he joined up with the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Hermos<sup>53</sup>, and who previously had almost seemed to be a dissenter, given that he had taken Magnesia without the knowledge and without the orders of the Emperor and was administering it with the indigenous inhabitants according to his

<sup>52</sup> In May 1304 (on the use of the Attic months, see Pachymeres, I, 30 and F i, 114 fn. 1), the Catalan Company was at Achyraous (Balikesir), south of Cyzicus, at the level and to the east of Atrammytion). (F464, fn. 99)

<sup>53</sup> By going north through the valley of the tributary of the Hermos, then through the valley of the Hermos itself, Roger de Flor reached Magnesia on the Hermos). Then a man appeared there, who was an imperial squire called Attaleiotes (*PLP*, No. 1656) is not otherwise known. (Cf. F470, fnn. 22 & 23)

εις κεφαλὴν ὄντος τοῦ Νοστόγγου καὶ |<sup>20</sup> Δούκα φροντίζων, μηδὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδου παραχωρῶν, ὁ γοῦν τοιοῦτος, ἐξελθὼν καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑποπτώσεσι παραντίκα τὸν μέγαν δούκα ἐκμειλιζόμενος καὶ γαμικῶ κήδει δεξιωσάμενος, ἅμα μὲν δι' ἐκείνου πιστὸς ἔδοξε βασιλεῖ καὶ (B429) ἅμα ὅλος ἦν ἐκείνῳ ὑποταττόμενος καὶ ὑπέικων ἐς ὃ καὶ προστάζειε. Τῷ γοῦν Νοστόγγῳ Δούκα, ὃν καὶ ἐς μέγαν |<sup>25</sup> ἑταιριάρχην ὁ κρατῶν ἔταπτε γράφων, πριμμικήριον τῆς αὐλῆς ὄντα, οὐκ ἦσαν θυμῆρη καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς προσταττόμενά οἱ, εἴτε μὴν καὶ πραττόμενα. Εἴτε οὖν ὕβριοπαθῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀξίως τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν μεγαλείου ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἐξηγούμενος προσεφέρετο, εἴτε μὴν καὶ ὑποπεύσας ἐξ ἐκείνου δεῖν' ἄττα εἰς τινὰς ἀπαιτήσεις χρημάτων ἐξ |<sup>30</sup> ὧν συλλέξας καὶ προσηγέλλετο, εἴτε καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα τὴν εἰς τοῦπιόν (F473) ἀδοξίαν ἐν δεινῷ ποιούμενος, ἔγνω μὲν τὴν ὡς βασιλέα τεχνιτεῦσαι ἀπόδρασιν, ταχὺ δὲ παρέσχε καὶ ἡ τύχη τὴν πρόφασιν.

Ἡ δ' ἦν· πέμπεται μὲν παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἀνὴρ οἰκείος τῇ πενθερᾷ οἱ ὁ Καναβούριος πρὸς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τ' ἄλλα, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος |<sup>5</sup> ἀποσταλῆναι τὴν γαμετήν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδει καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλείας τῷ ἀνδρὶ προμηθεύσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Νοστόγγον παρεγγυῶν ἰκανῶσαι διασωσταῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸν ἀποστελλόμενον. Αὐτὸς δὲ, τὰς παρεγγυήσεις δεξάμενος, τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα θέλειν πληροῦν, ὡς (B430) αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἄλλον εἰς χάριν ἅμα τοῖς |<sup>10</sup> ἰδίῳι διασωσάμενος, ἐτεχνίτευεν ἀποφυγὴν. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τις τῶν ἐς γραμματέας ἐκείνῳ τελούντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει τοῦ κεκτημένου ἀλλοτριῶσθαι, ἔνθεν μὲν οὗτος, ἔνθεν δ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνουσι. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἑώρα ἀκίνδυνα ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐνοχῆς παράλυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς βασιλέα προσφυγὴν, πατριάρχη προσφεύγει· |<sup>15</sup> ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς, ἐπιστὰς πρὸ τούτου καὶ τὰ πιστὰ προσδοκῶν ἔχειν ἕκτινος γράμματος τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς, ὡς δῆθεν πρὸς τὸν κανικλείου δηλοῦντος τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ὡς ἐκούσιος, ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἠωρεῖτο. Λόγος δ' ἦν ἀμφοτέρους συνελθόντας πρὸς πατριάρχην ἀπολογεῖσθαι διὰ τούτου τῷ βασιλεῖ

own wishes, without concerning himself in the least with Nostongos Doukas, who was the governor and to whom he did not even concede entry into the city.<sup>54</sup> Attaleiotes therefore went to meet the Grand Duke and immediately softened him with words of submission and congratulated him on his matrimonial alliance. Through the intermediary of the Grand Duke, he was thus able to give the impression of being faithful to the Emperor, while at the same time being entirely submissive to the Grand Duke and ready to obey his eventual orders. But Nostongos Doukas, whom the sovereign had endowed with the rank of Grand Heterarch when he was primicier of the court, did not consider the orders given to him by the Grand Duke or his actions to be agreeable or pleasant. Either he was offended that the supreme leader did not treat him in a manner worthy of his greatness, or he feared that he would suffer ill-treatment designed to extract a part of the money that he was denounced to have amassed. Or it was for both of these reasons that Nostongos was filled with indignation before a fast-approaching disgrace. He therefore decided to organise his escape from the Emperor, and luck was quick to provide him with the pretext.

The pretext was the following. The Grand Duke had sent a domestic servant of his mother-in-law, Kanabourios, to Constantinople, for the purpose, among other reasons, of asking that his wife be brought. But, given that it was also necessary to look after the safety of this man during the journey, he sent instructions to Nostongos to provide the envoy with guides drawn from the army. Having received the instructions, Nostongos gave the impression of wanting to carry out the orders to excess, affirming that, out of consideration, he would provide a better service by guiding the envoy himself along with his people. This was the means by which he contrived his escape. Thereupon a man who served among the secretaries of the Grand Duke also decided to separate from his master. This man and Nostongos thus made their ways to the City. Given that he had abandoned his office and fled to the Emperor, Nostongos himself did not in any way consider himself to be safe from danger and so he wanted to take refuge with the patriarch. But the secretary, who had arrived before him and who imagined he was holding his guarantees in a letter from the Grand Duke, which

<sup>54</sup> Nostongos Doukas, already mentioned above in the person of the primicier of the court who came to help the city of Sardis (XI, 16), was undoubtedly the governor of the theme, rather than the city of Magnesia. (Cf. F470, fn. 24)

τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἀναχώρησιν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν <sup>20</sup> ἐκείνῳ πραττομένων ἀταμιεύτοις παρρησίαις καθαπτομένους.

Ἄ καὶ ἀγγελθέντα, οὐχ ὅπως οἱ λέγοντες ἐπειθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσμεναίνειν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἐποίουν· βασιλεὺς γὰρ, κακίας, οὐκ ἀληθείας, τὰ λεγόμενα κρίνων καὶ ὑπεκκαύματα φθόνου (B431) μᾶλλον ἢ προνοήσεις ἐξ εὐνοίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνοις ἐχόλα καὶ ἐξωργίζετο. Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μετελθεῖν <sup>25</sup> τοῦ μὲν τὸ οὐκ εἰς ὀλίγα χρήσιμον παρητεῖτο, τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀξιοπρεπὲς εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ βασιλέως παρόρασιν διεκώλυεν. Ἦν δ' ἄλλως ἐμποδῶν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην καταφυγὴ τοῦ Νοστόγγου, ὅθεν ὤφειτο ἔχειν τὴν ἐς ἅπαν ἀσυλίαν, τῇ τῆς Περιβλέπτου τέως ἐγκεκλεισμένον μονῇ. Ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὁ κρατῶν πολλακίς παρωξυμμένος – ἀνάπυστα γὰρ <sup>30</sup> κάκεινῃ τὰ λεχθέντα κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ὕβρισθαι τὰ μέγιστα, εἰ (F475) μὴ γε οἱ κατειπόντες ἀξίας τὰς δίκας τίσαιεν· μὴδὲ γὰρ προσέξεν ἄλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ, μὴ τῶν φυγάδων ἐκείνων ὑποσχόντων τὰς δίκας –, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῇ μονῇ ἐγκεκλειῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀρκετὸν εἰς τιμωρίαν ἔκρινεν, ἐκεῖνο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καταδικασθέντος ὅπερ ἂν βασιλεὺς <sup>5</sup> παθεῖν ἐκείνον ὡς πρόστιμον ἐδικαίου, τῆς μονῆς ἀντὶ φυλακῆς οὔσης αὐτίκα, ἧ δὴ καὶ παρὰ πατριάρχου ἀποσταλεῖς ἐγκέκλειστο. Τῷ δὲ γε γραμματιστῇ ἀπεπροσπάθει, ὡς μὴ ἰδίῳ τὸ σύνολον ὄντι καὶ ὡς ἔκ τινος λατρείας ἐκείνοις (B432) ἀναληφθέντι· δεῖν γὰρ τοῖς τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ πλημμελήμασι τιμωρίας, οὐχ ἧττον κολάσεις ἢ καθάρσεις οὔσας ἰδίῳις <sup>10</sup> προσήκειν, εἰ μέλλοιεν οἱ μὲν κολάζοντες κερδαίνειν, οἱ δὲ δεινὰ πάσχοντες ὠφελεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦπιὸν χρείαν τὸ χρήσιμον παρεξόμενοι.

was addressed to the secretary that signed the documents for the Emperor and which supposedly presented his departure as being in accordance with the wishes of the Grand Duke, remained in a state of hopefulness.<sup>55</sup> They formed the plan to present themselves together to the patriarch and use him as an intermediary to justify to the Emperor their departure from the Grand Duke, above all by attacking the actions of this latter with an unflinching frankness.

However, not only did the interlocutors fail to convince when they announced these facts, but they also attracted the anger of the sovereign. In fact, the Emperor judged their words to be wickedness, untrue, and the result of their envy for the Grand Duke rather than anything to do with attentions dictated by their benevolence to the Emperor himself. He became irritated and grew angry with them. But, as regards taking action against this, the usefulness of the first for many tasks ruled him out, while the dignity of the second prevented the Emperor from showing him contempt. Another obstacle to this was the recourse taken by Nostongos to the patriarch, from where he imagined he had found a perfect refuge once he had shut himself up in the monastery of the Peribleptos. This was why the sovereign was continually goaded by his sister, who of course also knew about the words spoken and who was highly indignant that the accusers did not suffer the deserved punishment. In fact, no one would obey the general any longer if these fugitives did not suffer the punishment. But the Emperor deemed that being locked up in the monastery and kept out of sight of the Emperor was punishment enough. Nostongos had in fact condemned himself to the sentence that the Emperor would have deemed legitimate to impose on him as a punishment, since the monastery where he had been sent by the patriarch to be confined was now serving as a prison. The Emperor also lost interest in the secretary, who was not one of his own at all and who had been hired by these people to provide a service. In fact, should we want to see those who punish gain from it and those who undergo harsh treatment benefit from it, so that they do useful work for the future, the punishments that the archons inflict for faults, and which are more akin

<sup>55</sup> The secretary, whose name is not indicated, claimed to be the bearer of a letter addressed by the Grand Duke Roger de Flor to Nicephoros Choumnos, the secretary that signed the documents for the Emperor (VIII, 32), and which justified his departure. The affair remains obscure on certain points. In the rest of the account, the existence of such a letter is not excluded, but the secretary must have placed himself in a difficult situation by making common cause with the Great Heterarch to criticize the Grand Duke.

Ἐπει δὲ ὁ μὲν Νοστόγγος κατὰ τινα ἐλπισμὸν συμπαθείας τῆς μονῆς ἀπελύετο, ἡ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγορίας δόξα καὶ ἔτι ἀναζέουσα ἦν καὶ δεῖν' ἄττα τοὺς τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ προσκειμένους ὑπέσμυχεν, εἰ καταφρονοῖτο, καὶ <sup>15</sup> μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν δοκούντων καὶ ἐν ἀξίαις – τοῖς γὰρ καιριωτέροις μέρεσιν, ὅταν ἐνδῶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ἀνάγκη συνδιεστράφθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ἦν μὴ τις ἐπίσχη –, τότε βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἄγει καὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ δὴ ἡμέρα κυριωνύμῳ, μαιμακτηριῶνος τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη, τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν παρασησάμενος, παρόντων κάκεινων, πολὺν μὲν λόγον παρέτεινε δημηγορῶν, τὸ <sup>20</sup> μὲν δοκεῖν καθαπτόμενος τοῦ Νοστόγγου, τὸ δὲ πλείστον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς πρὸς τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας ἀπολογούμενος, ὡς μηδὲν ἀναξίως κάκ τοῦ παρείκοντος μῆτ' (B433) αὐτὸν προβασμοῖς τιμῆσαι τὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μέγαν δοκοῦντα, μῆτ' ἐκέῖνον παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθῆναι, εἰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄλων γένοιτο· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ἀλλαγῶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐνδοξον καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι λαβεῖν μὴ ἔχοντα. Τέλος <sup>25</sup> τὸ τοῦ λεοντοκόμου ποιεῖ καὶ κυνὶ τὸν ὡς δῆθεν λέοντα ἐκδεδίτεσθαι· προστάττει γὰρ αὐτίκα, καὶ τὸν μὲν γραμματεῖα ἑξατιμοῖ κουρᾶ τριχῶν καὶ γενείου, τὸν δὲ Νοστόγγον, τὰ πολλὰ καθαψάμενος ἐν δημηγορίαις, τέλος ἀξιωματῶν ψιλοῖ καὶ ἐγκλείει. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράττετο τῆδε.

to purifications than punishments, must concern their servants alone.<sup>56</sup>

Nostongos left the monastery with the hope that he was going to be forgiven, but the judgement passed on his contemptuous attitude was still simmering, and those who were attached to the Grand Duke were consumed with indignation at seeing him despised in this way, especially by eminent persons and holders of dignities. In fact, should the most essential parts abandon themselves to the worst, it is inevitable that if they are not stopped the rest will be corrupted too. Then the Emperor sent for the two men. On a Sunday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of June,<sup>57</sup> he arranged his entourage in their presence, and he presented a harangue by developing a long discourse. He appeared to be attacking Nostongos, but above all he was justifying the Grand Duke to the dignitaries, affirming that there was nothing unworthy and unlawful for him to honour with promotions a man who already appeared great, or for this man to be honoured by him since he was the supreme leader. He was no less celebrated elsewhere, and there was nothing he could not have received without having it. In the end, he played the role of the lion tamer and frightened the would-be lion with a dog. He immediately ordered the secretary to be dishonoured by having his hair and beard shaven and, after attacking him harshly in his harangue, he finally stripped Nostongos of his dignity and locked him up. This was therefore what happened here.

### 25. Events that occurred in Tripolis of the Maeander.

#### 25. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Τρίπολιν τὴν κατὰ Μαϊάνδρον συμβάντων.

<sup>30</sup> 25. Οὐ χεῖρον δ' ἴσως καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τρίπολιν διελθεῖν, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς κατ' ἀνατολὴν φρούριων οὖσα, ἔπειτα ἐκ τῆς εἰκαίας καὶ (F477) τυχούσης προφάσεως ταύτην, ἀρχαίαν οὖσαν καὶ Φιλαδελφείας προβεβλημένην, ὁ

25. It is perhaps a good idea to recount the episode of Tripolis,<sup>58</sup> which was among the fortresses located in the region of the East. Using a fortuitous and insignificant pretext and thanks to arms and the annual supply of wheat, the

<sup>56</sup> The passage is unclear. Moreover, the beginning of the infinitive clause seems corrupted, as is the case in many other passages of the last three books: manuscripts A and B present a gap between γὰρ and ἄρχόντων while the reading of C must doubtless in turn be corrected, as has been proposed. On the other hand, it is not clear what is the point of applying the moralizing reflection that closes the passage. The meaning seems to be as follows: Roger de Flor's secretary was in no way dependent on the Emperor, who, not being his master, was also in no position to punish him in any way that was useful whether to the master or the servant. Finally, note that the verb ἀποπροσπαθεῖν is a hapax; it seems formed on the model of ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι. (Cf. F474, fn. 33)

<sup>57</sup> Sunday, June 14, 1304. (Cf. F474, fn. 34)

<sup>58</sup> The event whose story will follow is probably recent, but there is nothing that allows it to be precisely dated. The historian already indicated above (XI, 23) that the fortress was in the hands of the Turks. Located on the Meander, about fifty kilometres south-east of Philadelphia, Tripolis (Derebol) commanded the passage between the valleys of the Meander and the Hermos. (Cf. F474, fn. 37)

Δούκας καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ σιταρκίαις ἐπετειοῖς ὠχύρου, καὶ τὸ τῆς Φιλαδελφείας μόρσιμον – τὸ δ' ἦν ἐκ πρώτης κατακλυσμῶν καὶ εἰσέπειτα μὴδὲν ἀλῶναι, ὡς ἐφημίζετο – πιστὸν ἐντεῦθεν |<sup>5</sup> καθίστα. Διὰ τοι ταῦτα καὶ ἐκυδροῦτο τὸ πόλισμα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἠλόγει Περσῶν. Ἀλλὰ χρόνος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐμέτρει, καὶ τῶν (B434) πολλῶν ὑποκλιθέντων, εἰς μακρὰν ἀντειχον οἱ Τριπολίται· πλὴν καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον τῆ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεία στενοχωρούμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἐπικουρίας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχρηζον. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγύθεν οὐκ ἦν ἀρωγή, ἔγνωσαν τισι |<sup>10</sup> νόμοις καὶ ὁμολογίαις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης διευθετεῖν· ἀμέλει τοι καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐσπένδοντο Πέρσαις καὶ σίτον ἐκείθεν ἐλάμβανον. Καὶ ὁ συνεθισμὸς τῆς ἐμπορίας μὴ μόνον ἐκείνους ἐξερχομένους ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσας εἰσερχομένους ἀνέδην τὴν πόλιν, ἀπεμπολεῖν παρεσκεύαζε. Τοῦτο πολλάκις πραχθὲν ἔννοιαν εἰσάγει |<sup>15</sup> Πέρσαις ἀλώσεως· καὶ προδόταις κοινολογησάμενοι τὰ εἰκότα, ἐν προθεσίαις πισταῖς τὰ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξειργάζοντο. Καὶ δὴ σάγμασι πλείστοις τὰ τῶν φορτίων ἐπισκευασάμενοι, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα ἐγγιστά που ἐνεκρυφιάζον, ἅμα δὲ πολλοὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰσήεσαν. Σίτος δ' ἡ ἐμπορία ἦν, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν κανθῶνων, ζυγάδα φέρων τῶν φορτωμάτων, τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον |<sup>20</sup> ἤχεῖα, οἷς ἐκείνοι κροτοῦντες τὴν μάχην ἀνάπτουσιν, ἐντὸς συνεπήγον τῶν σάκκων· καὶ ἀντὶ πιποῦς, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, (B435) σκορπίον οἱ πολῖται δεξάμενοι, ταῖς εὐθηνίαις ἐλπιδοκοπούμενοι, ἐν ἀνέσει ἦσαν. Νύξ δ' ἤδη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν, καὶ ἠγνόουν· καὶ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς προσδοκίαις ἠώρητο, ἐν κακοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ὄντες. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ νύξ μὲν ἐκείνη ἐμέσου μὴδὲν ὑπαιδομένοις |<sup>25</sup> τοῖς πολίταις, οἱ δ' ἀναλαβόντες ἕκαστος τὰ ἤχεῖα, πολέμου τρόπον ἀνεκρυβάλλον. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν διωπνισθεῖσιν ἐκπληξίς ἐμπίπτει καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ ποῖ τραπῆναι καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐπιστάντες ἀπτέρῳ τάχει ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς κλεισὶ καὶ ὄχευσι, τῆ γῆ προσαράττουσι καὶ ἐγγύθεν τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτοίμους ὄντας συμμαχήσοντας προσκαλοῦνται. Καὶ οὕτως αὐτῆς |<sup>30</sup> νυκτὸς ἐκ μιᾶς ἐκείνης ὁρμῆς τὸ πόλισμα παρεστήσαντο· ὃ δὴ καὶ (F479) Ἀλισύρας ὁρμητηρίῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρώμενος, τὰς συνάμα Καρμανοῖς ἐκδρομὰς ὅπου παρεῖκοι ἐποίουν.

Τότε τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν, εὐκόσμῳ φυγῆ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀπαλλάξας δοῦκα, τὸ

Emperor Doukas<sup>59</sup> thereafter fortified this city, which was ancient and covered Philadelphia, thus making probable the destiny promised to Philadelphia, that is to say the rumour that from the first time of the deluge and thereafter it would not be taken. That is why the stronghold boasted of itself and disregarded the attacks of the Persians. But the days of the siege were counted. After most had given in, the inhabitants of Tripolis put up a long resistance, but they were gradually hampered by the lack of necessities and were also in dire need of outside assistance. However, as there was no help in sight, they decided to regulate the urgent questions by some regulations and agreements with the Persians. In fact, they entered into a temporary arrangement with the Persians and received corn from there. And the custom of trade not only made them go out to buy the necessary commodities, but it also allowed the Persians to freely enter the city to sell. This frequently practised procedure gave the Persians the idea of taking the city. They communicated what was necessary to the traitors and planned the attack on the city on a fixed and guaranteed date. After they had prepared their load in a very large number of sacks, the army remained hidden nearby, while a large number of men entered the city. The merchandise was wheat, and each donkey, bearing a double load, also carried, inside the sacks, the trumpets of war, which would be sounded as a signal to start the fight. As per the proverb, the inhabitants of the city received a lark instead of a scorpion and, due to the fact that they were flattering themselves with deceptive hopes for their provisioning, they were relaxed. Night was already enveloping them, and they were unaware and uplifted by good hopes, even though they were facing impending evils. Then this night came in the midst of these citizens who feared nothing, when the enemies each took their trumpet and sounded the tune of war. Fear melted on the awakened inhabitants and the difficulty of not knowing where to turn and flee, while the enemies come flying at the doors that had their keys and their bolts. They struck the ground and called on their people, who were close by and ready to assist them. And so, on that night, with this single attack they captured the stronghold. Alishir made ample use of it as a base, and with the Karmans they made incursions wherever possible.

This man, who had escaped the troops of the Grand Duke by an orderly flight, thus entered the

<sup>59</sup> John III Batatzēs (1222-1254), whom the historian constantly designates by his surname of Doukas.

πόλισμα ὑποδύς, ὅλος ἐν ἀφοβίαις ἦν καὶ ὑπερηφάνει τὸ <sup>15</sup> σύμπαν.

stronghold, and he was utterly devoid of fear and full of arrogance.<sup>60</sup>

**26. More about the Grand Duke and the case of Attaleiotes.**  
**26. Περί τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἔτι δουκὸς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀτταλειώτην.**

26. Ὁ δὲ τῶν ὄλων ἀφηγούμενος στρατηγός, ἀκίχητα γνοὺς διώκων, ὑποστρέψας, προσβάλλει τῷ τοῦ Κουλαῖ φρουρίῳ, ἔνθα καὶ ἀπαγγονίζει ἐφήσι πλείστους, αἰτίαις περιβαλὼν, τοῦτο (B436) δὲ φρουρίῳ τοῖς Φούρνοις. <sup>10</sup> Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ τρίτης προσχωρήσαντας κατ' ἀνάγκην Πέρσαις ταῖς πρὸς ἐκείνοις ὁμολογίας καὶ ἔτι ἐμμένειν, φανεισῶν τῶν δυνάμεων – ὑπτίαις δέχονται ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ θερμαῖς μεταγνώσεσιν ἐμφανεῖς ἦσαν, τὴν ἀναγκαίαν δυσχεραίνοντες μοῖραν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προσχωρήσεως· ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τῷ δοκεῖν ἀνίει <sup>15</sup> τὰ πταίσματα, τοῖς δὲ δόξασι τῶν λοιπῶν προέχειν βαρέως εἶχεν. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸν μὲν φύλακα τοῦ πολισματος ἀφαιρεῖται τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλους δ' ἄλλως τιμωρησάμενος, ποινὴν ἀγχόνης καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξάρχου καταψηφίζεται· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἦν αἰωρουμένῳ οἱ ἀπερυγεῖν ἀναγκαιῶς αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν πνοήν, τῶν τις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιτεταγμένων, θεῖαν ἔνδειξιν <sup>20</sup> ἠγησάμενος τὸ τελούμενον, εἴτε προσταθὲν εἴτε καὶ μὴ, κοπίδι τέμνει τὸν βρόχον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν κατάδικον ἐξαιρεῖται.

26. But the general who was the supreme leader, who knew that he was pursuing the elusive, turned back and went, first of all, to the fortress of Koula, where he hung a large number of men after raining down charges on them, and then to the fortress of Phoumoi.<sup>61</sup> The inhabitants received him with open arms because it was not possible for people who had gone over to the side of the Persians, only the day before and out of necessity, to stick to their agreements with them. As soon as the troops appeared, they manifested ardent repentance and lamented the fate that had compelled them to join the enemy. While the Grand Duke apparently was ready to forget the faults of the people, he was ill-disposed towards those who appeared to dominate them. This is why he had the guard of the stronghold beheaded, inflicted other treatments on others and condemned a priest who was the exarch of the others to a penalty of hanging. But while the priest was being hung, he did not give up his breath immediately on the spot, so one of those appointed to the task considered this fact to be a divine indication and, with or without order, he cut the rope with a knife and removed the condemned man from danger.

Εἶτα Φιλαδελφεῖα προσβάλλει, καὶ χιλιάδας συχνὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλέγει χρυσοῦ, ἀδυσώπητον ἐπὶ πᾶσι φέρων τὸ φρόνημα. Εἶτα τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶ Πυργίον καὶ Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως φυγοῦσι, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, <sup>25</sup> καπνὸν τὸ πῦρ ὑπανήπτε τῶν πειρασμῶν· καὶ ὁ διδοὺς πλεῖστα μετὰ πολλὰς βασάνους μόλις ἐσώζετο. Ταῦτα κὰν ταῖς νήσοις Χίῳ καὶ Λήμνῳ καὶ Μιτυλήνῃ ἐπράττοντο. Καὶ (B437) ὅπου ροῖζος χρυσοῦ,

Then the Grand Duke went to Philadelphia and collected several thousand gold nomismata there, while behaving impudently towards everyone. Then he subjected Pyrgion and Ephesus to the same treatment.<sup>62</sup> For those fleeing the smoke of the exodus, this kindled, as per the proverb, trial by fire. Those who gave up enormous amounts ended up being safe after long tortures. This was also implemented on the islands of Chios,

<sup>60</sup> Once the account of the taking of Tripolis is brought to a close, the last sentence of the chapter is linked to the end of Chapter 23. Beaten by Roger de Flor near Aulax, Alishir succeeds in taking refuge in the fortress of Tripolis, from where he returned to Amorion, his capital. (Cf. F476, fn. 40)

<sup>61</sup> The Grand Duke Roger de Flor, who exercised supreme command and could give orders to all Byzantine troops, went to the fortresses of Koula (Kula), which is located about 25 km north-east of Philadelphia, and of Phoumoi, which is presumably in the same region, but whose location remains unknown, despite Ramsay's attempt (*Geography*, p. 211) to identify it at Magidion, near Saittai, about twenty kilometres north of Koula). (Cf. F478, fn. 42)

<sup>62</sup> After passing once again through Philadelphia, Roger de Flor reached the valley of Kaystros, went to Pyrgion, and then to Ephesus, near the mouth of the river. (F478, fn. 44)



κᾶν μοναχὸς ἦν κᾶν τάξεως ἱερᾶς κᾶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ γνωστῶν βασιλεῖ, δειναῖς αἰώραις (F481) ἠτάζετο, καὶ ὁ μακελλικῶ φιτρῶ καὶ κοπίδι πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπειλούμενος θάνατος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς γῆς κρυπτόμενα ἐκ τοῦ παρασχεδὸν ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἐδείκνυ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν διδοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ἠλευθεροῦτο τῇ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐτυμότητι, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων πρόστιμον εἶχε τὸν θάνατον.

<sup>5</sup> Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ Μαχράμῃ κατὰ τὴν Μιτυλήνην γέγονει· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὢν καὶ τῇ οικιότητι κλειζόμενος, τὰς οἰκίσεις ἀνὰ τὸν Σκάμανδρον τὰς οἰκίσεις κατεῖχεν. Ὡς δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἐκεῖ, προκαταλαβόντων τὴν Ἰδὴν Περσῶν, ἐρημοῦσθαι τῶν οἰκητόρων ξυνέβαινε, φθάνει καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τῆς Ἄσου φρούριον ὑπεισδῦναι. <sup>10</sup> ὧ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀξιοτέρῳ οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν ὄλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐξηγουμένου ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς περιστάσεως ἔχρηζον, αὐτοῦς τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐγχειρίζουσιν. Ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διδόντων ἐκείνων, ἀνεπισημάντως ὅσον ἐκ τοῦ κρατοῦντος. Ὅμως καὶ οὕτως ἔχων οὐκ ἐρραθύμει τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ προνοίας καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ἀμφεπονεῖτο καὶ συνεῖχε τοὺς τῆδε <sup>15</sup> πυργηρουμένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, δηουμένων τῶν ἐξωτέρῳ, τέλος αὐτοῦς ἐμέλλε περιστῆναι τὰ χαλεπά, τὸ δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον οὐκ ἔχοντες, εἰ προσμένοιεν, πρὸς φυγὴν ὄρμων καὶ προαπανίσταντο, ἀγκάλας (B438) σφίσιν ὡς καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ ἐγγίονος προτεινούσης τῆς Μιτυλήνης, καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν σκοπῶν ἕκαστος ἠλόγει τοῦ ἄγοντος καὶ τῆς ἐκουσίῳ ἀνεῖτο ὑποταγῆς· ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν <sup>20</sup> ἔχων ἀντιπράττειν, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς εἰκὸς δυναστεύσαντος, συναπαίρειν ἔγνω κάκεῖνος, καὶ κενὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ φρούριον καταλέλειπτο.

Ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὁ μέγας δοῦξ προσίσχει τὴν νήσῳ, καὶ ἔδει πάντως αἰτίας τῶν πορισμῶν τὰς μὲν εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὰς δὲ πλάττεσθαι. Καὶ δὲ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ οὗτος τῷ τροχῷ συλλαμβάνεται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες <sup>25</sup> μίαν τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν, εἰ προτείνοιεν ἄβρὸν τὸ χρυσίον. Καὶ τις δὲ ἄλλος, ὡς προενηργηκῶς δημόσια ἀπητεῖτο τὰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ κέρδη, ἐν χιλιάσι καὶ

Lemnos, and Mytilene.<sup>63</sup> Where gold glittered, whether this concerned a monk, a member of the sacred order, or a regular visitor and acquaintance of the Emperor, they were tried by terrible hangings. The threats of death were brandished in front of their eyes, with a butcher's block and a knife, and this made them immediately dig up and even show what had been hidden in the depths of the earth. Whoever gave was thus liberated thanks to the reality of real gold, but whoever did not have it, received the death penalty.

This also happened to the unfortunate Machrames at Mytilene. In fact, this man, who was among the important servants of the Emperor and was honoured by his familiarity with him, had his residence on Skamandros. Since the Persians had previously seized Ida, the entire region had ended up being deprived of its inhabitants. Along with many others, he slipped into the fortress of Asos.<sup>64</sup> As they naturally needed a leader in such trying times, it was to him, in his quality of the worthiest of all, that the people of the place entrusted both their persons and the fortress. He assumed the command they gave him, without any intervention from the sovereign. However, even in such a position, he did not cease to concern himself with everyone and he struggled for a long time and supported the besieged of the place. As those outside were being killed, and misfortune was finally about to threaten them and they could do nothing noble by remaining there and given that Mytilene was stretching out its arms closely to them as to many others,<sup>65</sup> they began to flee and moved away in advance. Looking out for his own interest, each ignored the leader and denied his voluntary obedience. As he could not oppose anything and the crowd naturally became dominant, he decided to leave with them too, and from then on the fortress was left empty.

However, after several days, the Grand Duke came to shore on the island, and it was absolutely necessary to find and invent sources of income. Along with many others Machrames was drawn by the wheel, but all the others had only one solution to their ills, which was to offer beautiful gold. Another man, since he had previously been a tax collector and as his earnings were demanded

<sup>63</sup> Roger de Flor probably embarked at Anaia and ransomed the islands off Asia Minor: Chios, Lemnos and Mytilene. (Cf. F479, fn. 45)

<sup>64</sup> The fortress of Asos (Behramkale) is on the gulf of Atrammymion, about sixty kilometres west of this city, facing Mytilene. Mount Ida (Kaz Dag) rises between the Gulf of Atrammymion to the south and the Skamandros Valley (Menderes Nehri) to the north. The area belonged to the Emir of Karasi. (F480, fn. 47)

<sup>65</sup> The island of Mytilene is only a dozen kilometres from the mainland. (F480, fn. 48)

μάλιστα εἰσεπράττετο. Τῷ δὲ προσετιμᾶτο θανάτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ φρουρίου κατάλειψιν. Εἰ δ' ὠνεῖσθαι βούλοιτο τὴν ζωὴν, εἰς χρυσίου χλιοστύας πέντε ἢ ἑκτισὶς ἴστατο, κατηντήκει δὲ καὶ ποινὴ μέχρι καὶ |<sup>30</sup> ἑκατοστύος μιᾶς τῷ Μαχράμῃ. Ὡς γοῦν βραδεῖς ἐφαίνοντο οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, αὐτῆς ὥρας προστάσσει ἐπ' ὄψει θατέρου κατατομεῖσθαι θάτερον τὸν Μαχράμην, καὶ ὁ μακελλικὸς φιτρὸς παρευθὺς καὶ τὸ ξίφος (F483) ἔτοιμον εἰς ἀναίρεσιν· τὰς γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἰμᾶσι δεθείς, εἶτα δ' ἑκταθείς ἐπὶ τοῦ φιτροῦ καὶ καρτερῶς πιεσθείς, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σπονδύλους τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκλυθῆναι (B439) τῆς φυσικῆς ἀρμογῆς, οὕτως ἀθλιῶς καὶ τὴν τομὴν δέχεται. Καὶ τὸ συμβὰν θατέρῳ θεασαμένῳ Γοργῷ τις ἦν ἀπολισθοῦσα |<sup>5</sup> τὸν δέιλαιον, καὶ πικρὸν κλαίει, καὶ ποτινᾶται πρὸς Γεννοῦίτας, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν χλιοστύι χρυσίνων παρ' ἐκείνων περιποιεῖται.

Ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἢ ταῦτα γενέσθαι πρότερον, Μαγνησιώταις ἐκεῖνος τιμὴν ταμιεύων Κυκλώπειον, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅμοια δράσων, κἂν ὑπερημέρει τὴν ἑκτισιν, τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐκείνοις πλεόντων ἄλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀποτεταμιεύσθαι |<sup>10</sup> καὶ ἵππους τῆδε καὶ χρήματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τόσης ἀλαστορίας συνέλεγε, φθάνει σφαλῆναι προνοία τῶν οἰκητόρων. Τὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνοντα καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δείσαντες, καὶ μάλιστα προπαθόντες καὶ ὡς ἐκ γέυματος τὸ πᾶν προμαθόντες, πρὸς ἀποστασίαν ἀφορῶσι. Τὸ δ' ἦν εὐχερὲς ἐννοῆσαι σφίσι, ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὸ πρὶν καθ' |<sup>15</sup> αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ διοικεῖσθαι, πιστεύοντας τῷ πολισμάτι, ἔρμαιον δ' εἶναι τοῦτοις οὐ θησαυροὺς καὶ μόνον ἐκείνους καὶ ἵππους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος μάχιμον εἰσελθὸν καὶ μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ σιτῶνας πλήρεις, οὓς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀρκέσοντας ὑπελάμβανον. Ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Ἀτταλειώτῃ συνέδοξε, περὶ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μάλιστα δεδιότι. Καὶ πίστεις δόντες τε καὶ λαβόντες (B440) |<sup>20</sup> ἀλλήλοις καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἰταλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἔργον μαχαίρας ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς καθειργνύσιν. Ἐαυτοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐνῆν τὰ μάλιστα συγκροτήσαντες ὡς θανουμένους πάντως εἰ καθυφεῖεν – οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐλπίζειν ἄλλο, εἰ ὑπὸ χεῖρας τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ γένοιτο –, τὰς πύλας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενοι, δῆλοι ἦσαν ἀποστατοῦντες.

|<sup>25</sup> Ὡς γοῦν ἀνάπτυστα γέγονει τὰ κείνων, καὶ οὐκ

of him, was taxed for thousands of nomismata precisely. But Machrames was punished with death for abandoning the fortress. If he wished to redeem his life, the payment amounted to five thousand nomismata of gold, but the ransom that Machrames was able to collect only amounted to one hundred. So, as they had no money, and they seemed slow to pay, the Grand Duke at that same moment ordered that the first, Machrames, be beheaded in the sight of the second, and immediately there was the butcher's block and the sword ready to kill him. In fact, his hair was tied with strips, and he was then stretched out on the chopping block and squeezed with such force that the vertebrae of the neck were dislocated from their natural articulation, and it was in these miserable conditions that he had his head cut off. The unfortunate man who witnessed this was paralysed with fear as if he was looking at a Gorgon. He wept bitterly, implored the Genoese, and preserved his life thanks to a thousand nomismata that he managed to obtain from them.

But shortly before this happened, the Grand Duke arranged the honour of the Cyclops for the inhabitants of Magnesia, such that he would make them suffer the same fate, even if this was to be postponed. He trusted them more than the others and had, for this reason, put in deposit there horses and money that he had gathered with such brutality. But before he could do this, he was defeated by the foresight of the inhabitants. In fact, given that they feared that it was inevitable that they too undergo what had happened to the others, especially since they had already suffered and found out about everything as if they had experienced it themselves, they thought of dissenting. It was easy for them to imagine it, given that they had previously been self-governing and self-administering and had relied on the stronghold. They also saw a boon not only in those treasures and horses, but also in the fighting crowd that had entered with a good part of the Alans and full reserves of corn, which they supposed could suffice for a year. This was also the opinion of Attaleiotes, who feared greatly for himself. After having given and received mutual guarantees, they killed with the sword some of the Italians who were inside and locked up the others securely. They encouraged each other as best they could, thinking that they would certainly die if they yielded, for there was nothing else to hope for if they fell into the hands of the Grand Duke. After securing the gates, they openly dissented.

As their attitude had thus become notorious

ἦν καταπέψαι τὴν χλεῦν, Ἴταλὸν ὄντα καὶ οὕτως ἀπηνῆ καὶ φρονηματίαν, τᾶλλα θέμενος ἐν δευτέρῳ, παραλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκεῖσε γίνεται, χρώμενος μὲν καὶ παντὶ τῷ Ἰταλικῷ συμμαχοῦντι, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ συνεπαγόμενος καὶ Ῥωμαϊκόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλανοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προσβιαζόμενος. Ἐκάστης οὖν προσβάλλων, |<sup>30</sup> ἐπολιόρκει, μηχανήματα ἐφιστὰς καὶ ἐλεπόλεις προστοιμάζων, καὶ πολλαχόθεν θερμαῖς τισὶ προθυμίαις – ἐξωτρύνετο γὰρ καὶ προφανῶς λοιδορούμενος ἐνδοθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον – ἀπειρᾶτο τοῦ τείχους. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς κατημέλουν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χρῆσιν, ἀναγκαίαν (F485) οὖσαν, ὄχυροῖς τειχίοις μέχρι καὶ (B441) ἐς τὰ Μάκαρος, οὕτω πως λεγομένου τοῦ τόπου, φθάσαντες ἐκρατύναντο· ἔπειτα τὰς κατ' ὄρος ὑπονόμους μακρόθεν ὕδραγωγοὺς τῶν ἐξωθεν ἀνορυξάντων, ὥστε μετοχετεύειν τοὺς ρύακας, ἐκεῖνοι, παμπληθεὶ στρατεύσαντες, διεκάλουν καὶ, ὡς οἶόν τ' |<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς, τὴν ὀχετηγίαν κατησφαλίζοντο. Ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων δὲ πετροβόλα καὶ ἰοβόλα στήσαντες μηχανήματα, καρτερῶς ἠμύναντο καὶ ἀντεῖχον. Τέλος τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιτούμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ὅτι γ' ἐδίδουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελοιδοροῦντο καὶ πικρῶς ἐγλεῦάζον.

Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ χρόνος μὲν τῆς πολιορκίας ἐτρίβετο, ἡμελοῦντο δὲ τᾶλλα, |<sup>10</sup> ὡς μὴδ' ἂν ἦσαν οἱ χεῖρα σφῶν ὑπερέξοντες. Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι πάλιν κατὰ λόγους καὶ οὐλαμοὺς ἀνέδην τοῖς ἐρημοθεῖσιν ἐπήεσαν, ἦν τι που τῶν ὑπολειμμένων ὄναιτο. Οὐδεὶς οὖν ἐν χώραις ὑπελείπετο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρεβύοντο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ παρείκοντος, οἱ πλείους δὲ, σοφώτερον τι ποιοῦντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς νήσους, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀντιπεραίαν ὥρμων, |<sup>15</sup> καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν μακρόθεν ἐώρων, καὶ προσπελάζειν οὐ τολμῶντες οὐδ' ἐς βραχύ. Οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτόθεν πάσχοντες τὰ δεινὰ κατεμάνθανον, καὶ προμηθεῖς τοῦ ζῆν ἐποίουν τοὺς (B442) ἄλλους αὐτοὶ πίπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ ὡς πολεμίους σφᾶς οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς κλωπας ὄν αὐτοὶ διὰ σπάθης ἐκτήσαντο, ἀνὰ χεῖρας πεσόντας ἐτιμωροῦντο καὶ ἀνηλεῶς |<sup>20</sup> ἔσφαττον.

and given that he was Italian and so cruel and haughty, he could not put up with the mockery. He judged everything else to be secondary and took his troops and arrived there, having available to him the entire Italian allied contingent, a sizeable contingent of Romans, and forcing the Alans into battle. He therefore launched daily attacks and laid siege, placing machines, and preparing helepoles, and he tested the wall on all sides with an ardent zeal, since he was exacerbated by being insulted from the interior, publicly and to the face. The people of the interior did not remain idle either. First of all, they secured in advance the necessary use of water, by using the fortified walls up to Ta Makaros, which was the name of the place. Then, since the besiegers had dug up the subterranean conduits of the mountain that brought water from afar in order to divert the streams, they mounted a large expedition to obstruct and secure the arrival of the water as well as they could. They placed machines on the towers for throwing stones and darts, and they defended themselves and resisted with firmness. In the end, when they were summoned to return the money, not only did they not surrender this, but they shouted insults and cruel jeers.

That is why the siege dragged on, while all the other peoples were neglected, as if there were no longer anyone to reach out to them. Again, the Persians freely invaded the devastated regions, using ambushes and in squads, in order to gather up what might be left. There was therefore no one left in the countryside and out of inertia a small number of people confined themselves to the cities. But the majority adopted a wiser conduct. Some went to the islands, others to the opposite shore, and they watched their possessions from afar, not even daring to approach them, not even for a moment. Those who dared to do so, due to their pressing neediness, immediately experienced the worst treatment, and their deaths made others cautious for their lives. In fact, if they fell into the hands of the Persians, these latter punished them not as if they were enemies but as if they were the thieves of what they the Persians had acquired by the sword, and they cut their throats without pity.

### 31. Flight of the Alans from the Grand Duke and exploit at Pegai.

#### λα'. Απόδρασις Ἀλλανῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέγαλου δουκὸς καὶ ἀνδραγαθία περὶ τὰς Πηγὰς

31. (F497) Βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἀναγκαίως ἐν ὑπερθέσεσιν ἦν πρὸς ὅπερ καὶ ἠξιοῦτο διὰ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ σφετέρῳ κλήρῳ, πολλῆς καὶ μεγάλης τῆς ἐπιμελείας |<sup>5</sup> χρῆζοντα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἅπαν, ὡς μὲν Ἴταλοὶ, ὡς δ' Ἀλανοί, ταῖς γνώμαις ἠλλοτριοῦντο, δυσχερεῖς ὄντες πείθειν καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ βασιλείῳς ἐπεσταλμένα καθυποκλίνεσθαι. Τῷ μὲν οὖν μεγάλῳ δουκί, τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ Μαγνησίαν, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ Μιτυλήνην διάγοντι, αἱ συχναὶ προστάξεις τοῦ ὑπερθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Μαγνησιώτας πόλεμον καὶ περᾶν συνάμα |<sup>10</sup> τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαῷ κατὰ δύσιν πρὸς τὸν ἀνάκτα Μιχαῆλ - εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Μαγνησιώτας ὑπηκόους τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὐφημοῦντας ὁσημέραι τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν παροινίας εὐθύνας εἰς καιρὸν ὑποσχεῖν δυναμένους - οὐδὲν ἤσαν, καὶ λόγοι τινάλλως λεγόμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἀνδρολογοῦντι, (B452) καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ Μαγνησιώτας, καὶ, εἰ μὴ ἀναστατοῖη τοῦτους, οὐδὲ ζῆν θέλοντι.

|<sup>15</sup> Ἀλανοῖς δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὰ συμβάντα κατὰ Κύζικον οὐκ ἦν ἀρεστὰ τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ πανδημει ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους ἀφίσταντο. Κάπειδι ἄπειρητο τούτοις μὴ περαιοῦσθαι κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα, ἀλῆται τόπους ἐκ τόπων ἀμείβοντες, ἔξω πού τῶν Πηγῶν σκηνοῦσιν· οἷς βασιλεὺς, πέμπων καὶ ἱκανὰ ἀργύρια, προσέταττεν ὑποστρέφειν. Τοῖς δὲ, |<sup>20</sup> θάνατον τῆς ὑποτροφῆς ἀνθαιρουμένοις, συνέβη τῷ τέως ἀνδραγαθῆσαι, φανέντων Περσῶν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἑννεακοσίους ἐποσοῦντο, καὶ τὴν μάχην ὡς εἰπεῖν μετὰ θάρρους εἰσβάλλουσιν ἐκ μιᾶς· οἱ δ' ἐν μέρει συμβαλόντες, ὡς εἰς διακοσίους ποσοῦσθαι, τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ διασκεδασθέντων, καὶ οὕτως τοὺς μὲν κτείνουσι, τοὺς δ' αἰροῦσιν εἰς |<sup>25</sup> φυγὴν τραπέντας, αὐτοὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀνηκέστων παθόντες.

31. The emperor was forced to procrastinate in the face of the demands of the events that occurred in his country and that required a multiple and far reaching solicitude, especially since all the foreign contingent, the Italians as well as the Alans, had embraced hostile feelings. It was difficult to persuade them and make them comply with the emperor's orders. The frequent injunctions made to the Grand Duke, who resided sometimes in Magnesia and sometimes in Mytilene, to postpone the war against the inhabitants of Magnesia and cross with his troop to the West with Prince Michael, were in vain. The inhabitants of Magnesia were also subjects of the empire and cheered the emperors daily and could, in due course, be held accountable for their drunken behaviour towards the emperor. It was of no use to address words to a man who enlisted the Romans above all to fight the inhabitants of Magnesia and to a man whose only reason to live was to have them vanquished.

The ongoing action displeased the Alans especially due to the events in Cyzicus, and they defected en masse by more than five hundred. Since they were forbidden to cross to Kallioupolis (mod. Gallipoli / Gelibolu) and reach their country, they camped outside Pegai, like vagabonds who wander from place to place. The emperor also sent them a large amount of money and ordered them to return. As they preferred to die rather than return, they were able to accomplish fine deeds once the Persians appeared. Given that they were in fact nine hundred in number, they also entered the combat with audacity, so to speak, and with a single impulse. The Alans only came to fight in part, so that there were two hundred of them, since the others had long ago dispersed. But even under these conditions, the Alans killed some and captured others who had turned to flight, without themselves suffering anything irremediable.

## Book XII

## 1

**1. About the Khan of the Eastern Tatars, Ghazan.**  
**(F505) 1. Περὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν Τοχάρων Κάνι τοῦ Καζάνη.**

1. Ἐπάνειμι δ' αὖθις ἐκεῖνα δώσω τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ἃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιεικῶς ἀπορεῖ, ἠττώμενος τῷ μεγέθει τῶν γιγνομένων, ὥστ' εἰρημένον τοῦτο |<sup>5</sup> πολλοῖς περὶ ὧν ἕκαστος λέγειν προτιθέτο, ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μὲν τέχνης εἶναι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, καὶ εἰρωνεία τοῦ γρά- φοντος ἄντικρυς, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ μόνοις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πιστεύεσθαι τὴν παραίτησιν, παρ' ὅσον καὶ πᾶς εἰδὼς μαρτυρήσει (B456) τοῖς γραφομένοις, ὡς μηδὲ σιγῇ τὰ πλεῖστα παρενεγκῶν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου μήνιμα πᾶς τις ἀναφανδὸν αἰτιᾶται τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμήχανον. Οὐπω γάρ τις ἔφθη ἐτέρῳ διεξιῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀκούων, πικρὰ |<sup>10</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων καταστενάζων, τὸ τῆς θείας ὀργῆς ἄφυκτον θαρροῦντως ἀνωμολόγησε καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ἀπέγνω πρὸς τὴν τῶν τελομένων ἀντιπαλάμησιν, καὶ ἰλιγγιῶν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔδειξεν ἀκοὴν χωρεῖν ὅλως ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσαν τὰ πολλῶν πλέον μὴ δυνάμενα λέγεσθαι. Πλήν δ' ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅπως ἔσχε διαληπτέον, τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας λεῖπον |<sup>15</sup> ὑφαίνοντες.

Καζάνης μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν κάνις Τοχάρων, ἐφ' ἕξ ἄρξας ἔτη καὶ πλεῖστα μνήμης κατεργασάμενος ἄξια, πεντεκαιτριακοστὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς τελέσας ἀρπάζεται. Συνέφθιτο δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῶν ὄλων |<sup>20</sup> ἐλπίς, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἠϋξάνε πανταχοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Φιλαδελφείας, ἐπιτιθεμένων τῶν Καρμανῶν. Ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ἵνα μικρόν τι τῷ λόγῳ προσδιατρίψω, (B457) ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελθὼν πρὸς Κῦρον ἐκεῖνον καὶ Δαρεῖον ἐώρα καὶ τοῖςπραχθεῖσιν ἐκείνοις πάλαι λεγομένοις εἰς ἡδῖω τρυφήν ἐχρᾶτο ἢ τοῖς τῆς

1. I return again to those facts that were rather cumbersome to mention earlier due to the magnitude of events covered in this narrative. Many historians have stated the same about what they were intending to say, and for those facts it was the simple artifice and pretence of the writer. However, for these facts and for these only, the reticences are all the more credible because any informed man will testify to what is written, since he will not have condemned all these facts to silence either, and since every man openly imputes these misfortunes to divine wrath and a hopeless situation.<sup>66</sup> In fact, we have not yet finished telling another the narrative that the listener, groaning bitterly over the situation, has courageously agreed to the inexorability of divine wrath, has lost all hope of countering what is happening, and seized with vertigo before these discourses, has shown an audition absolutely incapable of recognizing things which cannot even be expressed. It only remains to explain the situation, by weaving the rest of the narrative.

After having reigned for six years and accomplished many deeds worthy of memory, Ghazan, the Khan of the Eastern Tatars, was taken from this world when he was only thirty-five years old.<sup>67</sup> The hope that everyone had put in him died, and evils increased everywhere, and especially in Philadelphia, where the Karmans attacked. In fact, as a point of interest in this discourse, once the Kahn was in power, he looked towards the famous Cyrus and Darius, and took more delicious pleasure in (the account of their actions of old

<sup>66</sup> The incapacity of the author to translate the importance of events and the mismatch of words to realities are one of the stereotypes of historical narrative. The historian claims that faced with realities that were actually fictional his predecessors propagated this idea purely out of habit and literary magnification, but that, in the case here, the statement is in fact real and not literary fiction. The historian's contemporaries could bear witness to this, and they also knew that the present situation eluded them, since it was governed by a higher will and not by a human hand. Another point is that there is no reason to consider this first paragraph of Book XII as being another introduction to the rest of the work and make the first chapter begin at the second paragraph, as the first editor did (*Georgii Pachymeris de Michaële et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, II, CSHB, 455-456). (Cf. F504, fn.1).

<sup>67</sup> Ghazan, the Khan of the Eastern Tatars (i.e., of Persia), was already mentioned above (IX, 26; XI, 16). The two chronological data supplied by the historian are incorrect. Born on 4 November 1271, Ghazan died on 17 May 1304, when he was only thirty-two and a half years old and had reigned for eight and a half years (November 1295 to May 1304); see Spuler, *Mongolen*, 79-90. (Cf. F504, fn.2).

ἀρχῆς σεμνώμασιν ἐξηγάλλετο. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαρείου |<sup>25</sup> νικητὴν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιλογισμῶν ἔστρεφε, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ἄλλο τὰς ἐκείνου (F505) πράξεις ὑπερηγάπα, δι' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἴσων τυχεῖν ἐφίετο, καὶ κλέος ἐπόθει λαβεῖν τοῖς ὀπουδήποτ' ἐπ' ἴσης ἀνδραγαθίμασιν. Ὅθεν καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ὠγκοῦτο τοῖς παρασπίζουσιν, Ἰβηρσι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ πολέμοις ἐγράτο, πλείστον μὲν τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἔχουσι, πολλῶ δὲ |<sup>5</sup> πλέον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμωμήτου σεβάσματος. Παρ' ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ σταυρὸν μαθὼν τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν τρόπαιον ὄν, οὐράγει σφίσι παρασπίζουσι κατὰ πόλεμον, καὶ πόλλ' ἄττα δεινὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων σουλτάν εἰργάζετο, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἱεροῖς προσβαλεῖν Σολύμοις καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ παραστήσασθαι γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ |<sup>10</sup> ζωηφόρον μνήμα τοῖς Ἰβηρσι χαριζόμενος. Ὅμοίως κακῶς καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔδρα, εἰ μὴ γ' ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐν τῷ [πλείστῳ τῶν] τόπων (B458) ἀμμῶδες καὶ ἄνυδρον εἰς πολλὰ προσίστατο. Καὶ ἐὼ τὰς αὐτουργίας αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅσαις ἀσμένως ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τῶν ὑπερτάτων, ἐβανασίζετο, οὐ κατὰ χρεῖαν μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινα τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν παιδευσιν, ἐφεστρίδας τε καὶ |<sup>15</sup> μύωπας καὶ ῥυτῆρας ἵππων καὶ πέδιλα καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἡμιτύμβια καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο βαναύσου τέχνης ἐξεργαζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἀνακωχὰς τῶν πολέμων ἀσχολίας τῶν τοιούτων ποιούμενος. Ἄλλ' οἷα ἐφρόνει, βάρβαρος ὢν, τὸ παράδοξον. Ἦγειτο γὰρ εἶναι μίμημα θεοῦ τὸν καλῶς ἄρχοντα καὶ ὁσίως· καὶ ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνῳ περὶ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Σκύθου, Σαυρομάτου |<sup>20</sup> καὶ Ἑλλήνου, ἐτι δὲ δικαίου καὶ μὴ, ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τὰς δόσεις, κοινῶς εὐεργετοῦντι καὶ ὑετοῦς καὶ ὥρας καὶ ἡλιον, οὕτως ᾔετο δεῖν διακεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν δικαίως ἄρχοντα σὺν ὅλοις τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὰς δωρεὰς διοικούμενον. Ἔκοψε δ' ἐξ ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ καὶ Καζάνειον νόμισμα, καὶ πᾶσαν εὐνομίαν ἐνομοθέτησεν· ἔμελε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, |<sup>25</sup> ὥστε μὴ ταύτης ἄλλο τι λογιζέσθαι προτιμότερον.

than he did in the pomp of power himself. He therefore mainly focused his thoughts on Alexander, the conqueror of Darius, and cherished his actions above all else, and aspired through these towards an identical fortune and coveted the glory reserved for those who accomplish the feat wherever that may be. This is why he put his glory in his many comrades in arms, and against the enemies he mainly used Iberians, who were a valiant race, but all the more so thanks to the perfect and irreproachable piety of the Christians. Moreover, when he learned that the trophy of the Christians was the cross, he had it carried to war behind his comrades in arms, and he inflicted many misfortunes on the Sultan of the Arabs, to the point of attacking Jerusalem itself, and he even came close to seizing it, especially to please the Iberians, due to the living tomb.<sup>68</sup> He would have manhandled Egypt in the same way, had he not been hindered by the sandy and arid nature of most of the country.<sup>69</sup> And I have not mentioned his personal works which he happily practised, notwithstanding the fact that was a leader and one of the most eminent among these. Not so much out of necessity as for the purpose of educating his subjects, he made saddles, spurs and horse bridles, sandals, knives, headbands, and all other handicrafts, and he used the truces of war to spend time on such work. But what was amazing were his ideas, given that he was a barbarian. In fact, he considered a good and pious leader to be like an image of God, since God, who equally distributes rain, seasons, and sun, cannot in his gifts make a distinction between Roman, Scythian, Sarmatian and Greek, or even between just and unjust. He thought that a just leader should behave in the same way to all his subjects in the distribution of gifts. He also struck a coinage in Ghazan's name, with pure gold, and he instituted good and complete legislation. He was concerned with justice for all, so that nothing would be preferred to this.

<sup>68</sup> Ghazan led two expeditions in Syria against the Mamluks of Egypt who were occupying it: in 1299-1300 and in 1303. During the first expedition, he conquered Damascus. In 1302 he made contact with the Christian States of the West and with Rome to win their alliance with a view to taking Syria and Jerusalem, which shelters the tomb of Christ. But this time his army was defeated in front of Damascus, which the Mamluks had recaptured after his departure. Ghazan clashed with the Sultan Mamluk's troops (the Sultan of the Arabs, in the text), al-Malik al-Nasir (1293-1340). (Cf. F504, fn. 6)

<sup>69</sup> It is not known whether Ghazan's troops descended much lower than Syria and whether they immediately attacked Egypt. In terms of the manuscript tradition, this passage offers the first gap in manuscript C. It cannot be filled, because neither manuscript A nor B, of which we have reported previous common gaps, have anything for the four gaps of C in Book XII, the six gaps of Book XIII being found in manuscript B, which is the only one to have preserved the corresponding texts. The four gaps in Book XII only concern a few syllables, which have been reconstituted as well as possible.

Οὗτος (B459) αὐτανέψιον ἔχων Τουκταίν, ᾧ δὴ προσῆκεν ἐκ γένους καὶ ἡ ἀρχή, ἐπεὶ πρὸς θανάτῳ ἦν καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἰδίοις τρόποις τοὺς ἐκείνου συμβαίνοντας (F507) ὑπετόπαζε, παριδὼν αὐτὸν, ἔφεδρον εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ὄντα, πέμψας μετακαλεῖται τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν, περὶ ποῦ τὰ τῆς Ἰνδίας μέρη σὺν ἰδίῳ στρατεύματι διατρίβοντα, ᾧ δὴ Χαρμπαντᾶς τοῦνομα· ὄρεωκόμον εἶποι τις ἂν ἐκείνον, οὕτω συμβὰν ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει, φανέντος εὐθὺς ἰ<sup>5</sup> τοιούτου, ὡς εἴθιστο σφίσι γεννωμένοις ποιεῖν κατὰ τι νόμιμον. Καὶ τοῦτον εἰς ἀρχὴν καταστήσας, ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσι τὰ αὐτοῦ συνθήματά τε καὶ νόμιμα ἀπαρεγγεῖρητα μένειν ἐντολὰς ἐδίδου. Τὸ ἐπίταδε, εἴ τι ἄρα καὶ δόξειε, γίνεσθαι παρηγγύα.

Τοῦτ' ἀνάπυστον γεγονός, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄκρας αἱ γραφαὶ διεδόθησαν ἰ<sup>10</sup> καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἄρχων Χουτλουχάϊμ ἤκουε τὸ συμπεσόν, διαδέχεται τὴν φήμην ὁ Σολυμάπαξ Πέρσης, ὃς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Κουτζίμπαξι. Καὶ οὕτω διαμηνυθέντος τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ τοῦ Καζάνου θάνατος τοῖς ἐκείνου πρέσβεσι κατὰ πόλιν (B460) δῆλος γίνεται, καὶ τὸ πένθος σφίσιν αἴρεται μέγα. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ παρακαλοῦνται, ἰ<sup>15</sup> βασιλέως πέμψαντος. Πλὴν ἀλλ' Ἀμούριος καὶ οὕτως καθυπεστέλλετο, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαρμπαντᾶ φόβον – τὰς γὰρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συνθεσίας ἐκεῖνος τηρεῖν ἤθελεν – ὡς εἰκὸς ὑφορώμενος, εἴτε τὴν ἀπὸ βασιλέως εὐμένειαν προσποιούμενος, καὶ πέμψας ἤτει βασιλέα τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν μεσόγαιον ἀνὰ Σάγγαριν, Μεσονήσιον ἐτόμως ὠνομασμένον, ἰ<sup>20</sup> ἐφ' ᾧπερ τοῖς ἰδίοις οἰκηθιτόμενον τοῖς ἐντὸς οἰκοῦσιν εἰς φυλακὴν κέοιτο. Ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων τέως ἀνηρημένων, τινὲς τῶν ἐκείνου, κατ' οὐλαμοὺς διεκθέοντες, κακὸν ἀπάντημα Ῥωμαίοις, εἰς τρυγητὸν ἐξιοῦσι τῶν ἀτημελημένων

He had a cousin Toqtai,<sup>70</sup> who also had a birth right. As he was close to dying and suspected Toqtai's entourage of not sharing the same morals, he omitted him, even though he was imperatively the successor to the power, and sent emissaries to summon his brother, who was staying in the region of India with his own army. This latter bore the name of Kharbanda, or one might say "muleteer", because it had happened that at the moment of his birth a man of this profession had immediately appeared, and it was the custom for them to proceed in this way at their birth. After establishing his brother in power, he commanded that his own orders and laws remain inviolate for three years and recommended that thereafter they could do as they decided.

Since the letters had also been sent to the frontiers and the leader of the Euxin, Choutlouchaim, had learned of what had happened, the Persian, Solymampax, who was the son-in-law of Koutzimpaxis, also found out about the news.<sup>71</sup> This is how the event was notified to the Emperor, and Ghazan's death was revealed to his emissaries in the City, and it aroused a great mourning among them.<sup>72</sup> They were, however, comforted by an embassy from the Emperor. But, despite these conditions, Amourios drew back. I do not know if he had fears about Kharbanda, as would be natural, even though this latter did in fact want to keep in place the conventions laid down by his brother, or if he was trying to court the benevolence of the Emperor. Amourios sent emissaries to ask the Emperor for the region demarcated by the rivers on the Sangarios and called Mesonesion according to the etymology, so that it could become a colony for his people and remain a place of custody for those who lived within it.<sup>73</sup> But, while these proposals remained in

<sup>70</sup> Toqtai, who was already mentioned above (IX, 26-27), was the Khan of the Golden Horde (1291-1312). The historian must be mistaken in considering him the cousin of Ghazan and his natural heir. But a cousin of Ghazan did in fact claim the power before and after the death of Alafrank, who the brother of Ghazan had executed on 30 May 1304; see Spuler, *Mongolen*, 89-90. (Cf. F505, fn. 11)

<sup>71</sup> The two intermediaries through which the news of Ghazan's death passed were Choutlouchaim and Solymampax, but the historian does not specify the links that existed between these characters. Choutlouchaim (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 348; *PLP*, No. 30977), who is only mentioned here, was a Tatar leader of the Golden Horde. Solymampax was a Turkish emir who occupied a territory around Nicomedia and was in contact with the Byzantines. To win his alliance, Andronicus II had him marry a daughter of Koutzimpaxis, a Tatar who was a former domestic servant of Nogai and later rallied to the Emperor and commanded Nicomedia on his behalf (X, 30). (Cf. F506, fn. 13)

<sup>72</sup> When in May or June 1304 the news of Ghazan's death reached Constantinople, the Khan's emissaries were in the City. They were responding to the embassy sent earlier by Andronicus II to ask for the help of the Mongols against the Turks (XI, 16); see Dolger, *Regesten*, No. 2265 (before 17 May 1304). (Cf. F506, fn. 14)

<sup>73</sup> Hales Amourios is already indicated in a narrative that occurred in the year 1302 (X, 20) and he is presented as a threat to the Byzantine armies, at a time when Michael IX was in Magnesia of the Sipylus. He advanced



κτημάτων ἐγίνοντο. Ἦσαν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ πρόστιμα τῶν ἐαλωκότων φορῶν ἀντικρυς πρόστιμα, εἰ γῆν ἦν αὐτοὶ διὰ σπάθης ἐκτήσαντο |<sup>25</sup> ἐκεῖνοι πατοῖεν καὶ τὰ σφίσιβιν ἐκ πολέμου περιγεγονότα καρπίζοντο. Διὰ τοὶ ταῦτα καὶ μαχητὰς μισθοῦμενοι, ἄνθρωποι ἀποτολμῶντες τὰ θαλάσσης ἐγγὺς ἐπιχειροῦντες δρέπεσθαι, οὗ μὲν ἠϋστόχουν καὶ ἀπεκέρδαινον, τὰ πλεῖστα δ' ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ ἐσφάττοντο.

(F509) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκτὸς τῆς Κωνσταντινίου ἐπράττοντο, ἐντὸς (B461) δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὸν πατριαρχοῦντα τῶν πολλῶν ὑπονόησις, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἢ τῶν δυναμένων ἀπληστία, καπηλευόντων καὶ σίτον καὶ ὄνια· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κεχυδαίωντο αἰσχροκερδεῖας ἠττώμενοι, καὶ, πάντα χρημάτων καταπροϊέμενοι |<sup>5</sup> πάντα μαλακῶς διετίθουν, καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας δεινῶς ἐκυμαίνοντο. Ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν καπηλεία καὶ λίαν ὠδύνα, ὡς φαίνεσθαι, τὸν πατριάρχην, δημοχαριστοῦντα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κατὰ τῶν δυναμένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τοῦτων ἰστάμενον, ὥστε γράμμασι πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ ὄρκους ἰσχυρίζεσθαι ἢ μὴν, ἦν μὴ γ' ἢ καπηλεία τοῦ |<sup>10</sup> σίτου ἐῶτο, ἀραῖς περιβαλεῖν ἐκ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς καπηλευόντας, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκ μέσου γίνεσθαι. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπώμνυ, κἂν οὐδὲν ἦνυστο παράπαν, ὡς μέρος καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάντα ἐπώμνυ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο, βούλεσθαι.

abeyance for the moment, some of his men burst in by squadrons and created a bad situation for the Romans, who were going out to harvest their forsaken domains. Henceforth, the prisoners simply suffered the punishments inflicted on thieves, since they were treading on land which the Persians had acquired by the sword, and they were reaping what had been devolved to the Persians by war. That is why some courageous individuals won over the fighters and set out to harvest near the sea. Although they were successful and earned a profit here, most of the time they failed and were killed.

That was happening outside Constantinople, while on the inside the crowd was suspicious of the Patriarch and there was the greed of the powerful who were trafficking in corn and goods. In fact, most of them had become coarse individuals who, overcome by avarice and forsaking all for the sake of money, regulated everything with weakness and public affairs were extremely turbulent. But this traffic appeared to greatly grieve the patriarch, who courted the people intensively and gave the impression that he wanted to stand up and defend them against the powerful. He even took the liberty of writing a letter to the sovereign to assure under oath that, should the corn traffic not be abandoned, he would have the traffickers cursed by the general assembly and removed therefrom. This is what he swore, but no result was forthcoming. This fact made up a part of the grievances brought against the patriarch, since if he was not going to implement these measures, it was in vain that he said that he wanted to do this or that, and to swear this by him who had come down from heaven.

## 3

### 3. Passage of the grand duke to the West with the Catalans.

#### γ'. Διαπεραίωσις τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς σὺν Κατελάνοις πρὸς δύσιν.

|<sup>20</sup> 3. Ὁ μέντοι γε μέγας δοῦξ τὰ πλεῖστα περὶ Μαγνησίαν πονέσας καὶ περικαθήμενός τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ Ἀτταλειώτῃ ἀντιφερόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀνυστὰ οἱ τάκεϊ, οὐδ' ἴκταρ, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, βάλλοντι, μετὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πλείστην ἀλαστορίαν, καθ' ἣν ἐξηργυρολόγει μετ' ἀπηνείας χρήματα, ὑποστρέψας αὐθις κατὰ Μιτυλήνην |<sup>25</sup> γίνεται, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ

3. As for the grand duke, he had made great effort in Magnesia to besiege the city and face Attaleiotes and had lost many men (in doing so). As he did not control the situation and, as the proverb says, was not even anywhere near to doing so, after a considerable amount of pillaging in the towns, during which he amassed money with great cruelty, he returned and went again to

over the coast of Pont-Euxin, without crossing the Sangarios (X, 25). We do not know of any other mention of the geographical term Mesonesion ("Middle Island") applied to this region. It is used here to designate the strip of land between the successive beds of the Sangarios (X, 25). The term is found in other texts, for example in the Acts of Athos, to indicate entitles of the same geographical nature.



τῶν νηῶν ἄγων, τοὺς δὲ πεζῆ κελεύσας ἐπὶ τῆς Καλλίου βαδίζειν. Καὶ ἡ αἰτία ὅτι βασιλεὺς γράφων ἐκέλευε τῆς κατὰ Μαγνησίαν μὲν πολιορκίας ἀποσχέσθαι, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ παραλαβόντα (B481) τοὺς κρείττους τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Αἶμον ἰέναι, ὅπου καὶ βασιλεὺς Μιχαήλ, ἐστρατοπεδευμένος κατὰ τὴν Ἀδριανού, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐπέιχεν Ἐλτιμηρῆ, ἐκείθεν δὲ |<sup>30</sup> Ὅσφεντίσθλαβον τῆς ὀρμῆς τῶν ὄρων ἀνεῖργεν ὡς εἶχεν. Ὡς γοῦν, πολλάκις βασιλέως (F529) γράφοντός τε καὶ ἀποστέλλοντος, ὁ μεταξὺ καιρὸς κατετρίβετο – τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι καὶ πάλιν μισθοφορίας ἐζήτουν πολυτάλαντους, οὐ μόνον ὧν ἔμελλον ἐκδουλεύειν, βασιλεῖ Μιχαήλ συγγεγονότες κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν πρὶν ἔπραττον δῆθεν, οὐ ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ δὴ τῷ |<sup>5</sup> καιρῷ, κἄν ὅποι' ἄττ' ἐποίουν, κἄν ἐν ἀνακωχαῖς καὶ ἀργίαις ἦσαν, παραμετρούμενοι τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ εἰς ἑκατοστύας χιλιάδων τὰ ζητούμενα συμποσοῦμενοι –, μόλις ἀφέντες Μιτυλήνην, τοῖς κατὰ Μάδντον αἰγιαλοῖς προσίσχουσιν. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζῆ διόντες τοὺς δρόμους ἰστᾶσι κατὰ τὴν Λάμπυρακον, κάκεῖ τὸ σύμπαν ἐνδυναστεύσαντες, πασσυδίην διαπεραιοῦνται |<sup>10</sup> καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντιπεραίαν ἐπέχουσιν.

Ἄ δ' εὐθὺς ἐξειργάζοντο, καίτοι γε παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν τεταγμένων, βασιλέως κελεύοντος, ἱκανῶν πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἐξαρτυθέντων, οὐκ ἔστι λόγῳ διεξελθεῖν καὶ ἱκανῶς τὰ δεινὰ παραστήσαι. Εὗ γὰρ (B482) καὶ Πλάτων ἐν *Νόμοις* τὸ μισθοφορικὸν διεσκαριφήσατο, Τούτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, λέγων, |<sup>15</sup> γίνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἀδικοὶ καὶ ὕβρισται καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐκτὸς δὲ τινῶν μάλα ὀλίγων, τελέαν μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν γενικῶν ἀρετῶν ἔξιν τῷ ἐν στάσεσι δυναμένῳ πολίτῃ προσμαρτυρῶν, μόνην δὲ τὴν τετάρτην τούτων, ἣν δὴ τις φαίη ἀνδρείαν, ἀπονέμων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἐθέλουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν μόνον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ χάριν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ |<sup>20</sup> ῥᾶστα συχναῖς ἐνεχομένοις ἀτασθαλίαις, θρασυνομένοις μὲν ὡς ἀδικοὶ κατὰ δικαιοσύνης, θρασυνομένοις δὲ ὡς ὕβρισταῖς κατὰ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀφρονεστάτοις οὗσι διὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς φρονήσεως. Ταῦτα δὲ ξυμβεβήκει κάκεῖνοις, καὶ ταῦτά γε Ἴταλοῖς οὗσι καὶ εἰς ὀκτὼ χιλιοστύας ποσοῦμενοις. Μὴ μόνον δὲ σῖτον καὶ κριθὴν ἐξεφόρουν, καὶ ζῶα κατέσφαττον, |<sup>25</sup> καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἵππους τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐξήρπαζον, καὶ σφαγὴ ἦν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τὸ πρόστιμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ, τὰς τῶν ἐποίκων κατασχόντες οἰκίας, ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπεμαίνοντο, ἣν μὴ τις φθάσας ἀπ-

Mytilene, taking some of his men on the boats and ordering the others to march towards Kallioupolis. He did this because the emperor had ordered him in writing to give up the siege of Magnesia and, taking the best of his soldiers, follow the road to Haimos, where the emperor Michael, who had set up his camp in Adrianople, was doing his best to pursue Eltimir on the one side and repulse Svetoslav's assault on the other. The emperor was therefore writing again and again and sending messengers, and this was taking time. This was because they were once again demanding large payments, not only for the service they were going to perform, once they had joined the emperor Michael as per the orders received, but also for the actions they claimed to have accomplished previously. They did not measure their payments by actions, but only by duration, regardless of the nature of these actions and notwithstanding whether they were in truce and inactive, and they fixed the amount of their demands at hundreds of thousands of nomismata. Finally, they left Mytilene and landed on the shore of Madytos. At the same time those who were going by land stopped their march at Lampsakos. There they gathered all their forces, crossed en masse, and occupied the entire opposite side.

Even though, on the orders of the emperor, the local authorities had prepared all the necessary to receive them, the mercenaries immediately rained down devastation. It is not possible to put the horror of this cruelty into words. In fact, Plato briefly mentioned the mercenaries in the *Laws*, when he said: 'Most of them are arrogant, unjust, violent, the most reckless of almost all men, except a very few'. He attests that the citizen who prevails in a revolution possesses a perfect state, and has all the general virtues, but he only attributes to the mercenaries the fourth of these virtues, that which we can call courage, since they only want to die in combat. And they do not fight for virtue, but for pay and, due to this, they easily and frequently yield to violence, are arrogant towards justice since unjust themselves, are arrogant towards temperance since violent themselves, and totally reckless since bereft of caution themselves. This was also the case with these, since they were mostly Italians, and they numbered eight thousand. In fact, not only did they carry off wheat and barley, slaughter the animals, steal money and horses from the first people they came across (the penalty being assassination for those who resisted) but, having occupied the houses of the inhabitants, they raped

εδίδρασκε πόρρω που, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ὑπαρξιν καταλείπων, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις τὴν σωτηρίαν περιποιῶν.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαῆλ ἀνάπυστα γεγονότα, <sup>30</sup> ἀποκλῶν συνέβαινε τὰς ὁμάς (B483) σφίσι τὴν θρυλλουμένην ἄλαστορίαν, καὶ μελέτης πολεμικῆς ἐρραθύμουν. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ βασιλεῖ προσαναφέροντες εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν οἰκείων ὑποστρέφειν ἐδέοντο, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκείνοις, εἰ φανεῖεν, ἠπειλοῦν, οὐ συμμάχων τρόπον, ἀλλὰ πολεμίων ἐνδεικνυμένοις. Βασιλεὺς δὲ κατέστειλε τὰς ὁμάς καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς παρεμυθεῖτο, <sup>35</sup> πλὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα γράφων ἀπέλεγε πάντα (F531) τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν Κατελάνων διάβασιν, ὡς μαχομένων αὐτίκα σφίσι Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἐμφυλίους καθεστηζόντων μάχας. Ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν σφῶν βίαν καὶ ἐπισύστασιν, ὡς αὐτίκα ἐτοίμων ὄντων ἀναχωρεῖν, κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ προστάσσοι, διὰ χρυσοβουλλείων ὄρκων ἔδωκε τὰ <sup>5</sup> πιστὰ ἢ μὴν ἐπὶ ῥητῶ τινὶ χρόνῳ δουλεύσαντας ὑποστρέφειν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὺς Ἰταλοὺς παραδέξασθαι, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ διακωλύσαι τὴν σφῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διάβασιν.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ δεχόμενος μὲν καὶ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μηνύματα, ὅμως γε μέντοι καὶ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ ἐλπιδοκοπούμενος, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ Ῥωμαίων δημαγωγῆσοντι, ἔφθασε μὲν προαποστείλας καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐταδέλφην καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς θυγατέρα, τὴν καὶ γαμετὴν τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός, ὥστε καὶ προῦπαντᾶν ἀποβαίνοντι τῶν νεῶν: πληροφοροῦμενος (B484) δὲ γε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ, ὡς καταστέλλειν ἔχει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀτασθάλων ἔργων ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐντυχίας, τὸν καιρὸν ἠργολάβει τέως καὶ τὸ πρακτέον διεβουλεύετο. Κἂν πού τι καὶ τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἠκούετο γίνεσθαι, κἂν αὐτὰ παρήραζον τὰ δημόσια, κἂν τὴν χώραν ἐξέτριβον, ἐν καιρῷ ἀρότου καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε καὶ ὁ πᾶς ἐς νέωτα θερισμὸς καὶ τὸ τραφῆναι ἅμα μὲν ξένους, ἅμα δ' ἐποίκους τῆς ἀνατολῆς καχεκτούσης, ἠλπίζετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀροτήρων βοῶν οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο, ἀνέδην καὶ αὐτοὺς θύοντες, ὅμως τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀγανακτίσεως καθυφίει. Καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποστέλλων – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠρέσκετο τῶν πάντων διαπεραιωθέντων –, περὶ χιλίους ἐγκρίνειν διεκελεύετο καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαντᾶν παρὰ Μιχαῆλ βασιλέα, πέμπων καὶ ἱκανὰ πρὸς μίσθωσιν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀντιπερᾶν ἐφιέναι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς διατρίβειν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τόσων δεῖσθαι, μὴδ' ἔχειν τρέφειν τὴν βασιλείαν μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τόσων δεῖσθαι, μὴδ' ἔχειν τρέφειν τὴν βασιλείαν τος-

the women, if these did not flee far in advance, abandoning their property only to procure their own salvation.

When the emperor Michael and his entourage heard about this, these reported atrocities lost their momentum, and they slackened off their warlike zeal. They therefore addressed themselves to the emperor, asking to return, so that they could take care of their own, and threatening to fight these people, should they appear and show themselves to be enemies and not allies. Of course, the emperor Michael restrained their impulses and comforted them, but he also wrote to his father the emperor Andronicus that he should do his utmost to prevent the coming to him of the Catalans, because the Romans would immediately fight them and there would be civil war. He let it be known that due to their pressures and their rebellion and since they said they were ready to withdraw immediately regardless of whether he ordered that himself, he had given them, by way of a chrysobull provided with oaths, the guarantee that, after having served for a determined period, they would return. Moreover, he said that he would not receive the Italians either, but that he would do everything in his power to prevent their coming to him.

The emperor Andronikos received the emperor Michael's message, but nevertheless he continued to put his hope in the grand duke, Roger, believing that the latter would make himself popular for the good of the Romans. He sent his sister and her daughter, the grand duke's wife, ahead to meet him when he disembarked from the boats. He placed his confidence in her in the thought that she could essentially stop their perverse actions thanks to the meeting with his son-in-law. He was playing for time and deliberating on the action to take. Even though he found out about the unfolding of some forbidden action, even though these mercenaries stole the public money itself, even though they devastated the country at the time of ploughing (when all were hoping for the harvest for the following year and food for the foreigners as well as for the inhabitants given the bad situation in the East), even though they did not spare the ploughing oxen and sacrificed them freely; despite all of this he refrained from being incensed against them. He sent many emissaries and, as he was displeased that all the mercenaries had crossed over, he ordered about a thousand to be admitted and to go as quickly as possible to the emperor Michael, to whom he also sent sufficient money for pay, and he authorised the others to cross over and set

ούτους, εἰ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐλθόντας παρακληθεῖς ἐδέξατο.

up camp in the East, since the state did not need such a great number and the empire could not feed so many men, even if he had, at their request, welcomed them for a while at their arrival.

16-19

**16. Mission sent by the emperor to the former grand duke and promise to give him the dignity of Caesar.**  
**1ς'. Ἀποστολή τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ μεγάλων δουκῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Καισαρικοῦ ἀξιώματος.**

16. Καὶ γὰρ ἅμα μὲν βασιλεὺς δοκιμάζων ἐκεῖνον ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὑποποιούμενος, τὸν μέγαν ἄρχοντα πέμπων, ὃς ἦν ὁ Μαρούλης, ὡς μὲν ἐκεῖνον ὡς δὲ τὴν (B506) αὐταδέλφην μετεκαλεῖτο, |<sup>20</sup> τὴν κατὰ τὰ Φῶτα προτεινῶν προέλευσιν. Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν ἐσκήπτετο νόσον καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ προφανῶς ἀπέλεγε καὶ ἠφροντίσκει πρὸς τὴν μετὰ κλησιν, τὰ τῶν Κατελάνων δὲ προὔτεινε καὶ τὰς μισθοφορίας ἀπήτει, μήπως ἐπαύρη καὶ αὐτός, λέγων, τῶν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων κακῶν. Ταῦτ' ἤκουε βασιλεὺς, καὶ αὐθις ἀντέπεμπεν ἀξιῶν, |<sup>25</sup> λαβόντα οὐχ ὅσον ἐζήτει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἰκανόν, ἐκπερᾶν κατ' ἀνατολήν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐθις προφάσεις κύκλω περιεβάλλετο, καὶ ὡς διαχειμεριῶν κατὰ δύσιν βούλοιοτο, εὐπορῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐντεῦθεν βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἐπισύστασιν ἦν ὑπόπτειν ἐκτρέπομενος, τοῦ μὲν καλεῖν καὶ αὐθις ἀπέσχετο – ἦδει γὰρ οὐ πείσων –, αὐτὸν τε ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ἐγνωσμένον |<sup>30</sup> τὴν τῶν ἰδίων θεραπείαν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐντολῶν περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενον, συχνῶς πέμπων, προσποιεῖν ἐαυτῷ ἐπειρᾶτο, προτεινόμενος μὲν βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος, παραδιδούς δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν χώραν ἀνατολῆς, πλὴν τῶν περιφανῶν πολισμάτων, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν (F555) καθιστᾶν ὑπισχνόμενος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαῷ τὰ εἰκότα ἔλεγε πολυωρεῖν καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δαπάναις, εἰ μόνον τὰ πιστὰ σχοίη ὡς εὐνοοῖεν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας πράγμασιν. Αὐτίκα δὲ διαπεραιούμενος (B507) ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς εἴκοσι χιλιάσι χρυσίου καὶ τριακοσίοις χιλιάδων μοδίοις τοπικοῖς σίτου δωρεῖσθαι καθυπισχεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν ἀνεῖναι καὶ αὐθις τὰ εἰκότα πολυωρεῖν.

16. In fact, in order to test him and win him over, the emperor sent the Grand Archon, Maroulēs, to summon him and his sister, highlighting the liturgical-aulic ceremonies that were to take place at the Feast of the Enlightenment. But his sister gave the pretext of illness and her incapacity, while he refused publicly and remained indifferent to the summons. Roger pointed out the situation of the Catalans and demanded the payments, lest the emperor also taste, as he said, their misdeeds. The emperor learned of this and again sent request for him to return to the East, once he had received not all that he had asked for, but a sufficient enough amount. As he once again surrounded himself with pretexts and wanted to winter in the West, given that he had plenty of necessities there, the emperor gave up calling him again, since he suspected that they would revolt and he wanted to avoid this, and in any case he knew that he would not be able to persuade him. Instead, by sending numerous emissaries, he tried to reconcile this man who, from appearances, knew how to capitalise on the emperor's commandments. The emperor offered him the imperial dignity of Caesar and also handed over the entire region of the East, except the famous places, and promised to appoint him general-in-chief. But he also asserted that he would take proper care of his army, in money and expense, insofar as he had a guarantee that they would be benevolent in the affairs of the empire. He promised that, as soon as they had passed to the East, he would give them twenty thousand nomismata of gold and three hundred thousand local modioi of wheat and that he would continue to take suitable care of them again in the future.

Ταῦτα συχνῶς πεμπόμενοι παρεδήλουν καὶ τούτων προσανέτιθον τὰ πλείστα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ, ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἔτι παρούσῃ, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ αἱ περὶ Φιλαδελφείας πύστεις μέχρι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐξ ἐνδείας καὶ τοῦ |<sup>10</sup> πολιορκεῖσθαι ἄπτεσθαι κατηγγέλλοντο. Οὐδὲν

This is what the numerous envoys made known. They confided most of these proposals to the emperor's sister, who was still there, and especially the news about Philadelphia where there was cannibalism due to the shortage of food and the siege. But from their side there was

δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἄλλο ἠκούετο ἢ αἰ μισθοφορίαί, καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀκάθεκτον ὄν, αὐτὸς κατέχειν καὶ ἄγγειν οὐ δύναται, καὶ ὡς, εἰ μὴ δοθείη τὸ ἀπαιτούμενον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔσται, καὶ μᾶλλον ὄσω τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερηφανεύοιτο. Ταῦτα λέγων, δῆλος ἦν ἐκείνοις προσκείμενος, καὶ θηρίου δυσμεταχειριστότερον ἔχων, ἦν τις |<sup>15</sup> μεταπειθεῖν ἐπιχειροῖη, διὰ τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν πάντως μήπω κατηρτυμένην εἰς ὑπηκόους πρέπουσαν τάξιν. Ὡς γοῦν συχνοὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπέμποντο, ἔδει δὲ κάκειθεν τοὺς μηνύτορας (B508) πέμπεσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἦν πρὸς ταῦθ' ἕτερος εἰ μὴ ὁ οἰκείως ἐξυπηρετῶν τῇ τοῦ Ἀσαν Καναβούριος, ὃς καὶ, ἐπεὶ πολλακίς ἐκεῖθεν ὄδε κἀντεῦθεν ἐκεῖ παραγένοιτο, τέλος ἀσφαλεῖς ἐφ' οἷς προσέταττε |<sup>20</sup> βασιλεὺς τὰς πίστεις ζητεῖν ἐφευμένον ἔλεγεν ἔχειν, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνους τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν παρέχειν ἐπὶ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀρκωμοσίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῆς τιμίας εἰκόνας τῆς θεομήτορος.

nothing but talk of payments, and that Roger could not hold back and curb the masses, which were incoercible, and that, if they did not pay the amount requested, even the emperor would not be safe, especially since Roger boasted of his dignitary. By saying this, he was showing that he was attached to these people and that he would be more intractable than a wild beast should anyone try to dissuade him, and that deep down he was not yet disposed to take the place of a subject. As many emissaries had been sent and it was now therefore necessary to send representatives, no one was better suited for this mission than Kanabourios, the familial servant of Asen's wife. Kanabourios went back and forth numerous times, and finally he asserted that, concerning the points on which the emperor ordered the demand of secure guarantees, he had obtained his agreement; Roger himself would take the mutual oath to the representative of the grantor, and the oaths would be made in the presence of the venerable icon of the Mother of God.

**17. Oaths of the emperor to the one he named Caesar, and his missions.  
17'. Ὀρκοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν ὄν Καίσαρα καθίστα καὶ ἀποστολαί.**

17. Ἐφ' οἷς αὐτίκα τοῦ βασιλέως κατανεύσαντος, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοῦ |<sup>25</sup> Θεοδερῖχου ἀδελφὸς ἐκ νοθείας ἐν ναυσὶ τρισκαίδεκα περιπλέειν ἠγγέλλετο καὶ τινὰς κατατρέχειν τῶν νήσων καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος κακοῦν, πέμπειν τε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ αὐθὶς παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνειν μηνύματα, τελοῦνται μὲν οἱ ὄρκοι, πέμπεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Χοῦμνος Θεόδωρος, αὐτὰ τε τὰ τοῦ καίσαρος (F557) σύμβολα φέρων καὶ τὰς χρυσοβουλλεῖους πίστεις καὶ νομίσματα χρυσίνων χιλιάδας τριάκοντα. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ σίτου προηυτρεπισμένα ἦν, ὡς ἠλπίζετο, ἐκ συναγωγῆς. Εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λείπον συνάγεσθαι ὄριστο ἐπὶ τῷ ἅμα σφᾶς δεξαμένους περᾶν κατ' ἀνατολήν. Ὁ μέντοι γε Χοῦμνος |<sup>5</sup> διαπιστῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ προσενεχθεῖη ὁ εἰς καίσαρα προβαλλόμενος, (B509) καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, καθ' οὗ πόλλ' ἄττα ἐκείνος, εἰ δύναίτο, ὄδινεν, ὡς ἠκούετο, εἰ αὐτοῦ τόσων εὐποροῦντος καὶ τόσων τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνους στρατιωτικὸν τῶν δικαίων μισθωμάτων στερίσκοιτο, κατὰ τινὰ πρόνοιαν πρὸς τὴν ἀνταδέλφην τοῦ βασιλέως προαποστέλλει τὸν Καναβούριον, |<sup>10</sup> ἅμα μὲν δηλώσοντα τὰ πραττόμενα, ἅμα δ' αὐθὶς δηλοποιήσοντά οἱ τὴν τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων διάθεσιν. Αὐτὸς δὲ σχολαίῳ ποδὶ κατόπιν προσήλαυνεν· οὐπω δὲ τὸ Βραγχιάλιον πεφθάκει, καὶ δηλοῦταί οἱ ἐκεῖθεν μέστ' ἄττα ὑποψιῶν μηνύματα, ὡς μὴ προσησομένου τάχα τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ τὸ

17. As the emperor had also immediately consented to send and receive from them a message in return, especially since it was announced that the illegitimate brother of Frederick was sailing with thirteen boats, making incursions into certain islands, and using force to harm them, the oaths were taken and Theodore Choumnos, who bore the very insignia of the Caesar, was sent with the chrysobull of guarantee and thirty thousand nomismata of gold. The wheat had been prepared, as hoped, through a collection. Otherwise, it had been agreed to collect the missing portion, so that, upon receipt of the wheat, they would pass into the East. As for Choumnos, he was suspicious of the attitude that the one who was promoted to Caesar would have towards him, especially given that he was the brother of the canticle's servant, against whom Roger was heard to say that he hoped to inflict a number of blows. For this servant had so many assets, while the army under Roger's command was deprived of fair pay. As a precaution Choumnos first sent Kanabourios to the emperor's sister, both to expose the action in progress and in return to let her know the state of affairs over there. Then he himself advanced at a slow pace. And he had not even reached Branchialion when a message full of bad suspicions was communicated to him. The Italian would perhaps not accept the dignitary due



ἀξίωμα διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγομένων ὑπονοούμενον, ἦν μὴ γε τοῖς μισθώμασιν |<sup>15</sup> ἱκανοῖντο, παροργισμὸν· κὰν φανείη πάντως οὗτος χρυσίον ἐπιφερόμενος, δέος μὴ <τις>, ἀφελόμενος αὐτίκα τοῦτο, κακὸν τι καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα δράσειε. Διὰ ταῦτα, μαθὼν τοὺς λόγους, ἧ τάχους εἶχε, τῷ φρουρίῳ τῆ Τζίμπη ἐγκαταβύεται· καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέραις ἐκεῖ διάγων, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προσηγὲς ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἠκούετο, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ δέος οἱ ἦν μὴ ἐπεισπεσόντες τινὲς ἐκείνων, πρὸς τῷ δρᾶσαι τοῦτον τὰ πάνδεινα, τὸ χρυσίον ἀφέλωνται, λαβὼν αὐτίς |<sup>20</sup> τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα, ἄπρακτος πρὸς βασιλέα ὑποστρέφει.

(B510) Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπάνεισιν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ, πρῶτον μὲν μαθὼν περὶ τῆς Χίου – ἔμελε γὰρ οἱ τῆς νήσου, ὡς καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν ἐλπίζοντι –, μαθὼν τοίνυν ὡς Πέρσαι ναυσὶ χρησάμενοι περὶ που τριάκοντα τὸν τόπον |<sup>25</sup> ἠρήμουν, πέμψας προσαμύνειν ἠπείγετο. Καὶ Χῖοι, πλὴν τῶν παραβυσθέντων τῷ ἐκεῖ φρουρίῳ, παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο· καὶ ἄλλοι, φορτηγοῖς τεσσαράκοντα παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πλοῦτον ἐνθέμενοι καὶ περὶ που τὴν Σκύρον πλέοντες ἐναυάγησαν.

**18. Harangue of Roger, the Italian, who soon after became Caesar, to the men gathered there ἡ'. Δημηγορία πρὸς τοὺς συνηλεγμένους τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Ρουντζέρη καὶ Καίσαρος |<sup>30</sup> μετ' ὀλίγον.**

18. Εἶτα λαὸν ἀθροίσας τοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστης χώρας ἐμφανεστέρους καὶ σταθεῖς προφανῶς ἔξω που φρουρίου Καλλιουπόλεως, πόλλ' ἄττα καὶ τολμηρὰ μετ' ἐμβριθοῦς ἐδημηγόρει τοῦ σχήματος, ἀρχῆς ἀπ' ἄκρης τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν συνιστῶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν δυσχερῶν σφίσιν ἐπάγων τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως τε |<sup>35</sup> γένοιτο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὅπως τραφεῖη διεξερχόμενος, καὶ ὡς πολλοῖς διαγέγονε, (F559) τοῖς μὲν συμμαχῶν, τοῖς δ' αὖ πολεμῶν, καὶ ὅπως τύχης ῥοπή καὶ διηνεκεῖ ἀσχολία, οἷς μὲν συμμαχῆσιν ἐπισταίη, οὐ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε τῆς μετακλήσεως μέμψασθαι, ὧν δ' ἀποσταίη, μοῖραν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βοηθείας ἐδόκει προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. Διεξήει δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ |<sup>5</sup> ὅτι μετὰ χρόνιον πόλεμον, εἰρήνης τοῖς ἐκεῖ ξυμβάσης, αὐτὸς εἰθισμένον ἔχων μελέταις ἀσχολεῖσθαι πολεμικαῖς, (B511) πέμψοι τε πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ προσαμύνει τῆ χώρα τούτου κινδυνεύουση, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς βούλοιο, ἀξιοίη, καὶ μέντοι γε καὶ δεχθεῖη αὐτίκα καὶ γραμμάτων ἀξιοῖτο βασιλικῶν, κήδος βραβευόντων ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αἵματος καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἀξίωμα, κἀντεῦθεν |<sup>10</sup> ἄξιοι

to the irritation that was suspected in the men he commanded, should they not be provided with pay. If Choumnos actually showed up to bring the gold, there was reason to fear that the gold would be stolen from him and that he himself would also be mistreated. This is why, informed of these rumours, he shut himself up as quickly as possible in the fortress of Tzympe. He stayed there for several days and, given that he did not receive any favourable news from them, but rather he was in danger that some of them would rush to extort the gold from him, in addition to inflicting the worst treatment on him, he took back what he brought and returned to the emperor having done nothing.

He (i.e. Choumnos) therefore returned as quickly as possible. As for Roger, at first he learned about the situation in Chios, an island he cared about because he hoped to acquire it. Then he heard that the Persians, using about thirty ships, were laying waste to the region, and he hurriedly sent help. The inhabitants of Chios, except those who were confined in the local fortress, perished en masse. Others, which had embarked children, women, and goods on forty cargo ships, and which sailed in front of Skyros, were shipwrecked.

18. Then he gathered in great number the most eminent men of each region. He stood in plain sight outside the fortress of Kallioupolis and delivered a long and bold speech with a fierce air. He enumerated his actions from the very beginning and imputed the causes of their difficulties to the Emperor Andronikos. By recounting his beginnings and how he had been raised, and how he had survived many times by allying with some and fighting against others, and how, thanks to the weight of luck and assiduous activity, he was able to ensure that the people he went to help had no reason to reproach themselves for their invitation and, on the contrary, it seemed as if they were being deprived of an important assistance when he left. He also recounted his activity in Sicily. After a long war and once peace had been achieved on the island, he who was used to carrying out warlike enterprises, was going to send emissaries to the Emperor Andronikos and so he asked him whether he wanted him to help his country, which was in danger. He was immediately approved and honoured with an

ὀλίγους ἢ ὄσους μετεκαλεῖτο γράφων ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν πάθει κατ' ἀνατολήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ Πέρσαις, συσταλεῖσιν ἐκ δέους, ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ Ἀτταλειώτῃ μαχόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβάλοι γενναίους ἄνδρας, ᾧ καὶ ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ ἐπέχειν ὀρμῆ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὑπηκόοις βασιλέως λογιζομένου τὸ πάλαι καὶ ἀφηνιάσαντος ἤδη, τῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὴ ἀφειδοίῃ ἀγώνων, |<sup>15</sup> καὶ τέλος ἐλθῶν τὸ πόλισμα παραστήσασθαι, βασιλικὰς ἐξεπίτηδες διακωλύοντος τὴν παράστασιν δέξαιτο συλλαβάς, ἐπισπευδούσας τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου διαπεραίωσιν, ὡς αὐτίκα ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ πάσης δαπάνης καὶ μισθωμάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Μυσίας πρὸς βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ παραγένοιτο μηδὲν προσαργήσαντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ περαιωθεῖεν ἐπιστάντες καὶ, τῶν |<sup>20</sup> μισθωμάτων ὑπερτιθεμένων τὰ καὶ τὰ πράξειαν.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ βάρβαρος προσῆπτε τὰς αἰτίας τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν τὸ πᾶν παθόντων ἐκείνων, σοβαρευόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ σεμνοποιούμενος, εἴ τί που καὶ γέγονε δυσχερές, εἰς αἰτίαν ἀνάγον εὐσχήμονα, καὶ ὣν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰλήφεσαν Ἴταλοι ἐξ ἄλαστορίας συνήθους, εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ βασιλέως |<sup>25</sup> πρόφασιν μεταφέρων, καὶ δικαίας τοὺς εἰργασμένους ἀπολύων μέμψεως. Τέλος προσετίθει καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοῖ ἀδικοῖεν, ἀποστερούμενοι δὲ τῶν μισθῶν ἀφαρπάζοιεν κατ' ἀνάγκην τὴν χώραν κακοῦντες, τὸν μέντοι γε βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ δυνάμεις περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Ῥωμαϊκὰς, ἀκούειν κατ' αὐτῶν ἰέναι ὡς ἀδικούντων βούλεσθαι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους οἷς πρὸς |<sup>30</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπώμοτος ἦν, ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ γόνυ χωρήσειν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τεσσαράκοντα ἴχνη διεβεβαίου, τὸν τε εὐθεν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ μελήσειν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· κἂν αὐτὸς πίπτοι, πεσεῖται, κἂν ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μόρσιμον δέξεται· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ χρῆναι σφᾶς φροντίζειν περὶ κυρίου, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ὄν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας καὶ μὴ καθυφεικότας τῆς ὑπὲρ |<sup>35</sup> τῆς σωτηρίας σπουδῆς ναυαγεῖν ἐν λιμένι. Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα (F561) κορυζῆς (B513) Ἰταλικῆς πλέα σοβαρευσάμενος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἰταλῶν κακὰ παρατρέχων καὶ εἰς αἰτίας μεταφέρων εὐλόγους, ὡς ὑπελάμβανε, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ὑποκοριζόμενος ἀναισχύντως, μᾶλλον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πιθανὸς ἢ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἔδοξεν.

imperial epistle, which granted a matrimonial alliance with persons of the blood and grandeur of Grand Duke. Then he was going to bring a small number of men with him, that is to say as many as the Emperor Andronikos summoned in his epistle. He endured much suffering in the East, even if he did not fight the Persians, who were held back by fear. But Attaleiotes caused him to lose a great number of valiant men when this man undertook to attack him like an adversary. He thus did not spare his attacks against Attaleiotes, who had formerly been ranked among the subjects of the Emperor Michael, and who had now revolted. Finally, as he was about to take the fortress, he received an epistle from the Emperor Andronikos, who purposely forbade the taking of the city, since the epistle urged them to cross the Hellespont, assuring them that at that very moment the horses and all the resources and the remaining payments would be ready, so that they would immediately be able to go to Mysia to the Emperor Michael. As soon as they arrived they crossed over and, due to the delay in receiving the remaining payments, they had to do this and that.

By saying these words, the barbarian held the Emperor Andronikos responsible, on the pretext that all their suffering emanated from him. He took on a proud and dignified air in relation to this. If something untoward had happened, he attributed it to a logical cause, and that which was reproached to the Italians, due to their habitual vehemence, he brought back to pretexts imputable to the Emperor Andronikos and exonerated the authors of these actions from just blame. Finally, he added that they were not in any way being abusive but that, deprived of their payments, they stole out of necessity, devastating the country, and that he had heard it said that the Emperor Michael, who had Roman forces around him, wanted to march against them due to their abuses. He offered assurances that, due to the oaths which bound him to the empire, he would approach him on foot and on his knees up to forty paces, but that from then on he would worry about his own survival and that of his own men. If he himself (i.e. Roger) fell, he (the Emperor) would also fall. If that was to be the destiny of the Emperor Michael, he would accept it and from then on they should no longer worry about the master, because it was necessary for the living to defend themselves and not be shipwrecked in the port having given up being vigilant for their own survival. By insolently advancing these and other similar assertions, full of Italian arrogance, by

<sup>5</sup> Οὐ πλείους ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν δέκα παρῆλθον ἡμέραι, καὶ γνοὺς οἷς οὐκ ἐχρῆν λόγοις ἐξαμαρτῶν, ἢ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ δεδιῶς ἐπεξέλευσιν – ἠγγέλλετο γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς στρατολογοίη ὁ βασιλεύς, κἄν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως ἐπείχετο γράφοντος –, πρῦμαν κρουσάμενος αὐθις, γράμματα πλήρη δουλείας πεπόμφει πρὸς βασιλέα, ἀπολογούμενος <sup>10</sup> μὲν αὐτῷ, εἴ τί που ἄρα καὶ παρεξέλεχθη πικρὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἀπρεπὲς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν κίνδυνον ὑπονοουμένῳ, ἀξιῶν δὲ λογίσασθαι μὲν καὶ τὴν καινοτομίαν τῆς χώρας ὀπόση, παρακατασχεῖν δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης ὀπόσον καὶ βούλοιτο, παρ' ὃ καὶ μόνον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξ ὧν χιλιάδων ἀπήτουν διδόναι, κἄν οὐ νῦν τὰς πάσας, ἀλλ' οὖν τὰς πλείους <sup>15</sup> τῶν ὄλων τέως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ λείποντι εἰς διωρίαν προσαναρτᾶν. Εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἔλεγε δοῦλος εἶναι καὶ πάλιν καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ὄρκους ὑπεύθυνος, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ χιλίους τοὺς (B 514) εὐπειθεῖς, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἂν αὐτῷ ἢ βουλομένῳ μάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνοις σκοπὸς ἢ λαβοῦσιν ἡρεμεῖν ἢ μὴ λαβοῦσιν τὴν χώραν καταδραμεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς συνάμα ταῖς βασιλικαῖς <sup>20</sup> δυνάμεσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

brushing lightly over the misdeeds of the Italians, in order to relate them to what he imagined to be reasonable causes, while shamelessly denigrating the action of the Emperor Andronikos, his credibility was greater to himself and to his own men than to his listeners.

It had not been more than ten days since that time, when, recognizing that he had made a mistake in speaking the wrong words, or because he feared the attack of the Emperor Michael (in fact the news was also announced that the Emperor Michael was recruiting, although he was held back by his father the Emperor Andronikos, who was writing to him), Roger again took the initiative and sent the Emperor Andronikos an epistle full of submission. He apologized to him for his excessively harsh and really unbecoming words, which resulted from his suspicion of pressure from the Italians, and the danger resulting therefrom. But he also requested that the extent of the damage caused in the region be calculated, and that the Emperor Andronikos withhold as much as he wished in counterpart for this same, and pay them, with the sole exception of this withholding, the remaining thousands of nomismata that they claimed, and, if not all now, at least the majority of the balance, the rest being left for a certain deadline. Otherwise, he asserted that he himself would remain a servant and a man subject to making oaths to the empire and would also have at his side a thousand faithful men, and that if the Emperor Andronikos wanted to fight the others (since they intended to stay quiet, if they received their money, or should they not receive it, to devastate the country) he would attack them himself together with the Imperial forces.

### 19. New deputation of the Catalans and their leader to the Emperor.

#### 19'. Πρεσβεία καὶ αὐθις τῶν Κατελάνων πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἐξηγουμένον.

19. Τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ Κατελάνοι, πρέσβεις πρὸς βασιλέα τρεῖς πέμψαντες, ἐπὶ διωρία πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν μετ' εὐσχήμονος καὶ τρόπου τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ προσώπου διεπρεσβεύοντο· οἷς δὴ θέλων καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεύς ὑπ' ὄψιν <sup>25</sup> θεῖναι τὰ σφίσι πραχθέντα καὶ δεῖξαι ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἔσχον, καὶ θέλοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ θέλοντος, οὐδὲν δ' ἔπραξαν ὅσα μισθοὺς ἐφέλκεσθαι δύνανται, ἐννάτη κρονίου τοὺς ἰδίους συνεκκλησιάσας, παρόντων καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας χρησίμων, ἐν κοινῷ ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἄκρης τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς διεξῆει, <sup>30</sup> ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίτομα τῆς ἐκεῖ δημηγορίας συνεργαζόμενος ἄντικρυς. Διεξῆει γὰρ καὶ οὗτος, πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις λέγων,

19. After a delay of fifteen days, the Catalans dispatched three emissaries to make these same proposals in a seemingly correct manner and form to the Emperor Andronikos. This latter also wanted to present their actions before their eyes and show them that they had many goods, whether in accordance with his will or not, even though they had not accomplished any action worthy of payment. In March, he gathered his people, also in the presence of important citizens, and publicly exposed their action from the very beginning, offering, in my view, nothing less than the antidote to the harangue that had been pronounced over there. In fact, addressing the

ἀρχῆθεν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας τοῦ ἄγοντος σφᾶς ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις νεῦσιν καὶ (F563) πρόσκλησιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τόσοὺς μετεκαλεῖτο ὅσους ἦν ἀγαγὼν ἐκεῖνος, κἂν ἀγαγὼν ἡξίου πρὸς καιρὸν δέχεσθαι, ὅτι τε διαχειμερίζοντες κατὰ Κύζικον καὶ ἐς ἔαρ, οὐχ ὅπως ἐνήργουν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλλ' ἄττα τὴν χώραν εἰργάσαντο δυσχερῆ. εἴτ' ἐπισυνῆπτε (B515) καὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνατολήν, |<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς πόλλ' ἄττα καὶ δεινὰ οὐ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διατεθεικάσι, καὶ νῦν δὲ διαπεραιωθέντες, ἔλεγε, πόλλ' ἄττα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα κατὰ δύσιν πράξειαν, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος αὐτῶ οἱ ἄπυστον εἶναι, ἐξ ὧν ἰκανῶς ἔχειν τῶν μισθωμάτων, ἦν τις λογίζοιτο, σφᾶς· ἄπερ ἄξιον δεινῶς μετελθεῖν οὐ μετήλθεν ὁμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα προσφιλοτιμεῖται καὶ πρὸς |<sup>10</sup> ἀνατολήν πέμπει, χώραν ἰκανῶς ἔχουσαν σφᾶς τρέφειν. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀλλὰ σοβαρευόμενοι ἀπειθοῦσι, καὶ προσέτι προσαπειλοῦσι, μηδὲν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ὅποσον ἰσχύει καὶ ὡς εὐπετῶς ἔχει καὶ τριήρεις ναυπηγήσασθαι καὶ μαχηταῖς ἐξαρτύσασθαι, μηδὲν δεομένην συμμάχων ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὰς δυνάμεις ἀποχρώσας ἔχουσα ὥστ' εὐμαρῶς |<sup>15</sup> ἔχειν φόβον καὶ τοῖς μακρὰν ἐμβαλεῖν, κἂν τῶ τέως αἱ τῶν πολλῶν προσίστανται ἁμαρτίαι· εἰ τοίνυν ἀγαπῶεν λαμβάνοντες τὰ διδόμενα· εἰ δ' οὐκ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀμυνεῖσθαι ἀλιτηριώδεις φαινομένους ἀντὶ συμμάχων, εἰ που τοῖς καθεστῶσι (B516) παρεγγχειροῖεν· μηδὲ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν ὄλωσ ὅποσοις ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου ἐνικανώθησαν χρόνου, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἰκανὸν ἐς Θεουδερῖχου |<sup>20</sup> πολέμοις συνεχέσι ταλαιπωρούμενοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπονάμενοι τῶν ὅσα δεικνῶσι τὸν ἔχοντα εὐπορον· σημεῖον δ' εἶναι τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλάττοντας, μηδὲν ἐς νέωτα ἐπιφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρήμοις διάγοντας, οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν φανῆναι γυμνοὺς τινας καὶ ἀνόπλους καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τροφήν εὐποροῦντας. Νῦν δ' ἀλλ' ἀργοὶ κάθηται καὶ ὑπερηφάνους |<sup>25</sup> τὰς μισθοφορίας ἀπαιτοῦσι, τί καὶ πράξαντες ἀγαθὸν καὶ μαχητῶν ἔργον γενναίων, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ταῦτα ἐγγὺς ὄρωντες, οἱ πολέμοις συντραφέντες καὶ μάχαις, ὡς λέγουσιν· ὧν χάριν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι δέον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι κατατρέχειν τὴν χώραν, ὥσπερ ἂν ἔρημος προῦκειτο τοῦ πολυωροῦντος, καὶ ὡς οὐκ οἶδασιν ὡς κατὰ νότου τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ αἱ |<sup>30</sup> περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεις, ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε τὴν προσβολήν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν φήμην προσπελαζόντων ἐνέγκαιεν.

emissaries and starting from the beginning, he explained the request from Sicily from their leader, his agreement, and his invitation relating to this, adding that he had not summoned as many men as Roger brought, even if, after having brought them, Roger asked him that they be received for a time. And that, during the winter which they had spent in Cyzicus and until the spring, not only had the Catalans done nothing against the enemies, but they had caused the region much trouble. Then he aggregated the events of the East, affirming that they had caused much harm not to the enemies, but to the Romans, and that, once crossed over, they had committed many exactions in the West, none of which were of course unknown to him and from which, should the calculations be made, they had drawn wages sufficient enough, and that even though he wished to avenge himself harshly against them, he had not done so. On the contrary, he offered them other beneficences and sent them to the East, which had a land capable of feeding them. But the Catalans arrogantly disobeyed and also uttered threats, not being aware of exactly how strong the Roman Empire was, which could easily build triremes and equip these with fighters, who did not need these allies and had, in this regard, forces sufficient to easily inspire fear even in distant peoples, even though at that time the sins of the people stood in the way. Thus, if they were content to receive what was given to them, that was well and good. If not, he too could chastise those persons who showed themselves to be evil rather than to be allies, should they attack the established order. In fact, the Catalans were very aware of the quantity of goods that the Romans had supplied them with in a short time, and this notwithstanding the fact that these latter had been exhausting themselves for a long time now in continual wars in the service of Frederick without deriving any benefit at all, while these wars made its occupier flourish. Although the signs were such that if they left from there they would be taking away nothing for the following year, it appeared as if they were residing in the desert, defenceless, bereft of weapons and provision for daily food. Now they were idle and demanding excessive payments. But what useful deed worthy of courageous combatants had they accomplished? And when they could see the enemies close by, these men who claimed that they had been brought up in war and combat? This should have made them hide their faces in shame, but they threatened to devastate the country, as if the latter was without



a protector. They were unaware that the Emperor Michael and the forces that surrounded him were hot on their heels. Not only could the Catalans not bear their attack, but they could also not even bear the noise of their approach.

24-34

**24. Murder of the Italian Caesar.**  
|<sup>5</sup> κδ. φόνος τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Καίσαρος.

24. Οἱ δὲ γ' Ἀλανοὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Γεωργεὺς, ὁ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολέσας. Συνίσταντο τοίνυν ἔξωθεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων κατὰ συστάσεις, βοῶντες ὡς οὐκ ἀνήσοντες τὸν ἀλιτήριον, κἄν εἴ τι καὶ γένοιτο. Ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ θαλάμου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξερχόμενος, μηδ' ὄλως εἰδὼς τὸ πραττόμενον, |<sup>10</sup> ἐπιτίθενται τούτῳ οἱ περὶ τὸν Γεωργεὺν Ἀλανοί. Ὁ δέ, γνοὺς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, προσφεύγει τῇ ἀγούστῃ, παρούσῃ που ἐκεῖ. Καὶ ὀπισθεν δέχεται κατὰ σπλάγχχνων καιρίαν διαμπερὲς ἐν αἵματι προφυρέην. Καὶ ὀπισθεν δέχεται κατὰ σπλάγχχνων καιρίαν διαμπερὲς ἐν αἵματι προφυρέην. (B526) Καὶ οἱ οὗτος ἐφήλατο, αὐτοῦ που πεσόντι κακῶς ἤ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἀκλεῶς. Ὁ γὰρ φέρων μάχαιραν οὐ φύγη ξίφος. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἐκεῖνον, μηδὲν εἰδοτάς τῶν γενομένων, ἀκονίτι ἐχειρώσαντο, καταθέντας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ |<sup>15</sup> εἰρκταῖς κατέκλεισαν.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ οἱ μὲν φανέντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπελογοῦντο, ὡς ἄλλως οὐκ ὄν εἰ μὴ τὸν πολλῶν μὲν ἀλάστορα, αὐτῶν δὲ βασιλέων ἀποστάτην τὴν γνώμην, ἀνηλεῶς κατασφάττειεν· ἄλλοι δὲ, καὶ μείζοσιν |<sup>20</sup> ὄρμαῖς (B527) ἀλλήλους παρακροτήσαντες, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἀλανοί, ἐπιβάντες τῶν ἵπων, ἐξέθεον πανταχοῦ ὅπου ἂν καὶ καταλήψαιτο Κατελάνους. Ἄλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, μόλις πρὸ τούτων πάντων ἑαυτοῦ γεγονῶς, ἡρώτα περὶ τῆς ἀγούστης, εἰ περιῆν· τόσος γὰρ ὁ περὶ τοῦ κινδύνου παρεισπέπαικε φόβος. Ὡς γοῦν ἔμαθε μὲν τὰ χρηστὰ περὶ τῆς ἀγούστης, ἔμαθε δὲ καὶ (F577) τὴν ἐκδρομὴν δεινὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων, δεῖσας περὶ ἐκείνοις μήπως, ἀσυντάκτως διώκοντες, ἠττηθῶσι καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἢ ὀρμὴ περιστῆ, πέμψας τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρον συνάμα καὶ ἄλλοις ὑποστρέφειν ἐπεῖρα. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ ἦνυτε τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξέθεον <καὶ> |<sup>5</sup> τόποις τισὶν ἐφιστάμενοι, Ἰταλοῖς μὲν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄπυστά πω σφίσι τὰ τοῦ καίσαρος ἦσαν – φόνον ἐπήγον, ἵππους δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλων τὰ δὲ συνέλεγον.

24. But the Caesar was being observed by the Alans, and especially by Georgios, the one who had lost his son. So, they gathered outside the palace in groups, shouting that they would not release the criminal, no matter what happened. Thus, as the Caesar was leaving the Emperor Michael's quarters, he was assaulted, without any forwarning, by Georgios and his fellow Alans. Sensing a murder plot, the Caesar took refuge with the Empress, who was there in person. From behind he received a fatal wound, which went right through his entrails and was red with blood. Georgios threw himself on this man, who fell down there miserably or, rather, dishonourably. As the saying goes, he who lives by the sword dies by the sword. After they had laid down their arms, those who supported the Caesar and who knew nothing of what had happened, were effortlessly subdued, and locked in prison.

Some of them subsequently defended their show of force before the Emperor Michael, who had appeared, by claiming that there was no option but to mercilessly massacre the one who was the scourge of the population and who even fed the Emperors with rebellious feelings. However, others, especially the Alans, mutually encouraged each other to attack more vigorously. They mounted their horses and galloped wherever they could to capture the Catalans. But the Emperor Michael, who was barely able to retain his composure before all these people, inquired whether the Empress was alive, so great was the fear of the danger that had descended. As he heard encouraging news about the Empress and he also heard about the violent offensive of the armies, he feared that, in their disorderly pursuit, they would be defeated and that the attack would turn dangerous for them. He therefore sent his uncle Theodore together with other persons, to try to bring the men back. But he had no success at all. On the contrary, the men immediately conducted a sortie and, arriving at certain places, inflicted death on the Italians, since these latter

Φθάνει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῆς φήμης ἐντελέστερον· καὶ ἀκαρῆ ἅμα πάντες τὴν Καλλιίου εἰσελθόντες – ἦν γὰρ ἐκ πλείστου καὶ κατησφαλισμένον |<sup>10</sup> τὸ φρούριον –, ἑαυτοῖς μὲν προνοοῦσι τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίους παμπληθεὶ κτείνουσι, μηδ' αὐτῶν φειδόμενοι τῶν νηπίων. Τέλος περὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ὧν τε καῖσαρ ἐπήγετο καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ πεμφθέντων, δεισαντες, μὴ κάκεινοις κίνδυνος περιστῆ, κατασχόντες τοὺς περιόντας φυλακαῖς ἐτήρουν. Ἐμελλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν νόθον ἀδελφὸν Θεουδερῖχου, ἐγγύς που ναυλοχουμένους, εἰσφρήσεσθαι· ὡς δ' οὐχ ὠμολόγουν περὶ τὰ συμφωνούμενα, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐφῆκαν κατατρέχειν τὰς νήσους, κωφὴν ἑαυτοῖς συμμαχίαν καὶ ταῦθ' ἠγούμενοι, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς στερρὰν παρεσκευάζοντο μάχην.

## 25. How the agitated Catalans devastated the western regions. κε'. ὅτι Κατελάνοι ὑποκνισθέντες τὰ κατὰ δύσιν ἠρήμουν.

|<sup>20</sup> 25. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ἡμέλει τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἐν ἀνακωχαῖς θέμενος, τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν πριμικῆριον ἐξορμᾷ, ὃς καὶ περικαθίσας τὸ φρούριον πολιορκῶν ὡς εἶχεν ἐμάχετο, ἔστι δ' οὗ καὶ κατετροποῦτο. Πληθουμένων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἤδη θαρρούντων τὰς ἐκδρομὰς διὰ τὴν κενὴν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἀσχολίαν – |<sup>25</sup> ὁ γὰρ Μπυργέριος περιεβουκόλει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πέμπων παρ' αὐτὸν τὴν δουλείαν καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ὑπεκρίνετο, ὡς ἐν κενοῖς καὶ τῶν φόνων γενομένων, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀνακωχὰς σκαιωρῶν ἐντεῦθεν – κατοχυροῦσι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ πλέον τὸ φρούριον, μακρᾶς δ' ἑπτὰ ναυσὶ (F579) καὶ ἄλλαις ἐννέα μικραῖς μάχιμον ἐμβαλόντες λαὸν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν παραιγιαλίων σκυλευμὸν ἐκπέμπουσι. Ἐπεὶ δέ, προσβαλόντες μὲν Ἀρτάκη, ἐπινείω Κυζίκου, προσβαλόντες δὲ Προικονήσῳ, οὐδὲν ἦνυτον, ὑποστάντων στερρῶς τῶν ἐποίκων, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πταντιῶνος μηνὸς |<sup>5</sup> εἰκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ Πειρίνθῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ ἠβηδὸν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατασφάττουσι. Χώρας δ' ἠρήμουν τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα, τῶν μὲν ἀπανισταμένων, τῶν δ' ἄλωμένων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, τοὺς δ' ἐλαφυροπώλουν. Διὰ ταῦτα νυκτὸς ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πυλῶν, παντοίων ποταμίων ὑδάτων ρεῦμα μιμούμενον, εἰσεχέετο, ὀλίγον, καὶ

were also very aware of the actions of the Caesar. As for the horses, the weapons, and the money of these people, they let the first of these wander around while they gathered up the second and the third.

More complete news on the events also arrived, and, in an instant, all the Catalans went inside Kallioupolis together, since the fortress had now been secured for some time. They were saving themselves, while they massacred the Romans who were there, without even sparing the children. Lest danger threaten their own men, those whom the Caesar was taking with him, those who were in the City and those of their Catalan compatriots who had been sent here and there, they seized the survivors and kept them in prison. They were also planning to bring in Frederick's illegitimate brother, Sancho of Aragon, and his men, who were anchored near there. But, as they were not able to reach an agreement with them, they let these latter pillage the islands, with the plan that they would appear to be inconsistent allies while they themselves were preparing for a hard battle.

25. But the Emperor Michael did not remain totally inactive either. He interrupted the Bulgarian affair and forced the departure of those who surrounded the grand primicerius Kassianos. The latter surrounded the fortress of Kallioupolis, besieged it, fought to the best of his ability, and on occasion even caused them to flee. But the Catalans strengthened themselves and, taking advantage of the ineffectiveness of the Roman forces, from then on dared to make sorties. In fact, the Emperor Michael's hopes were fuelled by Berenger d'Entença, who sent him emissaries, feigning submission, and subjection and as the murders had happened without reason (i.e., the murders committed by the Alans in Adrianople against Roger de Flor and his companions), as he claimed, he would therefore engineer a truce. The Catalans also further reinforced the fortress and, after embarking a troop of fighters on seven long boats and nine other small ones directed by Berenger d'Entença, they sent these to plunder the residents. As they had attacked Artake, the port of Cyzicus, and Proconnesus, without obtaining any result, due to the firm resistance of the inhabitants, the same month of May they attacked Peirinthos (Heraklea) and massacred the adults found therein. They devastated the regions

ταῦτα ἐκ <sup>10</sup> τοῦ τυχαίως, ἐξ ὧν εἶχον ἐπιφερόμενοι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω αὐθημερὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐντὸς ἡπείρου μέχρι καὶ ἐς πολὺ ἀνέδην, τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαίνοντες, ἐπυρπόλουν τὰς χώρας καὶ τὰ πάνδεινα κατειργάζοντο, πλείστων ὄσων πυρὸς καὶ μαχαίρας ἔργον γιγνομένων· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς σφαῖρος ἦν ἄλλος ὁ Ἐμπεδόκλειος· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν περαίαν πᾶσαν ἐσκευαγῶν καὶ ὅσοι <sup>15</sup> νησιδίους προσώκουν ἀποδράντες Πέρσας, μίαν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν ἐξ εἰκαίων ἐφοδίων καταφυγῆν.

on both sides. Some of the inhabitants emigrated while others were taken and either killed or sold as booty. That is why the gates of Constantinople remained open at night. Like river water currents of all kinds, the inhabitants entered the City, bringing with them the little they still had, and this only at random. Outside the City, the same day and from the sea and up to a great distance within the continent, the Catalans disembarked from their boats, freely set the region on fire, and committed the worst crimes, while most of the inhabitants succumbed to fire or the sword. Inside the City, it was like another realm of Empedocles.<sup>74</sup> In fact, for those who were emigrating from the entire length of the other bank and for those who were living in the islands after having fled the Persians, it was the only place where they could escape a hazardous supply.

## 26. About the action taken due to the admiral. κς'. Περὶ τῶν διὰ τὸν ἀμηραλῆν πραχθέντων.

26. Ἐφθασε δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἓνα τῶν Κατελάνων, προσφυγόντα μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εἰς ἀμηραλῆν τιμήσας καὶ ὡς πιστῶ, (B530) ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἐδίδου <sup>20</sup> δοκεῖν, χρώμενος, ὅτι γε καὶ εἰς Ἕλληνας καὶ γνώμην καὶ στολὴν μετετάττετο. Πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ φιλοτησίαις πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐκυδρούτο ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ εὐγενεὶ κόρη τῆ τοῦ Παχέος Ῥαοῦλ εἰς γάμον νόμιμον συνφίκετο. Τούτῳ βασιλεὺς ἐκτόπως πιστεύων, ἐξ Ἰταλῶν ἀρτυσάμενος ναῦν καὶ ῥόγαις ἐξικανώσας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, πρὸς τὸ <sup>20</sup> ἀποστέλλειν ἦν, τριηραρχοῦντος αὐτοῦ. Ἐμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἄλλας κατόπιν ἐκπέμπειν, συναμνουμενάς τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Ὡς γοῦν συνετάττετο βασιλεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἦν, ἀγγέλλεται οἱ παρὰ τοῦ κόμητος τῆς νεῶς ὡς Ἀμογαβάρους ἐντὸς ἐνόπλους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα, ὡς εἰκάσαι, κρυφιδὸν ἔχει τῶν καταστροφμάτων ἐντὸς· ὁ δὲ καὶ φωραθὲν εὐθέως τὴν ἀπιστίαν παρίστα τοῦ τριηράρχου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκέκλειστο, (F581) οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ – οὐπω γὰρ τελέως ἠγγέλλοντο τὰ δεινὰ – ἐν τηρήσεσιν ἦσαν, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστάντων ἐκεῖθεν. Ἄλλ' εὐθὺς αἱ πικραὶ φῆμαι κατελάμβανον, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐφήμιζον οἱ πάθοντες· καὶ θροῦς (B531) ἠγείρετο παμπληθές, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ πάντων διὰ τὸ φίλοικτον ἴστατο, καὶ <sup>5</sup> τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν νεῶν κατητιῶντο κατάλυσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πάθοιεν τοιαῦτα, εἰ ὁ συνήθης στόλος περιῶν ἐξηρτύετο, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς διελάλουν.

26. The Emperor had previously honoured with the title of admiral a Catalan (Ferran d'Aunes), who had taken refuge with him with his family. He considered him to be a loyal man, for he let him believe in many signs, given that he had adopted the thought and dress of the Greeks. He was glorified by the sovereign with many amicable favours and was also united in lawful marriage to one of the nobility, the daughter of Raoul Pachys. The Emperor Michael had exceptional confidence in him and, after having had a boat fitted with Italians and providing his crew with salaries, he was ready to send it off with the admiral as commander of the trireme. His plan was in fact to later send other boats to assist him against the attackers. As the admiral was taking leave of the Emperor Michael and was on the point of departure, the count of the ship came to announce to the Emperor Michael that the admiral had hidden what he estimated to be about fifty armed Almogavars beneath the deck. This discovery immediately established the bad faith of the commander of the trireme. He was locked up, while those men (given that they did not yet have full information on this mischief) were also kept under guard, except those who had escaped from there. But bitter rumours immediately arose, such as could not be spread by anyone other than the victims themselves.<sup>75</sup> An immense tumult arose, a general noise gushed out

<sup>74</sup> A reference to the flight of refugees from the East before the Turkish advance. (Cf. F578, fn. 14)

<sup>75</sup> I.e., the refugees who were forced to flee the Catalans due to the continual defeats of the byzantine armies.

Τοῦτο γνοὺς πατριάρχης, ἀπάρας ὡς εἶχε τῆς κατοικίας ἣ που κατῴκει, ἔργον ἔχων τὸ σπουδαιότατον περὶ τὸν δῆμον σπουδαιοτριβεῖν καὶ γε τὰ <sup>10</sup> πολλὰ δημοχαριστεῖν, κατὰ τὴν μέσσην τῆς ἀγορᾶς μεσημβρίας ἐφίσταται, καὶ ξυγκαλεῖ τοὺς ζύγκλυδας καὶ οἷς συνήθης ὁ θόρυβος· καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν ἐκεῖ ναῶν καταστάς, μακρὰν κατέτεινε τὴν διαλαλίαν καὶ καταστέλλειν θορυβοῦντας ἠπειέγετο, τὰ πολλὰ συναινῶν ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν δυναμένων, οἷος ἐν πολλοῖς οὔτος, καταϊτιώμενος. Τέλος ἐπεὶ τὸν πολλὸν γογγυσμὸν περὶ <sup>15</sup> τῶν νεῶν κατεμάνθανεν, ὡς μὴ οἴου τ' ὄντος αὐτοῦς ἀσφαλῶς διαζῆν, εἰ μὴ γε νῆες κατὰ τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες ἐξαρτύοιντο, γνώμας ἀγριουμένας ἐξομαλίζειν θέλων ἀμηγέπη καὶ λόγοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι, τινὰς ἐκείνων καὶ τοὺς ἐνδηλοτέρους παραλαβῶν, ἀναφέρειν (B532) καθυπισχνεῖτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἐξοτρύνειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων ἄμυναν πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν ἐδίδου. <sup>20</sup> Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν δημαγωγῶν καὶ δημοχαριστῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῷ ἀμετάβλητον ἦν, βασιλεὺς δὲ Γεννουίτας ἠξίου καὶ χρημάτων χιλιοστῦας ἐδίδου ἐς ὅπερ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐσβήσαντες πολεμαρχικὸν ἐπιθήσονται.

Ὁ ζύγκλυς δ' ὄχλος εἰς ταῦτ' ἐγεγονότες, ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἐξω δεινὰ κατηγγέλλοντο, <sup>25</sup> αὐτοὺς δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ γενομένους ἀμύνεσθαι, ἔγνωσαν τοῖς ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως Κατελάνοις ἐπιχειρεῖν· οἷς μὲν ἦν συνδιάγειν κατὰ τὴν περαιάν τοῖς Γεννουίταις, οὐκ εἶχον ἐκεῖ γενόμενοι τιμωρεῖν· μαθόντες δὲ τηρουμένους τινὰς ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἀμηραλῆς ἐπέφερετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παχέος Ῥαοὺλ οἰκίαν, παμπληθεὶ συρρεύσαντες, ἐμβριθῶς ἀπήτουν ἐκείνους. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἦν <sup>30</sup> ἐκείνους ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾶστα προδοθέντας ἀναιρεῖν, πῦρ ἐνῖασις αὐτίκα καὶ οἰκίαν πυρπολοῦσιν ἐκείνην, καὶ πάντα τε τάκεινη διαφοροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν τολμώντων ἐγένετο. Κατελάνους δὲ μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ θανάτου στερρῶς ἀντεχομένους σὺν πολλῷ τῷ πόνῳ ἅμα (F581) μὲν σιδήρῳ, (B533) ἅμα δὲ καὶ πυρὶ καθαιροῦσι, μηδενὸς οἴου τ' ὄντος τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐπέχειν τοῦ πλήθους. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατριαρχεῶν ἐπιστὰς λόγοις μελικτηρίοις ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀναστέλλειν, ὅς καὶ τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ὑποτοπᾶσας, ἄλλως φανείς

due to this deplorable fact, and they questioned the suppression of the Roman ships, affirming that had the traditional fleet survived and been armed, they would not have had to have undergone such treatments, and the gossip was never-ending.

When he found out about this, the patriarch hurriedly left his abode since his most pressing concern was to be active for the people and to court them with ardour. He arrived at midday in the middle of the agora, summoned the populace and those who were accustomed to disturbance, took his place in one of the churches at that site, delivered a long speech and urged them to cease their riot, while giving them his general agreement and accusing the men of power (despite the fact that he himself was one of them and guilty of the same excesses in many domains). Finally, as he heard much grumbling about the boats and that it was not possible for them to live in safety if the boats were not equipped according to the old custom of the Romans, he wanted to somehow smooth out their feelings of exasperation with speeches and promises. He took the best known among them with him, promised to recommend them, and showed himself eager to push the retaliation against the attackers as quickly as possible. In this way, he flattered and courted the people as much as possible (although his hard character remained unchanged), while the Emperor Michael solicited the Genoese and offered them thousands of nomismata so that they could embark a contingent of combatants from among them and go on the attack.

The populace assembled. As the misfortunes that had taken place outside the City were announced and it was not possible for them to take revenge by going there, they decided to attack the Catalans who were inside the City. The Catalans, who happened to be staying on the other bank in Pera with the Genoese, could not punish them by going there, but, having found out that some of those whom the admiral had brought with him were detained in the house of Raoul Pachys, they flocked there *en masse* and demanded them firmly. As they were not able to get these people delivered in order to kill them easily, they immediately set fire to this house. They took away everything that was there, and much misfortune occurred in the house due to their forcefulness. As for the Catalans, who resisted even to death with much firmness and suffering, some were killed with steel and some with fire, because no one was able to hold back the crowd's momentum. In fact, the patriarch also



ἐκείνοις τῷ καθυφεῖναι ἢ ὡς οἴκοθεν ὄρμα καὶ ἵ πολλοῖς ἐλπίζων, καθυπέστρεφεν. Ὁρμων δ' αὐτίκα καὶ ἄλλαις οἰκίαις ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μεγιστάνων, τοῖς δημαγωγικοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἐπιστάντων καὶ μᾶλλον παρακροτούμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Κατελάνων αἰτίαν ὡς δῆθεν ἐν αὐταῖς κρυπτομένων, ἐπεχείρουν καὶ οἷς ἄρ' εἶχον ἐκ τινῶν αἰτιαμάτων μέμφεσθαι.

arrived and tried, with words of appeasement, to arrest their impetus. As he suspected the danger and had a retiring attitude, he appeared to these people different to how he was when he had left his residence with high hopes, and he returned. They immediately launched an assault on other houses, and particularly those of the grand ones, encouraged above all by the demagogic words of the newcomers,<sup>76</sup> because supposedly the Catalans were hiding in these houses. They also attacked those they had a complaint about for whatever reason.

### 27. On the appearance of sixteen long boats from Genoa.

<sup>10</sup> κζ'. Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Γεννοῦας φανεισῶν ἰς' μακρῶν νηῶν.

27. Κἄν τὸ κακὸν προέβη, εἰ μὴ γε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα ἐκ Γεννοῦας μακρὰι νῆες ἑκκαίδεκα, ἐμπορικῶν ἐπίφορτοι προσδοκώμεναι, νότου πεσόντος μετρίου καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς προσδοκίας καιρὸν ἐφίσταντο. Ἦν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Κατελάνοις καὶ Ἀμογαβάροις ναυλογησαμένοις κατὰ τὸ Ῥήγιον <sup>15</sup> πρᾶττόμενα τὰ δεινά, καὶ ὡς φοβεροὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς δοκοῖεν, νῆπια μὲν ἐξ ἀφεδρῶνος ἐς στόμα τοῖς ἰδίους παλτοῖς ἐμπείρουσιν, ἀνδρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν (B534) πυρπολοῦσι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὡς διαγωγεῦσι χρώμενοι τῶν ἰδίων πλοῦτων, ἐσύστερον κατακτείνουσι, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦσι τὰ χαλεπώτατα. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἦσαν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐνετρύφων ταῖς συμφοραῖς· δείλης δ' ὀψίας αἰ τριήρεις, τὸ <sup>20</sup> πέλᾳκος διεκθέουσαι κατεφαίνοντο· ἃς ἐξ ὅτι πλείστου τοῦ ἀποστήματος μόλις ἀποσκοπεύσαντες, ὡς ἰδίαις αὐτῶν φανείσαις – καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἔφθασαν ἀποστόλων πέμψαι ἐκ Σικελίας σύναρσιν ἐξεδέχοντο – χορείαν εἰλίττοντες ἐπεσκίρτων, καὶ ἔτοιμοι παρευθὺς ἦσαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐκ προρρήσεως σφίσις ἦν, συμβάλλειν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου. Ἄλλ' ὡς ἠγγίζον καὶ τὰ σύμβολα κατεφαίνοντο καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν Γεννοῦται συμπλέοντες, τοῦ θάρρους μὲν καθυφῆκαν, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεγνώκεσαν τὰ χρηστότερα. Ἦλπιζον γὰρ ὡς ἐπιμίξασι προτενοῦσι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πάντως τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην διαπλωζομένας νῆας τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀνέτους τε καὶ ἀσκύλους ἔῳεν, εἰ μὴ γε σφίσις ἐνσπονδοὶ ἦσαν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὀλίγοι ἐξ <sup>30</sup> αὐτῶν τυχόντες κατὰ πόλιν παρὰ τοῖς Γεννοῦταις, διεφυλάσσοντο, ὥστε καὶ νηὸς τῶν χρεωδῶν ἐπιφόρτου πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρ' (B535) ἐκείνων ἀπολυθείσης, (F585) ἐπεὶ ἡ ναῦς παρὰ τῶν τοῦ

And the evil would have increased, if that night sixteen long boats, which were expected to come from Genoa loaded with commercial food-stuff had not arrived outside of the expected time due to the moderate southerly wind. The Catalans and the Almogavars, who had anchored at Rhegion<sup>77</sup>, were thus accomplishing their misdeeds. To appear as frightening as usual, they impaled children from anus to mouth on their javelins, they burned some of the men and used others as carriers of their wealth, killing them afterwards, and they all accomplished the worst misdeeds. So that is what these people were doing, and they took pleasure in these misfortunes. But in the evening the triremes appeared, crossing the sea. They observed them with difficulty up to the greatest distance possible and they formed a circle in order to dance in front of the boats which appeared to be theirs, since they were awaiting for help from Sicily thanks to the emissaries they had just sent there. They were immediately ready, according to their announcement, to throw themselves on Constantinople. But as the boats approached, and the ensigns appeared, it was obvious that these were Genoese sailing in concert. The Catalans lost their confidence, without however completely despairing of the best result. In fact, they were hoping, once the Genoese had joined them, to propose peace to them, because they would absolutely not leave free and unscathed the ships of the Genoese nation that sailed daily if they did not have agreements with them. In fact, a good number of their men were in the City under the protection of

<sup>76</sup> I.e., the inhabitants of the Thracian littoral fleeing before the Catalans of Berenger d'Entença before the capture of Heracles of Thrace and the invasions of the surrounding region (F 581, fn. 43).

<sup>77</sup> Situated on the Thracian coast of the Propontis [sea of Marmara] and a mere 20 kilometres from Constantinople.

βασιλέως ἑάλω, Γεννουίτας, ταῦτα δυσχεράνατας, ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς κτενοῦντας τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ναύαρχον καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν, καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἐκείνους διὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Κὰν καὶ δίκην ἔδωκαν τὴν ἐσχάτην καὶ διὰ ταύτην καὶ δι' ἄλλην προηγησαμένην |<sup>5</sup> αἰτίαν, περὶ ἧς αὐτίκα λέξομεν, εἰ μὴ γε τὰ ζυμπεσόντα τὸν κρατοῦντα κατεμάλασσον, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν τὰ τῆς ἀρωγῆς πλέον ἐλπίζοντα, καὶ σφίσι ἐξιλεοῦτο. Καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν κηρύγματα προῦβαινον συνεχῆ, ἀνωρμημένων ἤδη καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, μηδὲν ἐπιτολμᾶν κατ' ἀλλήλων, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ ζημιοῦσθαι τὰ μέγιστα, ὡς καταφρονητὰς τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων.

|<sup>10</sup> Τούτοις θαρροῦντες Ἀμογάβαροι ἐξεδέχοντο Γεννουίτας καταίροντας. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, διερχόμενοι καὶ τὰς πυρπολήσεις καθορῶντες, ἐν θαύματι ἦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν ἠβούλοντο τὰ πραχθέντα. Ὡς δὲ προσίσχουσι τῷ λιμένι, ὁ προρρηθεὶς Μπυριγέριος, ὃς δὴ προηγείτο τοῦ Ἀμογαβαρικοῦ στόλου, παρὰ τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τῶν Γεννουιτῶν ἐκείνων νεῶν γίνεται καὶ, ἀρχῆς ἀπ' |<sup>15</sup> ἄκρης τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς διελθὼν, τέλος προσετίθει καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦς μὲν ταῦτα πράττειν ἐκδικήσεως ἕνεκα, (B536) εἶναι δὲ καὶ Γεννουίτας ἐνσπόνδους σφίσι, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἔστι μανθάνειν, εἰ βούλοντο· ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ βασιλέα χολᾶν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν μεγίστης καὶ ἄλλων μὲν πλείστων ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρερίους βοηθοῦντας ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καθέδρας αὐτῶν, ὑπ' |<sup>20</sup> ὀργὴν σφᾶς γενέσθαι ζυμβῆναι, καὶ ἀπρητημένους εἶναι τὸ παράπαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὥστε καὶ ἀποκεκλειῆσθαι σφίσι τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα συνήθη πρόσοδον ἀφηρηῆσθαι. Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ζυμφοροῦντα, τὸν Μπυριγέριον τὰς τῶν Γεννουιτῶν γνώμας μαλάττειν πειρᾶσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ περ καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπαλλαγεῖεν. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι, σοφώτερόν τι |<sup>25</sup> ποιοῦντες καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπαρτῶντες, νυκτὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς πέμπουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πᾶν παρὰ τῶν οικείων πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ἔστι τὸ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς θέλημα. Καὶ μία μὲν τριήρης ταχυναυτοῦσα εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως ἔπλει, κατὰ πίστιν βεβαίαν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν Γεννουίτας.

the Genoese. Thus, when the Genoese sent them a boat loaded with provisions and the boat was taken by the Emperor Michael's people, the Genoese badly resented the matter, and sent people to kill the captain of the Emperor Michael, and they did kill him. For that deed they incurred the Emperor Michael's wrath. And they would have suffered the last punishment, for this reason and for another reason, prior to this one and which we speak about in the next chapter, if events had not softened the sovereign, since he was waiting for additional considerable help from this side. And he reconciled with them. Continual declarations were made both from the side of the Emperor Michael and from the side of the Genoese, but as the Romans had already pushed forward, they had to refrain from any mutual affront under penalty of being severely punished for having disregarded the orders given.

Reassured by this, the Almogavars received the Genoese when they disembarked. But, when on their approach they observed the fires, they were stunned, and wanted to be informed of what had happened. When they docked at the port, Berenger d'Entença, already named above, who commanded the Almogavar fleet, went to the captains of these Genoese boats. He explained their action from the very beginning, and at the end he added that they themselves were doing this for revenge, and that the Genoese had agreements with them. The signs were clear to see, should one have wished to look for them. The Emperor Michael was also irritated with the Genoese, and he was extremely incensed for very many other reasons such as the help they had given to the brothers who had been driven out of their establishment in the City. The Genoese were therefore definitively banished by the Emperor Michael such that the city gates were closed to them, and they were deprived of their usual access to the Emperor Michael. By bringing together these arguments and many others, Berenger d'Entença attempted to soften the feelings of the Genoese, so that they would move away in peace! But the Genoese took a wiser approach, suspended their decision, and immediately sent emissaries to the City at night to inquire about the whole affair and the disposition of their people towards the Emperor Michael. And a rapid trireme sailed straight into the City<sup>78</sup> to obtain a secure confirmation from the Genoese of the City.

<sup>78</sup> I.e. during the night of 30 to 31 May 1305 (F584, fn. 35)

**28. Events that occurred due to the brothers of the City.**  
**κη'. Περὶ τῶν διὰ τοὺς φρερίους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμβάντων.**

<sup>30</sup> 28. Ἡμῖν δ' οὐ χεῖρον ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τὸ περὶ τῶν φρερίων διασαφῆσαι. Τόπος ἀνεῖτο τῷ δημοσίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ὃν καὶ ἀξιώσαντες ἐξωνοῦντο φρέριοι, βασιλέως προστάξαντος. Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ἐφ' ᾧ μονὴ τις συσταίη (B537) σφίσι. (F587) Καὶ φιλοτίμως συνίστατο, πολλῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα κωλύοντων, καὶ ἄλλων μὲν ἔνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς θρησκείας ζηλωτικόν· παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ὁ πατριαρχεῦων ὑποκνιζόμενος τὰς πρὶν τε ἀνελάμβανεν ὁμολογίας καὶ βεβηλοῦν ἤρεϊτο τὸν τόπον· ὃ δὴ καὶ δεινὸν τοῖς φρερίοις <sup>15</sup> ἐδόκει, καὶ ἀντεζήλουν φιλονεικότερον, εἰ μονὴν ἱερὰν ξυσταθεῖσαν τέως, ἐν ἣ καὶ θυσιαστήριον μὲν ἐπήχθη καὶ ὕμνος ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελεῖται, σώματα δὲ τεθάφθαι συνέβη, μεταποιεῖν εἰς κοινὴν καταμονὴν οὐκ ἀπώκνουν οἱ τέως ζηλοῦντες τὰ θεῖα. Ἄλλ' ὅμως τὸ δοκοῦν ἀκριβὲς τοῖς θρησκείοις παρώρμα, καὶ βασιλεὺς συνεργεῖν ἤξιοῦτο· καὶ ὅς μηδὲν ἔχων ἀντιλέγειν <sup>10</sup> τῷ ἱερεῖ ἠδύδοκει τὴν μεταποίησιν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀμηνραλῆ τὸν τόπον ἀπεχαρίζετο, τοὺς δὲ (B538) φρερίους ἀξίοις ἀποτιμήμασι θεραπεύειν ἤρεϊτο, κὰν αὐτοὶ, τὸ παράπαν ἀποστυγοῦντες τοῦ μὴ μεταπίπτειν, προεῖντο καὶ τὴν ζώην.

Πλὴν δ' οὐχ οἷοί τ' ὄντες πρὸς βασιλικὰς ἀντέχειν διαταγὰς, πρὸς μόνον <sup>15</sup> τὸ εὐλαβὲς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τοῦ προστάσσοντος ἀφεώρων. Καὶ ἱερὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐτοιμασίαν ἀμετάθετον εἰακότες, οὐδὲν δ' ἤττον καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὕτω διατεθέντες ὡς μηδὲν ἐκεῖθεν τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ μεταθεῖναι, ἠμέλουν, ὡς μὴ ἂν μεταθησομένων, ὡς γε σφᾶς οἴεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐθις ὁ κρατῶν ἠνωχλεῖτο καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κατενόει τὴν βίαν, <sup>20</sup> πέμψας τῷ τῶν Πισαίων ἐξάρχῳ προστάσσει, ἐγγειτόνων ὄντι, συμπαραλαβόντα τοὺς ἐν τῷ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἱερῷ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἱερεῖς, ἐπιστῆναι τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ γε τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀξιοπίστοις τετάχθαι μάρτυσιν ὧν θ' εὐροῖεν καὶ ἂ μεταθεῖεν, μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐσκυλευμένου, τοὺς δ' ἱερεῖς, εὐλαβῶς ἀναλαβόντας τάκεϊ κείμενα, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κορυφαίου <sup>25</sup>

28. It would be useful to shed some light on the case of the brothers. A space in the market was owned by the State. The brothers asked for it and, with the Emperor Michael's authorization, they bought it. This is because they wanted to build a monastery there. It was built with diligence, even though it met with opposition in great numbers on both sides (i.e., the state and church of Constantinople, or the Greeks and Latins), for many reasons but above all out of zeal for a rigorous religion. This is why the patriarch Athanasius was annoyed (in fact he had not been in charge at the time of its foundation and would not have tolerated the building of a monastery in the City), denounced the previous agreements, and decided to restore this place to its profane character. This seemed abominable to the brothers, who replied with a more aggressive zeal, since those who up to that time had militated for the divine worship were not hesitating to transform back into profane abode a monastery which had until then a sacred character, where an altar was erected, where the hymn of consecrated men was performed and where bodies were even buried (inalienability of ecclesiastical assets). So, because the men of religion urged rigour here, they asked the Emperor Michael for assistance. But the Emperor, who was not able to contradict Athanasius in any way, consented to the transformation. He granted the place to the admiral Ferran d'Aunés, a Catalan noble, while he decided to satisfy the brothers with a suitable compensation, even if the latter, absolutely refusing the change, were ready to surrender their lives.

But, given that they were unable to oppose the Emperor Michael's orders, they appealed only to the piety that nourished those who gave orders concerning divine things. They left these sacred objects and their entire arrangement unchanged, and adopted exactly the same arrangements for the rest, so that they removed nothing that was contained in the church. And they remained inactive, as if these objects were not going to be moved, as they thought. But this again disturbed the sovereign, who understood the need to use force, and he sent an order to the exarch of the Pisans, who was in the environs. He was to take the priests from their sanctuary of the apostle Peter with him, come to the site and appoint his own people as reliable witnesses of what was found there and what was moved, while

τῶν ἀποστόλων μεταθεῖναι ναῶ. Ὡς δὲ γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ ἐπράχθη ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετάρθεσις, οἱ φρέριοι, μηδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι τοῖς ἄλλοις (B539) χρήσαιτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάντα τὸ πᾶν τῆς ὀργῆς ἐξέκένουν, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν πρὸς Γεννουίτας κατὰ τὴν περαίαν καὶ ἤξιουν τὸν καταφρονητὴν ἀμύνασθαι. Καὶ ὁ ἐξουσιαστής ἐκείνων, τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄμυναν τῶν καλῶν ἡγησάμενος, ἐκπέμπει κρύφα τοὺς ἐκείνον ἐγγὺς θανάτου ποιήσοντας· κτανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐδίκαιον, ἀλλὰ σπάθαις στίζειν ἐσχάτως. Ἐνεδρεύσαντες (F589) τοῖνον, ἐξεπλήρουν τὰ τοῦ βουλευμάτος, καὶ πολλαῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπεισπεσόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνηδόν, ἠκίσαντο, ὡς φοράδην οἴκοι, μόλις πιστευόμενον ζῆν, ἀπαχθῆναι. Τοῦτο βασιλεὺς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρων, ἀπὸ προσώπου τ' ἐποίει τὸν τῶν Γεννουϊτῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ σφιν ἐφ' ἡμέραις ἐπιζυγοῦσθαι τὰς τῆς πόλεως πύλας προσέταττεν, ἀναρτῶν τὸ πραχθὲν εἰς κρίσιν τοῦ κομμουνίου, μέλλοντος ἐτέρου κατὰ πύστιν ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι.

Ταῦτα Μπυριγέριος τότε ὡς λαβὴν προὔτεινε σκανδάλου καὶ ἀλλοτριῶν τοῦ βασιλέως τὰς ἐκείνων γνώμας ἐπέιρα, μὴ εἰδώς, ἢ καὶ ἐκὼν παραλείπων, <sup>10</sup> ὡς βασιλεὺς φθάσας σφίσιν ἐξηρμενίζετο (B540) καὶ ζυμμάχους προσελάμβανεν, ἀγγελθέντων τῶν αὐτοῖς πραττομένων. Ὡς γοῦν ἄωρι τῶν νυκτῶν ἢ ναῦς ἐπέστη καὶ ἤδη Γεννουίταις ἢ τῶν νηῶν ἡγγέλλετο ἄφιξις, πρόσετι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιητέον ἐζητεῖτο, ὡς εὐθὺς ὑποστρεψόντων καὶ κομισόντων τὰς ἀγγελίας, εὐθὺς ἐκείνοι, παρὰ βασιλέα ὑπὸ λαμπτήρσιν <sup>15</sup> ἀφιγμένοι, τὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκχωρήσεις ἐλάμβανον, ὡς εἰ μὲν ὑποκλιθεῖεν ἀντιμαχοῦσιν, εἰ δ' ἀνθίσταντο, εὐθὺς πολεμεῖν, καὶ πλήθους συχνοῦ πρωΐας Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς στησομένου πρὸς ἄμυναν, τοῦ δ' ἀλιάσι διαποντίου γενησομένου· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπέβλεψεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ ποιήσων, πρὸς ἐκείνους δὲ τὸ πᾶν πράξοντας. Σφίσι μὲν οὖν τὸ δάος ἦν ἐν <sup>20</sup> χερσί, καὶ ὑπέστρεφον.

preventing any looting. The priests thus piously took what was there and transported it to the church of the Coryphaeus of the Apostles<sup>79</sup>, appealed to the Genoese on the other bank, and demanded that their detractor be punished. Their podesta saw fit to punish this act and secretly sent men with orders to bring him to the brink of death. They did not want to kill him, but to stab him with the sword up to the last limit. So, they set up an ambush, carried out the plan, unexpectedly swooped down on him and inflicted numerous blows on him, such that he had to be carried home on a stretcher, seemingly barely alive. The Emperor Michael took this act as a personal affront, removed the archon of the Genoese from his sight and ordered the gates of the City to be closed to the Genoese for many days, while he submitted the act to the judgement of the Commune, even though it was rumoured that there was soon going to be another succession to power.<sup>80</sup>

Berenger d'Entença therefore put this forward as a cause for scandal and tried to arouse feelings of hostility in the Genoese towards the Emperor Michael, not knowing, or deliberately not informing, the fact that the Emperor Michael, due to what he had learned about the actions of the Catalans, had just reconciled with the Genoese, and taken them on as allies. So, given that the boats had arrived at an unearthly hour of the night, the arrival of the boats had already been announced to the Genoese, they had discussed the action to be taken, and they had to return as soon as possible and bring the news, they immediately went by lamp-light to the Emperor Michael, whose approval they received. If the Catalans yielded to their adversaries, which was all well and good, but should they resist, they would immediately go to war. Early in the morning, among a large troop of Romans, one part was to be placed in defence on the shore and another was to be placed at sea with the fishing boats. In fact, the Emperor Michael was not focussing on them and acted as if he was not going to do anything, and that they would have to do everything. The matter was thus in their hands, and they returned (to Rhegion).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Latin monastery situated in the north-east of the City. When this had been completed and the sacred objects and the rest had been transported there, the brothers, who could do nothing to the other priests, vented all their anger against the intruder (the exarch of the Pisans).

<sup>80</sup> Genoese Commune took over on 7 January 1306.

<sup>81</sup> The men who had been sent by the Genoese fleet stationed in Rhegion consulted with the authorities of their colony and with the Emperor Michael during the night of 30 to 31 May 1305, and in the early morning they returned to Rhegion. (F 588, fn. 49)



**29. How the Almogavars and the Catalans were defeated.**  
**κθ'. Ὅπως Ἀμογάβαροι τε καὶ Κατελάνοι κατεπολεμήθησαν.**

(F589) 29. Βασιλεὺς δὲ μυρίουσ ἐξήλα μεθ' ὄπλων, πορθμὸς δ' οὗτος νηῶν ἐπληροῦτο διαπλωϊσομένων πρὸς Ῥήγιον. Οὐπω δὲ καλῶς ἐπέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες, κἀκείνοις ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ στερρὰ συνίστατο μάχη, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ <sup>25</sup> διὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν δήλωσιν, (B541) τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τρόπον ἀνάγκης· τοῦ γὰρ Μπυριγερίου ἀπογνόντος τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ μεγάλα χρήματα τοῖς ναύαρχοις καθυπισχουμένων, εἰ ἀφεθεῖεν, καὶ οὕτω σφῶν μαλακίζομένων, οἱ ἐπιβάται, ζηλοτυπήσαντες εἰ μὴ κερδαίνοιεν καὶ αὐτοί, εὐθέως πρωΐας ἄρχουσι μάχης. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκροβολισμοῖς Ἀμογαβάρους παρακινουσιν, <sup>30</sup> ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ μάχεσθαι καταστήσαντες κυκλοῦσι τοῦτους. Καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐξ ἑκατέρων, καὶ τραυματῖαι (F591) γίνονται πλείους· ἀλλ' ὑπερτεροῦσι Γεννουῖται, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι τὰς ναῦς, μιᾶς ἀποδράσης καὶ μόνης. Ὁ γὰρ Μπυριγέριος, ὡς ἅπαξ τῶ τῶν νηῶν ἡγεμόνι προσῆλθεν, ἐπειδὴ ἄπρακτά οἱ ἦσαν τὰ προβαλλόμενα, τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα ἐκείνῳ προσαντιτίθει καὶ, εἰσδὺς τὰ τῶν καταστρωμάτων <sup>5</sup> κατώτατα, ἐκείνων ἄνωθεν πολεμούντων, αὐτὸς ἀπόλεμος τὸ παράπαν ἔμεινε.

Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ἣτις ἦν τριακοστὴ πρώτη πυαντιῶνος, σταθηρᾶς ἰσταμένης μεσημβρίας, ἦν ὄραν τὸν πορθμὸν ἀναπλευούσας τὰς τριήρεις ὑπὸ κώπαις καὶ συριγμοῖς, πλὴν τὰς μὲν μετ' εὐκόσμου στόλου καὶ μειζόνων φρονηματισμῶν, ἐπιρροϊζούντων καὶ τῶν συμβόλων ἐκείνων <sup>10</sup> πρὸς ἄνεμον, τὰς (B542) δ' ἠττηθείσας ἀκόσμους καὶ ἀσυμβόλους, ἐπισαλευούσας μὲν τῷ ῥοθίῳ ὑπὸ κώπαις μετρίαις, τρόπον δ' ἐφορκίων ἐξημμένας τῶν προθεουσῶν προτόνοις μηκίστοις καὶ φερομένας, ἴν' ἂν ἐκεῖναι καὶ ἄγοιεν. Ὡς γοῦν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔκαμψαν, ὁδὸν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοὺς <sup>15</sup> ἀπείπαντο, ἄνω δὲ πού τὰ μέσα τοῦ Ἁγίου Φωκᾶ καὶ ἐπίταδε ναυλογησάμενοι ἀπεπαύοντο. Τῆ δ' ὑστεραία νῆας μὲν ἐκείνας τὰς ἠττηθείσας, οὕτως ὡς εἶχον, αὐτάνδρους πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοὺς κατάγουσι καὶ ἐν τηρήσει ποιοῦνται παντοῖα, αὐτοὶ δὲ, τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκληθέντες, τὰ εἰκότα φιλοφρονοῦνται. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ναύαρχοις

29. The Emperor Andronicus sent out a thousand armed men, and this strait was filled with boats, which were to sail towards Rhegion. The emissaries had not yet arrived when a closely contested battle was fought at dawn against the Catalans, due to the information reported from the City and by way of necessity. In fact, Berenger, who was desperate to obtain peace, had promised a great deal of money to the Genoese Captains if the Catalans were allowed to go, and, under these conditions, the resolve of the Captains weakened. But the Genoese sailors who were under their orders were jealous not to be able to also take advantage of this, nor did they want to give up the spoils promised by the plunder of the Catalan fleet either. So, in the morning they launched a battle. First they agitated the Almogavars with skirmishes, and then they forced them to fight and surrounded them. A good number of them died on each side, and still more were wounded, but the Genoese won and took the boats by force, only one of these managing to escape. In fact, since Berenger's plans had proved unworkable, he approached the commander of the fleet and placed his life in his hands. He then crept into the lower deck, while those men were fighting up there, and remained himself completely out of the battle.<sup>82</sup>

The same day, which was 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1305, as midday approached, the triremes could be seen going up the strait towards Constantinople to the noise of oars and whistles. Some had a fine-looking crew and a very proud air, their ensigns flapping in the wind, but the vanquished triremes were without allure and ensigns. The latter were tossed under the shock of ordinary oars and attached with very long cables like longboats to those which preceded them, and which towed them. Having bypassed the Acropolis, the Genoese avoided the route that led towards their own people, anchored higher up in the middle of Saint-Phocas and beyond, and came to a stop there.<sup>83</sup> The next day, the Genoese led these vanquished ships, such as they were with all their men, to their own people, and placed them under guard, while they themselves were summoned by

<sup>82</sup> According to Muntaner, he was invited to the table of the commander of the Genoese fleet, Eduardo Spinola, who treacherously seized him, his men, and his boats.

<sup>83</sup> They were expected to enter the Come d'Or and anchor at Pera, the Genoese colony, but they were engulfed in the strait of the Bosphorus and landed on the European shore at Saint Phocas, probably present-day Ortakoy.

τὰ τῶν ἀναβολῶν ὡς εἶχον πρὸς βασιλέως |<sup>20</sup> φιλοτιμότερον μετημφίαστο, τοῖς δέ γε πλήθεσι τὰ εἰς δαιτὸς φιλοτιμίαν ἐδίδοντο. Αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφ' ἡμέραις προσμείναντες, μήτε τι τῶν σωμάτων μήτε τι τῶν πραγμάτων δόντες, χρημάτων ἀποδοῦσθαι ἠβούλοντο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς μὲν συμφώνουν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου στρατεῦειν· τέλος δ', ὡς ἐδόκουν, γνωσιμαχῆσαντες διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Γεννουῖτας, οἶμαι, ἐξ |<sup>25</sup> αὐτῆς συμπαλαβόντες καὶ Μπυριγέριον συνάμα τοῖς πρωτίστοις αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λαζῶν ἀνέπλεον χώραν, μίαν μόνην τῶν τριήρων πρὸς τὰ αὐτῶν ἦθη εἰς δῆλωσιν ἀπολύσαντες.

(B543) Βασιλεῖ δ' ἐντεῦθεν φροντὶς ἦν πῶς ἂν μετέλθοι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου, ἐπεὶ τοι γε καὶ βοήθεια μὲν ἐκείνοις ἠγγέλλετο παραγίνεσθαι, ἠκούετο δὲ |<sup>30</sup> καὶ ὡς Πέρσας ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς καλεῖν βούλοιντο. Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν νόθον δὲ τοῦ Θευδερίχου ἀτάδελφον προσδόκιμοι ἦσαν καὶ αὐθις φαίνεσθαι.

### 30. How the Romans failed in battle. λ'. Ὅπως ἐσφάλησαν κατὰ πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

(F593) (30) Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ νέος ἄναξ Μιχαὴλ ἡμέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀφείς τὴν Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Παμφύλῳ γενόμενος, τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην τὸν Δούκαν καὶ τὸν μέγαν τζαούσιον τὸν Οὐμπερτόπουλον καὶ |<sup>5</sup> τρίτον τὸν Βοσσίλαν, ἱκανοὺς εἰς πολέμου ἐξάρτυσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου Ἀμογαβάρους ἐκπέμπει, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Βραγχαλίου ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἔτοιμοι προσβαλεῖν ἦσαν, ἦν που φανεῖεν. Οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἐντὸς ἀπαλλαγέντες φόβων – οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοὺς περιόντας τῶν σκυλευθέντων ἐντὸς τοῦ φρουρίου εἶων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς καράβῳ ἐλεεινὰ φορτία |<sup>10</sup> συνάμα τῷ σφετέρῳ νηησάμενοι πλούτῳ εὐφυλάκτως εἶχον –, τὴν μάχην αὐτόθεν σοφίζονται, καὶ, πλείστην λείαν ἐξελάσαντες ζῶων, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν ὑπειδόμενοι τῶν κακῶν, ἄνετον εἶων. Τὸ δ' ἦν ἀπάτη· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί, ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τῶν (B544) ὄπλων ἔξιν καὶ

the Emperor Andronikos to receive the good treatment that befitted them. The Emperor replaced the coats that the Captains had for more magnificent ones, while he provided the troops with enough to ensure a sumptuous table. The Genoese persisted for a few days in their refusal to deliver the men or the goods as they intended to exchange them for money. And, although they did agree to campaign, in exchange for a salary, against those of Kallioupolis, in the end they changed their minds (in my opinion due to the fact that there were Genoese in that location), and they promptly took with them Berenger and the most influential Catalans and set sail for the land of the Lazi,<sup>84</sup> having sent only one of the triremes back to their homeland to report.

So, the Emperor (Andronikos) was worried about how he would pursue the Catalans of Kallioupolis, since it was announced that help was coming to them and it had been discovered that they wanted to appeal to the Persians on the other bank.<sup>85</sup>

30. But the young prince Michael did not remain inactive either. After having left Adrianople and arriving near Pamphylia,<sup>86</sup> he also sent against the Almogavars at Kallioupolis the troops of the Grand Heterarch Nostongos Doukas, the troops of the Grand Tzaousios Oumpertopoulos and, thirdly, the troops of the Bulgarian Voisil, in numbers sufficient enough to engage in battle. They set up their camp at the exit of Branchialion<sup>87</sup> and were ready to attack as soon as they appeared. Since the Catalans had overcome their fear of the people of the City, those who had survived the looting were not left inside the fortress but loaded into their ship like pitiful burdens, together with their riches, and kept under guard. They then took the initiative to launch an insidious battle. Wishing to give the impression that they feared no misfortune, they released an immense booty of cattle and let it run

<sup>84</sup> I.e. Trebizond, where the Genoese went for trading purposes.

<sup>85</sup> I.e., the southern bank of the Propontis. Frederick's illegitimate brother and his family were also expected to appear again (i.e., Sancho of Aragon, the half-brother of Frederick II of Sicily, had arrived in April 1305 at Kallioupolis, but was forbidden entry and left as soon as the following month never to return, after which he is no longer mentioned. (cf. F590, fn. 56)

<sup>86</sup> Probably located around present-day Uzunköprü, on the Ergene River, a tributary of the Marica, about twenty kilometres from Didymoteichon. (cf. F592, fn. 59)

<sup>87</sup> Branchialion (Plagiaron ?) is located between Kallioupolis and Hexamilion. (cf. F592, fn. 61)

ὡς ἰδεῖν ἀπρόσμαχοι, ἐνεδρεύουσι. Τότε γοῦν τὸ μὲν καθαρὸν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συντάξεων |<sup>15</sup> ἐν ὄπλοις ἦσαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσεδόκων, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, περὶ τὴν φανεῖσαν λιγνευσάμενοι λείαν, ἐξέθεον ἀσυντάκτως. Καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ ἐνεδρεύοντες εὐσυντάκτως ἐς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πεφυλαγμένως ἀφώρμων· παρ' ἐκάτερα γὰρ ἐνὸς ἰπέως δύο πεζοὶ ἐδοχμιάζον, Ἰταλικοῖς τόξοις καθωπλισμένοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ πελτῶν καὶ παλτῶν, ἐπιχωρίων δοράτων, ἃ δὴ τὸ |<sup>20</sup> παλαιὸν ἄγγωνες ἐκαλοῦντο, τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεθάρρουν· οἱ δὴ συστάντες μάχην ἔστησαν κραταίαν. Καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν, τέως δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γίνονται Κατελάνοι, καὶ μέχρι καὶ Μονοκαστάνου τόπον κατατρέχουσι καὶ φονεύουσιν. Ἡ δὲ γε πύστις ἐπὶ διακοσίαις ἴστα τὸν φόνον, πληγέντων καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων.

|<sup>25</sup> Τότε βασιλεὺς ἐκ βασιλικῶν ἐξῶθεν μηνυμάτων μαθὼν τὸ συμβᾶν ἤλγησέ τε σφόδρα, καὶ ἐν μεταγῶσει ἦν τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν μετελθεῖν Γεννουΐτας (F595) ἐκείνους, καὶ μισθώμασιν οἷς ἀπήτουν ἐξικανωσάμενον, συμμαχεῖν πείθειν, ἐπ' Αμογαβάρους, ὡς εἶχον εὐθὺς ὀρμήσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁμως περὶ τὰς δόσεις φειδῶ τινα καὶ ὑπερημερίαν ἐνδειξάμενον, νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυμβᾶσιν ἄλγειν. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐν ἑξ χιλιάσιν ἴστων χρυσοῦ τὸ μίσθωμα ἀπελθεῖν |<sup>5</sup> συνόλους καὶ μαχέσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην, (B545) τῶν περὶ τὸν Μπυριγέριον ἤδη ἐαλωκότων. Βασιλεὺς δὲ πέμπων τῷ μέτρῳ μόνῳ ἐπίστευε συμπληροῦν τὸ τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων ποσόν. Ὡς δὲ στήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι ζυγοῖς τὸ διδόμενον ἐδοκίμαζον καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἔλλειμμα ἦν, ἐξωργίζοντο, καὶ ἄλλως ἐν μεταμέλῳ πῶς ὄντες, καὶ ἀντεπέστελλον τοὺς μισθοὺς. Πάτροκλος δ' ἦν τὰ |<sup>10</sup> ἐλλείμματα πρόφασις· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἐπλήρου καὶ πέμπων ἐξώτρυνεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῶν βουλευμάτων κρουσάμενοι, ἰδίας προὔτεινον ἐμπορίας, καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς ἦσαν εὐθέως, καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο τὴν ταχίστην.

free. However, this was a ruse, since cavalymen and infantrymen, who were experienced in arms and impressive to behold, were waiting in ambush. So, while the noble contingent of the Roman army was in arms and awaiting the fight, the masses coveted the booty that had appeared and effected disorganized sorties. Those waiting in ambush immediately rushed forward with the maximum order and precaution. On either side of a chevalier, two infantrymen, armed with Italian bows, arrived at an angle. With shields and spears, local spears that were once called angons (used by the Franks), they emboldened themselves during the fight and came to blows in a hard battle. There were deaths on both sides, but the Catalans managed to get the upper hand and ran over the country up to Monokastanon,<sup>88</sup> murdering on their way. Rumours set the slaughter at two hundred men, and even leaders were killed.<sup>89</sup>

The Emperor Andronicus was informed of the event via a message sent from outside the City by the Emperor Michael,<sup>90</sup> and he experienced extreme pain. He regretted not having totally succeeded in winning over these Genoese and convincing them to make an alliance by providing them with the salaries they demanded, since the Genoese would have immediately rushed with all their strength against the Almogavars. But having shown a certain parsimony and a certain delay on the question of salaries, he was now suffering the consequences. The Genoese had set the salary at six thousand gold nomismata to go all together to fight as quickly as possible, while Berenger and his family had already been taken.<sup>91</sup> The Emperor Andronicus sent emissaries and stuck solely to the just measurement to meet the required sum. As these emissaries placed the given quantity on the scale to be weighed and the shortfall was great, the Genoese became irritated, regretted their decision, and sent back the salaries. But, in reality, the shortfall was only a pretext *a la*

<sup>88</sup> An unknown location but the furthest point that the Catalans reached from Kallioupolis. (F593, fn. 64). Cf. *TIB* 12, 537-38.

<sup>89</sup> According to Muntaner the battle took place on Saturday, twenty-two days before St. Peter's Day on 29<sup>th</sup> June, but this date contradicts other sources, the battle probably taking place on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> June. (Cf. F593, fn. 64)

<sup>90</sup> I. e. in the days following the battle, between 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1305. (Cf. F593, fn. 65)

<sup>91</sup> The negotiations between the Emperor Andronicus and the Genoese took place in the first days of June, after the Genoese had seized Berenger in Rhegion on 31<sup>st</sup> May, but when the Emperor was informed of the defeat of Branchialion, the Genoese fleet had already left for Trebizond. (Cf. F594, fn. 66)

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοιαῦτα μαθὼν τοῖς ἰδίοις παρέβαλε τὰ μισθώματα |<sup>15</sup> καὶ τριήρεις ἐξηρτύετο, ἀναπαλαίειν τὴν ἦτταν αἰρούμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐπιλελοίπει τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τέλειον ἦν, κἂν ἡσθένουν τὰ ὄργανα καὶ ἀτελεῖς αἱ λόγον ἔχουσαι σώματος στρατιωτικαὶ δυνάμεις, τῆς βασιλείας λόγον ἐχούσης ψυχῆς, τῆς ἐπεισπεσούσης αὐταῖς ἐνδείας ἐφαίνοντο· παρ' ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ παρεφέροντο κάκ μικρᾶς κινήσεως |<sup>20</sup> εἶχον σφαδάζειν, κατὰ λόγον νεογνῶν ζώων, ἃ δὴ, τελείας οὔσης τῆς ἐν (B546) αὐτοῖς ψυχῆς, ἀτελεῖ τὰ ὄργανα φέροντα, τὴν μὲν κίνησιν πάντως ἐνδεικνῦσι καὶ τὴν τοῦ κινουῦντος ἐνέργειαν παριστάνουσι, τὰ δὲ εἰκαίως καὶ ὡς ἔχουσι φέρονται καὶ παραβολώτερον ἄττουσι. Καὶ ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ λεγόμενα παίγνια, ψυχῆς τελείας ἐνέργεια ἐν οὐ τελείοις τοῖς σκεύεσι.

*Patroclus* (Hom., *Il.* 19.302).<sup>92</sup> The Emperor wanted to make up for this shortfall and sent emissaries to exhort them, but the Genoese renounced their resolution in its entirety, prioritized their commerce, immediately devoted themselves to this, and moved away as quickly as possible.

Informed of this attitude, the Emperor Andronicus handed over the salaries to his own people and armed the triremes, deciding to redress the defeat. Actually, the imperial power was not lacking in strength. But, whereas the 'motor-principle' was perfect and the armed forces were numerous on account of the imperial power's spiritual rationale, the organs were weak and imperfect due to the indigence that had descended upon them. This is why these organs strayed and could only move with reduced movement. They were like new-born animals that are endowed with perfection of the soul but that have imperfect organs. Despite the fact that these animals show movement and action of the 'motor-principle', these organs can only be guaranteed at random, are limited by their possibilities, and they tend to rush too recklessly. This is the definition of a toy; the action of a perfect soul within imperfect instruments.

### 31. Harangue of the Emperor Andronicus on public disorder, and oaths. λα'. Δημηγορία τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀταξίας καὶ περὶ ὄρκων.

|<sup>25</sup> 31. Τῷ τοι καὶ πρῶτον τέως ὀρμὴν ἰδὼν ἀτακτοῦσαν λαοῦ, εἰς νεωτερισμοὺς ἐξεγειρουμένην, ἦν τις καὶ ἀμηγέπη παρακινεῖν, εἰσάγει μὲν καὶ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τινα δῆθεν ἀναστολήν, ὅμως δὲ καὶ μαιμακτηριῶνος πρώτη (F597) σὺν δέκα τὸ πρωτεῦον τῆς πολιτείας συνηθροικῶς, μακρὰν κατέτεινε δημηγορίαν, τὰ περὶ τῶν Κατελάνων ἀπολογούμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐξησθηνηκτιῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων, ξένους ἀνακαλεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν Ἀλανοὺς τοῦτο δὲ Ἰταλοῦς, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ξένων |<sup>3</sup> δέξαιτό τινα καὶ τιμήσειεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Δούκας Γουλιέλμῳ τινα προσλαβόμενος ἐπ' ἀξίαις ἴστα Ῥωμαϊκαῖς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰκάριον τῷ μεγαλοδοκικῷ τετίμηκεν (B 547) ἀξιώματι, καὶ ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀνίησι σπεύδων ἐπὶ τῷ σῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίους, εἰ καὶ θεῖον μήνιμα τὰς ἡμῶν, φησὶν, ἀμαρτίας μετέρχεται, καὶ ὡς ἡγεμόνων τὰ πλεῖστα κακότητι παραπόλωλε, τὰ

31. This is why, having witnessed for the first time the disorderly ardour of the people, and that if agitated in any way it was capable of starting a revolution, the Emperor Andronicus first of all called on the army to provide a stop thrust. But, on 11<sup>th</sup> June, he gathered the leading citizens and delivered a long harangue, defending himself in relation to the Catalans. After the Roman forces had been weakened, he had been forced to call in foreigners, on the one hand the Alans and, on the other hand, the Italians (i.e., the Catalans), who had offered their services to him. Nor was he the only one or the first to receive and honour a foreigner, since John Doukas had taken and appointed to Roman dignities a certain William,<sup>93</sup> and his own father had honoured Ikarios with the dignity of Grand Duke. Neither had he ever ceased to seek the salvation of the Romans, even if divine anger punishes our sins, as he said. The

<sup>92</sup> Since the Genoese had regretted reaching an agreement with the Emperor Michael, given that they feared reprisals from the Catalans, and so feigning regret, they used the pretext of a shortfall between the amount promised and the amount received in order to reconsider their resolution. (Cf. F594, fn. 67)

<sup>93</sup> I.e., prefect of Albania to whom John III Bataatzes [John Doukas] had appealed. (Cf. F596, fn. 71)



πολλά <sup>10</sup> ἀμελούντων. Καὶ πόλλ' ἄττα συν-  
υφάνας τοιαῦτα, τέλος ἐφ' ἡσυχίας μὲν αὐτοὺς  
διάγειν ἐπέταττε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχειν καὶ μὴ  
πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀξίους μόνον ἑαυτοὺς καθ-  
ιστάντας ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατόν, αὐτῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέποντας, κἄν που καὶ  
θορυβοῖεν ἄτακτοι, τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνείργοντας,  
καθ' ἣν πολλοὶ δυσχερῶς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν  
εἰδέναι, κατὰ <sup>15</sup> διαφόρους καιροὺς ἀπηλλάχασιν,  
ὡς μεγίστου πολέμου τῆς στάσεως οὐσης τῆς ἐν  
ταῖς πόλεσι, καθ' ἣν οὐκ ἐ[κγίγνεται οὐσιῶν] καὶ  
πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' εἰρήνης εἶναι καὶ ὁμονοίας  
ζημίαν, ἧ τὰ πάντα συγγέονται· ὡς γὰρ τὸ ὑφ'  
ἑαυτοῖς ἐξαπατᾶσθαι πάντων χεῖριστον διὰ τὸ  
καθυφιέναι μηδὲ] σμικρὸν ἀποστατεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ  
παρεῖναι τὸν (B548) ἐξα[πατήσοντα] <sup>20</sup> καὶ πει-  
θοῦς ἀνάγκαις δουλαγωγεῖσθαι τὸν ἐξαπατώ-  
μενον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς πολεμεῖσθαι πόλιν  
δεινότερον, ὡς ἐντὸς τῶν ὑπεκκαυμάτων ὄντων  
εἰς βιαίας ἔτοιμα κακίας ἄνασιν.

Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ πλείονος ἐποιεῖτο τὸ τῆς  
πόλεως ἀστασίαστον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοιοῦτῳ  
καιρῷ καθ' ὃν, τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνεγερμένων, ἐξ  
ἀναγκαίου <sup>25</sup> καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς συγκραδαινέσθαι,  
ὥστε καὶ ὀρᾶσθαι σφᾶς ἀνεγερμένους. Πρῶτον  
μὲν τῶν ξυμβαινόντων χάριν ἐκ τῆς στασιώδους  
ταραχῆς ἐκείνης, ὡς παρακινήσειμένων ἐκ τῆς  
τυχούσης προφάσεως, στρατιωτικὰς εἰσήγε δυνά-  
μεις κατ' ἀναχαιτισμὸν τῶν προσδοκωμένων  
θορύβων· τότε τὴν ἐνταυθοῖ σφῶν ἀσχολίαν  
περιττὴν ἄλλως κρίνων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
(F599) ὑπερόριον, ἄλλως ἔγνω κατασφαλίσασθαι  
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς συνειλεγμένους  
ἐπέταττε, χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέντας τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελ-  
ίοις, ὁμνύειν ἢ μὴν πίστιν μὲν φυλάττειν εἰς  
βασιλεῖς, πάντα γελίοις ὁμνύειν ἢ μὴν πίστιν μὲν  
φυλάττειν εἰς βασιλεῖς, πάντα δὲ διχονοίας  
τρόπον καὶ στάσεως μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἣν που <sup>5</sup> καὶ θορυβοῖεν. δυσὶν, ὃ  
λέγεται, χερσὶν ἀντωεῖν. Καί γ' ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν  
πᾶσαν ἀνάγκη ἦν τοὺς παρευρισκομένους – εἶδες  
ἂν παρερχομένους βασιλικούς, καὶ τοὺς παρευ-  
ρισκομένους (B549) περισχομένους – καὶ ὁμνύ-  
ειν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπράττοντο  
τῆδε.

### 32. On the battle fought by the Emperor Michael against the Almogavars.

#### λβ'. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ μάχης πρὸς Ἀμογαβάρους.

<sup>10</sup> 32. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ οὐκ ἠρεμῶν ἦν  
τὴν μάχην, ἀλλὰ πάντα λίθον κινῶν, τὸ τοῦ

majority of the misfortunes were due to the  
perversion of the leaders, who were extremely  
negligent. He wove together a number of similar  
affirmations and ended up ordering them to live  
in peace, devote themselves to their work and not  
to manoeuvres, show themselves to be as dig-  
nified as possible, place matters between his own  
hands and those of his own men and, if the mal-  
contents should make an uproar, push back this  
opposition, which has at various times caused  
many to die atrociously, as they themselves know  
well enough. Because sedition, which arises in  
the cities, is a very serious war, he said. Not only  
does it damage goods and businesses, but also  
peace and concord, and it produces general  
confusion. Allowing oneself to fall into self-  
deception is in fact the worst of all, since the one  
who is ready to deceive does not even keep a  
minimum of distance, but is always present, and  
the one who is deceived is enslaved by the neces-  
sities of obedience. In the same way, being  
attacked by itself is more terrible for a city,  
because the combustibles inside are ready to  
ignite violent evils.

This is why he made the greatest case con-  
cerning the sedition in the City. Especially at such  
a time when those outside the City were in revolt,  
it was inevitable that the situation inside would be  
shaken up and that they would also be in revolt.  
Due to the events provoked by this seditious  
tumult, which made it possible to rise up on the  
first possible pretext, he had first of all introduced  
military forces to curb the foreseeable distur-  
bances. But he now judged their action in the City  
to be simply superfluous and excessive in relation  
to needs. He thus decided to ensure the peace in  
another way, and promptly ordered the persons  
assembled to lay their hands on the sacred  
gospels, take an oath to remain loyal to the  
Emperor Andronicus, refrain from becoming  
engaged in any kind of dispute or revolt and  
oppose the others by taking their courage in both  
hands, as per the saying, should these malcontents  
caused an uproar. And all over the City people  
were also forced to take an oath. Imperial officers  
could be seen passing by and intercepting the  
people that they found. This is what was practised  
inside the City.

32. Meanwhile the Emperor Michael was not  
resting idle, but, as the saying goes, he left no

λόγου, ὅπως τὴν ἦτταν ἀνακαλέσεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμενε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἀκούειν τε καὶ ὄρᾶν τὰ δεινὰ ἄπερ ἔπασχον οἱ ἐλεεινοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπὸ τῶν αἰμοχαρῶν Κατελάνων. Ὅθεν καὶ πάντα λόγον ἀφείς ἐπισυνάγει τὸ στράτευμα καὶ, καταλιπὼν τὴν Ὀρεστιάδα, περὶ τὴν Ἄπρω πλησίον κατασκηνοῖ, ὡς ἅμα ἔφω προσμίζων τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ πλησίον καὶ αὐτοὶ κατεσκήνουν. Τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραία, συνταξάμενος κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἡμέρη λεγόμενον τόπον, Ἀλανοὺς μὲν καὶ Τουρκοπούλους ἐν ἡγουμέναις συντάξεσιν ἴστα, περὶ τὸν Βοσσίλαν τούτους ποιούμενος, ἐπομένους δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν μέγαν πριμμικήριον Μακεδόνας διέταττε καὶ μετὰ τούτους περὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρον τοὺς ἀντολίηθεν ἀπηρκότας, τὸ Βλαχικὸν δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο ἐκ θεληματαρίων συγκροτούμενον ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ τρόπον, περὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην συνταξάμενος οὐραγοῦν, αὐτὸς συνάμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ δεσπότη καὶ τῷ πικέρνῳ Σεναχηρεῖμ (F601) τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς λαὸν ἄγειν ἠρεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἀμφιπονεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν ἄνακτα καὶ οἱ πολυωρεῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἠθέλεν. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τὰς συντάξεις διατάξας, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄπαν καὶ μαχιμώτατον προσλαβὼν, (B550) τὸν ὕστατον ἀνεπλήρου σύλλογον. Καὶ αἱ μὲν Ῥωμαϊκαὶ δυνάμεις εἰς ἑπέντε που τέλη τὰ μείζω συνεποσοῦντο, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἰς τέσσαρα, ὧν ἐν ἦν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν·

Καὶ δὴ καρτερᾶς γενομένης τῆς μάχης καὶ ἐκ χειρός, ἐνθεν μὲν Ἄλανοι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Τουρκόπουλοι συνεκθέουσι καὶ τῇ προηγουμένη συντάξει τῶν Κατελάνων προσβάλλουσι. Καὶ εὐθὺς πύργος ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι, μηδὲν<sup>10</sup> μηδενὶ καθυπεῖκοντες· ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γὰρ ὀπλισμένοι καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐκάτερα βάλλουσι πίσυνοι, καρτερῶς ἀντεῖχον. Οὐ μὴν δ' εἰσβάλλοντες οἱ προεκδρα-

stones unturned, to redress the defeat. In fact, the nobility and the bravery of his soul could not bear to hear and see the calamities to which the bloodthirsty Catalans were subjecting the unfortunate Romans. This is why, renouncing any speech, he reunited the army, left the Orestiad and went to camp near Apros<sup>94</sup> so he could attack the Italians at dawn, since they were also camping very close to there. So, the next day, he took up his position at a place called Hemera<sup>95</sup> (near Apros). He positioned the Alans and the Tourkopouloi on the front lines around Vojsil.<sup>96</sup> He then collocated the Macedonians around the Grand Primicerius Kassianos, while positioning those who had left for the East around his uncle Theodore Palaiologos (already mentioned earlier at the side of his nephew Michael). Having collocated the Wallachian contingent, as well as the remainder composed of volunteers, which were also well-ordered, in the rear-guard around the Grand Heterarch Nostongos Doukas (the latter commanded a foreign contingent composed of Vlachs and “volunteers” rallying to the empire), he positioned himself with his brother Constantine the Despot<sup>97</sup> and the Pinkernes Senachereim Angelos.<sup>98</sup> In fact, the latter did not wish to command a body of troops either but wanted to watch over the prince and ensure his safety. When the Emperor Michael had thus organized his lines, he took all his own troops, which were the most combative, and formed the last company. The Roman forces consisted of five large units, whereas those of the adversaries consisted of four, one of which was that of the Persians.<sup>99</sup>

A fierce fight with knives ensued. The Alans on one side and the Tourkopouloi on the other set off together and attacked the Catalan vanguard. But the Catalans were instantly like a stone-tower and yielded nothing to any one. In fact, they were strongly armed and confident in those who fired on either side, and they resisted firmly. The imperial forces that had rushed forward burst in, but

<sup>94</sup> About 30 kilometres from Rhaidestos on the Via Egnatia. (Cf. F598, fn. 78)

<sup>95</sup> Said to be near “Kastamon” [Apros?] in the brief version). This new confrontation is called the Battle of Hemera and took place on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1305. (Cf. F598, fn. 78)

<sup>96</sup> The latter had already led the Alans and the Tourkopouloi the day before Roger de Flor was assassinated in Adrianople. (Cf. F598, fn. 79)

<sup>97</sup> Constantine Palaiologos, married to the daughter of Theodore Mouzalon and mentioned earlier. (Cf. F600, fn. 83)

<sup>98</sup> Not to be confused with John Senachereim Angelos who was Grand Domestic with a superior dignity - the Pinkernes occupied 15<sup>th</sup> place in the hierarchy. (Cf. F600, fn. 83)

<sup>99</sup> I.e., five byzantine units commanded by Vojsil, Kassianos, Theodore Palaiologos, Nostongos Doukas, and the Emperor Michael faced four enemy units, one of which was composed of Turks and three of Catalans and Almogavars. (Cf. F600, fn. 84)

μόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκαρτέρουν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς παρεγκλίναντες ἐπὶ θάτερα, δόξαν παρέσχον τροπῆς, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ καὶ οἷς ἐωρῶντο, ὡς δῆθεν ἀπογνόντες τὴν μάχην, τῷ δὲ βαθυτέρῳ καὶ οἷς ὑπωπτεύοντο, λειποταξίου <sup>15</sup> ἐκόντες εἶναι γραφόμενοι, οἷς ὅτι, μὴ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἰκανούμενοι μελέτης ἐρραθύμουν πολεμικῆς. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ ἀνάπυστον γεγονὸς ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τουκταΐ πρὸς βασιλέα μήνυμα περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀνθυποστροφῆς – δῆλον γὰρ ἦν ὡς ὁ Τουκταΐς ἐκείνους ὡς ἰδίους καὶ τῆς τῶν Τοχάρων ἀρχῆθεν χειρὸς ἀπήτει παρὰ τὸν ἄνακτα πρεσβευόμενος –, διὰ <sup>20</sup> ταῦτα καθυφέντες τὰς ὀρμὰς ἀρρωστοτέρας (B551) εἶχον καὶ ἐδοχμιάζον. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τοῖς κατόπιν ἰοῦσι δειλιαν ἐμβάλλει, καὶ ἀπροθύμως εἶχον περὶ τὴν μάχην. Ὅπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐραγῶν θεασάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῖς ὄλοις ὡς εἰκὸς δείσας, αὐτὸς ἠναγκάζεται πολεμεῖν οἰκείῳ σώματι, καὶ γοῦν ἔτοιμος ἦν μετοχετεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην. ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτο ἵππος ἐκ τινος δαιμονίου <sup>25</sup> συμβάματος καὶ ἧς οὐδεὶς αἰτίας ἤδει, τῶν χαλινῶν ἀνεθείς, ῥυτῆρας μὲν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἠνιόχου ἀφήσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὡς εἶχε κατὰ πεδίου κροαίνων, τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνεται. Ἐπιβάς γοῦν ἄλλου καὶ λαβὼν ἀνά χεῖρας ὑσσόν, ὄλαις ὀρμαῖς σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν Ἀμογαβάρους ἐπέρραξε καὶ ἀρείκον θάρρος ἔδειξε, παραντίκα τὸν πόλεμον αὐτουργῶν. Καὶ κατὰ <sup>30</sup> πρώτην εἰσβολὴν ἐκείνην εἰς ἤρκεσε τῷ ὑσσῶ προσπαρεῖς καὶ πεσών, καὶ δεῦτερος σπάθης γίνεται παρανάλωμα. Ἐν ταῦτῳ δὲ δυοῖν ὀρμησάντων (F603) μετὰ γέρρων εὐθὺ βασιλέως, ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἐν χρῶ γενέσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ πιγκέρνης, τὸν δ' ἔνθεν νέος τις καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν παιδαρίσκων δέχονται καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν περιποιοῦνται ζωήν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄτε βασιλέως ἐκ τῶν σημείων φανέντος ἐπεισφρήσαντες οὐταζον, ὥστ' ἐξικνεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ σώματος τὰς πληγὰς, κἂν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀγχιτρόφους ἐποίει τὰς μετακλίσεις, εἰ (B552) μὴ τῶν ἄλλων φυγομαχούντων, αὐτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐν ἀναγκαίῳ κινδύνῳ ἦν καὶ παρακληθεὶς ὑπέστρεφεν. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπισπόμενοι οὐκ ἀνῆκαν ἔτι, ὁ δὲ, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ κυδοιμοῦ, δάκρυά τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οἷα λόγος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ἔρρει, ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους τὰς τρίχας, τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποικτιζόμενος πράγμασι, καὶ ὑποστρέφειν ἐσφάδαζε, κἂν οὐκ εἶχεν ὄλωσ. Ἐλεος δ' ἦν ἐντεῦθεν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἔννοιά τις εἰσῆει τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ὡς κατ' ἀπάτην ἀναχωροῦσι καὶ ὡς ἐνέδραις προλοχί-

after that they did not persist and immediately moved aside, giving the impression that they were fleeing and giving up the fight. But more seriously, and as per what was suspected, they could have been incriminated for voluntary abandonment of post. In fact, as they had not been provided with their salaries, they had released their warlike ardour. But some say that they had been informed of Toqtai's message to the Emperor Michael concerning his request for the return of the Alans. It was known that Toqtai, through an embassy to the prince, had claimed as his own these people who had been submitted to the Tatars from the beginning.<sup>100</sup> And so it was for this reason that they weakened their momentum and were side-lined. However, this inspired fear in those who came from behind and so these were sluggish in battle. When the Emperor Michael, who was in the rear, saw this, and as he naturally feared for the assembled, he himself was forced to fight with his own body, and he thus slipped into the battle. But the horse serving him dispensed with the bit following some devilish incident, and, for a reason that no one could fathom, it left the bridle in the hands of the chevalier while it galloped as best it could across the plain to join the enemies. So, the Emperor mounted another horse, took a javelin in his hand, rushed with all his enthusiasm onto the Almogavars with some of his followers and showed valiant audacity, at once becoming the masters of the fight. One man resisted this first attack, but was killed with a javelin, and a second man was killed with a sword. And, as two soldiers, armed with shields, had rushed together straight onto the Emperor Michael, who was close to being in danger, the Pinkernes and a young imperial page killed each one of them respectively and thus saved the Emperor Michael's life. As the Emperor was not able to hide his status due to his insignia, many rushed to strike him, and his body also received blows. The Emperor would have reacted quickly had he not been in imminent danger due to the small number of men and the others being in retreat and had not duty called upon him to turn back. So, while some obeyed the orders and did not give up, the Emperor withdrew from the fight a little, and let tears gush from his eyes, like Agamemnon is said to have done, *tearing his hair from his head by the root* and lamenting the situation of the

<sup>100</sup> The Alans in question lived north of the Black Sea, in the territory conquered by Nogai and the Golden Horde. Toqtai, Khan of the Golden Horde (1291-1312), had killed Nogai and had allied himself with the Emperor Andronicus, from whom he had taken as wife an illegitimate daughter named Mary. (Cf. F600, fn. 85)

ζουσιν ἄλλοι, καὶ οὕτως ἀνείργονται τῆς διώξεως. Ὅθεν καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω φορᾶς ἴστανται, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄλλος ἀλλαγῶν<sup>15</sup> διασπαρέντες, περισώζονται.

Ὁ μέντοι γε βασιλεὺς καταλαμβάνει μόλις τὸ Πάμφυλον. Καὶ δὴ τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης, οὐκ ἦν ὅστις τῶν γεωργῶν, ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θέρους, ἔξω τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐναπολέλειπτο, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντοθεν μυρμηκίαν μιμούμενοι ἐσκευαγῶν ἐφ' ἄμαξῶν, θέρη καὶ δράγματα καὶ<sup>20</sup> σωρούς χαίρειν ἑῶντες. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐναντίοις, κἄν ἴστων τὰ ὀρμήματα τότε κατὰ τινα ἐνεδρῶν ὑποψίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ (B553) ὀλίγα τῶν ἀνηκέστων πράξασι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ληϊσάμενοις, ἐπήει τὴν Ἄπρω περικαθῆσθαι τῶν εἰσδεδυκότων ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πολιορκεῖν· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἦνυτον τὸ παράπαν, ἔγνωσαν ὑποστρέφειν. Ἀλανοῖς δ' ἅπαξ ἀφεικόσι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας<sup>25</sup> ἔννοιαν, σκυλεύειν τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἔδοξε, καὶ φίλοι μὲν ἐφίσταντο, ἐχθροὶ δ' ἀπανίσταντο. Ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπαλγήσας τῇ συμφορᾷ, τῷ μὲν υἱῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ τοὺς παρακλητήριους ὡς εἶχεν ἐσχεδίαζε, τὸν δὲ Κουτζίμπαξιν ἀπολύει πρὸς Ἀλανοὺς, ἅμα μὲν ἐκείνους ἐγκαθεστήξοντα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Τουρκοπούλους δουλαγωγῆσοντα· τῷ γὰρ<sup>30</sup> ὁμοεθνεῖ τε καὶ ὁμογλώσσῳ, καὶ ὅτι συνήθης ἦν Ἀλανοῖς ἐν Νογαῖ, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Τουρκταῖν πρεσβείαν αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο, εἰς αἰδῶ πρέπουσαν ὑπήκοοις (F605) ὑπαγαγέσθαι σφᾶς ἐπιστεύετο. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς στρατολογεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορμᾶν ἠβούλετο μὲν, ἐπείχετο δὲ ἐξ ἀναγκαίων πολλῶν ἀντισπώμενος. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς μὲν δυνάμεις ἀποστόλους προσετοιμάζει, οἷς θαρροῦντες οἱ πρόσχωροι ἀφόβως ἐργάζονται· ἂν τὰ τοῦ θέρους, Ἀμογαβάροις<sup>5</sup> δὲ τέως ἀνακωχᾶς διδοὺς, ὡς αὐτίκα καταδραμούμενος (B554) συναχθεισῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, ἔπειτα ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσὶ Γεννουίτας ἐκ τῶν Λαζῶν ὑποστρέψαντας συμμαχεῖν ἐπεχειρεῖ πείθειν. Ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐδέησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς δύο ναῦς τὰς καλλίστας ἐκπλεῦσαι, ἀγούσας πρὸς

Romans. He was eager to go back, but he could not do anything. But then the compassion of God descended. The adversaries imagined that they were moving away out of trickery and that others must be setting ambushes in advance, and so they were dissuaded from pursuing. This is why the Catalans stopped their advance, while the Romans dispersed here and there and were saved.

As for the Emperor Michael, in the end he reached Pamphylia.<sup>101</sup> When the rumour spread, none of the cultivators wished to remain outside of Constantinople, even in the height of summer, but resembling an anthill, they migrated on wagons together and from everywhere and abandoned the harvests, sheaves, and heaps of wheat. Even though the Catalans had slowed in momentum, since they suspected ambushes, they still effected a good number of destructive acts and looted what they could find. And once they saw those who were entering Apros, they came up with the idea of surrounding it and trying to besiege it,<sup>102</sup> but they had no success and decided to return. Meanwhile the Alans definitively renounced all their good will towards the Emperor Andronicus<sup>103</sup> and decided to plunder what was within their reach and, having arrived as friends they left as enemies. Informed of these events, the Emperor Andronicus was naturally grieved by the misfortune. He composed his best words of consolation for his son the Emperor Michael, while he sent Koutzimpaxis to the Alans, so that, once he was installed, he would be able to bring the Alans and the Tourkopouloi into submission. As Koutzimpaxis was in fact of the same race and language and had frequented the Alans under Nogai and had himself led the embassy near Toqtai, he was trusted to bring them back to the respect befitting subjects.<sup>104</sup> For his part, the Emperor Andronicus wanted to enlist the soldiers immediately and leave, but he was detained, since he was pulled in the opposite direction by many necessities. This explains why, on the one hand, he prepared an expeditionary force by land, so that the neighbouring inhabitants could trust in it to harvest without fear, and, on the other hand, he granted a momentary truce to the Almogavars,

<sup>101</sup> He camped here before going to the fortress of Apros, mentioned above. (Cf. F602, fn. 87)

<sup>102</sup> For about a week, from 7<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1305 and thus in the heart of summer and at harvest time, as the historian recalls on several occasions. (Cf. F602, fn. 88)

<sup>103</sup> They had offered their services to the Emperor soon after the death of Nogai in 1299. (Cf. F602, fn. 89)

<sup>104</sup> He had been a companion of Nogai, before joining the Emperor Michael and becoming a Christian. The embassy that was sent by the Emperor Andronicus and Toqtai and led by Koutzimpaxis was undoubtedly responding to the request, mentioned above, of the Khan of the Golden Horde to let the Alans of the empire return to their homeland. (Cf. F602, fn. 91)



Ἴταλῶν ἦθη καὶ Μπυριγέριον. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς Γεννουῖται, τὸ <sup>10</sup> ἐμπορικὸν προῖσχυμένοι, ἀπαίρειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠτοιμάζοντο. Μόλις ἀξιώσεως χάριν ἐκλέγονται δύο, μισθοῦ νομισμάτων ἑξακισχιλίων, πλὴν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, ὥστε ὑφ' ὄρκῳ βεβαίῳ δύο μῆνας ἐκδουλεῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, συμπράττοντας τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ πολεμοῦντας ἐς ἅπαν ὡς ἐχθροῖς βασιλέως τε καὶ τοῦ περιφανοῦς σφῶν ξυνεδρίου. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἐννέα ὠμολόγουν <sup>15</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιστῆναι καὶ αὐτοὶ δωρεάν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέραις προσκαρτερήσαντες κατὰ τινα τῶν ἐχθρῶν δειλίαν, πρᾶξι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων πειράσασθαι, κἀντεῦθεν ἀναχωρεῖν, κἀν εὐδοοῖεν κἀν μὴ. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος, βασιλεύς, πῶς ἂν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγένηται, βουλευόμενος διεσκόπει.

with the intention of launching an attack as soon as the forces had gathered. He then tried to persuade the Genoese, who had returned from the Lazi on thirteen ships,<sup>105</sup> to ally with him. But he was so far from his objective that the two finest ships promptly set sail, with Berenger onboard who was to be taken to the homeland of the Italians. The Genoese on the remaining boats prioritized trade and made preparations to leave. In the end, only two boats were offered for a salary of six thousand nomismata, and with conditions attached. By virtue of a firm oath, these Genoese were to serve the Emperor Andronicus for two months, cooperating with the others and fully fighting the Catalans as enemies of the Emperor and their famous council. Those on the nine remaining ships agreed with the Emperor that they would also go there without pay and persevere for a few days to instil fear in the enemies, try to act in favour of Roman affairs, and then withdraw, whether they had succeeded or not.<sup>106</sup> After obtaining this, the Emperor Andronicus deliberated and considered how he could then prevail over his enemies.

### 33. Almogavars imprisoned in Adrianople.

<sup>20</sup> λγ'. περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει ἐγκεκλεισμένων Ἀμογαβάρων.

33. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀδριανοῦ ἐγκεκλεισμένοι Κατελάνοι, περὶ ἑξήκοντα ὄντες, οἱ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκποδῶν γεγονότος, ἔπειτα ὄρκους δουλαγωγηθέντες ἐγκατεκλείσθησαν, οὐδ' (B555) αὐτοὶ γε, τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνάπυστον γεγονὸς τὸ παράπαν ἠμέλουν, ἀλλὰ, φήμης <sup>25</sup> διαδοθείσης ὡς, κατὰ κράτος ἠττηθέντων τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἱ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν μέχρι καὶ αὐτῶν ἴασι ἀρήξοντες σφίσι, ῥήξαντες τὰ δεσμά, ἐπεὶ ἐκφυγάνειν οὐκ εἶχον, δυσανοίκτου ὄντος τοῦ πύργου ἵνα καὶ ἐγκαθίδρυντο, ἄνω που ἀνερρηφότες κατὰ τὸ ὑπαιθρον, ἐκεῖθεν παρακειμένοι πέτροις ἠκροβολίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-

33. However, neither the Catalans who were incarcerated in Adrianople, numbering about sixty, nor those who had been locked up there when the Caesar had been killed<sup>107</sup> after having taken an oath of submission, did not in the least remain inactive once they found out what had happened to the Emperor.<sup>108</sup> When the rumour was spread that our people had been heavily defeated and that their compatriots were coming to help them, they broke out of their incarceration. As they could not escape since the (gates of the) tower where they had been imprisoned was difficult to force open, they

<sup>105</sup> After the victory over the Catalans and the capture of Berenger d'Entença in Rhegion on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1305, the Genoese merchant ships again set sail and left for Trebizond in the first days of June, taking the Catalan prisoner with them. (Cf. F604, fn. 92)

<sup>106</sup> The count of the Genoese boats is not clear. On its arrival, the fleet numbered sixteen boats. After the battle of Rhegion, a boat returned to Genoa to announce the victory. Thirteen (not fifteen) boats returned from Trebizond. Two immediately left for Genoa, taking Berenger d'Entença. Of the eleven remaining boats, two provided the Emperor Andronicus with a service of two months for a sum of six thousand nomismata, while the nine others had to content themselves with giving a warning shot to the Almogavars by passing in front of their entrenched camp of Kallioupolis. Nothing is said of the fate of the two missing boats. (Cf. F604, fn. 93)

<sup>107</sup> According to Pachymeres (XII, 23), Caesar Roger de Flor came to Adrianople with 150 men, but the Catalan chronicler numbers them at 1,300 men, a large proportion of whom were murdered with their leader, while the others were put in prison (XII, 24). (Cf. F604, fn. 94)

<sup>108</sup> I.e., the defeat of Michael IX near Apros (XII, 32). (Cf. F605, fn. 95)

όντας ἡμύνοντο, σκοπούμενοι |<sup>30</sup> καταπίπτειν μετ' ἀσφαλείας. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦνυτον τὸ παράπαν, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκείνη πη περιστάντων. Ὅθεν καὶ ὀλίγων φυγομαχησάντων καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παραδόντων, οἱ λοιποὶ μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ θανάτου ἐνεργέστερον ἐπολέμουν καὶ βάλλοντες ἐπιτρῶσκοντο. Τέλος, ὕλην παντοδαπὴν συμφορήσαντες οἱ (F607) πολῖται πῦρ ἐνῖασιν, ὡς καταφλέξοντες καὶ πύργον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἦρετο μέγα, οἱ δὲ, τῇ φλογὶ ἐνειλούμενοι, οὐδ' ἐς βραχὺ τοῦ εὐτόλμου καθυφείκεσαν λήματος, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον περιδύμενοι ἐσθῆτας, κατὰ πυρὸς βάλλοντες, τὸ πῦρ οἷον ἡμύνοντο, ἔπειτα, κατ' ὀλίγον κραταιομένου |<sup>5</sup> τοῦ φλέγοντος, ἀνηλίσκοντο ἐς αὐτὸ πηδῶντες ἐκόντες, φιλήμασιν ἀλλήλους ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ σταυρῷ φραττόμενοι. Δύο δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀδελφῶ καὶ γένος καὶ γνώμας, (B556) στερρῶς περισχόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα περιπτυξάμενοι, ἅμα μὲν οἴκτω, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀρεϊκῶ ἐπαρθέντες λήματι, τοῦ πύργου καταπεσόντες, ἐξ αὐτῆς διαπεφωνήκεσαν. |<sup>10</sup> Παῖς δ' ἐκείνοις συνῆν, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀργὸς ἦν ἐκ φιλοίκτου δειλίας καὶ δῆλος ἦν μέλλων τὴν αὐθεντίαν, εὐθὺς ἀφειδοῦντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ περισχόντες τὸν νεανίαν ἐρρίπτουν κατὰ πυρὸς εὐθαρσῶς, ὡς οὐχ ἦκιστα σώσοντες ἢ ἀπολοῦντες. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔδρων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως τοῦ ὅλως περιγενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου σφίσι τε καὶ τοσαύτῃ πόλει |<sup>15</sup> ξυνέβαινε τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι.

rushed up to the top in the open air. From there they engaged in skirmishes using the stones embedded in the wall to repulse the attackers and try to descend to safety. But they had no success at all because the inhabitants of the city took up positions all around. This is why some stopped fighting and surrendered, but others fought more vigorously even to death and were shot in the act of throwing. In the end, the inhabitants of the city gathered all kinds of materials and set the tower alight with the intention of consuming both the tower and those who were inside it. But even though a great fire arose, and these men were enveloped in the flames, they did not give up the least of their daring resolve. First, they stripped themselves of their clothes to throw these on the fire, then they repelled the fire as best they could, and when the flames grew stronger, they perished by leaping into the fire voluntarily, lavishing kisses on each other and summoning up courage by making the sign of the cross. Two of these, brothers by birth and by emotion, held each other in a tight embrace and, exalted as much by pity for themselves as by courageous resolution, fell from the tower and immediately died. There was also a young man among them who was delaying due to a pitiful fear and was visibly postponing his suicide. And so, the other men, promptly and without a care, surrounded him and, with the intention of saving him just as much as losing him, threw him firmly into the fire. This is what they did out of total desperation to win. If truth be said, the fight was not equal between them and such a city.

#### 34. About Andrea Morisco and his actions.

##### λδ'. Περὶ τοῦ Ἀνδρέου Μουρίσκου καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων.

34. Ἀνδρέας δὲ Μουρίσκος, ὄν καὶ βεστιάριον πρὸς βασιλέως καταστῆναι ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις ἐλέγομεν – οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν νηῶν ὀνομάζεται, ὑπαρχος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πάλαι λεγόμενος –, |<sup>20</sup> ἐν δυοῖν ναυσὶ Τενέδῳ προσσχὼν, καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει τὸ ἐκεῖσε φρούριον. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν οὗτος ἐπίδοξος ὡς ἀλώσων ἦν, Γεννουῖται δὲ, τυχόντες ἐκ παρόδου, σφίσι τε ἐκοινολογοῦντο, καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον ἐν τούτοις ἴστων, ὡς, εἰ μὲν κατασχεῖν τὸ φρούριον θέλοιεν, αὐτῶν μεσολαβοῦντων, ἀκονιτὶ γε λήψαιεντ' ἂν, εἰ δὲ γε τῶν ἐντὸς ἐς ἅπαν περιγενέσθαι, οὐκ |<sup>25</sup> ἂν ἀναμωτὶ τὸ σύνολον ἀπαλλάξειαν. Καὶ ὅπη

34. In previous discourses we mentioned that Andrea Morisco had been appointed vestiary by the Emperor. The vestiary is what the navy calls the expense officer, that which was formerly called the hyparchos of the army. He came to shore with two boats at Tenedos and resolutely besieged the local fortress. He was already celebrating its seizure<sup>109</sup> but the Genoese, who were passing by there, spoke with the besiegers and plainly told them that if they wanted them to help them occupy the fortress, they could take it without a fight, but if they wanted to totally defeat those inside, the Genoese would not be able to do this without bloodshed. The besiegers

<sup>109</sup> Here the text of manuscript A ends, as well as its apographs. The rest of the manuscript is lost, with the exception of two folios, which preserve fragments of the last book (XIII, 1 and 15). (Cf. F606, fn. 98)

σφίσιν ἐπιχειρητέα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἴη διεπυ-  
θάνοντο. Ἐυμφέρον δὲ τό γε (B557) μετ' εἰρήνης  
ἀπηλλάχθαι δόξαν, αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐνφικηκόσι τῇ  
νήσῳ ἐπίκοινα βουλευσάμενοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα  
σφῶν, ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ναυσὶν ἐσβήσαντες,  
περιεποιήσαντο, κενὸν δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἀφιᾶσι.  
Καὶ μέγα τι ἐφημίσθη τοῦτο, ὡς αὐτὴν  
Καλλιούπολιν <sup>30</sup> κατασχόντων· ἐς τόδε ὁμως καὶ  
μόνον ἀπεκρίθη τὸ φημιζόμενον.

(F609) Οὐδὲν δὲ τέως ἐνεώχρωσε καὶ τὸ περὶ  
τῆς ἀγούστης φημισθὲν Εἰρήνης, ἥτις, ἐπὶ δυσὶν  
ἡδὴ χρόνοις Θεσσαλονίκη παραμείνασα, τὰ πρὸς  
αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν παίδων δῶκει, εἰς ἐπιγάμιους  
ὀρμῶσα συμβάσεις. Τὸ δ' ἦν, τῶν εἰς τὰ τῆδε  
ἀπτομένην, συμμαχικὸν ἐπάγεσθαι ἔκ τε  
Βελεγράδων Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον <sup>5</sup> καὶ πλεῖστον  
ἄλλο Τριβαλλικὸν ξενικόν.

Ἄλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραττον  
πάλιν οἱ ἐναντίοι. Τέως δὲ ἐκεχειρία ἦν τῶν  
πολέμων, ἐξ ἐγγίονος τῶν κατ' Ἄβυδον στενῶν  
τῶν βασιλικῶν τριήρων πλεουσῶν κατὰ κωλύ-  
μην τῆς ἔωθεν τῶν Περσῶν περαιώσεως, οὐς  
οὐδ' αὐτοὶ προσεποιῶντο, ὡς ἐλέγετο, Ἀμογά-  
βαροι, ἵνα γοῦν δυνατὰ σφίσιν <sup>10</sup> εἴη ἄγειν καὶ  
φέρειν οὐς φθάσαντες διεπέρασαν, κατὰ τὸ  
αὐτοῖς ἀρέσκον, τῇ καθ' αὐτοὺς πληθὺν δουλαγω-  
γούμενους, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τὴν περαιάν διακατέχ-  
οντες, *ἰοῖς τιτυσκόμενοι*, τῆς ἠϊόνος ἀπήρτων τοὺς  
ἡμετέρους, ἦν τί που (B558) καὶ ἐγχειροῖεν ὅπη  
παρατύχοι ὀρμίζεσθαι ἢ μὴν ὑδρεύεσθαι. Πᾶσαν  
γὰρ ἠϊόνα διηνεκῶς ξυνέβαινε Πέρσαις κατέχ-  
εσθαι, πλην τῶν ὄσον κατ' Ἀτραμύτιον <sup>15</sup> καὶ  
Φώκαιαν ἦν, ὃ δὴ τῷ Μανουῆλ Ζαχαρία κατ-  
εἶχετο, οὐ τόσον χωρίων ἰσχύι ὅσον τῷ τῶν περὶ  
ἐκεῖνον Ἰταλῶν ὄντων εἰς πόλεμον θράσει πεφυ-  
λαγμένον. Τῷ τοι καὶ ἀτημελημένας τὰς ἐκατέρ-  
ωθεν νήσους ὀρῶντες οὗτοι, ἐπιμαχωτάτας κει-

inquired as to how they should proceed with the  
action. It seemed advantageous to the besiegers to  
avoid bloodshed, so the Genoese organized a  
consultation with the inhabitants of the island.  
They would protect their lives by taking them on  
their boats and then leave the fortress empty.  
Once this was accomplished, it was praised as a  
feat, as if they had taken Kallioupolis itself.<sup>110</sup>  
But the feat of which they boasted amounted to  
this action alone.

There was nothing new on the rumour  
concerning the Empress Irene, who had already  
spent two years in Thessaloniki in search of her  
best interests and that of her children and in  
pursuit of matrimonial agreements.<sup>111</sup> The rumour  
was that, thanks to her control over the local  
situation, she brought as allied troops Roman  
subjects from Bellagrada and also a large foreign  
contingent of Triballes (i.e. Serbs).<sup>112</sup>

Yet the adversaries were again the same, and  
they engaged in the same actions. There was a  
temporary truce in the fighting, due to the  
imperial triremes that were sailing near the Strait  
of Abydos to prevent the Persians crossing from  
the East.<sup>113</sup> It was said that the Almogavars them-  
selves did not want to attract the Persians because  
they wanted to plunder, according to their good  
pleasure, those who had crossed previously and  
were subjected to their number. However, the  
Persians firmly occupied the other bank,<sup>114</sup>  
aiming with their lines and keeping ours away  
from the coast if ever one of these entered tried to  
anchor or attempt to obtain water provisions. In  
fact, it happened that the Persians continuously  
occupied the entire coast, except the regions of  
Atramyttion and Phokaia, which were occupied  
by Manuel Zaccaria and guarded not so much by  
the strength of the villages but by the warlike  
audacity of the Italians allied with him. It was

<sup>110</sup> Pachymeres mentions above the island of Tenedos, which had been occupied by pirates and was also threatened by the Turks (X, 29). The comparison with Kallioupolis can be misleading because it does not appear that the island was in the hands of the Catalans, whom Andrea Morisco was in charge of pursuing in the name of the Emperor.

<sup>111</sup> The Empress Irene of Montferrat had left Constantinople in April 1303 (XI, 5). While she was on her way back, a few months later, the Emperor ordered her to turn back lest she be captured by the Catalans (XIII, 12). Gregoras (233.14-244.15 CSHB) provides a long account of the dealings undertaken by the Empress in the interests of her children. The story is repeated in a shorter form by the Pseudo-Sphrantzes (ed. Grecu, 172.1-16). (Cf. F608, fn. 1)

<sup>112</sup> The fortress of Bellagrada (mod. Belgrade) was coveted by Epirus and by Charles I of Anjou, when the troops of Michael VIII won a resounding victory there in 1281 (VI, 32-33). On the other hand, it was hoped to attract military aid from the Triballes (i.e. Serbs), whose king, Milutin, had obtained the hand of the young Simonis, daughter of Andronicus II and Irene of Montferrat (IX, 31; X, 4-5). (Cf. F608, fn. 2).

<sup>113</sup> The port and customs post of Abydos, on the European shore of the Hellespont Strait, controlled entry into the Propontis (IX, 18), as well as the passage from Asia to Europe. (Cf. F608, fn. 3).

<sup>114</sup> That is to say, the shore opposite Thrace. (Cf. F608, fn. 4)

μένας τοῖς τολμησεῖουσι ξυμβαλεῖν – οὐδὲ γὰρ σφίσι ἀπόδραστα ἦν τὰ ἐς κίνδυνον, σφῶν ἀλωμένων –, πέμψαντες βασιλέα ἠξίουον ἢ αὐτὸν ταῖς νήσοις τὸ <sup>120</sup> ἀδήωτον προνοεῖν, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἐς φυλακὴν, ἀνέντα καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν εἰσπράξεις, αἷς εἴη ἂν χρᾶσθαι ναῦς ἐξαρτυμένοις εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἀνταγώνισιν· ἐκεῖνοις γὰρ καὶ πρὸς χρόνων ὁ πάλαι βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ τὸν τόπον ἐδίδου, πρὸς ἐργασίαν στυπηρίας ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντες βασιλέως εὐμενοῦς ἐτύγγανον ἐς ὃ πρᾶξαι σφίσι τὸ κατὰ <sup>125</sup> βούλησιν, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀναβολαῖς ἦν ἔτι.

clear that the islands located on either side were being neglected; they had become an easy target for those who dared to come to blows, and should the islands be captured, the inhabitants would not be able to avoid the danger. They therefore requested the Emperor ensure the integrity of the islands himself, or hand them over to their custody and leave them the taxes normally levied from them so that they could use these to equip the boats to resist the attackers. In fact, it was in these same years before that the former Emperor Michael had handed over the location suitable for the exploitation of alum.<sup>115</sup> They reached the City and found the Emperor willing to satisfy their wishes, but things still remained pending.

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<sup>115</sup> The exploitation of the alum mines of Phokaia had been granted to the Zaccarias, Manueles and Benedettos by Michael VIII some forty years earlier. According to this passage, the Zaccarias controlled the coast for about a hundred kilometres from north to south, from Atrammytion to the town of Phokaia, located at the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna. (Cf. F608, fn. 6)

## BOOK XIII

## 1-4

**1. Peace negotiations between the Emperor and the Almogavars.  
(F615) α'. Μεταχείρισις εἰρηνικὴ πρὸς Ἀμογαβάρους τοῦ βασιλέως.**

1. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν τοῖν βασιλείοι ἀμφοῖν, τῷ μὲν εἰκοστὸν καὶ τρίτον, τῷ δὲ δωδέκατον, αὐτοκρατοροῦσι ξυνέβαινε ἐξανύεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀνατολὴν |<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἐς τόσον ἐνόσει ἐκ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιθέσεως ὥστε καὶ, ἀνηκέστως ἔχειν δοκοῦντα, παρεῶφθαι τὸ ξύμπαν, καὶ (B 562) ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα οἷς οἷσι τ' ἦν ἀκούουσιν ἂν ἐξιᾶσθαι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ δύσιν, ἔνθεν μὲν Ὀσφεντίσθλαβος τὰ Ἑλτιμηρῆ κατήκοα, οὐδὲν ἐπευλογούμενος ὅτι μὴ τὴν ἐς βασιλέα οἱ ἀπόκλισην αἰτιώμενος, ἄγων καὶ φέρων |<sup>10</sup> τὰ πάντα ἐξεληίζετο, μηδ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀπισχόμενος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Ἀμογάβαροι, τῷ καθ' αὐτοὺς κρατυνόμενοι θράσει, ἐξ ὑπογούου κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐημερήσαντες, οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν ἐντὸς ποταμοῦ Μαρίτζης, οὕτω πως ἐπιχωρίως λεγομένου, ἀδεῆς εἶασαν καὶ ἐν καταστάσει. Εὐέφοδος δὲ καὶ ὁ κατὰ Θράκην ἔκειτο τόπος, καὶ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν, ὅσα δὴ καὶ τὸν περὶ |<sup>15</sup> ψυχῆς τρέχουσι κατήπειγε τὸ μεταναστεύειν, καὶ πάντ' ἔρημ' ἦσαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, πλὴν οἷς, ἀφροντιστοῦσι κινδύνου, σκυλεύειν καὶ φωρίως ἀποζῆν ἐξ ἀλαστορίας εἶθιστο. Ὁ μέντοι γε βασιλεὺς Μιχαῆλ, τὸ Διδυμότειχον ὑπεισδύς – οὐτὶ ἐκούσιός γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ὄλωσ πρὸς ἡδονὴν

1. It so happened that the two Emperors were already respectively completing their twenty-third and twelfth year of autocratorate.<sup>116</sup> In the East, the Persian attack had rendered the situation so critical that, appearing to be irremediable, it was completely neglected, and those who were duly informed and who could have remedied it, failed to spread the news about it.<sup>117</sup> In the West, Svetoslav, who had no reason to complain, except that he disapproved of Eltimir's inclination for the Emperor, ravaged the territories subject to him,<sup>118</sup> plundering everything and without sparing the Roman territories themselves. And the Almogavars, who were emboldened by their recent success in combat, left nothing safe from fear and good condition that was below the Marica river, as it is called locally.<sup>119</sup> The country of Thrace was easy to attack. It was therefore urgent for the inhabitants to emigrate, since their lives were at risk, and the whole region was being emptied of its inhabitants, except those who, heedless of the danger, had adopted the perverse habit of plundering and living on what they stole. As for the Emperor Michael, he had slipped into Didymotic (not willingly, of course), but the

<sup>116</sup> The first chapter is presented as an introduction to the last book of the History. The author begins by describing the situation dominating the various fronts, at a fairly precise date, which is thus stated; 23<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of Andronicus II and 12<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Michael IX. The reign of Andronicus II is thus counted from 11<sup>th</sup> December 1282, the date of the death of Michael VIII (VI, 36), and the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of reign begins on 11<sup>th</sup> December 1304. The reign of Michael IX is counted from his coronation on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1294 (IX, 1), and the twelfth year of his reign begins on 21 May 1305. The story is thus situated, chronologically, between 21<sup>st</sup> May and 11<sup>th</sup> December 1305. On these dates, on the counting of the years of reign which they imply, on the meaning of the words κράτωρ and βασιλεὺς as already indicated above (XII, 2), see A. Failler, 'La proclamation impériale de Michael VIII and Andronicus II', *REB* 44, 1986, 247-251. If we examine the context, we see that this account concerns the summer of 1305 and takes place between 6<sup>th</sup> July 1305 (XII, 32) and 17<sup>th</sup> September 1305 (XIII, 10). (Cf. F614, fn. 1)

<sup>117</sup> Pachymeres had made no mention of the situation in the East since pointing out the recall of Roger de Flor by the Emperor (XII, 3). Book XII is almost entirely devoted to the Byzantine-Catalan hostilities in Thrace from the autumn of 1304 to the summer of 1305. Only one paragraph (XII, 34) confirms briefly and in passing the advance of the Turks, who, after the passage of the Catalans from Asia to Europe, occupied the entire coast of the Propontis. (Cf. F614, fn. 2)

<sup>118</sup> The situation in Bulgaria and the relations between Svetoslav and his uncle Eltimir are described in the last chapter of the preceding book (XII, 35). In this sentence, we must keep the verb ἐπευλογεῖσθαι, which is used by antiphrase (to bless = to curse, to do a favour = to grieve or find fault), as in the first paragraph of the following chapter. (Cf. F614, fn. 3)

<sup>119</sup> The Almogavars and Catalans, who had defeated the troops of Michael IX near Apros in June 1305 (XII, 32), pillaged the territory of Thrace as far as the Hebre (the Marica), which they were not to cross until 1307 (XIII, 32-33). (Cf. F615, fn. 4)

τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ, ὀκνήσει ἰσχυρομένοις —, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τρώσεις |<sup>20</sup> ἔθεραπέυετο.

Βασιλεὺς δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πρὸς Κατελάνους μάχην, ἄνδρας ὅλως δυσθανατῶντας καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν πεττοῖς ὡσανεὶ τιθεμένους, ἄλλως (F617) ἔγνω τὰ κατὰ τούτους (B563) μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἠγγέλλετό οἱ Πέρσας μὲν καὶ αὐθις, ἦν νηῶν τύχοιεν, ἀντιπερᾶν ὠρμησθαι, εἶναι δὲ ταύτας, ἦν βασιλεὺς θέλοι, τὰς βασιλέως ἐκείνη πη σαλευούσας καθ' ὃν καὶ λέλεκται τρόπον, ἐπεὶ τοι γε καὶ δι' ὑποψίας Ἀμογάβαροι γενόμενοι, |<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Καλλίου συν αὐτοῖς εἰσόδου διεκωλύοντο, αὐτοὺς δὲ Κατελάνους γνωσιμαχοῦντας εἰς τὴν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰρήνην ῥέπειν, ἦν τις τὰ πιστὰ σφίσι διδοίη. Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ γραμματεὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος, Ἰάκωβος τοῦνομα, ἄλους ἐπὶ Τενέδου, γραφὰς παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Σικελία κομίζων, ὃν, ἐπαναθρόντα πρὸς βασιλέα, βασιλεῖ πληροφορεῖν ξυνέβαινε ὡς, ἦν μὴ |<sup>10</sup> γε καὶ ἄλλοι προστεθεῖεν σφίσι, Σικελίηθεν ἀναθρόντες, τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτοὶ ὑποκλώμενοι, ἔτοιμοὶ εἰσιν εἰρηνεύειν· τὸ γοῦν ἐκεῖθεν ἰέναι τινὰς, ὅσον τὸ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεργοῦντος εἰ ἐπισταίη, ἀλόγους ἀνακεκόφθαι· εἶναι δ' ἐντεῦθεν εὐχερὲς αὐτοὺς μετελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης προβεβλήσθαι σχῆμα βασιλεῖ, τὰ μὴ μάχημα ἐπαγγέλλοντι, (B564) πέμπειν δὲ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐς |<sup>15</sup> τὰ μάλιστα σφίσι δόξαντας, καὶ οἷς ἦν ὡς ἥκιστα διαμυθεσθαι ὑπειληφθαι.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ βασιλεῖ, τοὺς λόγους ἀποδεξαμένῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλειν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης συνάμα καὶ ἄλλοις διαπρεσβεύσασθαι, ὅσον τῶν ὀνησίτων, τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἐχέγγυον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος οἱ οικειότητος κατεφαίνετο, ἄλλως δὲ, τὰ τῆς γνώμης κατασφαλισμένου, οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν |<sup>20</sup> ὑπετόπαζε τῷ τούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, αὐτοῦ γε πρεσβεύοντος. Ὅθεν καὶ ὄρκοις

soldiers were held back by fear and did not want to follow him. And he treated the wounds received in combat.<sup>120</sup>

The Emperor thus gave up fighting the Catalans, who were keen to resist to death and who gambled their lives like dice. He decided to treat their case differently, especially when it was announced to him that the Persians (i.e. Turks) were preparing to return to the other side, should they obtain boats, and that these boats, should the Emperor so wish, could be the his ships that were anchored there. As we have already mentioned, this is because the Almogavars had begun to suspect the Persians and they forbid them to return with them to Kallioupolis.<sup>121</sup> But the Emperor was also told that the Catalans themselves were changing their minds and leaning towards peace with him should they be given guarantees. It so happened that a secretary to the Caesar, named James, was taken to Tenedos, while he was carrying a letter to the people of Sicily.<sup>122</sup> When he was brought before the Emperor, he assured him that, should other men not be brought from Sicily to join them, the Catalans will be broken in their momentum and be ready to make peace. Since he had been captured and could not arrive there, the possibility of men coming from there through him was excluded, and so it would be easy for the Emperor to approach them, invoke his peaceful attitude, proclaim the end of the combats, and send people who would appear perfectly sincere to them and of who one could absolutely not suspect any deception.<sup>123</sup>

This is why the Emperor, who approved these deliberations, considered that giving the order to this man to go, with other people, to negotiate peace would be profitable, even if there were no guarantees at all due to his attachment to his nation. On the other hand, he supposed that once this man had given assurances on his feelings and had been made emissary, there was no obstacle to

<sup>120</sup> After the defeat of Hemera, Michael IX returned to Pamphylon (XII, 32), then Didymoteichon, further north. The injury of the young Emperor is already mentioned in the account of the battle of Hemera. (Cf. F615, fn. 5)

<sup>121</sup> These are Turkish troops allied with the Catalans and who, having become suspect, were no longer authorized to enter Kallioupolis, which had been the base of the Catalans since their return from Asia (XII, 3). They were under the orders of Melek Isaac (XIII, 15). These Turks wanted to return to Asia, and for that they proposed to use the ships of the Emperor, which were stationed near Abydos (XII, 34) to prevent the Catalans from attracting other Turks from Asia to their coast. (Cf. F616, fn. 7)

<sup>122</sup> We do not know the surname of this James (*PLP*, No. 7937), who had been Roger de Flor's secretary and whom the Catalans had sent to Sicily to ask for reinforcements. He had been captured at Tenedos, whose citadel Andrea Morisco had just been taken (XII, 34). James was on his way to Sicily and had perhaps been caught on this occasion. (Cf. F616, fn. 8)

<sup>123</sup> This passage reports, in indirect speech, the speech made by James to the Emperor, as shown at the beginning of the following sentence. (Cf. F616, fn. 9)



προκατελάμβανε και, σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τῶν Λατινικῶν ἐρμηνεῖα Κορώνην ἐξαποστέλλων, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἰέναι καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης πειρᾶν ὡς οἶόν τε διαπράττεσθαι. Καὶ δὴ παραγενόμενοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σφίσι συνάμα καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τρισίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ, ὁμήρους δόντες κατὰ πίστιν τοῦ μή τι παθεῖν ἐκείνους ἀνήκεστον, ἵππους πέντε πέντ' οὗσιν ἐξαποστέλλουσιν, |<sup>25</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς (B 565) γένωνται. Πλήν ἐκάστῳ συνεπωχεῖτο ὀπισθεν ὁ φυλάζων τὸν ἐπιβάτην, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, μήπως ἐξ ἐφόδου τις ἐκπηδήσας τῶν Κατελάνων ἄχαρι τι δράσει τὸν πρεσβευτήν, τῷ δὲ βαθυτέρῳ, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ καιρὸν διδόντες σφίσι προμαθεῖν τι περὶ ἐκείνων, ἕκτινος |<sup>30</sup> περιεργίας ἐπερωτήσασιν.

undertaking this step. This is why the Emperor took the precaution of making him take an oath, sent Korones,<sup>124</sup> the Latin interpreter, with him, and ordered him to leave as quickly as possible to try to negotiate peace as best he could.<sup>125</sup> When they arrived shortly after, in the company of three other emissaries, the people of the fortress handed them hostages to guarantee their immunity and sent five horses for the five of them that they were.<sup>126</sup> But the others were mounted in the rear so that they could watch over the rider. This was apparently to prevent a Catalan from launching an attack and subjecting the emissary to disagreeable treatment. However, the more important goal was to prevent the Catalans from having the opportunity to find out something about them in advance by asking indiscreet questions.

## 2. Harangue that the Emperor had with the Catalans. (F619) β'. Δημηγορία πεμφθεῖσα Κατελάνοις πρὸς βασιλέως.

2. Οἱ καὶ ἐπιστάντες ἔλεξαν τάδε.

“Βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος ἡμέτερος μὲν δεσπότης, σφῶν δ' ὑμῶν κλήτωρ, τάδ' ἐπήγγειλεν ὑμῖν. Χρεῶν ἀνδράσι θεοῦ μὲν τιμᾶν αἰρουμένους δίκην, |<sup>5</sup> βασιλεῖ δ' ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μεμνησθαι χαρίτων δικαίους οὔσι, μὴ ὅ τι βουλομένοις ἂν εἴη σφίσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ τι συνενέγκοι ἂν ἐς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα σκοπεῖν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀβούλου καὶ πρὸς τὸ παραντίκα μόνον ἀφορώσης γνώμης, τὸ δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον πρόνοιαν ἀταμίευτον οὐκ ἔῃ κεῖσθαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐλόμενοι, ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν |<sup>10</sup> ἐσβαλεῖν ἔγνωτε, οὐ δικαίως ἂν νεμεσᾶν ἔχοι τις· μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἀσύνηθες τοῦτ' εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτε καὶ τὰ γένη διαλλάττοιεν, οἷς ἐνὶ μὲν σπονδαῖς χρῆσθαι, ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁμόσε ταῖς μάχαις ἰέναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ξύμμαχοι προσκληθέντες τὰ (B566) τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐ δέον ὄν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἀνθεῖλεσθε, πῶς ἂν μὴ θέλων τις ὑμῖν νεμεσᾶν ἐκφύγοι τὸ νεμεσᾶσθαι; Μνήσθητε γὰρ |<sup>15</sup> πρὸς ἐκείνους χεῖρας ἀνταίροντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινεῖν ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς σφίσι πολεμοῦντας μεγάλων ὁμολο-

2. When they arrived, the emissaries declared the following:

“The Emperor Andronicus, who is our master and who requested your help, has ordered us to tell you this. It is suitable for righteous people and for those who want to honour divine justice and especially the Emperor, to keep in mind not only how the benefits can fulfil their present desires, but also how they can contribute to their subsequent aims. The first attitude results from a fleeting thought that only looks at the immediate, while the second refuses to abandon concern for the future. In your case, had you chosen from the start the position of enemies and decided to invade the territory of the Romans, there would be no reason to be indignant against you. In fact, this is perfectly natural to humans, especially in the case of different nations that are permitted to enter into treaties just as they are permitted to confront each other in battles. But if you are called upon as allies and then, contrary to duty, you suddenly choose to become enemies, how can we be expected not to be indignant against

<sup>124</sup> Korones (*PLP*, No. 13229 and 92421) is not known elsewhere. The ‘Latin’ language that he was responsible for interpreting was undoubtedly Italian, the language of Mediterranean commerce, which many Catalans must also have known. (Cf. F616, fn. 10)

<sup>125</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 2285 (around summer 1305). Regarding the manuscript tradition, note that A is interrupted here again and will only reappear for a last folio (XIII, 15). (Cf. F616, fn. 11)

<sup>126</sup> That is to say in Kallioupolis. Muntaner does not mention this mission and this negotiation. The first editor has inserted here a passage taken from the Short Version, whose editor wanted to compensate for the conciseness of the original by mentioning the stopover of the Emperor’s emissaries in a (Byzantine) fort, before reaching Kallioupolis. This fort is neither named nor given a location. This must have been the method of approach of the Byzantine emissary. (Cf. F617, fn. 12)

γήσατε τῶν μισθῶν. Ποῦ δὲ δίκαιον, καὶ νόμων κειμένων εἴτε θεῶν εἴτε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, θέσθαι μὲν ἐν ἀλογία τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα, μεγάλων δὲ χρημάτων, ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπανήσαμεν, τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ὀρμὰς ἀντιδοῦναι; Τί δ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἀποκριθεῖν ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα ὄνομα; <sup>20</sup> Συμμάχους ὀνομάσειέ τις; Ἄλλ' αἰρετέα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν. Ἄλλ' ἐχθρούς; Καὶ τίς ἂν καὶ τίνας μεγάλων μισθῶν ἐπὶ σφετέρῳ πονήρῳ προσκαλεῖσθαι δέξαιτο; Ἄλλὰ συμμάχους μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, πολεμίους δ' ἐσέπειτα καταστάντας; Καὶ τί γ' ἄλλο ὑμῖν τις ἐπικαλοῖη δεινόν, εἰ σύμμαχοι ἐπιστάντες, πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἔπειτα ἐσπέισασθε <sup>25</sup> μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δι' οὓς προσεκλήθητε, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν λήϊζεσθε; Τί δὲ καὶ ἐπευλογούμενοι, χριστιανοὶ χριστιανούς τὰ ἀνήκεστα δρᾶτε, τῷ μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς θέσθαι, κακοὶ δόξαι ὡσπερ αἰρούμενοι; Τί γὰρ τῶν (B567) κακῶν οὐκ εἴργασθε; Οὐ χώρας ἠνδραποδίσασθε, οὐκ ἄνδρας ἐκτείνασθε, οὐ νήπια καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς, τὰ μὲν ἀνηλεῶς διεχρήσασθε, <sup>30</sup> τοὺς δὲ, πᾶσαν ἰδέαν βασάνων διενεγκεῖν ἀναγκάσαντες, ἔπειτα ἐκποδῶν ἔθεσθε;

Τί ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες; Ὅτι καῖσαρ ἀπόλετο, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ πράκτορας τοσοῦτων γενέσθαι κακῶν αἴτιον; Καῖσαρ ἀπόλετο. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῶν γε θελόντων, οἶδεν ὁ πάνθ' ὀρῶν ὀφθαλμός· ἀλλ' οἷς ἐντέτροφε (F621) μῖσος τὸ κατ' ἐκείνου ἔκ τινων παλαιῶν μηνιμάτων, τοῦτοις καὶ μόνοις αὐτόβουλως εἴργασται τὸ πραχθέν. Τὸ παθεῖν οὖν ἐκείνον τὰ χεῖριστα, ὡς οὐχ ἡμῖν μετὸν ὅλως εἰς ζημίας δόκησιν, σφίσις αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐκδίκησιν περιγράφετε. Καὶ μὴν παῖς ἦν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐκείνῳ συνοικοῦσα, ὥστ' ἂν καὶ συγγνωτέα <sup>5</sup> ἐδόκει, ἦν πού τί οἱ καὶ πεπλημμέλητο· καὶ τὸ οὕτω τὰ πεπλημμελημένα μετέρχεσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦθεσιν ἦκιστα χωρητέα. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἴσως εἰ προὔπτον ἦν τὸ ἀδίκημα. ἦν δὲ μηδὲν ἔχει τις ἐγκαλεῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν βουλομένοις εἶδέναι ἂν εἴη, πῶς ἂν (B568) αἰρετέα ἡμῖν τὰ μὴ ξυνοῖσοντα ξυ-

you? You should remember that you are rising up against those with whom, in exchange for large payments, you had agreed to brandish arms against those who were waging war on them. In what place would it be fair, under established laws, whether these are divine or human, to have contempt for one's own oaths and respond with attacks on us, given the large sums of money we paid you? What name can you be called in the future? Can you be called allies? Yet it seemed like you had to choose the position of enemies. So then can you be called enemies? And who would agree to call on people, for high sums, for their own misfortune? But then will you be called starter allies who then became enemies? And what more terrible reproach could be made to you than having once arrived as allies, at a high expense, you then entered into a treaty with the enemies against whom we called upon you to fight, and then plundered our territory together with them? By what favour, do you inflict disastrous treatment on Christians, you who are Christians too, as if you wanted to appear bad without delaying it! In fact, what wrong have you not committed? Have you not enslaved regions? Have you not killed men? As for these poor people, children, and old people, have you not massacred the former without mercy, and have you not forced the latter to endure all kinds of torture in order to then make them disappear?

“What do you have to reproach us for? That the Caesar died, and that was why you became the authors of such evils? It is true that the Caesar is dead, but we did not want that to happen, and the all-seeing eye knows this. The act was committed on the initiative of those whose hatred against him had been nourished by some old resentment, and by these people alone.<sup>127</sup> So, you attribute your revenge to his terrible torment, as if we ourselves had not suffered the slightest part of the damage. Yet his wife was our child,<sup>128</sup> so his faults, if he had committed any, would seem to have to be forgiven. Moreover, prosecuting faults in this way can hardly be admitted by Roman mores. This might have happened, if the offence had been overt, but if there was no reason to blame, as you yourselves should know if you were so inclined, how could it have been that we

<sup>127</sup> Andronicus II denied any intervention by the Byzantines in the murder of Caesar Roger of Flor in Adrianople the previous year (XII, 24) and imputed full responsibility for it to the Alans and their leader Georgios, who was avenging the assassination of his own son by the Catalans (XI, 21). (Cf. F620, fn. 14)

<sup>128</sup> Marie Asanina, the wife of Roger de Flor (XI, 12), was the niece of Andronicus II. It is possible that by calling her “our child”, Andronicus II wanted to refer to the role of guardian that he exercised with regard to his niece, orphan of his father. (Cf. F620, fn. 15)



έβαιναν εἶναι· Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἂν <sup>10</sup> ὅπῃ τραπεῖεν, ἢν πού τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων παρά τινων γένοιτο, ἐκεῖνοις ἂν ζυμβαίη καὶ παρὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη παρατολμᾶν· οἷς γὰρ σφίσι ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς ἐκδικήσεως, ἐπιχειρητέα καὶ τὰ ἥκιστα ἂν ἐς ἅπαν συνήθη· φέρει γὰρ εἰς καιρὸν ταῦτα τὸ ἀπογνῶναι καὶ τὸ τῶν δρασειόντων ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμήχανον τοῦ καὶ τὰ συνήθη παραβαίνειν. Καὶ ὧν πραττομένων ἢ <sup>15</sup> μέμψις ἐφήπται, αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις δικαίως· οἷς δ' ἐν ἰσχύϊ τὸ μετελθεῖν, ὡς βούλονται ἂν, τὸ αἰρετὴν αἰσχύνῃ περιβαλέσθαι σφίσι ἐαυτοῖς πῶς οὐκ ἀβούλητον; Τῶν μὲν οὖν πεπραγμένων οὐχ ἦττον ζυγγνώμονας εἶναι χρή, ἢ ἐκδικητὰς βούλεσθε γίνεσθαι, τοὺς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ αἰροῖντο κακοὶ φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκσπόνδων χεῖρους ζημιωθησομένους τὸ σύνολον· εἰ δ' οὖν, <sup>20</sup> ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν φθασάντων σκεπτέα ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ὀπόσοις, δέον παρ' ἐχθρῶν πλουτεῖν, ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξωλβίσθητε. Καὶ ἀφίημι (B569) ὅσα ἡλογηκότες τῶν εἰς Ῥωμαίους σπονδῶν καὶ συνθηκῶν, ἠνδραποδίσασθε· ἀλλ' ὀπόσων ἡμῶν διδόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκότων λαμβάνειν, ἀπάνασθε. Τὸ γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ἔτι δοκεῖν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπερπονεῖν ὡς λαμβάνοντας <sup>25</sup> διετίθει τοὺς οὐδὲν ἦττον διδόντας, κἂν τις καὶ ἄκων ἐδίδου προσαφαιρούμενος. Τούτων μνήσθητε, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμολογίας αἰδεσθέντες αἷς ἐμπεπέδωσθε, καίσαρα μὲν πρόφασιν τούνηθεν ἀπόθεσθε, ἔννοια δὲ εἰσὶτω ὅπῃ γῆς προσκαθήμενοι ταῦτ' ἐργάζεσθε, καὶ εἰ ἀκίνδυνα σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς νέωτα ἔσται. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐς τότε δόκησιν παρασπονδήσεως, <sup>30</sup> ὡς ἦκισθ' ἡμῖν πρέπουσαν, ἀποκλίνουσι, μαλακώτερον τὰ τῆς (F623) μάχης ἐπικεχειρήται· δεινὰ γὰρ τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἀπρακτεῖν πείθειν καὶ τὰ δεινότατα πάσχοντας, καὶ πάσχουσιν ἐστὶ καταφυγὴ ἢ τῶν διομωμοσμένων αἰδῶς, ἢν τις καὶ μέμφοιτο.

would have to choose such an ineffective measure? <sup>129</sup> Apart from that, if, an unfortunate incident has been committed by some, it has been committed by those who do not know where to turn, by those who have the capacity to be reckless even against their own customs. In fact, those who are looking to avenge do things that they would not normally do, for what makes such gestures appropriate is the despair and the weakness of those who are going to act, and their inability to resort to normal routes. <sup>130</sup> Actions to which the blame can be attached can rightly be incriminated, but those who have the opportunity to prosecute as they wish would surely not purposefully shame themselves? We should therefore not show, regarding the actions committed by you, an indulgence weaker than your will to exercise revenge, because we would absolutely not punish people who would decide not to appear bad and worse than perjurers. <sup>131</sup> If not, you would have to examine by how many of your past actions, when it was necessary for you to enrich yourselves thanks to the enemies, you profited from us. And I leave aside the territories you enslaved, without taking any account of the treaties and agreements that bind you to the Romans. But what have you not benefited from, thanks to our gifts or our authorization for you to take! In fact, your status as allies and the fact that you still appeared to be toiling for our affairs led us to present as beneficiaries those who gave no more than those who forced people to give and robbed. Remember this, and having respected the initial agreements you made, stop now using the Caesar as a pretext and ask yourself where on earth you are to perform these acts and if the future will be without danger for you. In fact, until now we rejected the impression of betrayal because it did not suit us at all, and we engaged in the conflict rather gently. It is a terrible thing to force even the most dreadful victims to cancel the agreements and, should the victims be blamed,

<sup>129</sup> The double reading preserved by the manuscripts (ὕμῖν-ἡμῖν) probably has its origin in the complexity of the text itself. The arguments that Andronicus II successively invoked to establish that he had not participated in the murder of Roger de Flor can be summarized as follows: 1. Roger de Flor was dear to him in his capacity as nephew by marriage; 2. One could have conceived a punishment, if the blame had been manifest, but this was not the case; 3. If the crime was not manifest, it was unwise to kill; 4. If the Emperor had wanted to punish, he had full power to do so by following due process, which would have shielded him from all reproach. (Cf. F620, fn. 16)

<sup>130</sup> In other words (see the previous note), only the Alans, who did not have the legal means to prosecute Roger de Flor, could be tempted to suppress him unexpectedly and by force. (Cf. F620, fn. 17)

<sup>131</sup> The passage is rather obscure, something to which the variants of the manuscripts seem to bear witness. Here is the sense that we can make of the reasoning: if the Catalans were faithful to the treaty, the Emperor had to show them his indulgence, an indulgence equal to their desire to avenge Roger de Flor, that is to say an indulgence as strong as their will. (Cf. F621, fn. 18)

Ἵμῖν δὲ ὅποι περιστήσεται τὰ τῆς τόλμης, οὐκ εἰς μακράν, εἰ μὴ παύσησθε, |<sup>5</sup> εἴσεσθε. (B570) Ἄλλ' ὁμῶς χρῆ καὶ προαναστελλεῖν λέγοντας· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐσαυθις ἐλλελεῖφθαι ἡμῖν λόγον συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῖς τὰ δίκαια κρίνουσι δόξαν ἀποισαίμεθ' ἄν, καὶ προσέσται τὸ δίκαιον αὐθις, τὰς δίκας λαμβάνειν, ὑμῶν διδόντων καὶ ἀκόντων, σὺν ἀρήξει θεῖα προαιρουμένοις, ἐπεὶ περ ἄρχειν τῆς μάχης οὐ κατοκνεῖτε. Δεῖ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παρασπονδεῖν |<sup>10</sup> δόκησιν ἐς ἅπαν ἐκκλίνειν. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις δεινοῖς ἐς εἰρηνικὰς ἀξιούμενος καὶ μὴ θέλων, ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν τοῦ παρασπονδεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν δόκησιν δικαίως ἂν ἀπενέγκαιτ' ἄν· τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιούσι τὸ πρῶτον, οὐ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις, τὸ ἄδοξον τοῦτο πρόσρημα περιστήσεται, ἢν πού τις, ἀδικῶν τὰς συνθήκας, τὴν ἄμυναν προσκαλοῖτο. Δυοῖν οὖν ἐλέσθαι θάτερον ἀναγκαῖον |<sup>15</sup> ἴσως καὶ οὐκ ἄπω τοῦ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ πρέποντος· ἢ, πάντα λαβόντας, πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐπανήκειν ἦθη, ἢ, πάντ' ἔχοντας ἡμῖν προσφοιτᾶν, ὡς, ἐπὶ μισθοῖς καὶ αὐθις (B 571) ἐσομένου, τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἀρχῇ. Οὕτω γὰρ κατ' ἄμφω καὶ ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῆς κτήσεως συμβαίῃ ἂν τὰ πάντα κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ εἰς ἄγαν τὰς σπονδὰς ἡμελῆσθαι ἦκιστ' ἂν δόξειε. Καὶ ὅποι ποτ' ἂν |<sup>20</sup> προσχωρήσητε, τὴν τῆς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ συμμαχίας δόξαν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν ἀποβεβληκότες εἴητε, ἐπεὶ τίς ἔχει λόγον, ἐφισταμένου ἀμύντορας, ἐπειτα ἐπίκλημ' ὅ τι τύχοι προβεβλημένους, ἐχθρῶν καθίστασθαι τὰ πικρότατα;

Εἰ δὲ καὶ μισθοφορίας, ὡς πέπυσμαι, προτενεῖτε, αἰδῶς καὶ μόνον τὸ λέγειν. Τίνων σπουδασμάτων χάριν καὶ πόνων; Καλὰ γε τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους, καλὰ καὶ |<sup>25</sup> δίκαια μεγάλους ἐφέλκειν μισθοῦς. Τὸ πράττειν γοῦν ταῦτα ὁμολογοῦντες ἐχθρῶδες εἶναι, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων μισθοῦς ὡς σύμμαχοι ἀπαιτήσετε; Καὶ ποῖαν ἄρα ἀγνωμοσύνης οὐχ ὑπερβαλεῖσθε ὑπερβολήν; Ἄ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων πεπραχθαι σφίσιν ἡμῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ δίκαιον ἔμμισθ' ἂν εὔροισ' ἂν σκοπούμενοι. Τὰ δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν πεπραγμένα τόσον ἐφέλκειν μισθοῦς δίκαιά εἰσιν |<sup>30</sup> ὅσον καὶ δίκας αὐτῶν ὑποσχεῖν δίκαιοι ἂν λογισθῆητε. Χρεῶν οὖν, ἐντελεχέστατα βουλευσαμένους ὅπη δοκεῖ

the keeping of oaths is a refuge for them.

“But if you do not stop you will find out soon enough where your recklessness will lead you. We also have to exercise prevention through our words. This is how we can earn the reputation of having ensured for ourselves a reason for right minds to forgive us<sup>132</sup> and that the law will then be on our side, if we decide, with divine help, to take revenge, since you present the opportunity even involuntarily and you do not hesitate to start the fight. In fact, the impression of betrayal can be completely ruled out. Whomsoever, in the midst of such misfortunes, is invited to make peace and refuses, will also trigger an impression of betrayal that is well founded.<sup>133</sup> This inglorious name will attach itself to those who attack first, and not to those who retaliate – since the retaliation is provoked by the agreements being violated. It is therefore undoubtedly necessary and far from being inopportune for you to choose one of two ways: either you return to your homeland taking everything with you, or you rally to us keeping everything, once again being in our pay and serving the Roman State. In both cases, you will everything in guaranteed possession, and the agreements would absolutely not appear to have been the object of a total denial. But wherever you may go, would you not have completely lost the reputation of being reliable allies? What reason can one have in fact to arrive as defenders and then to allege any grievance in order to turn into the cruellest enemies?

“If you wish to highlight the payments,<sup>134</sup> as I have been informed, it is shameful to even bring up the subject. For what labours and for what tasks? Good are the actions accomplished for the Romans, good and worthy of attracting high salaries! As you therefore admit that these are hostile actions, can you demand that your allies pay you salaries for them? Of what excesses of thoughtlessness are you not capable? With regards to the actions that appeared to you to have been accomplished in favour of the Romans, on examination you would in fact discover that you received payments higher than these actions merited. But the actions committed against these same

<sup>132</sup> The Emperor warned, and his previous warning was to serve him as excuse for later attacking the Catalans, if the latter continued their evil action in Thrace. (Cf. F622, fn. 19)

<sup>133</sup> That is to say the impression of betrayal that the Catalans gave. The speaker is being euphemistic, for the betrayal was manifest. The word δόκησις is used four times in the discourse, consistently with the same nuance. (Cf. F622, fn. 20)

<sup>134</sup> The question of the salaries is constantly raised, since the arrival of the Catalans (XI, 12). (Cf. F623, fn. 22)

ποιητέα εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἐλέσθαι, ὡς ἡμῖν γε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε λόγος (B572) οὐδεὶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἦν πῆ γε ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἡμῖν ἀνδάνει γυνίητε.”

(F625) Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, τοὺς λόγους ἐνδεξάμενοι, οὐδὲν ὃ τι πρὸς εἰρηνικὰς ἐδόκει σπονδὰς ὑπεκρίνοντο, ἀλλὰ πλήρεις κορύζης Ἰταλικῆς λόγους ἐξέφερον. Καὶ τέλος: “Ἦν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἶη, ἔφασκον, ἐνσπόνδους ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, παρεκτέα μὲν |<sup>5</sup> τοὺς μισθοὺς ὧν δεδουλεύκαμεν, ἀπολυτέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους, τοὺς τ' ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ νῆας, Γεννουῖτας πείσαντι, ἐξωνητέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τιμῆς δικαίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀνὰ χεῖρας σκύλα. Καὶ οὕτως ἀφέντες ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαξόμεθα, ὡς ἡμῖν μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, ἦν αἴρεσις |<sup>10</sup> ἀμφοῖν κέηται, αἰδῶς καὶ πόνος οὐχὶ μικρός.” Ταῦτ' εἰπόντες, καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποπέμψαντες, ἐρασταὶ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων ἐκτόπως ἦσαν.

deserve to attract payments that are commensurate with the penalties that one would consider you worthy of suffering for these.<sup>135</sup> Having deliberated as effectively as possible on what to do, it is thus necessary to choose this solution, since if you take a decision different from that which agrees with us, we will no longer be addressing any discourse to you.

Such, then, were the words of the emissaries. Nonetheless, the Catalans accepted this speech without answering anything that gave the impression of wanting to lead to peace agreements. On the contrary, the speech they delivered was full of Italian arrogance. In the end, they declared: "If the Emperor wants us to leave as allies, he must provide the payments for the services we have rendered, he must free our men, those who are elsewhere and those who are in the City, these same and the boats, after convincing the Genoese<sup>136</sup> of this. And he must also buy the horses at a fair price, as well as the spoils that have fallen into our hands.<sup>137</sup> After having ceased, under these conditions, to fight you, we will leave immediately, because, for us, to refuse to exchange virtue for life, if one has the choice between the two, would be a shame and an incomparable pain".<sup>138</sup> After having spoken these words and immediately dismissed the embassy, they showed an unusual ardour for foolish projects.

### 3. How the Persians (i.e. Turks) were prevented from crossing into the East. γ'. Πῶς οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπερᾶν εἰς ἀνατολὴν ἐκωλύθησαν.

3. Συνηνέχθη δὲ καὶ τι ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν ἐς μάλιστα ἀγαθῷ, ὃ καὶ αὐτίκα |<sup>15</sup> λέξων ἔρχομαι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν Πέρσαι, μερίται τῶν σκύλων ἐκεῖνοις γενόμενοι, τῆς ἴσης ἠτέμβοντο καὶ παρὰ δύο ἐν λαμβάνειν ἐδικαιοῦντο, τὰς ἐπ' ἴσων ἐν πᾶσι μερίδας τὰ συγκείμενα ἔχοντες. Ἰταλοὶ δὲ ἵππεῖς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρὰ (B573) πεζοὺς ἐκείνων

3. There was also an incident that greatly favoured the Catalans, and I will report this immediately. The Persians who accompanied them and who participated with them in the spoils were frustrated with the distribution of the shares. They were granted one share instead of two, while as per the agreement they should have had an equal

<sup>135</sup> This is a complicated way of saying that instead of salaries the Catalans deserved fines and punishments. (Cf. F623, fn. 23)

<sup>136</sup> The Genoese, who had recently clashed with the Catalans, had taken boats, and captured men, the most illustrious of whom, Berenger d'Entença, was sent to Genoa (XII, 27-30, 32). (Cf. F624, fn. 24)

<sup>137</sup> Up to their departure, the Almogavars presented these three demands, the first of which (the payment of salary arrears, which will later be evaluated at 300,000 nomismata) will be repeated on many occasions (XIII, 15, 18, 21, 27) and accompanied on occasion by the two other conditions of lesser importance (the release of prisoners and the purchase of spoils). (Cf. F624, fn. 25)

<sup>138</sup> In other words, the Catalans preferred life to virtue and would not trade the first for the second. They were going to defend their life, even in contempt of virtue, and continue, without scruple to exercise their exactions. (Cf. F624, fn. 26)

τοὺς πλείστους συνέκρινον καὶ, ἄλλ' ἄττα δικαιο-  
 λογούμενοι, δεινὰ ποιούντων ἐκείνων, εἰ τῶν  
 ἴσων |<sup>20</sup> στεροῖντο, ἡμέλουν ἐς ἄγαν. Ὅθεν καὶ  
 τισιν ἐκείνων ἀντιπερᾶν ἐδόκει καὶ, τῶν τινὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων προστυχόντες, ἐν ῥηταῖς ὁμολογίαις καὶ  
 ὄρκοις συνεφώνουν αὐτοὶ μὲν διδόναι ἄξιον τὸ  
 πορθμεῖον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκακουργήτως διαπερᾶν.  
 Ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνηδὸν περαιουμένοις ὁ Ἀνδρέας  
 Μουρίσκος ἐφίσταται καὶ, μέσον τοῦ πορθμοῦ  
 προστυχῶν, τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους περιποιεῖται, |<sup>25</sup>  
 Πέρσας δὲ, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὦν αὐτὸς ἐπώμοτος, ἔργον  
 μαχαίρας ποιεῖται. Τοῦτο γνωσθὲν Πέρσαις τῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦθη ἀφίξεως καὶ λίαν ἀνείργει, καὶ  
 οὕτως ἐσαῦθις πρὸς Ἴταλοὺς κλίναντες, σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς τὰς Θρακικὰς κατατρέχουσι χώρας. ἄλλ' ὁ  
 μὲν Μουρίσκος βασιλεῖ παραγεγονώς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν τριήρων τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ ἀσχολίας  
 ἀπαλλαγισῶν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν |<sup>30</sup> τοῦ ἀμνηραῆ  
 ἀξίαν παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνει. Ἴταλοὶ δὲ  
 καὶ Πέρσαι, (F627) ἐπεὶ οὐδεμία τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 τριήρων ἐκεῖσέ πη ἀνεκώχευε, τὰ πιστὰ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 φρουρίῳ τῷ τῆς Καλλίου σχόντες, ὀλίγους τινὰς  
 κατὰ φυλακὴν ἀφέντες, ὅλαις ὀρμαῖς τὰ προσ-  
 τυγᾶνοντα ἐξεληίζοντο, ἄνδρας κτείνοντες, τὰς  
 δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀνοικτὶ ἐξαν-  
 δραποδιζόμενοι (B574) καὶ |<sup>5</sup> χρήματα μυρία  
 συλλέγοντες, ζώων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν εὐώνων  
 πραγμάτων παρορωμένων. Λήϊα δὲ καὶ θημωνία  
 μυρία, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ παρηβηκυῖαις ἔφριττον ταῖς  
 ἀθέραις, αἱ δὲ ἀτημελημένα κείμενα καθωρ-  
 ῶντο.

share in everything.<sup>139</sup> But the Italian knights  
 judged themselves to be above this mass of  
 infantry. They provided other justifications and,  
 despite the indignation of these people at being  
 deprived of equal shares, they were ignored. This  
 is why some Persians decided to cross over. As  
 these latter had met a Roman, they agreed on  
 definite arrangements and under oath that they  
 would pay a correct crossing price and that this  
 man would make the crossing without cheating.  
 But Andrea Morisco pounced on them as they  
 were crossing.<sup>140</sup> Meeting them in the middle of  
 the strait, he spared the Romans, but made the  
 Persians victims of the sword, on the pretext that  
 him personally was not bound by the oath. Once  
 the Persians found out, this incident strongly  
 dissuaded them from returning to their homeland.  
 They thus inclined once again towards the Italians  
 and ran over the territories of Thrace with them.  
 As Morisco had come to find the Emperor and at  
 the same time the triremes had abandoned their  
 activities in the strait, he received from the  
 sovereign the dignity of admiral.<sup>141</sup> But, as no  
 imperial trireme was anchored and as they had  
 taken their insurance for the fortress of Kalliou-  
 polis by leaving a small number of men there to  
 guard it, the Italians and Persians were enthu-  
 siastically devastating whoever presented them-  
 self, killing the men, mercilessly enslaving young  
 women and children, collecting a mass of money,  
 while neglecting their animals and goods of a  
 low-value. As for the harvests and the innumera-  
 ble haystacks, the first shuddered with their  
 already ripe ears, while the second lay there, an  
 object of disdain.

#### 4. Defection of the Alans and the Tourkopouloi.

##### δ'. Ἀποστασία τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν Τουρκοπούλων.

4. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀλανοὶς ἐτέρωθεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐξ ὑπογύου χριστιανοῖς |<sup>10</sup> Τουρκοπούλοις, οἱ  
 δὴ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ ἐκ τῶν βορείων  
 βασιλεῖ προσεφοίτησαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀλώβητον

4. But, on the other hand, there were also the  
 Alans, as well as the Tourkopouloi, who had  
 recently become Christians. They had arrived  
 from the north to join the Emperor a short time

<sup>139</sup> In other words, for one share granted to the Persians, the Catalans took two, thus taking two-thirds of the spoils. The arrival in Europe of a Turkish contingent, which now wanted to return to Asia, is announced above (XII 29 and 34), without it being specified when it arrived and its size. (Cf. F624, fn. 27)

<sup>140</sup> A Genoese pirate in the service of the Emperor, Andrea Morisco received the dignity of vestiary (XII, 10 and 34). The incident that is narrated here can be placed in the summer of 1305. (Cf. F624, fn. 28)

<sup>141</sup> From *bestiarion* (64<sup>th</sup> rank according to the Appendix to the *Hexabiblos* of Harmenopoulos), Andrea Morisco was promoted to admiral (48<sup>th</sup> rank). Pachymeres pointed out above that a small fleet, whose primary responsibility was to prevent the Turks from arriving to reinforce the Catalans (XII, 34), was patrolling near Abydos. Later, the Emperor was to charge Genoese boats with the same mission (XIII, 18)). (Cf. F625, fn. 29)

διετηρεῖτο τὸ ἔνσπονδον, ἀλλὰ μίαν μὲν εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ἀποστατοῦντες, ἑκάτεροι δὲ, τὰ ἐχυρώτατα κατασχόντες, οὐδὲν ἦν ὅπερ οὐ καταθέοντες ἐξηφάνιζον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Τουρκόπουλοι ἄλλη πη ὠχύρουν τὰς μετοικίας, ὁπόθεν, ὡς <sup>15</sup> ἐξ ὀρητηρίου ἐκθέοντες δεινὰ Ῥωμαίους εἰργάζοντο· Ἀλανοῖς δὲ Κουτζίμπαξις, καθὼς ἐρρέθη τὰ πρότερα, ἐπιστάς, ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ Ῥωμαίων, ἧ καὶ ἀπέσταλτο, δόξαν παρεῖχε ποιεῖν. Ἦρξε γὰρ οἱ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν Ἀλανοῖς ἐκθύμωσ ἀποστραφῆναι τὰ βασιλέως καὶ δὴ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ Τουκταί πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ζήτησις, καὶ ἐπεὶ <sup>20</sup> συνάμ' ἐζητοῦντο αὐτὸς τε καὶ Ἀλανοί, ὡς ἀρχῆθεν τῇ τῶν Τοχάρων ἀρχῇ προσήκοντες, αὐτοῦ γε καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν ἑτέροις ἄρχουσι παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ἐκεῖνον (B575) πρεσβεύοντος. Ταῦτ' Ἀλανοί, ὡς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτου γεγονέναι δόξαν καὶ λίαν ἀποδεξάμενοι, ὑποποιοῦνται παντοίως τὸν πρεσβευτήν. Καὶ ὁ τέως ἐξημερώσων σφᾶς βασιλεῖ ὅλως, ὡς <sup>25</sup> δόξαι, ἐκείνων γίνεται, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον οἰκειοῦται σφίσις ὥστε καὶ ἄλλην τὴν τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἐκείνων Κυρσίτη ἀδελφὴν ἀγαγέσθαι ἐς σύζυγον. Οἱ [δὲ] Ἀλανοί, τὰς τῆς Νεάδος σκοπιὰς καταλαμβάνοντες τόπον διαρκῶς ὄχυροῦσι ταῖς κατὰ σφᾶς ἄρμαμάξαις, αἷς δὴ καὶ διεκομίζοντο. Γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην περιουσίαν ἐκεῖ συγκλείσαντες, ἐντεῦθεν (F629) αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἰδρύσεως ἐξορμώμενοι, τὰ πάνδεινα διετίθουν Ῥωμαίους, μόνον δὲ φειδωλοὶ περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἦσαν. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἠκούετο εἰργασμένος Κουτζίμπαξις, εἰ καὶ ὁ κρατῶν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἔτι πληροφοροῦμενος, οὐδ' ὅλως τὰ τῆς φήμης παραδεκτέα ἠγεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ κάκεινος περιεβουκόλει <sup>5</sup> τὰς ἐλπίδας τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ πονήρῳ Ῥωμαίων ταῦτα πράττοι, ἐξ ὧν ἠκούετο πρὸς τινὰς τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολογούμενος.

before,<sup>142</sup> but they did not remain in the alliance either and were unanimous in their opinion to defect. They held the fortified points and there was nothing that neither one nor the other did not destroy in their rampages. The Tourkopouloi had their method of fortifying their dwellings, from which they effected sorties, as from a base, to go and inflict misfortunes on the Romans as said above (XII,32). Whereas, among the Alans, Koutzimpaxis had arrived and he gave the impression to be seeking something other than the good of the Romans as per the orders given to him. In fact, it was his fault that the Alans apparently started to turn away with ferocity from the Emperor's camp and to lend credence to the request addressed by Toqtai by the Emperor that also concerned Koutzimpaxis, because this latter and the Alans were requested at the same time since they both originally belonged to the State of the Tatars), and, moreover, Koutzimpaxis was, together with other archons, the Emperor's emissary to Toqtai.<sup>143</sup> As the Alans fully accepted the project, since it seemed to be being realised in their interest thanks to luck and fate, they fully conciliated the emissary. And this latter, who was until then supposed to be coaxing them towards the Emperor, then appeared to place himself entirely on their side and even attached himself to them to the point of taking as his new wife the sister of their leader Kyrsites.<sup>144</sup> The Alans reached the summit of Neas,<sup>145</sup> and they adequately fortified the place with their chariots, which they also used to transport themselves. After having locked up women and children and all the other goods there, they rushed out from their dwellings, as if from a place of safety, to inflict the worst treatment on the Romans, only stopping short at assassination. The action taken by Koutzimpaxis was heard about, but the sovereign still trusted this man and did not want to accept these rumours at all. In fact, Koutzimpaxis also fed the Emperor's hopes by affirming

<sup>142</sup> The Alans left the northern Black Sea in 1301 or 1302, to put themselves in the service of the Emperor (X, 16), and the Tourkopouloi followed (XII, 23). Engaged together in the battle of Hemera, they ceded to the Catalans and brought about the defeat of Michael IX. As they had thus appeared to denounce their alliance, Andronicus II instructed Koutzimpaxis to bring them back into the Byzantine army (XII, 32). (XIII, 18)). (Cf. F626, fn. 31)

<sup>143</sup> The various negotiations are reported above (XII, 32). (Cf. F626, fn. 33)

<sup>144</sup> Kyrsites, the leader of the Alans (PLP, No. 14077), is not known elsewhere. Allied to the Emperor, the Tatar Koutzimpaxis was appointed governor of Nicomedia (X, 30) by him. (Cf. F626, fn. 34)

<sup>145</sup> It is not known where Neas in Thrace was located. By this name the historian is no doubt indicating a mountain summit rather than a fortress, if one refers to the identical installation of the Tourkopouloi described below. The gap in manuscript B, which alone preserves this passage, is filled in the simplest way by [Οἱ δὲ]; one could also propose [Ἐῖτα δὲ]). (Cf. F627, fn. 35) *TIB* 12, 544 places Neas at Işıklar Dağı near Ganos.

Ἐτέρωθεν δὲ κατ' ἀνατολὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀτταλειώτης ἀποστατῶν ἐκηρύσσετο, καὶ γράμματα ἀφικνούμενα τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἐδήλουν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐ λίαν, ὡς ἔφκει, ὠδύνα τὸν βασιλέα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ (B576) δύσιν διὰ φροντίδος ποιούμενος |<sup>10</sup> οὐκ ἀνίει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ διασκεδασθέντος, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἔχων ἐκεῖνος πράττειν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα πέμπων ἐξώτρυνεν, εἰ δυνατὰ οἱ εἶη, αὐτὸν ἐκστρατεύειν ἐκεῖνον καὶ κατὰ δύσιν περὶ που Ῥαιδεστὸν καὶ πρόσω στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. Ὁρμὴ δ' ἦν πρὸς τοῦτο· ὀπόθεν δὲ οἱ δυνάμεις συγκροτηθήσονται |<sup>15</sup> σκοπούμενω – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμείου ταύτας γενέσθαι ἐπιτελεῖς διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ἔλεγον, δυνατὰ ἦν –, ἢ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκαρδοκεῖτο ἐθελουσία συγκρότησις. Ὅθεν καὶ συνεκρότου οἱ πλείους, καὶ συνελέγοντο χρήματα· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τοιαύτας χρεῖας ἀρκούντων τὸ συναγόμενον, καὶ ἡμελεῖτο τὸ ζῦμπαν.

that he had not carried out this action for the misfortune of the Romans in his pleadings that he was heard to make to some of the Emperor's relatives.

In the East, meanwhile, Attaleiotes also proclaimed himself in dissent, and the arrival of a letter proved his defection.<sup>146</sup> But this news did not excessively distress the Emperor, as it would have been expected to do. In fact, on the contrary, he was constantly concerned with affairs in the West, especially since the army that surrounded the Emperor Michael had dispersed and this latter was unable to do anything and so had sent a mission to urge his father the Emperor Andronikos to lead, if it was possible, an expedition and then to bivouac in the West towards Rhaidestos and beyond.<sup>147</sup> The Emperor Andronicus desired to comply with the request, but he had to consider by what means he could muster forces, since it was said that due to lack of money it was not possible to build effective ones out of the public treasury and that he was thus expecting a voluntary contribution from citizens. That is why most of these latter contributed, and the money was collected, but the sum raised was insufficient for such needs, and everything had to be abandoned.

6\*-7\*

### 6. Capture of Madytos by the Almogavars.

<ς'> Περὶ τῆς Μαδύτου, ὡς ἔάλω Ἀμογαβάρους.

|<sup>15</sup> 6.\* Ἀμογάβαροι τοιγαροῦν μὴ ἡρεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ προστυχόντα ληΐζοντες καὶ φόνοις καθ' ἐκάστην χρανόμενοι, διὸ καὶ τὰ κατὰ δύσιν φρούρια ἐν στενωπῶ τῶν ἀναγκίων ἐτίθεσαν, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα πολιορκοῦντες, σὺν οἷς καὶ τὴν Μάδυτον, κρατοῦσιν ἐκ μάχης καὶ θρῆνον πλεῖστον εἰργλασαντο.

6.\* So, the Almogavars did not remain inactive, and they plundered whatever they could lay their hands on and sullied themselves daily with murders. This was why they considered the western fortresses to be extremely necessary and they seized most of them in sieges, including Madytos,<sup>148</sup> through combat, causing immense desolation.

### 7. Sending of Berenguer to Genoa.

|<sup>15</sup> <ζ'> Ἀπαγωγὴ Μπυριγερίου πρὸς Γέννουαν.

7.\* Μπυριγέριος τοιγαροῦν, ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦντος καταχθεῖς ἐν μιᾷ τριήρει Γεννουιτῶν, ἀπάγεται

7.\* Brought back from Trebizond on a Genoese trireme, Berenguer was then sent to Genoa.

<sup>146</sup> Attaleiotes was governor of Magnesia of Hermos, which he victoriously defended against the siege of Roger de Flor (XI, 24 and 26; XII, 3). (Cf. F628, fn. 36)

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 2622 (around summer 1305). Issued after the battle of Hemera, the message can be unquestionably dated to the summer of 1305. (Cf. F628, fn. 37)

<sup>148</sup> Madytos was taken after a long siege, probably in July 1305. As the Short Version presents a more detailed account, reference will also be made, for this chapter and the following one, to the annotation accompanying the text of the Short Version. (Cf. F630, fn. 43)



πρὸς τὴν Γέννουαν καὶ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἐξ ἀλαζονείας μέγας εἶναι δούξ, νῦν ἤδη φυλακῆ δουλεύσων ἀπέρχεται, εἰ μὴ καὶ ζημιωθῆναι θανάτῳ. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἐπιχειρα, δι' ἣν καὶ τὸ πᾶν συγκεχύσθαι δοκεῖ· εἰ γὰρ τὴν λαχοῦσαν μοῖραν ἐστέργομεν ἕκαστος, πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη πεοπλίτευτο ἂν καὶ ὁμόνοια, ἀλλὰ Τελχῖνος δαίμονος παραπεσόντος, πᾶν δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' οἶμαι καὶ πανταχοῦ πολιτεύεται. (B579)

Refusing due to arrogance to remain Grand Duke, he immediately left to submit himself to imprisonment, if not to punishment by death. This is the price of arrogance, which seems to cause a general confusion. If, in fact, we could accept our fate, general justice and concord would reign, but the demon Telchin<sup>149</sup> arose and general misfortune reigns, not only on the Romans, but everywhere, in my opinion.

### 9. The disaster that occurred at Kouboukleia.<sup>150</sup> (F635) θ'. Τὰ συμπεσόντα δεινὰ Κουβουκλείας.

9. Ξυνέπεσε δ' ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τι τῶν ἀνη-κέστων τινὶ τῆς κατ' Ὀλυμπον Μυσίας, οὗ δὴ φρούριόν τι ἐκ πλείστου ἀνφοκοῦμαι τὰ Κουβουκλεία. Καίτοι γε τῶν ἀπάντων δυσφόρως ἐχόντων, ὡς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὴν ἐν<sup>15</sup> τοῖς τῆδ' ἐγκεκρίσθαι, ἦν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὠδίνων ἔλεγε, καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνέβαινε ἐθνέσιν ἀμηγέπη εἰρηναίως διαζῆν καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ὅλως, τάχ' ἂν καὶ τὰ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου προεδοκῶμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἔτι προσέμενε ἡ κατάστασις, τοῦτ' ἦν καὶ μόνον τὸ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀνεῖργον ἐννοίας· πλὴν τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ πράττουσι καὶ τοῦτο<sup>10</sup> ἠγγέλλετο, τὴν σφετέραν κακίαν καὶ τὴν ἀναληθίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπῆνειαν καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγουσι. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνηκέστων καὶ ἀκόντων ἐγίνετο, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἐπράττετο παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ τῆ μείζονι, ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τύχῃ κακῇ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀσυνθεσίᾳ τῶν δυναμένων, ἧ τὰ πάντα συγχέονται.

9. An irreparable event then occurred in a place in Olympian (i.e. Asian) Mysia, where a fortress, Kouboukleia<sup>151</sup> had been built a long time ago. But everything had become intolerable, to the point where it was possible to recognize in this situation the word that the Lord spoke about the beginning of the dark days. If it was not that the other nations were able to live in some way in peace and entirely according to their wishes, we would undoubtedly have expected the end of the world. But as stability seemed to be being prolonged for the other nations, this observation alone kept us from this thought. But this announcement was intended for those who committed evil and thus displayed their wickedness, their harshness, their cruelty, as well as all the similar vices. In fact, if, on the one hand, the irredeemable occurred without them wanting it, on the other hand, they acted out of wickedness. Some claimed that the situation was a call for more piety, and some said that it was due to the bad luck that beset Roman affairs, as well as the incapacity of the powerful that tended to create general confusion.

<sup>16</sup> Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῷ φρουριῳ, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πέρσην Ἀτάρην, ἐν χρῶ κινδύνου ἐγένοντο, ἀμηχανοῦντες πρὸς ὃ τι ξύμφορον σφίσι, καὶ ἐνενοῦν μόνην τὴν ἐκ Λοπαδίου ἀρωγὴν – ἐκεῖ γὰρ διῆγεν ὁ Μακρηνὸς σὺν τισιν ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν Ἀμογαβάροις, οὓς

When Atares attacked the army of Persia,<sup>152</sup> the occupants of the fortress found themselves in a dangerous situation and, deprived of the necessary resources, their only hope was to get help from Lopadion. Makrenos resided at this location with a small number of men and

<sup>149</sup> The Telchine is cited elsewhere in the history (IV, 1; X, 10). (Cf. F630, fn. 46)

<sup>150</sup> This episode is only given in summary form in the Bonn edition of Pachymeres.

<sup>151</sup> The Mysia of Asia (Hellespont) or of the Olympus is opposite the Mysia of Europe (Bulgaria). The fortress of Kouboukleia (Giubekler) is on the northwest slope of Mount Olympus, between Lopadion and Brousse. It is thus located about ten kilometres north-east of the eastern point of the lake of Apollonias and at a distance roughly equal to the fortress of Katoikia. (F634, fn. 58)

<sup>152</sup> The Turk Atares (*PLP*, No. 1603) is not mentioned elsewhere. The spelling of the name is uniformly accepted by the manuscripts. We know too little about all of the Turkish tribes who were roaming the region and the names of their leaders to allow ourselves to correct this name and identify this leader as Osman, who actually conquered this region at that time, or Atines, cited above (XI, 9) and again below (XIII, 11). (Cf. F634, fn. 59)



φθάσας ὁ καῖσαρ ἀπέστειλεν <sup>120</sup> ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἰδίας τῆς χώρας λογιζομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πρόνοιαν -, ἐν φαύλῳ τῷ πόνῳ καθυπετόπαζον καὶ πέμψαντες βοηθεῖν ἠντιβόλουν, τὴν ταχίστην ἰόντας, καὶ γ' ἐμποδῶν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἴστασθαι. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος, ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ὄντος τοῦ ξενικοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀκραιφνεῖς Ἀμογάβαροι συνεπλήρουν, ἡμίσεις μὲν ἐκείνων φθάσας κατὰ <sup>125</sup> τινα ὑποψίαν ἀποστασίας ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἠσφαλίσατο, ἡμίσεις δέ, ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους λογιζομένους, ἄγων ὡς μάλα πιστούς, ἐκπέμπει τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν· οἱ δὴ καὶ παραγεγονότες, πρότερον Πέρσαις κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς κοινολογησάμενοι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες τε καὶ λαβόντες ἢ μὴν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ συμπράξει, ἐκείνους δ' αὐτίς αὐτοὺς εὐθυώρως πρὸς Λάμψακον ὡς περαιωθεῖεν διασώσασθαι, εἰσελθόντες τὸ φρούριον καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους (F637) προσποιησάμενοι, οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ οὐκ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ ἐκείνων (B581) ἔπραττον. Καὶ τέλος ἐξέλασαντες, προδιδούσι πάντας ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τοῖς Πέρσαις, τοὺς δ' ἐντὸς αὐτοὶ κατασφάζαντες, παραδιδούσι μὲν Πέρσαις τὸ φρούριον, αὐτοὶ δέ, σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀνάμενοι τῆς ἐπὶ Λάμψακον, οὐλαμοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀπαίρουσι πανοικὶ τύχη τινὶ ἐντευχηκότες, ἐξηνδραπόδισάν, ὡς σὺν ἄγρᾳ <sup>1</sup> πλείστη καὶ μεγίστῳ ἐρμαίῳ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον περαιούσθαι.

survivors from among the Almogavars who had been sent there previously by the Caesar to guard the place, given that the country was considered to belong to Caesar, as per the arrangements made by the Emperor.<sup>153</sup> The occupants of the fortress suspected that they were up against a cruel tribulation, and they begged them to help and to come as quickly as possible to stop the Persians. Made up entirely of Almogavars, the foreign contingent comprised 120 men, but Makrenos had just imprisoned half of them due to suspicions of treason, and it was the other half, which was considered favourable to the Romans and which he held to be very faithful, that he sent to those in danger. The Almogavars arrived, but they had previously met with the Persians and given the guarantee that they would assist the Persians. In return, the latter had guaranteed that they would lead the occupants of the fortress to safety and directly in a straight line towards Lampsakos in order to force them to cross.<sup>154</sup> So, pretending to be saviours, the Almogavars entered the fortress and there was no limit to what they did for the misfortune of these people. They finally ejected them and delivered them all up for their loss to the Persians. Having slain those who remained inside, they handed the fortress over to the Persians, while they themselves took the road to Lampsakos together with the latter. On their way they came across groups of Romans that were fleeing with their whole families, and they enslaved them, so that they crossed the Hellespont with a very large booty and thanks to very good fortune.

<sup>153</sup> By affirming that the country belonged to Roger de Flor, who called himself Prince of Anatolia', the historian refers to the agreements that were signed between the Emperor and the Caesar shortly before his assassination (XII, 22). Before going to Adrianople, Roger de Flor sent a contingent of Catalans to Lopadion (XII, 22), whose governor, Makrenos (*PLP*, No. 16357), is not known elsewhere. Lopadion is located west of Lake Apollonias and about thirty kilometres from Kouboukleia. (Cf. F634, fn. 60)

<sup>154</sup> The Almogavars who came from Lopadion wanted to join their companions at Kallioupolis and requested that the Turks convoy them as far as Lampsakos, where they would cross the strait to cross into Europe. They did arrive at their destination, which shows that the Turks were circulating freely in the Hellespont, if one considers that the journey from Koubooukleia to Lampsakos is nearly 200 km. (Cf. F635, fn. 61)



# NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS



Nikephoros Gregoras (1295-1360) belonged to the generation of Byzantine scholars after George Pachymeres (1242 – c. 1310) and like Pachymeres he was the author of a history of the Byzantine state covering the century after the fall of Byzantium to the Latin Crusaders (1204-1309). Like Pachymeres he was a polymath but he was also a controversialist and his support for the anti-Palamas (Anti-Hesychast) faction would ultimately end in tragedy.

Gregoras as a native of Heraclea Pontica and was probably orphaned at an early age as nothing was known about his parents. He was brought up by his uncle John, the metropolitan of Heraclea, and to him he owed his training in Platonic studies and in orthodox theology. He began his literary career in Constantinople c. 1314/15 and was a protégé of the Patriarch John XIII Glykys (*sedit* 1315-19) and under his tutelage he wrote treatises on astrology (which he also studied with Theodore Metochites) and introductions to books of the New Testament. Active in politics, Gregoras first supported Andronikos II (*r.* 1282-1328) in the civil war of 1321-28 and later found favour with his uncle Andronikos III (*r.* 1328-41). He also became a close friend of the future emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (*r.* 1347-54) but their friendship was severely tested by his taking the side of the Anti-Hesychasts. He heavily criticised the Council of Constantinople in 1351 for vindicating the teaching of Palamas. He was at first confined to his house and later to the (now famous) monastery of the Chora which had been restored by Metochites. His last years were spent as a polemicist and after his death his corpse was dragged through the streets of Constantinople.

Though he wrote voluminously, Gregoras is best remembered as the author of a history of his own times. In fact the Hesychast Controversy occupies two whole books of his history. The work is strictly chronological and offers a valuable parallel to the history of Pachymeres and the highly autobiographical history of Cantacuzenos. He provides modern readers with the only alternative account of substance to Pachymeres on the history of the Catalan Grand Company in the East and on the seemingly inexorable rise of the Mongols in the Near East and threat this posed to the existing world-order.

Like Pachymeres, the *Roman History* (*Rhomaïke Historia*) of Gregoras is not much cited by Anglophone scholars because of the lack of an English translation. The sections given in this research file represent the first ever translation into English of a significant portion of his work.

## **Edition:**

*Byzantina Historia*, eds. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1829-55).

## **German translation:**

H. Van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras Rhomäische Geschichte*, 6 vols in 7 pts, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1973-2007).

## **Study:**

R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1926).

SELECTIONS FROM  
NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS  
ON MONGOLS AND CATALANS



*HISTORIA BYZANTINA* VII, 1-8  
Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, i, pp. 214.1f. (Schopen)

II

3-6

**3. Affairs in Bulgaria, Byzantine attempt at recovering European territory, the Treaty of Gallipoli [1225-34]**

3 γ'. (A.) Ἐν τούτοις γε μὴν τοῖς καιροῖς ἦρχε τῶν Βουλγάρων ὁ <sup>10</sup> τοῦ πρώτου Ἀσάν υἱὸς ὄνομα Ἰωάννης. οὗτος ὄρων τὸν εἰρημένον Θεόδωρον τὸν Ἄγγελον οὐδὲ τῶν Βουλγαρικῶν ἀφίστασθαι πραγμάτων βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἤδη κάκεινοις βαρεῖαν καὶ βλάπτουσαν ἐπάγοντα χεῖρα, συμμάχους ἐκ τῶν Σκυθῶν· εἰληφῶς, συνῤῥήγνυσιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον ἰσχυρὸν, καὶ νικᾷ καὶ χειροῦται τοῦτον <sup>15</sup> καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττει, τῆς δίκης ὀνὲ περιελθούσης αὐτὸν, ὧν τε τὴν νόμιμον περιεφρόνησε τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν, βασιλείας ἑαυτῷ περιθεις ὄνομα· καὶ ὧν τοὺς ὁμοφύλους κακοπραγούντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Βουλγαρικῶν ἐφόδων καὶ δακρῶν ἄξια πάσχοντας, οὐκ ἠλέησεν, ἀλλὰ δυστυχήμασι δυστυχήματα <sup>20</sup> προσετίθει καὶ φόνους φόνους.

(B.) Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμει ἠΰξησε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, δεξιὸς οἰκονόμος φανείς καὶ κυβερνήτης ἄριστος τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀλκάδος. ναῦς τε γὰρ μακρὰς κατεσκευακῶς οὐκ ὀλίγας, ναυστολεῖ πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαῖον νήσους, καὶ πάσας (B29) ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ λαμβάνει, Λέσβον καὶ Χίον, Σάμον τε καὶ Ἰκαρίαν καὶ Κῶ καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶ προσεχεῖς· οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ διαβάς καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον, ἐγκρατῆς καὶ αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ μὲν βασιλικὸς στόλος οὕτω θαλαττοκρατῶν <sup>5</sup> ἦν, ἐν δ' Ἀσία τὰ Περσικὰ στρατεύματα ἔμενον ἀτρεμίζοντα, τὰ δὲ Λατίνων καταβραχὺ τε ὑπερῖει καὶ ἀσθενῶς εἶχεν, ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν ἤδη τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὄπλα καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐλευθερώσων τὰς ἐκεῖ ταλαιπώρους πόλεις τῆς τε Βουλγαρικῆς καὶ Ἰταλικῆς χειρός. καὶ δὴ διαβάς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἅμα ἦρι, <sup>10</sup> εἰσβάλλει πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Χερρόνησον, κάκειθεν τὴν ὁμορον ἐπόρθει καὶ ἕκαε χώραν, εἰς ἔκπληξιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς τῶν φρουρίων ἀκροπόλεσι Λατίνων. εἶλε δὲ καὶ πλείστας τῶν παραλίων πόλεων, Καλλιούπολιν τε καὶ Σηστὸν

3 1. At that time the Bulgarians were ruled by the son of Asen I, Johannes [i.e. Ivan Asen II. 1208-1241]. The latter saw how the aforementioned Theodoros Angelos also wanted to attack Bulgarian territory and how he was already advancing with a powerful and plundering army. He therefore got help from the Scythians, fought Theodoros in a heavy battle [1230], defeated him, took him prisoner, and had his eyes gouged out. He was thus punished for having despised the legitimate Roman Empire and appropriated the title of Emperor for himself, and for not having shown mercy to his fellow tribesmen who had undergone unfortunate sufferings due to the invasion raids of the Italians and Bulgars, and for only adding bloodshed and evil to evil.

2. Emperor John also soon increased the power of the Roman State. He showed himself to be a skilful administrator of the state budget and an excellent helmsman of the Roman ship of state. He had a number of large ships (i.e. of war) built and undertook an expedition against the islands of the Aegean and in a short time he plundered Lesbos and Chios, Samos and Ikaria and Cos and all in their neighbourhood. It did not stop there, but he went over to Rhodes and took the island under his power [ca. 1225]. The imperial fleet was now dominating the sea, and in Asia the Persian forces lay quiet, while the power of the Latins was also gradually declining and diminishing. The Emperor therefore decided to cross over from Asia to Europe with his army to liberate the unfortunate cities there from the yoke of the Bulgarians and Italians. At the beginning of spring [1235] he crossed the Hellespont, first of all invaded the Chersonese, and from there ravaged and scorched the adjoining territory in order to terrify the Latins in their strongholds. He also took many of the coastal cities, Kallioupolis

καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδιανῶν καὶ ὀπόσαι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ἦσαν, τὰς μὲν βία καὶ μηχανήμασι, τὰς |<sup>15</sup> δὲ προσχωρούσας ἑκοντί.

(Γ.) Ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἤκουσι πρέσβεις ἐκ Βουλγάρων σπονδῶν τε εἵνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἀσάν Ἑλένη τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Θεόδωρον γαμβρὸν ἐξαιτούμενοι. ταῦτα ἀσμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ ἅμα ἐθέλοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσι |<sup>20</sup> περισπώμενος ἀντίπαλον ἔχειν αὐτὸν, οὕτω τοῖς παριστρίοις ὁμοροῦντα Σκύθαις, καὶ ἅμα αὐτοῖς, ὅποτε βούλοιο, ἐπελαύνοντα, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ποσὶ, χειμάρρου δίκην, παρασύροντα. ταῦτη τοι καὶ τελεσιουργὰ τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας εὐθὺς ἦσαν καὶ ἅμα τὰ τοῦ κήδους. καὶ συνελθόντες περὶ Χερρόνησον ὃ τε βασιλεὺς (**B30**) καὶ ὁ Ἀσάν, συζευγνύουσιν Ἑλένη τῇ τοῦ Ἀσάν θυγατρὶ δεκαετῆ οὔσῃ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν νέον Λάσκαριν, μήπω ἐς τὸν ἔφηβον παραγγείλαντα. τῆνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Τερνόβου ἐπίσκοπος αὐτονομίαν λαμβάνει διηλεκτῆ, τῷ τέως ὑπὸ |<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης τελῶν Ἰουστινιανῆς, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχαίαν συγγένειαν.

(Δ.) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, θέρους ἐπιγενομένου, τὰς Θρακικὰς τε καὶ Μακεδονικὰς περίεσι πόλεις, ἀρξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῶν Βυζαντιῶν πυλῶν, καὶ ἐπελάσας ἄχρι Στρυμόνος, καὶ οικειοῦται πάσας, ἔτι ἵσταμένου |<sup>10</sup> τοῦ φθινοπώρου. καὶ οὕτω πάντα σκοπὸν διαθέμενος, αὐτὸς τε εἰς Νίκαιαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὰ οἴκοι διαχειμᾶσοντα.

#### 4. Description of the Skythians (i.e. Mongols)

4. δ'. 1. Ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ γενομένῳ τῆς ἱστορίας, οὐκ ἀρεστόν μοι ἔδοξεν εἶναι σιγῇ παρελθεῖν τὰ περὶ Σκυθῶν, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς |<sup>15</sup> χρόνοις ἐπιδραμόντων Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην. βιάσεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος προϊῶν εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν πολλακίς ἐμπίπτειν διηγήματα, καὶ χρεῶν ἀνακεφαλαιωσαμένου ἡμᾶς, καθόσον οἶδόν τε, διαλευκάναι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐναργέστερα παραπέμψαι ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ὑποθέσεσιν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ γε εἰδότες, εἴτα ἐπὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰδότεων |<sup>20</sup> ὡς εἰδότεων διεξιόντες, ἀμαρτάνειν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῖς ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν ἐννοιῶν, καὶ συχνὰ μεταβαίνειν ἐξ ἐτέρων εἰς ἐτέρας ἀναφορὰς, ὥσπερ αἱ κυνηγετικαὶ κύνες, ὅποτε τὰς τῶν λαγῶν ἰχνηλατοῦσι νομάς, συχνὰ τὴν ῥίνα πρὸς ἕτερα ἐξ ἐτέρων ἴχνη μετάγουσαι.

(B.) Ἔθνος ἐστὶ πολυανθρωπότατον, βορειότεραν (**B31**) πολλῶ τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχον ἢ κατὰ

(Gallipoli), Sestos, the city of the Kardianoι (i.e. Cardia), and all the others in their vicinity. He subjugated some by force of siege, while others surrendered voluntarily.

3. While the Emperor was carrying out this operation, envoys from the Bulgarians came to him. They wanted to make peace and requested Theodoros, the son of the Emperor, as son-in-law for Asen [Ivan Asen II.] through marriage to his daughter Helena. This embassy was extremely welcome to the Emperor, for he did not want to have Asen as an opponent while he was concentrating on other more important undertakings. Asen was the direct neighbour of the Scythians from the areas on the Danube and he could have gone out on forays with them at any time and carried away everything that came before his feet like a torrent. The request of the embassy was therefore immediately fulfilled, and the marriage was contractually agreed. The Emperor met Asen on the Chersonese, and they married the infant son of the Emperor, Theodoros Laskaris the Younger, to the twelve-year-old daughter of Asen, called Helena. On this occasion the Bishop of Ternobos [Trnovo] also obtained permanent autonomy, since up to that time he had been dependent on the Archbishop of Prima Justiniana due to the ancient kinship of the people.

4. When summer arrived, the Emperor went through the cities of Thrace and Macedonia. He began, so to speak, at the gates of Byzantium and advanced as far as the Strymon. By early autumn he had subjugated them all, and with that he had achieved all his goals. So, he himself returned to Nicaea, and he sent the soldiers home to winter.

1. At this point in my work, it seems appropriate to say something about the Scythians (i.e. Mongols) who were roaming Asia and Europe at that time, because I shall be forced to return to them in the following. I therefore need to briefly summarize their history here, as far as this is possible, and precede it with a few explanations. Otherwise, I might run the risk of writing about events that are known to me as if they were also known to my readers, and I would give rise to misconceptions and cause my readers to jump from one supposition to another, like hounds that track hares and switch from one track to another with their noses.

2. The Scythians are made up of a great mass of

πᾶσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην, οὐδαμῶς μὲν ἐς ἀκρίβειαν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν πόλον, παρὰ τοὺς ἀρκτικωτάτους δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐνδαισιώμενον παραλλήλων ἀπάντων, ὅποσοι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν περιγράφουσιν, ὡς |<sup>5</sup> οἱ τὰς παλαιὰς τε ἱστορίας συνθέντες παρέδωκαν τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἡμεῖς, καθόσον ἐξῆν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου ζυγήκαμεν πείρας. τούτους γαλακτοφάγους μὲν καὶ ἀβίους καὶ δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπων Ὅμηρος ἔφησεν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ οὐ μαγείρων μαγγανεία, οὐδὲ τραπέζης ἐπιπνερότητα πολυτέλεια. φυτηκομίαι |<sup>10</sup> δὲ καὶ ἀρόσεις γῆς, οὐδ' ἐν ὀνειροῖς, ὅτι ποτέ εἰσιν, ἐφαντάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ τροφή μὲν αὐτοῖς ἢ τῆς γῆς αὐτοφυῆς πῶα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων αἵματά τε καὶ σώματα. καὶ εἴ τι δὲ τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων καὶ πετεινῶν ἄλλωτὸν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτοσχέδιός ἐστι τροφή. |<sup>15</sup> ἔνδυμα δ' ἀποίητον, τὰ τῶν ζώων δέρματα. ἄργυρος δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ μάργαρος καὶ λίθος λυχνίτης, ἴσα καὶ κόνις ἐκείνοις ἐστίν. οὐ πανηγύρεις ἐκεῖ καὶ φιλοτιμίας θέατρα, οὐδὲ βουλευτήρια περὶ ναυστάθμων καὶ τριηραρχιῶν καὶ ἀγορανομιῶν· ἀλλ' εἰρήνη πᾶσα τὸ ἀπὸ τούτων, καὶ βίος πάμπαν ἀστασίαστος. |<sup>20</sup> ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώμασιν ἐπισυμβαίνοντες πυρετοὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τῆς ὕλης ἔχουσι, καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον φλεγμαίνουσι, παρ' ὅσον καὶ ἢ τῆς ὕλης πέφυκε χορηγία· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀσιτίαι μακρᾶι, καὶ ἰατρῶν φαρμακοποσίαι παραλαβοῦσαι τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ὕλην πᾶσαν ἐξαναλώσωσιν, αὐτίκα πέπανται μὲν ὁ (B32) πυρετὸς, ἡσθένησε δ' ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένεια· οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκείνοις, τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν φιλονεικίαι καὶ ἔριδες φύονται καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ χύσεις αἱμάτων ἐπινοοῦνται, οὐδὲ δικαστήρια συγκροτοῦνται λοιπὸν, οὐδὲ |<sup>5</sup> βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀναγνώσεις νομίμων, οὐδὲ πιθαναὶ γλῶσσαι, καὶ λόγων διαστροφᾶι, καὶ ἐννοιῶν λαβύρινθοι· ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη τις αὐτοφυῆς ἐπινέμεται τούτους καὶ ἀνεπίφθοнос αὐτονομία. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ Ὅμηρος τούτους ὠνόμασε.

(Γ.) Τὴν γε μὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῶν διαφόρως |<sup>10</sup> ἡμῖν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ διεπόρθμευσαν. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ Κιμμερίους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγγραψάμενος Σκύθας πολυειδεῖς, ὁ δὲ Χαιρωνεὺς Πλούταρχος Κίμβρους καὶ Τεύτονας, οὐκ οἴκοθεν μὲν, ὀνομάζει δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀμφιβάλλον καὶ ἀπιστῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ κυρίαν αὐτῶν |<sup>15</sup> προσηγορίαν αὐτοὶ ἂν κατὰ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶδεῖεν διάλεκτον. οἱ δ' Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ὡς ἕκαστοι βούλοιντο, τούτους προσαγορεύουσιν, ὅποσοι ἐκεῖθεν χειμάρρου δίκην ἐς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ἐπιρρέοντες,

people, and they dwell far further north than any country inhabited by us. This is not directly at the North Pole, of course, but in the northernmost of all the parallel circles into which the world is divided. At least that is what has been handed down to us by the ancient historians, and that is how we, insofar as possible, have been able to determine through long-term investigations. Homer describes the Scythians as living on milk, knowing no violence and being the most just people of all. They have no culinary art and no well-laid table. They do not so much as dream of plants and ploughs. They feed on the herbs that the earth produces and on the flesh and blood of their beasts of burden and other livestock. Any game and fowl they can capture also forms part of their easily acquired food. Their improvised clothes are animal skins. They consider silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones to as worthless as dust. Festive events, ambitious plays, council meetings on shipbuilding, fleet management or market organization are unknown to them. In this respect they are at perfect peace and their lives are free from disturbances. The matter in the human body offers a point of attack for fevers. These fevers will rage as long for as there is matter but as soon as long fasting and the potions prescribed by the doctors have acted on the body and exhausted all the strength, the fever immediately ceases, and the disease subsides. It is the same with the Scythians. Since they do not have the things that gives rise to quarrels and discords, to mutual pursuits and bloodshed, there are of course also no trials, court sessions, persuasion, perversion of words and wanderings of thought. That is why they have a natural righteousness at home and individual freedom without envy. That is why Homer called them the most righteous of men.

3. Their name has come down to us differently from the ancient sages. Homer calls them Cimmerians. Herodotus, who wrote about Persia, called them Scythians from different (p 79) tribes. The chronicler, Plutarch, called them Cimbern and Teutons. He admittedly does give the name, but he does not guarantee it. But he offers it anyway, albeit as if he had doubts and did not trust his own information. They should know their real name even in their own dialect. Authors who gave them Greek names like to call them that way when they wish to speak about these peoples who pour from over there like a torrent over our

ἄλλοτε ἄλλους ἐπιλαμβάνουσι τόπους. ὥσπερ γάρ εἰσιν <sup>120</sup> οὐράνια μὲν δείματα θεόθεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπισειόμενα πολλάκις, κεραυνοὶ καὶ πρησιτήρες καὶ ὑετῶν πληθός, ἐπίγεια δὲ, σεισμοὶ καὶ ῥήγματα γῆς, ἀέρια δὲ, τυφῶνες καὶ λαίλαπες· οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι ταμειύονται τῷ θεῷ, ἀρκτικά τινα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑπερβόρεια δείματα, ὥστ' ἀνθ' ἑτέρας μάλιστα στέλλεσθαι καθ' **(B33)** ὧν ἂν καὶ ὁπότε ἡ πρόνοια βούλοιο. τούτων τινὲς πολλάκις ἐκεῖθεν ἀποσπασθέντες, πολλοὺς ἐλυμήναντο χώρους, καὶ πλείστοις ἔθνεσι ζυγὸν δουλείας ἐπήνεγκαν· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μεγάλου πελάγους ἀποτομὴ χεθεῖσα κατὰ πρηνούς πάντ' ἐπικλύζοι καὶ παρασύροι <sup>15</sup> ὅποσοις ἂν ἐπιδράμοι.

(Δ.) Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖθεν μὲν γυμνῆ ταί τε καὶ ἄσκευοι ἐξιόντες, εἶτα ἀμειβουσι τὴν δίαιταν, μεταλαμβάνοντες τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ἰδρύνουσιν ἑαυτούς. ὥσπερ γε μὴν οἱ ἐξ ὄρων τῶν μεγίστων ἀναρρήγνυμενοὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ τὸ ρεῖθρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποπτύοντες, οὐκ εὐθὺς παρὰ τὴν αἰγιαλίτιδα ψάμμον ἐς ἄλμην τὸ πότιμον αὐτῶν ἐξαλλάττουσιν, <sup>10</sup> ἀλλὰ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάττης εἰσρέοντες ἀκοινώνητοι, ἔπειτα ἐσπείσαντο, καὶ τοῦ κράτους τοῖς πλουσιωτέροις παρεχώρησαν ὕδασι, οὕτω καὶ τούτων οἱ τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πρώτης οἰκήσαντες Σκυθικῆς, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ πρῶτον ἐρρύησαν, τὴν προτέραν <sup>15</sup> προσηγορίαν ἐφύλαξαν ἔτι ἀκήρατον, αὐτοὶ γε ὀνομαζόμενοι Σκύθαι, καὶ ἡ τούτους τρέφουσα γῆ Σκυθική. οὗτοι δ' εἰσιν, ὅσοι τε τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τανάϊδος ὤκησαν γῆν, καὶ ὅσοι τὸν Τανάϊν· ἔπειτα διαβάντες ἐκεῖθεν, ἐξεχύθησαν ἐς Εὐρώπην, τὰ ἐς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον βλέποντα πλευρὰ τῆς μεγίστης Μαιώτιδος διανεμηθέντες.

<sup>20</sup> (E.) Μετὰ δὲ μακρὰν μακρῶν αὐθις ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδον ἕτεροι, καθάπερ ἐκ μεγάλης πηγῆς τῆς πρώτης ἀπορράγνυντες Σκυθικῆς, ἐς δύο σχίζονται μοίρας· καὶ ἡ μὲν, τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Σαυρομάτας καταστρέψασα, ἔδραμε μέχρι καὶ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, οἱ καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἤδη ἐκλαθόμενοι κληθῆσιν **(B34)** Σαυρομάται καὶ Μασσαγέται ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ Μελάγγλαινοι καὶ Ἀμαζόνες· καὶ ὅσα αἱ δουλωθεῖσαι φυλαὶ κατὰ διαίρεσιν εἶχον ὀνόματα, πάντων καὶ οὗτοι κεκοινωνήκασιν τούτοις, διὰ τὴν ἐς τὰ ἐκείνων

civilized world and who are now already taking possession of those areas. Just as God often threatens people with various fearsome phenomena, from heaven with lightning and fire and heavy rains, from the earth with earthquakes and breaking of the ground, from the air with tornadoes and tempests, so he also has these people at his disposal, like a terrifying apparition from the north, from the Hyperborean region, which he sends instead of another scourge, as and when providence wills. Groups often split off from this people, devastating many regions and subjugating very many peoples, as when a piece of a great sea rolls down a slope and washes over and sweeps away everything it finds in its path.

4. The Scythians of course left their homeland without belongings, but they later changed their way of life and adopted the customs of the areas in which they settled. Rivers that burst forth from very high mountains and spill their currents into the sea, do not change their drinkable water to salt water just before the seashore, but flow unmixed into the sea for quite a distance, and only then mix with the sea water and give way to the force of the larger mass. Likewise, the Scythians, who dwelt nearest to the land from which they originally set out, retained the former name unchanged and were called Scythians and their land Scythia. These were those who dwelt north of the sources of the Tanais [Don], as well as those who later crossed that river, poured out over Europe, and divided up among themselves the lands west of the great Maeotic Sea [Sea of Azov].

5. Many, many years later, two more groups poured out of the land of origin as if from a great source. One subdued the Sauromates living towards Asia and penetrated as far as the Caspian Sea. These forgot their inherited name and called themselves Sauromates and Massagetae, Melanchlainoi and Amazons.<sup>155</sup> In short, they so intensely and ineradicably took over the customs of the various peoples whom they subjugated that they would also share their name. But the group that swung towards Europe devastated the entire

<sup>155</sup> Gregoras seems to regard the Sauromates as an autochthonous people who lent their name to their conquerors, the Scythians. Herodotus IV,117 considers the Sauromates, who according to him lived east of the Don at the time of Darius the Great, as a non-Scythian people who, however, used the Scythian language. In reality, the Sauromates subdued the Scythians living east of the Volga. Herodotus (I,201) did not venture to decide whether the Massagetae formed part of the Scythians. These were an Iranian Steppe people who were living between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, and who mostly merged with the Daai when these latter invaded their area in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. Gregoras also equates the Massagetae with the Alans (see the note on the passage). Herodotus IV 20 (among others) describes a non-Scythian tribe as the Melanchlainoi (black skirts). According to Herodotus IV 110-7, the Amazons mixed with the Sauromates. (Cf. VD222, fn. 49)



ἦθη δευσοπιόν τε καὶ ἀναπόνιπτον μεταδιαίτησιν. |<sup>5</sup> οἱ δ' ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀποκλίναντες, τὴν παρωκεάνειον πᾶσαν καταδραμόντες ἤπειρον, ἐς τε Σαρμάτας καὶ Γερμανοὺς τὰ ὀνόματα ἤμειψαν καὶ αὐτοί. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐμβalόντες καὶ ταύτην οἰκειωσάμενοι, Κελτοὶ τε ἤδη καὶ Γαλάται ἐκλήθησαν. ἐὼ λέγειν τοὺς ὄψε τοῦ χρόνου τὰς Ἄλπεις |<sup>10</sup> ὑπερβαλόντας καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐθις μυριάσιν ἐκστρατεύσαντας πολλαῖς, Τεύτονάς τε καὶ Κίμβρους, αὐταῖς γυναιξί τε καὶ τέκνοις, οἳ καὶ μόλις μὲν, κατεκόπησαν δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων, ὑπάτων τῆνικαῦτα καὶ στρατηγῶν τυγχανόντων τοῦ τε Μαρίου Γαῖου καὶ τοῦ Κάτλου Λουτατίου.

(ζ'.) Καὶ |<sup>15</sup> τί δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, ὅπου γε καὶ Λιβύης αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐπέβησαν, τοὺς τε ἐσπερίους καταστρεψάμενοι Ἰβηρας καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας πορθμὸν διαβάντες; αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ, ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἐπελάσῃσι, πάντας ὡς τὰ πολλὰ κατατροποῦνται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κυριεύουσι τόπων. τὴν δ' αὐτῶν Σκυθικὴν |<sup>20</sup> τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς ἐξ αἰῶνος φαίνεται δουλωσάμενος. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἀβρὸν καὶ ἐμβριθὴ βίον ἀρχήθεν ἐξομοσάμενοι, οὔτε σῖτον ἐδουσι, οὔτ' αἶθοπα οἶνον πίνουσι, οὗ χάριν οὔτε γῆν ἀροῦσι, οὔτε ἄμπελον ἐγεώργησαν πώποτε, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σπορίμων ἐπιτηδεύουσι, ὧν οἱ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας οἰκουμένης καθεστήκασιν τρόφιμοι. ἂ τοῖς μὲν Σκύθαις ἐθάσιν οὓσιν (B35) ἡδέα καὶ ἥκιστα ἐπαχθῆ, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις καὶ μάλα πολέμια, οἳ τὰ σκευοφόρα πλείω τῶν μαχίμων ἐπάγονται, καὶ ὅπη στρατοπεδεύσειαν, πολλῆς καὶ παντοδαπῆς δέονται τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἴν' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀνευδεῶς χορηγοῖεν τὰ χρήσιμα. |<sup>3</sup> οἱ δὲ τὸν ἄσκευον καὶ κοῦφον ἀσκοῦντες βίον ἀεὶ, ῥαδίως τὰς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦνται, καὶ τριῶν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας πολλάκις δίκην πτηνῶν αἰθερίων περιτρέχουσι γῆν, ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι καταλαμβάνοντες, μηδὲν μὲν ἐπαγόμενοι, πάντα δ' οὖν ἔχοντες, ὅσα πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ῥαδίως ἐφόδια κράτιστα. εἶναι |<sup>10</sup> γὰρ ταυτὶ τότε κατὰ πλῆθος ἐξιέναι μικροῦ καὶ ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαῖνον, τό τε τῆς κινήσεως εὐστροφον καὶ ὀξύτατον, καὶ ὁ τούτων μεῖζον, τὸ τελέως ἀφειδεῖν ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον δίκην ἀγρίων θηρῶν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς τὰς μάχας

mainland by the ocean. They also changed their names to Sarmatians and Teutons and later they also invaded and conquered the Celtic land and called themselves Celts and Galatians. I shall not go into detail here about the Cimbern and the Teutons, who eventually, in the number of tens of thousands, crossed the Alps towards Italy with their wives and children. These were, albeit with great difficulty, destroyed by the Roman forces who were led by the consuls of that time, Gaius Marius and Lutatius Catulus (101 BCE).

6. Why do we even need to dwell on how they were able to even subdue the western Iberians, how they crossed the straits at the Pillars of Heracles and how they often even invaded Libya.<sup>156</sup> They almost always subjugated whom-ever they attacked. Although they rule over the lands of other peoples, their own Scythia seems never to have been subjugated by anyone. The reason for this is that right from the beginning they renounced a soft and luxurious life, “eat no bread, drink no sparkling wine” (*Iliad* 5.341), and therefore do not plough the earth and plant a vine or cultivate any other seed crops which the inhabitants of the southern civilized world serve up as food. This is all pleasant and not at all difficult for the Scythians, who are accustomed to it, but it is the greatest of foes for their enemies. They carry more beasts of burden than machines of war, and wherever they set up camp, they require a wide and varied supply of goods to provide for themselves and their beasts of burden. However, the Scythians, who always live a carefree life without the ballast of many consumer goods, easily go to war and sometimes, like birds in the air, are able to cover three days' march in one day. They reach country after country before they have even been heard about. They carry nothing with them but have everything that contributes most to an easy victory: an almost uncountable mass, extreme mobility, and speed of deployment, and what is more important, a reckless risk of one's own life and a frontal charge in combat, like wild animals.

## 5. The sons of Genghis Khan

<sup>156</sup> The views of Gregoras on the Scythian conquest of Europe are very vague. Here, too, he seems to regard the Sarmatians and Germans, Celts and Galatians as the original inhabitants, whose names were taken over by the Scythian conquerors. Regarding the mention of the annihilation of the Cimbern and Teutons, he evidently bases himself on Plutarch: Marius II. The western Iberians are the Spaniards, thus called in contrast to the eastern Iberians in the Caucasus (cf. p. 39). The "Scythians" who advanced as far as Libya (=Africa) are the Vandals. (Cf. VD222, fn. 50)

5. ε'. 1. Ἄλλ' ἐπανιτέον, ὅπη τὸ πρότερον ἵχνος τοῦ λόγου καταλελοιπίμεν. |<sup>15</sup> ἤδη γὰρ καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος, μοῖρα Σκυθῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ ἐς πολλὰς ἀναφέρουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν μυριάδας, ἄνωθεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀποσπασθεῖσα κάτεισι μὲν ἄθροα μέχρι καὶ Κασπίας θαλάττης. ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῦ ἡγουμένου Σιτζισχᾶν τετελευτηκότος, διείλοντο |<sup>20</sup> τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄμφω αὐτοῦ τῶ νιέε, ὃ τε Χαλαοῦ καὶ ὁ Τελεπουγᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν Χαλαοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀφεις τὴν τε Κασπίαν καὶ Ἰαζάρτην ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ τῶν Σκυθικῶν ῥηγνύμενος ὀρῶν, πλατύς τε καὶ βαθύρρους διὰ τῆς τῶν Σογδιανῶν χώρας κατιῶν, ἐς τὴν Κασπίαν ποιεῖται τὰς ἐκβολὰς, **(36)** κατῆι διὰ τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τούτων λόγος ἀναμεινάτω· ἀνθέλκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν νιέων τοῦ Σιτζισχᾶν, ὁ Τελεπουγᾶς, ὄρους τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ποιησάμενος πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν τὰς τοῦ Καυκάσου |<sup>5</sup> ὑπερβολὰς καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὰ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης πελάγη, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν γῆς, πᾶσαν ὑποποιούμενος αὐτὴν τε καὶ ὅσα Μαιώτιδά τε καὶ Τάναϊν τῶν ἐθνῶν παρικοῦσιν. εἶτα ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ταναΐδος, πολὺς ἐρρῦη κάτω διὰ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἐθνῶν. πλεῖστα δὲ ταῦτα |<sup>10</sup> πεφύκασιν καὶ παντοδαπά· ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐς μεσόγειον τεμάχια τε καὶ λείψανα ἦσαν τῶν πάλαι Σκυθῶν, ὅσα ἐς νομάδας καὶ ἀροτῆρας ἐμερίζοντο· τὰ δὲ ὁμοροῦντα τῇ Μαιώτιδι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πόντου πληροῦντα παράλιον, Ζικχοί τ' Ἀβασγοί τε ἦσαν, Γοτθοί τε καὶ Ἀμαξόβιοι, Ταυροσκύθαι τε καὶ Βορυσθενεῖται, |<sup>15</sup> καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσοι τὴν παρὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου Μυσίαν ἐνέμοντο.

1. I must return to the point where I interrupted my narration. John Doukas was already reigning over the Romans when a large part of the Scythians, many tens of thousands in number, separated from the Hyperboreans in the north and came down as a united body to the Caspian Sea. But meanwhile their leader Sitzichas [Genghis Khan] died, and then his two sons Chalau [Hülägü] and Telepugas [Teleboga] shared the command of the armies.<sup>157</sup> Chalau advanced south of the Caspian Sea and the Jaxartes River into lower-lying Asia. The Jaxartes rises in the Scythian mountains, flows through the territory of the Sogdians with its deep and wide stream and then empties into the Caspian Sea. I will talk about this group later on.<sup>158</sup> First of all, we need to turn our attention to the report on Europe. The other son of Sitzichas, Telepugas extended his empire southwards to the Caucasus passes and then to the Caspian Sea.<sup>159</sup> Then he went through the land of the Massagetæ and the Sauromates and subjugated it together with the peoples who live on the Maeotic Sea and the Tanais. Then he passed the sources of the Tanais, descended into the plain and threw himself on the European peoples. These formed a varied and colourful crew. Some resided inland, who were remnants of earlier groups of Scythians, in part nomads, in part tillers. Others lived on the Maeotic Sea and the Pontic coast, namely the Zichoi and Abasgoi, the Goths and Hamaxobioi, the Tauroskeyth and Borysthenites [Borysthenes = Dnjepr], and also those who lived at the mouth of the Danube in Mysia.

<sup>157</sup> Gregoras shows himself to be poorly informed about the processes involved in the emergence of the Mongol Empire. Even before the death of Genghis Khan (probably on 25 August 1227), this extended far to the west beyond the Caspian Sea. The two leaders, whom Gregoras describes as the sons of Genghis Khan, cannot possibly be equated with his real sons: Djoci, who died before his father (1227), Ögädei (Great Khan 1229-1241), Caghatai or Tolui. The names are apparently those of the grandson of Genghis Khan and the son of Tolui, Hülägü, and the fifth-generation descendent of Genghis Khan, Teleboga. (Cf. VD222, fn. 53)

<sup>158</sup> The conquest of Asia Minor began in the winter of 1242/3 with the capture of Erzurum (Karin, Theodosopoulos) under the leadership of Baiju, who was subordinate to the ruler of the Golden Horde, Batu. In the spring of 1243, the Mongols pushed further west, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Seljuks in the pass of Köse Dağ and occupied Sivas (Sebaste) in 1243/4. In 1245, Baiju conquered several cities in Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, Hülägü is rightly regarded by Gregoras as the conqueror of 'lower-lying Asia'. However, he did not begin his campaign of conquest until the year 1255, with which he had been commissioned by his brother, the Great Khan Möngkä Temür (1251/2-1259). The Mongols had already crossed Jaxartes (Syr-darya) much earlier. Georgia and Armenia were conquered as early as 1232-1240. Gregoras shares with almost all the ancient authors the erroneous view that the Jaxartes flows into the Caspian Sea (in reality into the Aral Sea). What our author had in mind with his "Scythian mountains" is unclear. He knew little about the headwaters of the river, about which the older geographers provided confusing information. (Cf. VD223, fn. 54)

<sup>159</sup> Teleboga did not come to power until 1287. He reigned until 1291. The Mongol advance to the west began in 1236 under Batu (d. 1256). Why Gregoras erroneously equated the conqueror of the west Batu with Teleboga is not clear. (Cf. VD223, fn. 55)

(B.) Οὕνοι δὲ οὗτοι καὶ Κόμανοι ἐκαλοῦντο· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ Σκύθας αὐτοὺς κατωνόμαζον. οἱ καὶ τὴν βαρείαν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ἔφοδον ἐκπλαγέστες τῶν ἄρτι ἐπιδραμόντων Σκυθῶν, ἔγνωσαν δεῖν ἑαυτοὺς μετανάστας ἐκεῖθεν |<sup>20</sup> ποιεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐλίσις ὅλως χρησταῖς οὐδενὶ τὸ ἀνθίστασθαι ἦν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπεπτήχει καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, καὶ δίκην ἀσταχύων ὡς ἐν ἄλωνι θερινῷ συνετριβόντό τε καὶ ἐφθείροντο. ὅθεν ἀπογόντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας πόλεμον, διφθέραις (B37) ἀντ' ἄλλης σχεδίας κάρφης πεπληρωμέναις τὸν Ἴστρον διέβησαν ἅμα γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις. καὶ οὐ μικρὸν τινα χρόνον ἀνὰ τὴν Θράκην πλανώμενοι περιήεσαν, ἀποικίαν ζητοῦντες ἀρμόττουσαν ἑαυτοῖς, χιλιάδες οὐ μείους τῶν δέκα. ἀλλὰ πρὶν |<sup>5</sup> αὐτοὺς καταλῦσαι τὴν πλάνην, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης δωρεαῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ δεξιῶσεσιν ἄλλαις ἐφέλκεται καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίκοις καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγκαταλέγει στρατεύμασι, χώρας ἄλλοις ἄλλας διανεμιάμενος εἰς κατοικήσιν, τοῖς μὲν κατὰ Θράκην καὶ Μακεδονίαν, τοῖς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ Μαίανδρον καὶ Φρυγίαν.

(Γ.) Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω πάλιν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος διαβιβάζειν ἐπείγεται, καὶ τοὺς |<sup>10</sup> Ὑπερβορείους ἐκείνους Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας δίκην ἀκρίδος βαρείας χεθέντες μάλα σφοδρῶς μικροῦ πᾶσαν συνεκύκησάν τε καὶ ἐδουλώσαντο. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κασπίαν στενὰ διέβησαν, κατὰ νῶτον ἀφέντες Σογδιανούς τε καὶ Βακτριανούς |<sup>15</sup> καὶ Ὠξον τὸν Σόγδον ποταμὸν, ὃν μεγάλαι τε καὶ πλεῖσταί τε τρέφουσι πηγαί, παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας τῶν πρόσω μεγάλων ὄρων διεχειμάσαν, τῶν ἐκεῖσε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες, ὅσα τῆς ἀνωθεν λείας ὄναντο. ὄρη δὲ ταῦτά εἰσι πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα, ἃ πάντα κατὰ συνέχειαν ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενα |<sup>20</sup> ὥσπερ ἐν ἅπαντα γίνονται ὄρος, Ταῦρος ὀνόματι καλούμενον γενικῶς, ᾧ κατὰ μέσον ἀκριβῶς διέζωσται πᾶσα Ἀσία. ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον τὰ ἔγγιστα τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους· σχίζουσι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξιόντα εἰς τμήματα δύο τὴν ὅλην Ἀσίαν, ἄχρις ἂν εἰς ἀπηλώτην ἄνεμον παρ' αὐτὸν τελευτήσωσι (B38) τὸν Ὠκεανόν.

(Δ.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦρος ἐπιγενομένου, ὅτε πᾶν τὸ

2. These were called Huns and Comans and were also called Scythians by some. All these were horrified at the irresistible onslaught of the newly invading Scythians and felt it urgent to evacuate their territory.<sup>160</sup> No one had any hope of being able to resist them. All cities and peoples trembled with fear, and like ears of corn on the summer threshing floor they were crushed and destroyed. So, they gave up fighting the Scythians and crossed the Danube with their women and children. Instead of building rafts, they used sacks filled with straw. For a long time, they wandered around Thessaly in search of a suitable place to live. Their number was at least ten thousand. But before they finished this wandering, the Emperor John drew them to his side with lavish gifts and other favours and incorporated them into the Roman forces. In addition, he gave some of them areas to dwell in Thrace and Macedonia, and other areas in Asia, namely on the Meander and in Phrygia [1242].

3. Now we must turn east again and report on the northern Scythians who swarmed over Asia like a crushing swarm of locusts, turning it into chaos and subjugating it almost to the limit.<sup>161</sup> These had first of all passed through the Caspian Gates, turned their backs on the Sogdians and Bactrians as well as on the Sogdian river, the Oxus (Amu Darya), which was supplied by many great springs, and wintered at the foot of the mountains bordering on this area. Meanwhile they enjoyed the wealth of this area and the booty they had previously acquired. The said mountain range has many high peaks, all of which are joined together in such a way as to form a mountain, the common name of which is Taurus, which cuts through the middle of all Asia. The beginning of this mountain range is in the west near the Aegean Sea and from there it splits all of Asia into two parts until it ends in the south directly at the ocean.

4. In the spring, when the face of the earth was

<sup>160</sup> What is referred to here is the Mongol conquest in the years 1240-1241, which ended with the victories near Liegnitz on 9 April 1241 and in the Mohi plain (Hungary) on 11 April 1241 and the return in the spring of 1242 after the news of the death of the Great Khan Ögädei (*d.* 11 December 1241). The main force retreated along the Danube, while some of the troops devastated Dalmatia, Albania, and Serbia, and the Bulgarians were then made tributary. (Cf. VD223, fn. 56)

<sup>161</sup> Here follows the report announced above (II,5) about the conquests of the Mongols in Asia Minor. It is not clear whether the three years that Gregoras is talking about are the years 1242-1245 or 1255-1258. In this last period, Hülägü took over the protectorate over the Seljuks, subdued the Assassins in Mesopotamia, and conquered Baghdad on 10 February 1258. (Cf. VD223-24, fn. 60)

πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς τὴν χλόην τῆς πόας ἐνδύεται, τὰ παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας τῶν ὄρων χειμάδια καταλιπόντες οἱ Σκύθαι, καθάπερ αἰπόλια καὶ βουκόλια, κατὰ πλῆθος τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρων<sup>15</sup> ὑπερβάλλουσι, ρέουσί τε κατὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐθνῶν καὶ πάντας ἐν λόγῳ λείας ποιούμενοι, καταντῶσιν ἐς Ἰνδικὴν, ὅποση ἐφ' ἐκάτερα κεῖται τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ποταμῶν Ἰνδοῦ. καὶ ταύτη ζυγὸν ἐπιθέντες δουλείας, οὐκέτι πρὸς ἕω ταύτης ἐπέκεινα ὤδευον διὰ τὸ τραχὺ τε καὶ καυματῶδες τοῦ τόπου· ἀλλ' ἐπ'<sup>10</sup> Ἀραχωσίαν τε καὶ Καρμανίαν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐποίησαντο· καὶ πάντων ῥαδίως ὑποκυπτόντων, ἐπὶ Χαλδαίους ἀφίκοντό τε καὶ Ἄραβας, ἔπειτα ἐς Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίους διαβάντες, καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν κατειληφότες, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ τόπου χάρισιν ἀρεσθέντες, ἐκεῖ τὴν μακρὰν καταλύουσι πλάνην, ἔτος που ἤδη τρίτον<sup>15</sup> ἀνύοντες, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν τε Ἰαξάρτην διεπεραιώθησαν ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διέστησαν ὁμοφύλων, τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας κληρούχους τάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς.

(E.) Ὡσπερ δὲ πῦρ ἐς ὕλην βαθεῖαν ἐνσκήψαν, οὐ μόνον ἦς τὸ πρῶτον ἐδράξατο, ταύτην λυμαίνεται μόνην, ἀλλ' εἰ ὁμοία καὶ πάση τῇ πέριξ ἐντόχοι, ἤδη καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ῥᾶστα ἐπιβόσκειται· οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀρχηγὸς τουτωνὶ τὴν τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἐξαίρετον πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπόλαυσιν ἐς οἴκησιν ἀπολέξας ἑαυτῷ, οὐκ ἠρέμησε τοῦ λοιποῦ, οὐδὲ τῶν πέριξ ἀπέσχετο· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ σατράπας καὶ χιλιάρχους διαπεμπόμενος, Πέρσας μὲν πρῶτον καὶ<sup>25</sup> Πάρθους καὶ Μήδους παρεστήσατο· ἔπειτα διὰ τῆς μεγάλης (B39) ἀνίων Ἀρμενίας, ἤλασε πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτον ἄχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε Ἰβηρίας· ἔμελλε δὲ ἤδη ἐς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας ἐλάσαι Ἀσίας καὶ ὄρους τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ποιήσασθαι τὰς παραλίους ψάμμους, ὅπου θάλασσά τε καὶ ἠπειρος<sup>15</sup> σπένδονται. μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἀνεκτῶν, ἐξω τι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλλελεῖσθαι χειρὸς, ὅποσα τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἠπειρον ἅπασαν ἄχρι θαλασσῶν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτῶν. τέως δ' αὐτόθι καταμένειν ἠρεμοῦντες ἐγνώκεισαν, κλήρους ἑαυτοῖς διανείμαντες χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων, διαφόρων τε οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων κτήσεις καὶ καταγωγὰς, πολλὴν<sup>10</sup> ἐμπαρεχομένης τῷ σώματι θυμηδίαν καὶ τρυφήν.

(ζ'.) Χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χρημάτων ποικιλία καὶ πολυτέλεια (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιχωριάζει κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους) οὐπω ἐγνώσκετο τούτοις εἰς ὃ τι χρήσιμα εἶη τοῖς ἔχουσι· διὸ καὶ παρέτρεχον αὐτὰ ἴσα καὶ κόνιν, καὶ ὅσα ἐς ὕλην ἀνόνητον ἔρριπται.<sup>15</sup> ἢ γὰρ φύσις τῶν ἀναγκαίων γίνεται πρῶτον διδάσκαλος· ἂν γοῦν ταῦτα μὴ σπάνις στενοχωρῇ τις, ἀλλ' ἐς πλῆθος ἢ τύχη παρέχη προκεῖσθαι,

clothed all over with the green of grass, the Scythians, like herds of goats and oxen, left their winter dwellings and scaled the tops of the mountains en masse. They pounced on the peoples living below and treated them all as prey. They advanced as far as India, which stretches out on both sides of the largest of the rivers, the Indus, and forced this country too under the yoke of servitude. However, they did not go any further east because this area was too impassable and hot. Instead, they turned to Arachosia and Carmania, and as all of these soon submitted, they also reached the Chaldeans and the Arabs. From there they passed through Babylonian and Assyrian territory and occupied Mesopotamia. As this beautiful region pleased them, they ended their wanderings here, three years after having crossed the Jaxartes and separated from their people. By that time, they had made themselves masters of Southwest Asia.

5. But a fire that breaks through thick brush not only consumes the wood of which it first takes hold but, as that it is surrounded by the same material, goes through that too with ease. So, it was for the leader of those Scythians, who found no rest after having chosen for his abode the most select region of Asia as far as human comfort was concerned, and he also attacked the surrounding areas. He sent out his satraps and chiliarchs and first subdued the Persians, the Parthians, and the Medes. Then he went through Greater Armenia in a northerly direction to Colchis and to Iberia there. He also planned for the coming years to travel through inner Asia and convert the coastal sands, where sea and land meet, into the border of his empire. It was unbearable to him that one of the peoples who dwelt all over Asia down to the sea should remain outside his sphere of influence. However, for the time being, the Scythians wanted to stay calm where they now were, distribute the conquered regions and cities, houses, and treasures among themselves and enjoy the material comforts that these offered.

6. The value of gold and silver, the colourful variety of valuables, in which those areas are very rich, was still unknown to them. That is why they walked past them as if it were dust or some other worthless material. Nature first teaches the importance of necessity. When there is no longer a shortage of this and fate provides it in abundance, then she appears again, as if it were called upon as an advisor, and teaches, if possible the art

τηνικαῦτα ὡς ἐκ συγκρίσεως προμηθῆς αὐθις ἢ φύσις καθίσταται, κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὸ προσηνέστερον ἐκλεγομένη σαφῶς ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν. ἂν δὲ κόρος ἐπὶ τούτοις γένηται, συνήγορος |<sup>20</sup> οὗτος αὐτίκα καθίζει τοῖς περιτοῖς, καθάπερ τινὰ πλάνην καὶ δέλεαρ μηχανώμενος πρῶτον τὴν αὐτῶν ἐς διάφορα εἶδη ποικιλίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν· κᾶπειτα ἐγγοητεύων οὕτως ὡς ἀπόρητον ἡδονὴν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς περιττότητος ἐμβριθὲς ἐπαχθὲς φαίνεται ἅμα καὶ λυπηρόν. ὡς νῦν γε καὶ οὗτοι μόνους τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις (B40) ὄντες ἐθάδες, καὶ τούτοις ἐστενωμένοις, ἔπειτα τοσαύταις τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων χάρισιν ἐντυχόντες, ὅποσας ἢ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων φέρει περίχωρος, οὐκέτι τούτων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἔκριναν δεῖν, ἀλλὰ χαίρειν εἰπόντες τοὺς μακροὺς ἐκείνους |<sup>5</sup> πόνους καὶ περιδρόμους, ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιεῖσθαι καθημένους τὴν δίαιταν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ὅποσοις ἐπῆλθον ἔθνεσι, φόρους συντάξαντες ἅπασιν, ἀνὰ πᾶν οὐ διαλείπουσιν ἔτος δασμολογοῦντες καὶ ἐπιτάττοντες ὅσα καὶ δούλοις, καὶ χρηματίζοντες ὡς ἐκ μεγάλου τρίποδος, καὶ θεμιστεύοντες ὅποσα σφίσι δοκοίη ἐς ἐκείνους καθήκειν.

|<sup>10</sup> (Z.) Τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τοῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Χαλδαίων ὁμιλήσαντες πεπαιδευμένοις ἦθεσιν, ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῶν ἐκλιναν σέβας, τὴν πάτριον ἀθειάν ἀφέντες, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν κεκοινωνήκασιν νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν, ὅποσα τε ἐς ἐσθῆτα καὶ τράπεζαν ἄγει πολυτελεῖ, καὶ ὅποσα τὴν τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης ὑπαγορεύει τρυφήν. |<sup>15</sup> ἐς τοσαύτην γὰρ τὴν μεταδιαίτησιν ἤδη παρήλλαξαν, ὥστε πρότερον τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν παχεῖ τινα πῖλῳ καὶ ἀνεμιμένῳ σκέποντες, τῆς δ' ἄλλης πάσης ἐσθῆτος τὸ εὐδαιμον εἰς δέρματα ζῶων ἀγρίων ἐγκλείοντες, καὶ διφθέρας ἀνεπιτηδεύτους, ὄπλοις δ' ὁμοίως χρώμενοι ῥοπάλοις τισὶ, καὶ σφενδόνας, δόρασι τε καὶ βέλεσι καὶ τόξοις αὐτοσχεδίοις ἅπασιν ἐκ τε δρυῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων |<sup>20</sup> δένδρων, ὅσα ὄρη καὶ λόχμαι ταῖς ὥραις δουλεύοντα φέρουσιν αὐτοφυῆ βλαστήματα, σηρικοῖς καὶ χρυσοῦφέςιν ὑστερον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς ὄλοις ἐνδύμασιν· ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμετρίας ἐξήνεγκαν τὴν |<sup>25</sup> ἀβρότητα τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐκ διαμέτρου καθάπαξ στήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῆς προτέρας διαίτης.

## 6. Negotiation with Turks concerning the Mongols

(B41) 6. ζ'. 1. Ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες Τοῦρκοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην Ἄραβες θόρυβον εἶχον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μικρὸν, πονηρὸν τοὺς Σκύθας ὀρῶντες γειτόνημα. πρέσβεις οὖν αὐτοκράτορας ὁ τῶν |<sup>5</sup> Τούρκων ἡγεμῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπέμπει Ἰωάννην περὶ βεβαίων σπονδῶν. ἐδεδίει γὰρ, μὴ περισπώμενος ἐς τὰς τῶν Σκυθῶν μάχας αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν ἔχη μεγάλους

of choosing what most pleases the senses. If saturation occurs here too, she immediately recommends the superfluous. For this, she cunningly uses the colourful composition of the same as a seductive lure, then in a certain way conjures up an unspeakable pleasure and thus prevents the superfluous from being felt as onerous and tiresome. So, it was with these Scythians. They were used to having only what was necessary, and even that just barely. Then they encountered the many comforts of those regions, all that the land of the Babylonians and Assyrians had to offer, and they thought it best not to depart from there, but to bid farewell to their long and arduous journey and henceforth dwell and live there. From this abode they now governed all the peoples that their conquest had subjugated and on which they imposed all kinds of taxes. Every year they collected these taxes, and they gave their orders as if to slaves, and proclaimed their edicts as if from a great tripod, and enacted whatever law they saw fit.

7. However, over time, the association with the cultivated classes of the Assyrians, Persians and Chaldeans caused them to abandon their inherited godlessness and adapt their own customs and habits to the religion of these peoples and modify the rest of their way of life in terms of luxuries in clothing, food, and drink. How far this change in their way of life extended can be seen from the following. They used to cover their heads with a coarse, hanging cap, and otherwise all their wealth of clothing was limited to animal skins and untreated skins. For weapons they used a kind of club, slingshot, spear, bow and arrow, any kind of improvised weapon made of wood from oaks and similar trees, which make the mountain forests grow by themselves with the rhythm of the seasons. But now these same Scythians wore pure silk and gold-woven robes. They took the enjoyment of luxury so far that they converted their former way of life into its very opposite.

6. The Turks, who inhabited Asia within the Euphrates, and the Arabs, who inhabited Coele Syria and Phoenicia, had great worries about the dangerous proximity of the Scythians. The ruler of the Turks therefore sent authorized envoys to Emperor John to negotiate a permanent peace treaty [1243]. He feared having a strong enemy at his rear fighting the Scythians in the Roman forces. He scarcely dared to defend himself

ἐχθροὺς τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶ τῶν πάνυ τοι ἀδυνάτων καὶ σαφῆ τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἡγεμονίας ἀπώλειαν, εἰ μόλις ἔχων τὸ θαρρῆεῖν ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι πρὸς μόνας |<sup>10</sup> τὰς Σκυθικὰς ἐφόδους, ἔπειτα πρὸς δύο μερίζειν τὰς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ἀναγκάζοιτο διὰ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν μάχας. τοῦτο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς βουλήσεως ἦν καὶ πάνυ τοι προδεδογμένον, πολλῶν εἵνεκα· ἐνὸς μὲν, ὅτι μηδὲ τούτῳ ἐδόκει συνοῖσον, οὐδ' αὖ κοῦφον καὶ ῥάδιον, ὅτι μὴ τῶν μάλα βιαιῶν καὶ ἐπαχθῶν, |<sup>15</sup> μερίζεσθαι πρὸς τε τὰς τῆς Ἀσίας μάχας, πρὸς τε τὰς τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐτέρου δ', ὅτι καὶ μέγα νῦν ἐπιτειχισμα καὶ σφόδρα τοι καίριον γίνεσθαι, μέσους κειμένους τοὺς Τούρκους κατὰ τῶν Σκυθικῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν κοινὸν δεχομένους κίνδυνον ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν σώμασι, δίκην προμάχων στερῶν ἢ προβόλων πετρῶν, |<sup>20</sup> ἄς ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν παραλίων μερῶν κατὰ τῶν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀγρίων κυμάτων ἢ φύσις ἐξώπλισε.

(B.) Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ πρόθυμός τε καὶ μάλα ἐθελοντῆς τὰς μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐτέλει σπονδάς· καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὄφελος τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τότε κατέστη πράγμασιν. ἄδειαν γὰρ καὶ ἀνακωχὴν τῶν μακρῶν εἰληφότες πολέμων, ἐς |<sup>25</sup> τὴν τῶν οἰκειῶν κτημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπέδωκαν ἐπιμέλειαν. (B42) αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος ἀποτεμώμενος γῆς, ὅση τε ἀρόσιμος καὶ ὅση πρὸς ἀμπελοργίαν εὐθετος, ὅσην ἐξαρκεῖν ἔκρινεν ἐς τε βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ ἐς ὅσα ἢ εὐεργετοῦσα καὶ διαρκῶς χορηγοῦσα γνώμη τοῦ βασιλέως παρεκελεύετο |<sup>5</sup> (γηροτροφεία δὲ ἦσαν ταῦτα καὶ πτωχοτροφεία, καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ἐκ παντοίων νοσημάτων ἐθεράπευον τραυματίας), ἐπιμελητάς τε τούτοις ἐπιστήσας, ὅποσοι καλῶς γεωργεῖν τε καὶ ἀμπελοργεῖν ἴσασι, πολλήν τε καὶ ἄφθονον τὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἐτήσιον ἤθροιζε χορηγίαν. οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππων καὶ βοῶν καὶ ποιμνίων, ὁμοῦ |<sup>10</sup> τε καὶ συῶν ἀγέλας προσεκτίσατο ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ παντοίων ὀρνίθων ἡμέρων εἶδη, ἐξ ὧν πολύχους ὁ τῶν γεννωμένων πορισμὸς ἐφαίνετο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήνει ποιεῖν, ὅσοι τε τῶν γένει προσηκόντων, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἄλλως εὐγενῶν ἦσαν, ἴν' ἕκαστος οἴκοθεν ἔχων τῆς χρείας τὸ διαρκές, |<sup>15</sup> μήτε χεῖρα τοῖς ιδιώταις καὶ ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπάγη πλεονεκτοῦσαν, καὶ ἅμα καθαρεύουσα ἢ Ῥωμαίων τελέως ἐντεῦθεν ἀδικημάτων ἢ πολιτεία. καὶ μέντοι καὶ χρόνων ὀλίγων αἱ πάντων ἀποθήκαι βρίθουσαι τοῖς καρποῖς ἐωρῶντο, αἱ τε ὁδοὶ καὶ ἀγνυαὶ καὶ πᾶσα μάνδρα καὶ σηκὸς ἐστενοχωροῦντο τοῖς κτήνεσι, καὶ ὅποσαι τῶν |<sup>20</sup>

against the Scythians, as he considered it utterly impossible and certain doom for his empire were he to be forced to divide his forces on two fronts in a war. This also corresponded to the wish of the Emperor, who had already decided on this treaty for many reasons. On the one hand, it did not seem useful to him, nor did it appear easy and simple, but on the contrary very difficult and burdensome, to divide his army for battles in Asia and Europe. On the other hand, he considered the Turks to be a very opportune and strong defensive barrier. They kept the Scythian attacks away from him and, like strong champions, and fended off the common danger by risking their own lives. To him, they were like a prominent rock, such as nature uses here and there off the coast to oppose the wild waves of the sea.

2. He therefore willingly and enthusiastically entered into the treaty with the Turks.<sup>162</sup> This proved to be of great benefit to the Roman State at the time. The liberation from fear and the recovery from the long wars gave the people an opportunity to devote themselves to their possessions and interests. The Emperor himself staked out a piece of land suitable for arable farming and viticulture, which in his opinion could adequately supply the imperial table as well as the facilities that the charitable and social welfare-minded attitude of the Emperor demanded. These were abodes for the aged, warehouses and hospitals. He had the plots of land managed by people who knew something about arable farming and viticulture. He thus reaped a great abundance of fruit every year. But that was not all. He also acquired herds of horses, cattle, small livestock, and pigs, as well as domestic fowl of all kinds, and the young of these animals brought him a rich income every year. But he also urged others to do the same, not only his relatives but the rest of the nobles too. He wanted everyone to be able to cover their necessities from their own resources and not use a greedy hand to go after the socially disadvantaged and insignificant man. He also wanted to banish any injustice from Roman society. And in fact, in a short time, everyone's barns were full of fruit, and the paths and roads, the pens and stalls were hardly able to accommodate the cattle and poultry.

<sup>162</sup> At that time Ghiyaeth al-Din Kay Khosrow II (1237-1245) ruled over the Seljuks. He was the son of 'Ala al-Din Kay Qubadh I, who had succeeded his brother Kay Kāwus I towards the end of 1220. The contract was negotiated personally by the two rulers in Tripoli in 1244 (?) on the Maeander. (Cf. VD224, fn. 64)

ὀρνίθων ἦσαν ἀγέλαι.

(Γ.) Συνέβη δὲ τηνικαῦτα τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐπ' εὐτυχία καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων, λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς καὶ σπάνις μεγίστη τῶν χρειωδῶν. καὶ ἦσαν δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μεστὰι τοῦ τοιούτου γε ἔθνους αἱ ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι, γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἦβης ἔλλιπεις, ἀνιόντων καὶ κατιόντων ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων (B43) χώραν. καὶ ἐκενοῦτο σὺν ἀφθονία μακρᾷ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Τούρκων πλοῦτος ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων δεξιὰς, ὅσος ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ, ὅσος ἐν ὑφάσμασι, καὶ πᾶν ποικίλον εἶδος καὶ τερπνὸν καὶ τρυφῆς μεστὸν πολυτελοῦς. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὰ πολλῶν ἄξια χρήματα <sup>5</sup> σίτου βραχέος ὦνια προτιθέμενα. τότε καὶ ὄρνις οἰαδηποῦν, καὶ πρὸς γε ἔτι βοῦς τε καὶ ἔριφος, πολλοῦ τινοῦ ἐτιμῶντο. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τάχιστα οἱ Ῥωμαίων οἴκοι πλοῦτου βαρβαρικοῦ πλήρεις κατέστησαν, πολλῶ δὲ πλέον τὰ βασιλικά ταμεῖα ἤδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἐβριθον δαψιλεία. καὶ ἴν' ἐν βραχεῖ παραστήσω τὸ <sup>10</sup> πᾶν, οἱ ταῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαις ἐπιστατοῦντες ὅποσα τίκτιον αὐταὶ ὦα, ἀνὰ πᾶν συναθροίζοντες ἔτος ἐπίπρασκον· ὡς ὀλίγου χρόνου πρὸς τῶν συναχθέντων ἐντεῦθεν χρημάτων στέφανον κατασκευασθῆναι τῇ βασιλίδι, λίθοις καὶ μαργάροις λίαν πολυτελέσι διηθισμένον, ὃν καὶ ὠάτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπωνόμασε, διὰ τὸ ἐκ <sup>15</sup> τῆς τῶν ὦων πράσεως κατεσκευάσθαι αὐτόν.

(Δ.) Ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς προμηθείας δεῖγμα· ἕτερον δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πλοῦτον μάτην κενούμενον ἐς τὰ ἐξ ἄλλοδαπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐνδύματα, ὅσα τε ἐκ Σηρῶν Βαβυλώνια καὶ Ἀσσύρια ταλασιουργία ποικίλως δημιουργοῦσι, <sup>20</sup> καὶ ὅσα χεῖρες Ἰταλῶν εὐφυῶς ἐξυφαίνουσιν, ἐξήνεγκε δόγμα, μηδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο, ὅστις ποτ' ἄρ' εἶη, αὐτός τε καὶ γένος ἄτιμος εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ὅσα ἢ Ῥωμαίων γῆ γεωργεῖ καὶ αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἀσκοῦσι χεῖρες. τῶν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἢ χρῆσις ἐστὶν ἀμετάβλητος, (B44) τὰ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενα ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀκολουθοῦσιν ὀρέξεσι· καὶ τοῦτο νόμος αὐτοῖς καὶ τιμῆ, ὃ τοῖς ἄρχουσι δεδογμένον ἐστίν· ὥστε κἀνταῦθα ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν Καρὸς καταστάντα μοῖρα τοῦ λοιποῦ, τὸν δὲ τῆς εὐγενείας ὅρον ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων <sup>5</sup> ἐνδύμασι περικλεισθέντα, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, τὸ θρυλλούμενον, φερόμενον.

3. Moreover, the Romans benefited from the fact that the Turks were plagued by a severe famine at that time. All the roads that led to the Roman Empire were therefore filled with the coming and going of this people: men, women, and children. The wealth of the Turks emptied in great abundance into the hands of the Romans; gold and silver, clothing, and everything else that served to offer pleasure and luxury in every form. It could be seen how valuable things were put on the table to purchase a scrap of food. In those days, every bird, every cow, and every goat kid was paid for dearly. In this way the houses of the Romans were in no time filled with the wealth of the barbarians, and the imperial treasuries in particular were overflowing with money. This can be illustrated with a short example. The men who looked after the Emperor's fowl collected and sold year after year the eggs that were laid. This brought in so much money in such a short space of time that a crown was able to be made for the Empress, which was set with brightly coloured precious stones and pearls. And the Emperor gave this crown the name egg crown because it was made with the proceeds from the sale of eggs.

4. This is an example of the wise budgetary policy of the Emperor. Another example is the following. He saw that the Rhomaide were squandering their wealth unnecessarily in buying clothes from foreign peoples, such as brightly coloured dresses, which the Babylonian and Assyrian weavers made, and elegant items, which were woven by the hands of the Italian women. He therefore promulgated a law prohibiting his subjects from wearing such clothes. Whoever violated this law, whoever that was, would expose themselves to the penalty of dishonour, both in regard to themselves and in regard to their family. They were only to wear clothes that the Roman territory and the Roman trade produced. While the use of what is necessary is immutable, fashion is subject to the wishes of the rulers. In these matters, what the rulers ordered is the law and a matter of honour. It could thus be seen how those foreign clothes were no longer valid from that point onwards. The nobility were forced to wear Roman clothing and, as the saying goes, they had to dig deep into their own pockets.

#### IV

### 1. Expansion of the Mongol Empire in the Near East



(Δ.) Ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς σὺν πολλοῖς τοῖς στρατεύμασι διεπεραιούτο εἰς Θράκην ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἐσβαλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προαύλια πείρας εἵνεκα πολεμικῆς. καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἔξω διατριβὴν παρελάσας ἐπολιόρκει πρῶτον τὸ κατὰ τὴν περαίαν τοῦ Γαλάτου ἐπικεκλημένον φρούριον, ὡς ῥαδίως (B81) ἐντεῦθεν ἄλωσομένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου, εἰ αὐτὸ παραστήσαιο πρότερον. ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἄρα τὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλπίδων αὐτῷ γρηγορούντων ἐνύπνια. πλεῖστα γὰρ τῶν λιθοβόλων μηχανημάτων ἀντιπεριστήσας αὐτῷ καὶ πολλὰς ἐπενεγκῶν, βίας ἵ<sup>5</sup> ἐλεῖν οὐ δεδύνηται. ὅθεν ὀχυρώσας τὰ πρὸ τῆς Βυζαντίδος φρούρια καὶ ὀπίστας ἀφείκει ἐν αὐτοῖς προσετετάχει συνεχεῖς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἐνέδρας ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων Λατίνων, ὡς μηδὲ προκύπτειν ἔαν εἰ δυνατόν αὐτοῦ τῶν τειχῶν. ὁ δὴ πρὸς τοσαύτην ἤλασε τοὺς Λατίνους πενίαν, ὡς τῆ τῶν ξύλων ἰ<sup>10</sup> σπᾶνει καὶ τὰς τοῦ Βυζαντίου πλείστας καὶ περιφανεῖς οἰκίας καθελεῖν εἰς δαπάνην χρειώδη τοῦ πυρός. ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Νίκαιαν αὐθις ὑποστρέφει· αὕτη γὰρ ἐγγόνει Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖον μετὰ τὴν τῆς Βυζαντίδος πόρθησιν, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ διατρίβων ἐφ' ἰκανόν. (Ε.) Ἐν τούτοις μέντοι τοῖς χρόνοις διαβάντες καὶ ἰ<sup>15</sup> τὸν Εὐφράτην οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν ἄχρι Παλαιστίνης οἰκιοῦνται Συρίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν. μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν πάντων ῥαδίων πέρας λαμβάνειν τὴν ἀνθρώπων πλεονεξίαν, μέχρις ἂν ἐπιμένη τῆ δεξιᾷ καὶ τῆ αἰχμῇ τὸ δύνασθαι. καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκεῖ τοῖς λαφύροις περιτυχόντες βριθούσαις ἐπανήκουσι δεξιᾷς, φόρους ἐτησίους, ἰ<sup>20</sup> ὅσα καὶ δούλοις ἀθλίοις, τάξαντες τοῖς ἐναπολειφθεῖσιν Ἄραβι τε καὶ Σύροις καὶ Φοινίξι. κατὰ μέντοι τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος εἰσβάλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐνδον Εὐφράτου Ἀσίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ῥαδίως καταστρέφουσι καὶ ληΐζονται, ὄρους ποιησάμενοι τοῦ τοιούτου δρόμου καὶ κλόνου πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτους Καππαδοκίαν καὶ ποταμὸν (B82) τὸν Θερμώδοντα, πρὸς δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὴν τε Κιλικίαν καὶ τὰ μικρὸν μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς πολλαχῆ διαιρούμενα μέρη τοῦ Ταύρου, ὃς μέγιστος ἐπεφύκει τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄρων. (ς.) Χειροῦνται δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Τούρκων βασιλεία. καὶ φυγὰς ἰ<sup>5</sup> ὁ σουλτᾶν Ἀζατίνης ἅμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Μελήκ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων Μιχαὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον, ἐνέχυρα φέρων πιστὰ μεγάλων ἐλπίδων οὐ πάνυ παλαιᾶς φιλοξενίας καὶ μεγάλης κηδεμονίας ὑπομνήματα· ὁπότε δηλαδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκε, φεύγων τε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐκείνους κινδύνους καὶ πλεῖστα ἰ<sup>10</sup> φέρων ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας τὰ τῶν μεγάλων φόβων ἐκείνων ἴχνη. τούτων ἀνάμνησιν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος αἰτεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον· ἢ συμμαχίαν κατὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἢ γῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀποτομὴν τινα καὶ οἶονεῖ κληρουχίαν

4. The Emperor Michael now crossed over to Thrace (late 1260) with numerous forces and gave the impression that he was intending to attack the outskirts of Constantinople to try his luck in war. After remaining outside Constantinople, he moved on and besieged the fortress called Galata on the opposite bank. He believed that if he conquered this first, he could easily conquer Constantinople from there as well. But that hope was a waking man's dream. He set up many slingshots around the fortress and damaged it badly but was unable to take it. So he reinforced the fortified towns before Byzantium and left soldiers in them with orders to constantly harass the Latins in Byzantium with forays and sudden raids and, if possible, prevent them from venturing outside the City walls. In fact, this latter tactic made the Latins so desperate that, for want of wood, they tore down most of the famous buildings of Byzantium for fuel. From there the Emperor returned to Nicaea (following the conquest of Byzantium this city had become the imperial city of the Romans) and stayed there for a long while.

5. At that time, the Scythians crossed the Euphrates and conquered Syria and Arabia all the way to Palestine. It is hard to curb the greed of men as long as their armed hand remains strong. They found great spoils there and returned heavily laden. On the Arabs, Syrians and Phoenicians who remained in their territory, they imposed an annual tribute, as if they were pitiful slaves. In the following year [1260] they advanced into Asia on this side of the Euphrates, such that they conquered and plundered everything without difficulty. They extended their forays as far north as Cappadocia and the Thermodon River and as far south as Cilicia and the gorges of the Taurus Mountains. This is the largest mountain range in Asia and divides into many routes shortly after it begins. Then the Scythians subjugated the Turkish Empire as well. The Sultan Azatines [Izz-al-Din Kaykaus II] fled with his brother Melik to the Roman Emperor Michael Palaiologos. The Sultan had high expectations of this because he could remind the Emperor of the hospitality and great honour that he had received from himself not so long ago, when he was fleeing from the Emperor Andronicus' and when threat and great fear was still oppressing his heart. The Sultan reminded him of this and demanded one of two things: either that the Emperor fight the Scythians with him, or that he give him ownership of a piece of Roman territory where he could permanently live with his family. For he had brought a wife and

εις κατοικίαν μονιμωτέραν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄμα αὐτῶ. ἦν γὰρ ἐπαγόμενος γυναικα καὶ τέκνα καὶ θεραπείαν <sup>15</sup> συγχῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πλοῦτον μάλα μακρὸν καὶ πολυτελεῖ. τῷ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατακερματίζειν στρατεύματα, πολλῶν πολλαχόθεν περικυκλούντων πολέμων, οὐ πάνυ τοι ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει. τό, τε γῆς κληροδοσίαν ἀπονέμειν ἀνδρὶ τοσοῦτω, πολλῶν σατραπειῶν ἀρχηγῶ καταστάντι καὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ <sup>20</sup> τινος ἤθους τροφίμῳ, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀνύποπτον ἦν αὐτῶ, οὐδ' ἄνευ φόβων μελλόντων. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα σατράπας ζητῆσαι τὸν ἀρχηγόν· καὶ τοὺς ἔνθεν κάκειθεν διασπαρέντας καὶ φερομένους οἷα πλανήτας ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαμπαδοῦχον καὶ ὁδηγὸν συνδραμεῖν καὶ χρόνῳ γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίους **(B83)** κακὸν ἀμήχανον· ὅθεν ὡς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης μετεωρίσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐλπίδων ὡσπερ παράσιτον.

children and a great number of servants with him, and also great and varied wealth. Since many wars were raging all around, the Emperor considered it dangerous to splinter the Roman forces. On the other hand, ceding one's own property to a man who had ruled over many satraps and whose character was accustomed to ruling seemed equally dubious to him and not without danger for the future. He considered it inevitable that the satraps, who were scattered in all directions and wandering about like planets in the night, would seek their ruler and congregate around him like to a torchbearer and guide, and that in time this would become an insurmountable danger for the Romans. So he left it hanging as if on the scales and stalled it, feeding the Sultan's hopes, so to speak.

\* \* \*

### 5. Events in Greece and Constantinople

<sup>20</sup> ε'. (A.) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀποστάς τις, Ἰκάριος ὄνομα, τοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας κρατοῦντος, (ἔστι δ' αὕτη Βενετικῶν ἐπαρχία) ἀποστάς τοίνυν οὗτος μετὰ τὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἄλωση καὶ προσεταιρισάμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Εὐβοέων ἄκρας ἐκράτησεν ὄχυρᾶς· ἀφ' ἧς συχνὰ παρακατιῶν ἐληΐζετο τοὺς ὁμοροῦντας ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς κόμας· ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ τοὺς **(B96)** ἀγροίκους πάντας ἐς τοσοῦτον συνελαθῆναι δέους, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ τοὺς μήτ' ἔξω τείχους οἰκεῖν, μήτ' ἄνευ ἡμεροσκόπων ταῖς κόμαις ἐνδιατρίβειν καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς. χρόνος οὐ μάλα συχνὸς παρερρήη καὶ ὄχυροῦ τινος πολυχνίου γίνεται ἐγκρατῆς, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ πρὸς <sup>5</sup> μάχας ἐμφανεῖς παρατάττεσθαι τοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας κρατοῦντος. δείσας δ' ὅμως μὴ πολλὸς ἐπελθὼν ἐκεῖνος χειρώσεται τοῦτον, διαπρεσβεύεται περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς βασιλέα· καὶ λαβὼν τέως μὲν φρουρὰν τῶ πολυχνίῳ καθίστησιν ἱκανήν· αὐτὸς δ' αὐτόμολος ἦκει πρὸς βασιλέα, ἄλλα τε ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ <sup>10</sup> ἦν στρατιὰν ἱκανὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων κομίσηται, μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ὑποχείριον τῶ βασιλεῖ καταστήσαι τὴν ἅπασαν Εὐβοίαν.

(B.) Ἄπεισι τοίνυν σπουδῆ μετὰ συχνοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς Εὐβοέας τὴν ἔφοδον. εἰδὼς δὲ τὴν Λατινικὴν ὀφρῦν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξεται ὁ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀρχηγὸς μὴ <sup>15</sup> αἰφνιδίως προάλασθαι τῆς πόλεως στρατὸν ἐπιτρέχοντα βλέπων ἄλλότριον, προλοχίζει νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν συχνοὺς ὀπίτας. ἔπειτα ἐπιφαίνεται πρωΐας αὐτὸς κατατρέχων τὰ κύκλω,

1. Around this time a rebel by the name of Ikarios captured a strong fortress on Euboia (a Venetian possession). He had rebelled against the island's governor after the conquest of Constantinople, and many of his countrymen had joined him. From the conquered fortress he would often undertake forays into the surrounding fields and villages. In a short time he had all the rural dwellers in such constant fear that they were afraid to live outside the city walls and did not dare to stay in the villages and in the fields without a sentry. It was not long before a fortified city fell into the hands of the rebels, and after that he was even able to wage open war against the governor of Euboia. But he was afraid that the governor would come out against him with a large force and defeat him. So he sent envoys to the Emperor Michael to request help in battle. He obtained this too. Then he placed a sufficient garrison in the mentioned city and went personally to the Emperor as a defector. He begged for a strong Roman army and assured the Emperor that nothing could then prevent him from subjecting all of Euboia to him.

2. So he quickly returned with a strong Roman before Euboia even noticed his approach. For he knew about the pride of the Latins and knew that the sight of an advancing enemy army would immediately lure the governor out of the city. So he positioned a large number of heavily armed men in ambush around the city at night. Then he himself appeared early in the morning and

ὡς ἐν ὄπλοις εὐθὺς ἀναγκασθῆναι γενέσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον τειχῶν εὐρεθέντας Λατίνους ἅμα τῷ σφῶν ἀρχηγῷ, καὶ μάλα τοι λίαν ὀξέως |<sup>20</sup> ἀπαντᾶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαπίνης ὀπισθεν μὲν ἐπιεσόντες καὶ κυκλώσαντες μετὰ τῶν λόχων οἱ λοχαγοὶ, ἔμπροσθεν δ' αὖ μεθ' ὧν ἐπεφέρετο στρατοπέδων ὁ Ἰκάριος, τὸν μὲν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς Εὐβοίας ζῶντα χειροῦνται καὶ πλείστους ἄλλους ἅμα αὐτῷ· ὅσοι δ' ἐπίλοιποι, τούτους δ' ἔργον ἀπέφηναν |<sup>25</sup> ξίφους.

(Γ.) Ἄγεται μέντοι παρ' Ἰκαρίου πρὸς βασιλέα δέσμιος (B97) ὁ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀρχηγὸς καὶ βραχὺ τι ἐπιβιόους ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ οὕτως, εἰσελθὼν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς πύλης ὡς δεσμῖω χρεῶν καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου, περὶ δ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκλητον |<sup>5</sup> μετὰ λαμπροῦ καὶ κοσμίου τοῦ σχήματος ἰσταμένην, τὸν δ' Ἰκάριον, τὸν χθὲς καὶ πρότρητα δοῦλον, νῦν μετὰ λαμπρᾶς μὲν τῆς ἐσθῆτος, σοβαροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἥθους εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα καὶ πρὸς οὓς τῷ βασιλεῖ κοινολογούμενον, ἀπορρήγνυσιν εὐθὺς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πίπτει πρηνὴς ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐξαίφνης, μὴ δυνηθεὶς |<sup>10</sup> ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ τῆς βιαίας τύχης παράλογον.

(Δ.) Μετὰ μέντοι τὸ ἐξωσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Λατίνους ἐναπελείφθη χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἀσχολούμενον πλῆθος, σύμμικτον ἔκ τε Βενετικῶν καὶ Πισσαίων. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὐδὲ πρὸς εἰρήνην βλέπειν ἐδόκει τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Γεννούας ἔνδον εἰσοικίζειν τῆς |<sup>15</sup> πόλεως. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σφισιν ἀντιέραν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαλάτου τόπον ἀπονέμει χωρίον εἰς οἴκησιν, χαρισάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐμπορίας ὑπεσχημένην ἀτέλειαν. πρὶν γὰρ ἄλῶναι τὴν βασιλεύουσαν συνεφώνησε τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἀτέλειαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς πόλεως |<sup>20</sup> Λατίνων. ὁ δὲ καὶ πεπλήρωκε νῦν, καὶ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς σφῶν βοηθείας γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς. οἷ γε μὴν κατὰ χρόνους τακτοὺς ἄρχειν ἀποστελλόμενοι τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Βενετίας καλεῖται μπαῖουλος, ὁ δ' ἐκ Πίσσης κούνσουλος, ὁ δ' ἐκ Γεννούας ποτεστάτος· ἅπερ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταγόμενα |<sup>25</sup> τὸ μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων καλεῖται ἐπίτροπος, τὸ δὲ ἔφορος, τὸ δὲ (B98) ἐξουσιαστῆς.

(Ε.) Ὁ δὲ Βαλδουῖνος διαδρὰς τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κίνδυνον καὶ ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκήδευσεν τῷ ῥήγι τῆς Ἰταλίας Καρούλω, νύμφην ἀγόμενος τῷ υἱῷ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου· ἐλπίζων ἐκείνῳ συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος τὴν |<sup>5</sup> Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀναλήψεσθαι, μάταιος τῆς τε ἐφέσεως καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς πλείστον ἐξήρτησε ναυτικὸν, ἐμπλήσας τριήρεις ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἔκ τε ἄλλων καὶ γένους τοῦ

plundered the surroundings, so that the Latins in the city, with their leader, were forced to immediately take up arms and move out against the enemy in the greatest of haste. Then they were suddenly attacked from behind by the Lochagen with their detachments and locked in, while Ikarios attacked with his troops from the front. So the governor of Euboea was taken prisoner and a great many others with him, and the rest fell to the sword.

3. The governor was handed over to the Emperor by Ikarios as a prisoner, and he soon died. This is how it happened. Upon entering the Imperial Palace, he had to stand in front of the gate, as befits a prisoner. From there he saw the Emperor himself seated on his throne and the Senate standing around him in rich robes. And Ikarios, who yesterday and the day before was still a slave, went in and out, splendidly dressed and acting proudly, and whispering privately with the Emperor. It was this sight that immediately took the governor's life and he suddenly fell forward to the ground. He had not been able to endure this unexpected stroke of fate.

4. After the Latins were expelled from Constantinople, a multitude of artisans and merchants, some Venetian, and some Pisan, remained behind. As allowing the Genoese to also enter the City did not seem conducive to security and the preservation of peace, the Emperor assigned them a place on the opposite bank on the outskirts of Galata where they could settle (1267). He also granted them the tariff-free trade he had promised. Before taking the Imperial City the Emperor had agreed to exempt them from trade tariffs in exchange for them helping him against the City's Latin rulers. He now fulfilled that promise, even though he had been able to get the City under his power without their help. The magistrates, each of whom exercised power during a specific period, were called Bailo by the Venetians, Consuls by the Pisans, and Podesta by the Genoese. These names mean governor, overseer, / ruler in Greek.

5. When Constantinople was taken, Baldwin escaped the danger by going to Italy. There he became related in marriage to Charles, King of Italy since he received his son's daughter as a bride (1267) With military help from Charles, he hoped to reconquer Constantinople. But this was a foolish suggestion and a vain hope, since the Emperor had prepared a large fleet and had manned over sixty triremes, including gaspals, who are hybrids who grew up as Romans and Latins at the same time. They inherited shrewdness in battle from the Romans, and boldness from the Latins. There was also a corps of marines, the Laconians, who had recently come to the Emperor from the

Γασμουλικού. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι συντεθραμμένοι τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίκοις καὶ Λατινικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ὡς ἔχειν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἐσκεμμένως <sup>10</sup> ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰέναι, ἐκ δὲ Λατίνων τὸ εὐτολμον. συνῆν δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ στρατὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις θαλάττιος, Λάκωνες ἄρτι προσελθόντες ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὓς ἡ κοινὴ παραφθείρασα γλῶσσα Τζάκωνας μετωνόμασεν. ὁ γοῦν βασιλικὸς στόλος οὕτω λαμπρῶς συγκεκροτημένος ἔπλει κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως <sup>15</sup> καὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεποίει φόβον καὶ θόρυβον τοῖς Λατίνοις. προσειλήφει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ νήσους μικροῦ πάσας, Λήμνον καὶ Χίον καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ὅσαι Λατίνοις ἐδούλευον.

(ζ΄.) Τούτων οὕτως ἀσχολουμένων περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἤρξατο πάλιν παρασπονδεῖν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον χώραν Ῥωμαίων· δηοῦν ὁ Αἰτωλὸς <sup>20</sup> Μιχαήλ· ὅπερ ἀκουσθὲν εἰς λύπην καὶ ὀργὴν τὸν βασιλέα κεκίνηκεν· ὥστε καὶ τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε δι' ἑαυτοῦ καταστήσοντα τὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων νοσήματα. οὗ γενομέ νου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Θετταλία τὰς διατριβὰς ποιουμένου ἐφάνη σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, μάντις κακῶν καὶ προάγγελος· τὸ δὲ ἦν <sup>25</sup> κομήτης περιφανὴς περὶ τὸ τοῦ ταύρου δωδεκατημόριον, περὶ (B99) τὰ ἐωθινὰ τε καὶ ὄρθρια τῆς νυκτὸς φαινόμενος μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν ὀρίζοντα· καὶ ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὰ ἐπόμενα, τοσοῦτον καθημέραν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς πλεον ἡρέμα διίστατο τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἕως καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεσουράνημα ἤδη παρήλλαξεν. ὁπότε γὰρ ὁ <sup>5</sup> κομήτης τὰ πρῶτα φαίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, τὴν θερινὴν ὁ ἥλιος ὦραν ἐποίει διῶν τὸν καρκίνον. ὁπότε δ' αὐτὸς ἐμαράνθη καὶ ἀφανὴς ἦν, τὰς φθινοπωρινὰς ὁ ἥλιος ἐποίει τροπὰς· ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ ἀπὸ θερινῆς τροπῆς μέχρι τῆς φθινοπωρινῆς τριῶν δωδεκατημορίων διάστημα, ὅπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἤλασε, τοῦ κομήτου περὶ τὸν ταῦρον <sup>10</sup> ἐδραζομένου καὶ ἡρέμα ἑαυτὸν ἀναλίσκοντος. τοῦτο μάντις κακῶν καὶ προάγγελος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ αὐτίκα χαίρειν εἰπὼν τὰ Θετταλικά ὄλω ρυτῆρι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤλαυνεν. ἐτάραττε γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως καὶ φήμη τις Σκυθικὴ, μελλόντων

Peloponnese. In the vernacular their name has been distorted and they are called Tsakoneni. The imperial fleet, so splendidly armed, sailed out on the Emperor's orders and spread great fear and confusion among the Latins. It also conquered almost all the islands in the Aegean Sea, Lemnos, Chios, Rhodes, and all that were subjected to the Latins.

6. During this naval expedition, the Aetolian Michael broke his treaty and began plundering the adjacent Roman territory. This news caused pain and anger to the Emperor. He immediately set out himself (1264) to personally restore order there. When the Emperor was gone and staying in Thessaly, a sign appeared in the sky that foretold evil. In the twelfth of Taurus / just before sunrise and a little after sunset a bright comet appeared over the horizon. As the sun progressed through the zodiac, this comet also gradually receded from the horizon daily until it too had passed the zenith of the sky. When the comet first appeared it was summer and the sun was in the sign of Cancer, and when the comet disappeared it was the autumnal equinox. So, as the Sun travelled three-twelfths of the zodiac between the summer and autumnal equinoxes, the comet settled in Taurus and slowly dissipated. The Emperor took this as a harbinger of evil events. He immediately bade farewell to Thessaly and rode back to Byzantium with the reins slung. For he was also greatly angered by some news about the Scythians; it was said that they were about to invade Roman territory. But even before the Emperor reached Byzantium, the Scythians from the area on the banks of the Danube had spilled over almost the whole of Thrace. They were like a sea that surges and oversteps its limit. The Scythian people are in fact very swift, and can often cover a journey of three days in one. The reason for their departure was the following:<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Gregoras does not reveal the entire background of the Mongol-Bulgarian incursion. He mistakenly believes that the initiative lay with the Bulgars. However, at that time these same were dependent on the Golden Horde, and it was the Mongols who had invited their vassals to take part in an incursion into Byzantine territory. The leader of the whole expedition was Nogai, whom Gregoras mentions later in another connection. The main motive of Kipchak Mongols was to punish Michael VIII for his contacts with the Iranian Ilkhan Hulagu. Michael had sought these contacts because he felt threatened by the Tatar Berke, Khan of the Golden Horde (1257-1267) in Asia Minor, and he had offered Hulagu his illegitimate daughter Maria as a wife. Hulagu also accepted the offer. But since the Byzantine princess only arrived after Hulagu's death, she was taken as wife by his successor Abaqa. Gregoras does not say a word about this. In addition, to please Hulagu, Michael held prisoner the Sultan Kaykaus II, who had fled to him after fleeing from Hulagu due to his union with Berke, rather than granting him asylum. As for the additional motives of the Bulgars, in addition to the alleged one mentioned by Gregoras (revenge for the blinding of John IV Laskaris), these were the incursions of Michael into Bulgarian territory in the years 1261-1264, which led to the reconquest of the Black Sea ports of Mesembria and Anchialos. (VD247, fn. 176, adapted)

αὐτῶν ὅσον οὐδέπω ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβαλεῖν γῆν. ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰς Βυζάντιον <sup>15</sup> ἰέναι τὸν βασιλέα, φθάνουσιν ἐς πᾶσαν μικροῦ περιχυθέντες τὴν Θράκην οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκοῦντες Σκύθαι, κα θάπερ θάλασσα πλημμυρήσασα καὶ λίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερπηδήσασα. ταχύδρομον γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνος καὶ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πολλακίς ποιεῖται τὴν τῶν τριῶν. ἢ δ' αἰτία τῆς αὐτῶν <sup>20</sup> ἐξελεύσεως τοιάδε τις ἦν.

## 6. Reason for the departure of the Mogols

6. ζ'. (Α.) Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντι συνοικεῖν ἔφημεν τὴν θυγατέρα Λάσκαρι τοῦ βασιλέως. αὕτη τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀκούσασα τύφλωσιν οὐκ ἠρέμησεν ἐνοχλοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παρωθοῦσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πεπραγμένου ἐκδίκησιν· ὅθεν <sup>25</sup> ἐκεῖνος ἐζήτει καιρὸν ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἄμυναν. μετεώρου (B100) τοῖνον τοῦ σκέμματος ὄντος, ὕλην δίδωσι τῇ φλογὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ ὁ σουλτὰν Ἀζατίνης. τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως ἀποδημοῦντος, τὴν δίαίταν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Αἴνου παράλιον ποιεῖσθαι πολίχνιον αὐτὸς ἐκελεύσθη, ὡς ἂν καὶ φρουρά τις ἅμα αὐτῷ εἴη λαθραίως, <sup>5</sup> κωλύουσα τὴν ὑποπτον τούτου ἀπόδρασιν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ δεινὸν ἀφόρητον ὄν διαμηνύσασθαι Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει, ἐπιδόξω κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι ἐξιέναι τυγχάνοντι, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιμετρήσειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνεῖται χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα.

(Β.) Ταύτας τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐνέχυρον οὐ μικρὸν ὁ Κωνσταντίνος <sup>10</sup> λαβὼν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς Βυζάντιον ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπανιόντα μαθὼν, πλείους ἢ δισμυρίους τῶν Παριστρίων Σκυθῶν μεταπέμπεται· μεθ' ὧν τὴν ταχίστην ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων εἰσβάλλει γῆν ἐλπίζων βεβαίως καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα χειρώσεσθαι ἐντυχὼν ἐπανιόντι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σκύθαι καθάπερ σαγήνην καθ' ὅλης <sup>15</sup> τῆς Θράκης ἀπλώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἤλασαν ἄχρι τῶν παραλίων ψάμμων, ἵνα μήτε κτηνῶν οὐδὲν μήτ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς μήτε βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς διαδράσῃ. τᾶλλα μὲν οὖν κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἀπηντήκει πάντα· βασιλεὺς δὲ μόνος ἀνάλωτος διαμείνας ἔψευσε τῶν ἐλπίδων αὐτοῦς. τὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν φθάσας ἔφοδον ἔλαθε διὰ <sup>20</sup> τῶν περὶ τὸ Γάνος ὄρων ἐς θάλασσαν κατιῶν· ἔνθα συμβὰν οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ προνοία τριήρεσιν ἐνέτυχε δύο Λατινικαῖς ἐς Βυζάντιον μὲν ἀνιούσαις, κατὰ δὲ χρεῖαν ὕδατος ἐκεῖ που παραπλευσοῦσαις· αἷς ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν δευτεραῖος ἐς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἔρχεται.

(B101) (Γ.) Τοῖς δὲ Σκύθαις, τοῦ βασιλέως σφαλεῖσι, τοῦ γε σουλτὰν Ἀζατίνης μὴ σφαλεῖναι ὑπόλοιπον ἔργον ἦν. ὅθεν σφίσι δρόμος ἀκλινης ἐγένετο καὶ πόνος ἅπας ἐς τὸ τῆς Αἴνου πολίχνιον

1. I have recounted that the daughter of Emperor Laskaris was married to the Bulgarian Prince Constantine. When she found out that her brother John had been blinded, she kept pestering her husband and urging him to avenge the crime. So he was looking for an opportunity to punish the injustice. While he was still considering the matter, the Sultan Azatines added wood to the fire of his desire. The Sultan had received orders from the Emperor Laskaris to remain in the coastal City of Aenus during the Emperor's absence. He was to be secretly monitored there so that an anticipated escape attempt could be prevented. This was unbearable for the Sultan and prompted him to convey a message to Constantine, who was about to march out against the Romans. He promised him a large sum of money for his release.

2. Constantine was very encouraged by this offer, and when he learned that the Emperor was already on his way from Thessaly to Byzantium, he summoned more than 2,000 Scythians from the Danube bank and hastily invaded the Roman region with them. He hoped to meet the Emperor on his retreat and capture him. The Scythians spread like a net across Thrace and advanced to the seashore. Not a single item of livestock, not a single person, not even the Emperor himself, was to escape from them. But while everything else went as they wished, their expectation of being able to have the Emperor arrested was thwarted. Without their noticing, he forestalled their incursion and marched through the mountains around the Ganos to the coast. Thanks to divine providence, he came across two Latin ships there that were going to Byzantium and had docked there to replenish their water supplies. He boarded and reached the Imperial City in two days.

3. When the Scythians could not lay their hands on the Emperor, their main concern was not to miss the Sultan Azatines as well. So now they turned straight to Aenus and made every effort to

ἐλθόντας αὐτὸν ἀφελέσθαι, ἢ παρ' ἐκόντων<sup>15</sup> πολιτῶν μόνον αὐτὸν, ἢ μὴ βουλομένων αὐτῶν, αὐτῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς αὐτόχθοσιν. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν οἱ κατέχοντες δέει τοῦ μὴ πανωλεθρία φθαρῆναι ἐκδοτὸν ποιησάμενοι καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεπράχσαν. ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπανόδῳ τῶν ὅσοι τὴν Θράκην ὄκουν πλῆθος μικροῦ πάντα νικῶν ἀριθμὸν<sup>10</sup> συναυλύνοντας δίκην θρεμμάτων· ὡς μόγις πού δια χρόνου σποράδας ὄρασθαι βοῦς καὶ ἀροτῆρας περὶ Θράκην· οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐς βάθος τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐψίλωσαν ἅμα τοῖς κτήνεσιν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τοῦ σουλτάν λόγος ὑπερτιθέσθω τὰ νῦν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ ἡμῖν τὰ ἐκείνου πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. ἢ μέντοι<sup>15</sup> ἐκείνου γυνὴ σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν φρουραῖς εὐθὺς ἦν· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου χρήματα ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκομίζοντο πρυτανεῖον. ὁ δὲ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ὄχλος, ἄνδρες δ' οὗτοι μάλα τοι πλείστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τὰ πολέμια, τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγεννηθέντες βαπτίσματι, τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκατελέγοντο στρατιᾷ.

reach the City. If the residents did not resist, they wanted to deport him alone, but otherwise they would take all the residents of the City along with him. Fearing their invariable annihilation, the Sultan's guards handed him over. In this way they managed to get the enemy to retreat calmly. Then the Scythians, on their way back, were seen driving away an almost innumerable throng of Thracians like sheep. For a long time ox or plough were scarcely to be seen anywhere in Thrace, such was the thoroughness with which the Scythians robbed it of its inhabitants and their livestock. I do not wish to continue with my narrative about the Sultan at the moment. I will return to him in detail below. His wife and children were imprisoned, and his possessions were placed in the imperial treasury. His servants, who were a large band of able-bodied men, were baptised as Christians and incorporated into the Roman army.

### 7. Relations with the Mamalukes of Egypt and excursus on the First Crusade

<sup>120</sup> ζ'. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Αραβίας σουλτάν φίλος εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐθέλων καὶ ἄδειαν ἔχειν τὸν ἡμέτερον πορθμὸν διαπλεῖν ἐσάπαξ ἀνά πᾶν ἔτος τῶν ἐκεῖθεν Αἰγυπτίων οὓς ἂν αὐτῷ γε εἴη βουλομένῳ, κατ' ἐμπορίας τρόπον. τοῦτο λόγου μικροῦ τινοσ ἄξιον **(B102)** δόξαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀνεῖται ῥαδίως. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, ὅσον καὶ οἷόν ἐστιν ἀνακαλυφθὲν, κωλυθῆναι οὐκ εἶχε πῆξιν ἤδη συνηθείας καὶ κράτος δυσανταγώνιστον εἰληφός. ἀνάγοντες μὲν γὰρ διὰ μιᾶς τινοσ ἢ καὶ δευτέρας ἔσθ' ὅτε ὀλκάδος κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν<sup>5</sup> ἐς τοὺς περὶ Μαιῶτιν καὶ Τάναϊν Εὐρωπαϊοὺς Σκύθας καὶ λαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αὐτομόλους, τοὺς δὲ πιπρασκόντων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἢ τῶν γονέων ἐξωνοῦμενοι εἰς τὴν κατ'

7. About this time an embassy from the Sultan of Egypt and Arabia [Baibars I] came to the Emperor.<sup>164</sup> He wanted a treaty of friendship with the Romans and also permission that ships from Egypt, which he could appoint for this purpose, could call at our harbour once a year for commercial transactions. This was easily approved since the matter seemed of scant importance at the time. As time went by, however, the extent and exact nature of this same became clear, but by then it had become so commonplace and acquired the irresistible power of habit that it was impossible to stop. The Egyptians go with one or probably two ships a year to the European Scythians in the area around Lake Maiotic and Mount Tanais. From there they take men with

<sup>164</sup> The treaty between Michael VIII and Baibars I of Egypt is here procrastinated by Gregoras. The Sultan, who was dependent on the sea route via Constantinople for communication with his ally Hulagu against Berke, the Khan of the Golden Horde, and for the recruitment of his army in southern Russia, had already started negotiations in 1261/2, which then ended around the year 1263 and led to the agreements mentioned here. Precisely in 1264, when the events mentioned in fn. 11 took place, the relationship between Michael and Baibars was troubled, since Egyptian envoys on the way through discovered that Michael had meanwhile also concluded a treaty with Egypt's archenemy, the Ilkhanate of Iran. This caused Michael to detain the envoys in Constantinople for over a year. Since Egypt was more dependent on Byzantium than vice versa, Baibars did not break off relations completely, and even tried to mediate a peace between Michael and Berke, which might have prevented Constantinople from being conquered in 1264. But the peace did not come about before Berke's death (1267). However, since the new Khan Mongka Temur made peace with Abaqa of Iran immediately after taking office, Michael was also able to normalize his relations with Kipchak and renew his friendship with Egypt. On the initiative of Baibar's successor, Qalawun, a new friendship and trade treaty was concluded in 1281, which was originally intended as a pact of assistance against Charles of Anjou but was not designed and ratified as such by the Sultan, since before concluding the treaty in Cairo in December 1281 he had doubts that the threat from the West had really ceased to exist. (VD248, fn. 180, adapted)

Αἴγυπτον Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανέρχονται, στρατὸν Σκυθικὸν οὕτως ἠαυτοῖς χαριζόμενοι τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. μηδὲ γὰρ <sup>10</sup> εἶναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, ὅτι μὴ δειλοὺς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάνδρους· κἀντεῦθεν στρατολογεῖν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀναγκάζεσθαι καὶ κυρίους ὡς εἰπεῖν ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἀργυρωνήτους ποιεῖσθαι, πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένους φροντίδος, ὧν ἐν χρεῖα καθίστανται ἄνθρωποι. χρόνου τοίνυν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ πάνυ συχνοῦ, τηλικούτου ἐκ τῆς <sup>15</sup> προφάσεως στρατὸν συνεστήσαντο οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἄραβες, ὡς μὴ μόνον τοῖς ἐσπερίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀνατολικωτέροις ἔθνεσι λίαν καθίστασθαι φοβεροί. ἐδουλώσαντο μὲν γὰρ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ἄχρι Γαδείρων· ἔπειτα Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Κιλικίας παράλιον πᾶσαν, στόματι μαχαίρας τοὺς κατέχοντας <sup>20</sup> παραδόντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ μάλιστα Γαλάτας καὶ Κελτοὺς τοὺς πάλαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον κατέχοντας τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων τὰς βελτίους, οἳ ἐξ ἐσπέρας ἐκεῖσε διέβησαν οὕτως ἰσως.

(B.) Ἔστι παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὄρη πρὸς ὕψος κορυφούμενα μέγιστον, Ἄλπεις καλούμενα, ἐξ ὧν ποταμὸς καταρρεῖ **(B103)** μέγιστος ἐς Ὀκεανὸν τὸν Βρετανικόν, Ῥῆνος καλούμενος. οὗτος μεσημβρινωτέρας ποιεῖ τὰς ἄμφω Γαλλίας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦντας ἀνδρικωτάτους Γαλάτας καὶ Κελτοὺς. τούτοις διάπυρόν τινα ζῆλον ἐν καρδίᾳ βαστάσασιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωτηρίου τάφου <sup>5</sup> ἔδοξεν ἀξιόλογον στρατὸν συναθροίσαντες ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου προσκύνησιν καὶ ἅμα ἐκδίκησιν κάκειθεν ἐξέλασιν, εἰ δυνατόν, τῶν ἐκεῖ τυραννούντων Ἀράβων. καὶ δὴ κατὰ πλῆθος μυριάριθμον ἀθροισθέντες αὐτοῖς ἵπποις καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην ἐξήεσαν ἐξοδόν. καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ῥῆνον Ἰστρῷ κατ' <sup>10</sup> ἴχνος εἶποντο ποταμῷ τῷ μεγίστῳ· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων ῥηγνύμενος πέντε στόμασιν ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐκδίδεται πόντον. τούτου τὰς βορείας ἀεὶ παραλλάττοντες ὄχθας προΐασιν ἄχρι καὶ αὐτῶν μικροῦ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ, φοβερόν μὲν τοῖς μεταξὺ κειμένοις ἔθνεσι καθιστάμενοι θέαμα, καθάπερ <sup>15</sup> τι σιδηροῦν τεῖχος κινούμενον· λυμαινόμενοι δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐ δέσιν αὐτῶν διὰ τρόπων χρηστότητα. οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐνταῦθα διαπεραιωθέντες καὶ προελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Θράκην στρατοπεδεύονται.

(Γ.) Ἐβασίλευε δὲ τῆνικαῦτα Ῥωμαίων ὁ Κομνηνὸς Ἀλέξιος, πρὸς ὃν διαπρεσβεύονται ἀγορὰν τε ζητοῦντες <sup>20</sup> εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἐξώνησιν καὶ ἅμα τοὺς διαπεραιώσοντας πρὸς ἕω δι' Ἑλλησπόντου. τοῦτο κράτιστον ἔρμαιον ἔδοξε βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἀπρὶξ ἔχεται μάλα κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκφανέντος. νεωστὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς

them, some of whom volunteer, and others who are purchased from their masters or parents. Then they return to Babylon and Alexandria in Egypt, thus delivering a Scythian army to Egypt. It is said that the Egyptians themselves are not good soldiers, but mostly cowardly and unmanly. This is why they have to recruit their soldiers from foreign lands, and these are made up of men who use money to buy lords over themselves, thus relieving themselves of all the cares that human life entails. It was thus not long before the Arabs of Egypt had formed such a large army under this pretext that they became a danger not only to the western but also to the more eastern peoples. They subjugated Africa and all of Libya up to the Gadeiras, then also Phoenicia and Syria and the whole coast up to Cilicia. All the inhabitants fell to the sword, especially the Galatians and Celts, who had long ruled over these regions and the most beautiful cities found in them. These same had come there from the west, in roughly this wa-

2. There is a very high mountain range in Europe, the Alps. From these mountains a mighty river called the Rhine flows down to the British Ocean. South of this river are the two Gauls with their inhabitants, the very brave Galatians, and the Celts. As they bore in their hearts a flaming zeal for the Holy Sepulchre, they decided to gather a sizable army and set out to worship the Holy Sepulchre. They also wanted, if possible, to take revenge on the Arabs, who were illegally occupying the Holy Land, and to drive them out of it. So they gathered an innumerable throng, and made that praiseworthy march with horses and weapons. They crossed the Rhine and followed the course of the Danube, which also rises in the Alps and flows into the Black Sea with five estuaries. Always keeping to the northern shore, they advanced almost to the estuary delta on the Black Sea. They formed a fearsome apparition to the peoples that they passed since they advanced like a wall of iron. But they were so noble that they harmed absolutely no one. They also crossed the Danube at the point indicated and camped in Thrace on the march.

3. At that time, Alexios Komnenos was Emperor of the Romans. They sent ambassadors to him, asking permission to go to a market to buy what they needed, and also for transport across the Hellespont. This was very welcome to the Emperor and he seized the opportunity with both hands. He had only recently received the sceptre



βασιλείας λαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν πολλαχόθεν πολεμούμενα καὶ ἀπηνῶς τὰ Ῥωμαίων διακοπτόμενα **(B104)** πράγματα πλημμελείαις μεγάλαις τῶν προβεβασιλευκότων· (πάντα τε γὰρ τὰ πρὸς ἑὼ κατεῖχον οἱ Τοῦρκοι χρόνοις συχνοῖς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ Νίκαιαν αὐτὴν τὸ περιβόητον ἄστρῳ, ἢ τε βαθεῖα τῶν χρημάτων σπάνις ἀκοσμίαν ἔπραττε τοῖς βασιλείοις μακράν· |<sup>5</sup> ἐλπίς δὲ πᾶσα τῶν ἀρμοζουσῶν προσόδων ἀπεκέκλειστο· καὶ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ἦν ἀπωλείας ἄβυσσοι καὶ ἄδου κίνδυνοι) ἰδὼν οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαπορούμενος ἔρμαιον κράτιστον καὶ μάλα τοι καίριον ἡγεῖται τὴν τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τοῦδε στρατοῦ παρουσίαν. μεθ' ὧν κοινολογησάμενος ποιεῖται συνθήκας, εἰ |<sup>10</sup> οὕτω συμμαχήσαντες ἐξελάσῃσι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων τοὺς κατέχοντας Τούρκους, σφίσι μὲν ἐξεῖναι τὰ ἐκείνων λαμβάνειν πράγματα, τούτῳ δὲ τὰς πόλεις χρημάτων κενάς, ἃς δὴ συνθήκας ἄσμενοι λίαν ἐκεῖνοι δεξάμενοι διαπεραιοῦνται ζύν γε αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἑλλησποντίαν πορθμόν.

(Δ.) Ὡσπερ |<sup>15</sup> γε μὴν ὕλη βαθεῖα πλεῖστον ἐνσκήψαν πῦρ τὰ μὲν ὡς καλάμην ἐπινέμεται ῥᾶστα, τὰ δὲ διὰ χλωρότητα βραδέως μὲν ἐπινέμεται δ' οὖν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ διπλοῦς οὗτος στρατὸς ἔκ τε Κελτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων συγκροτηθεὶς φοβερὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ δυσκαρτέρητος ἔδοξε διὰ βάρος ὀπλίσεως καὶ σώματος ῥώμην καὶ |<sup>20</sup> ψυχῆς εὐτονίαν ἀπρόσμαχον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, κατεπατοῦντο καθάπερ χόρτος καὶ πηλός· οἱ δὲ ἀπεμάχοντο βοηθούμενοι ποτὲ μὲν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τῶν τόπων, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τείχεσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἐς τέλος οὐδ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς τύχης ἀήττητα· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες ὑπέκυπτον, οἱ δὲ **(B105)** βία ἠλίσκοντο, οἱ δὲ φυγάδες καὶ δραπέται ἐγίνοντο. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαν τὴν τε ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ἐξεκάθηραν Ἀσίαν καὶ ὄση Μαϊάνδρῳ καὶ Παμφυλίᾳ ὀρίζεται· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ συμπεφωνημένα τῶν ἐλευθερωθεισῶν πόλεων εἰληφότες χρήματα τὴν αὐτοῖς προκειμένην ὄδου ἀφ' ἧς ὁδόν· καὶ ἦν ἤδη σφίσι φροντίς |<sup>5</sup> οὐ μικροῦ τινος ἀγῶνος μεστὴ διαβᾶσι τὰ μεταξὺ Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ὄρη πρὸς Κιλικίας τε καὶ Σύρους καὶ Φοίνικας, εἰ μὴ συγχωροῖεν τὴν πάροδον, αἴρεσθαι πόλεμον. ἀλλὰ πρῶτοι μὲν Κίλικες αὐτίκα τὴν πρώτην ὀρρωδῆσαντες ὄψιν τὰ βέλτεστα |<sup>10</sup> περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύσαντο καὶ ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἔδοσαν διαβαίνειν ἀγοράν τε παρεῖχον καὶ τοὺς προπέμνοντας ὁδηγοὺς καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι φίλον ἐχρῆν ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐχρήσαντο ξενίαν. Κίλικες μὲν οὖν οὕτω ῥαδίως ἐς ξυμβάσεις ξυνήσαντο τοῖς ἐσπερίοις τούτοις Γαλάταις καὶ Κελτοῖς, οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν |<sup>15</sup> καὶ τὴν

and he saw how the Roman state was attacked from many sides and ruthlessly torn apart as a result of the great mistakes of his predecessors. The Turks had long occupied the whole of the East, even the famous city of Nicaea. The severe financial distress had robbed the palace of its beauty and all hope of the necessary tax revenue had been dashed. There was nothing more to expect than the mouth of doom and mortal peril. The Emperor could not find any way out of this state of affairs, and so he considered it a stroke of luck that the Celtic army had appeared. He negotiated with the general and concluded a treaty. If they succeeded, as comrades-in-arms, in driving the Turkish invaders out of the area and the towns of the Romans, the Celts would be free to take possession of the Turks, and the Emperor would be free to occupy the plundered towns. The Celts were very happy to accept the treaty and crossed the Hellespont with the Emperor himself.

4. A mighty conflagration that engulfs dense woods sometimes scorches them with the greatest speed as if they were grass, and sometimes slowly if the woods are still green. But it scorches it, nonetheless. This double army too, composed of Celts and Romans, seemed to the enemy to be fearsome and scarcely able to be overcome. It was made up of heavy armament, strong bodies, and invincible courage in battle. Some of the enemies were, so to speak, trampled underfoot like grass or clay, while others resisted since they were supported by the impassability of their territory or even by the Roman city walls. However, even their luck in war was not insurmountable, and some surrendered voluntarily, while others were either subdued by force or fled and left their country. In this way the whole of Asia on this side of the Halys and the entire area bounded by the Meander and Pamphylia were cleared. The Celts then took the spoils of the liberated cities, as agreed, and continued on the planned route. They marched on through the mountains between Pamphylia and Cilicia to Cilicia and the Syrians, and did not hesitate for a moment to fight those who would not let them pass. The Cilicians were the first to immediately recoil from the sight and they resolved to do what was best for themselves. They allowed them to pass through as if they were a friendly country, offered them opportunities to buy goods, provided them with guides to take with them, and rendered them every service that hospitality demanded. That is how easily the Cilicians made a treaty with the Galatians and Celts from the west. Not only did they do this

ρώμην δείσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σεβάσματος ἔγγιστα ταῦτόν καὶ οὐ πάνυ τοι ἠλλοτριωμένον αἰδεσθέντες.

(E.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην εἰσβάλλειν ἤδη καιρὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὅμοια τὰ ἐκεῖ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἀπηντήκει. Ἄραβες γὰρ ὄντες οἱ ταύτην κατέχοντες, γένος ἀλλόφυλον καὶ ὑπερηφανίας μεστὸν, <sup>10</sup> πρᾶγματα παρέσχον αὐτοῖς· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς. ὅπλα γὰρ ἀράμενοι τὴν πάροδον διεκώλυον ὕφειν τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίας λογισάμενοι, εἰ τὴν αὐτῶν αἵματος καὶ νεκρῶν χωρὶς διέλθοι γένος ἔκφυλον καὶ πάνυ τοι ὑπερόριον τῆς αὐτῶν γῆς. ὅθεν **(B106)** σιτίων οἱ Κελτοὶ ἀποκεκλεισμένοι καὶ σπάνει πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς ἀπαραίτητον χρῆσιν ἐτύγχανον τοῖς τε ὑποζυγίοις καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅπλοις καὶ διαμάχαις ἔδοξε τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐπιτρέψειν κρίσιν. ἐντεῦθεν πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἀνερρήγγυντο καὶ χύσεις αἱμάτων <sup>5</sup> Ἀραβικῶν κατὰ τῆς θρησαμένης ἔρρεον νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ πόλεων ἐγίνοντο ἀνδραποδισμοὶ, ἐπικρατεστέρας ὁσημέραι τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν γινομένης ἰσχύος. καὶ ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ συντέμω, πᾶν ὃ, τι κράτιστον ἦν τοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων ὀπλιτικοῦ, τὸ μὲν αἷματι καὶ κόνει δόντες, τὸ δ' ὡς πορρωτάτῳ διώξαντες, δούλοις ἀόπλοις <sup>10</sup> ἅπασιν ἐχρήσαντο, τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν οἰκισιν αὐτόθι πεποικότες. τοὺς γὰρ ἄνδρας νενικηκότες ἔρωτι τῶν τοῦ τόπου χαρίτων ἠττήθησαν· κάκεῖ τὸν ἐξῆς αἰῶνα διαμένειν ἐγνώκεσαν, ἔλεγχος πάσης κατηγορίας αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καταστάντες. ἔργον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ σκοπὸς τῆς οἰκοθεν ἐκδημίας ὑπῆρχεν, ἐς Παλαιστίνην εἰ δυνηθεῖεν <sup>15</sup> ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοὺς τὸν σωτήριον κατέχοντας τάφον ἀσεβεῖς ἢ τελέως ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελάσαι, ἢ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖσε κενώσαντας αἷμα σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀνταλλάξασθαι. καὶ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπερορίους αὐτοὺς ποιησάμενος ἔρωτος, θεῖος ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑμνούμενος τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας ἔρωτος τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον ἀκλεῶς ἐξέκρουσεν ἔρωτα ὑπὸ πλοῦτου <sup>20</sup> βαρυνθεῖσι καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν μεθυσθεῖσι κριταῖς ἐντυχὼν παρ' ἐλπίδα.

(ζ'.) Ἀλλ' ἐπανιτέον ὅθεν εἰς τὸν περὶ Κελτογαλατῶν τουτωνὶ παρετρέπημεν λόγον. οἱ γὰρ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἄραβες πλείστην προσειληφότες δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ στρατεύματος **(B107)** ἐκεῖνου, καθάπερ ἔφθημεν εἰρηκότες, πλείστον ὅσον μάλα ἐξῆν τοὺς οἰκείους παρέδραμον ὄρους· πρὸς μὲν ἐσπέραν Λιβύας καὶ ὅσα Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη δουλωσάμενοι· πρὸς δ' ἀνατέλλοντα ἠλιον ἐνθεν μὲν Ἀραβίαν εὐδαίμονα πᾶσαν ὅσην τά τε ἄκρα τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὀρίζει θαλασσῶν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ὃ, τε Περσικὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀραβικὸς τειχίζουσι κόλποι· ἐνθεν δὲ τὴν τε

because they were afraid of their numbers and strength, but also because the religion that they followed was not entirely different, but practically the same.

5. But when the moment came to invade Syria and Phoenicia, the Galatians and the Celts did not fare as well here as they had in the territories they had left behind. These lands were ruled by the Arabs, who were a strange and very proud people, and who caused trouble for them, or rather not for them, but for themselves. They considered it beneath their dignity that a foreign people, coming from far away, should pass through their country without bloodshed. So they took up arms and tried to prevent their passage. The Celts were thus cut off from provisions, and beset by want of everything else that was indispensable for themselves and for their beasts of burden. They now decided to use arms to force a decision. A ceaseless struggle thereby ensued, and the blood of the Arabs spilled over their land day and night. Cities were sacked and the power of the Celts grew by the day. In short, the elite of the Arab forces were either bloodily slaughtered or driven far away and the rest were converted into the unarmed slaves of the Celts. The latter then settled here for the future, since, once they had conquered the men, they themselves succumbed to the charm of the area. They were determined to stay there forever, but in doing this they came to exemplify guilt itself. Their task and the purpose of their departure from home had been, if possible, to go to Palestine and expel forever the ungodly invaders of the Holy Sepulchre from there, or shed their blood there and thereby redeem their souls. This was the love that had caused them to leave their fatherland, a truly divine love, praised by all those who knew about it. But their love for Phoenicia and Syria shamefully extinguished that divine love in them when, unexpectedly, very rich and drunk, as it were, they had to choose between the two.

6. I must now return to the point where I have begun my excursus on the Celtogalatian (i.e. Frankish) army. As I said above, the Arabs of Egypt greatly increased their power with their Scythian army and advanced as far as possible beyond their borders. On the one hand, they had subjected to the west the Libyans and all the Moorish peoples, and to the east all of Arabia Felix, which stretches to the Indian Ocean and is surrounded by the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and, on the other hand, they had subjected all of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, i.e. all the areas south of the

Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην πᾶσαν, ὅσῃν ὁ ποταμὸς Ὀρόντης ἔνδον ποιεῖται, τοὺς τῶν Κελτογαλατῶν ἐκείνων ἐκγόνους τοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποβήσαντες, τοὺς δ' ἐς ὄλεθρον, οἷον πολέμιος ὑποτίθεται νόμος, ὀλίγου παραπέμψαντες χρόνου.

Orontes. The descendants of the Celtogalatians had driven them from there, or .as the laws of war dictate, killed them within a short time.

\* \* \*

### 10. War with the Massagetae (Alans)

ι'. (A.) Κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἐς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανήκοντι <sup>15</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ πέμπουσί τινες τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Μασσαγετῶν λαθραῖαν πρεσβεΐαν· Ἀλανοὺς ἢ κοινῇ τούτους καλεῖ διάλεκτος· οἱ δὴ καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τυγχάνοντες ἄνωθεν ἔπειτα τῇ βίαιᾳ χειρὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν ὑπαχθέντες σώμασι μὲν ἐδούλευσαν ἄκοντες, τὴν δὲ γνώμην αὐτονομίας ἀεὶ κατεβίβρωσκεν ἔφεσις καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν <sup>20</sup> ἀλλοτρίωσις. πέμπουσιν οὖν χῶρον ἀρκοῦντα ζητοῦντες εἰς οἴκησιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα χιλιάδας αὐτῶν βουλομένων ἐλθεῖν πανοικί, εἴ γε βουλομένῳ εἴη καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἅμα συμμαχήσειν ὑπισχνούμενοι κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ὄλαις χερσὶ, κραταιωθέντων ἤδη καὶ κατατρεχόντων ἀδεῶς καὶ πορθούντων ὅλην τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀσίαν. (B205) τῷ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐφάνη τὰ τῆς πρεσβεΐας καθ' ἡδονὴν, παρόσον ἂν εἰ θεόθεν ἐτύγχανε κατιοῦσα καὶ τὰ κατὰ πάσης Ἀσίας μνηστευομένη τρόπαια. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ συμβᾶσαν ἐκείνην σύγχυσιν πάντας ἔλεγεν ὑποπεθεῖν <sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαίους καὶ μηδένα νομίζειν ὀρθὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διασώζειν ὑπόληψιν· διὸ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑπερορίους ὠνειροπόλει νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ὡς μὴ ὄφελεν. ἀποδοκιμαζομένων γὰρ ἀπάντων Ῥωμαίων, τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐνόσησε πράγματα καὶ πρὸς ἐσχατιὰς κατηνέχθη κινδύνων, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν δηλωθήσεται.

(B.) Τῆς μέντοι <sup>10</sup> πρεσβεΐας οὕτως ἀσμένως δεχθείσης ἤκουσιν οἱ Μασσαγέται τέκνοις ἅμα καὶ γυναιξὶ χιλιάδες ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει χρήματα καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὄπλα τούτοις διδόναι, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πρυτανείου ἐδίδοσαν, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν. ἐντεῦθεν συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλῳ <sup>15</sup> ἐξήρσαν οἱ τὰς χώρας ἀργυρολογούντες· ἠῤῥον οἱ φορολόγοι τὰ τέλη· πᾶν ὄπλον καὶ πᾶς ἵππος ἠθροίζετο· ἠρευνῶντο κῶμαι, πόλεις, οἰκίαι τῶν μεγιστάνων, οἰκίαι τῶν ἐν στρατείαις κατεϊλεγμένων, ἀσκητήρια, δῆμοι, θεάτρα, ἀγοραὶ, καὶ πάντες ἐδίδουν ἵππους καὶ χρήματα, ἄκοντές τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι, οὐκ εὐχὰς <sup>20</sup> καὶ λόγους εὐφήμους, ἀλλὰ δάκρυα καὶ ἀρὰς παραπομποῦς ἐφοδίου τῷ νέῳ στρατῷ συνεκπέμποντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν ἐξ Εὐρώπης ἅμα τῷ

1. The following year (1300), when the Emperor Michael had returned to the Imperial City, some Massagetae from across the Danube (they are called Alans in the language of the people) secretly sent an embassy to him. At the time when the Scythians forcibly subdued them, they had long been Christian. It was thus with reluctance that they endured their physical slavery, and the desire for autonomy and liberation from the unbelievers incessantly consumed their minds. Through their envoys they now asked for an area where they could settle with more than ten thousand people, because they wished, if the Emperor would allow it, to go there with all their families. In return, they promised to fight with all their might in the war against the Turks, who were already fearlessly roaming and destroying the entirety of Roman Asia. This embassy seemed so welcome to the Emperor, as if it had just come down from God and was promising victory over the whole of Asia. For, after that rebellion of Philanthropenos, he said that he distrusted all Romans, and he did not think that anyone had the right attitude towards him anymore. That is why he dreamed day and night of foreign allies, something he should not have done. The exclusion of all Romans from positions of responsibility sickened the state of the Romans and brought about the worst dangers, as will be shown below.

2. After the embassy had been so well received, the Massagetae came, with women and children, numbering over ten thousand. Since they also had to be given money, horses, and weapons, these latter were procured partly from the imperial household, partly from the soldiers' property and from public and private property. So people went out en masse, one after the other, to collect taxes in the provinces. The tax officials increased the taxes. Every piece of equipment and every horse were confiscated. They searched the villages, the towns, the houses of the nobles, the houses of the soldiers, the monasteries, the demes, the theatres, the marketplaces, and everyone gave up their horses and their money, reluctantly and full of misery, and their tears and their curses accompanied the new army on its way. So this

βασιλεῖ Μιχαήλ, αὐτοὶ μὲν στρατοπεδεύουσι περὶ Μαγνησίαν· οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι τὰ πρῶτα περὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς λόχμας ἀναχωροῦσι, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σύνθηδες σφισι |<sup>25</sup> ποιοῦντες, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις φρουρούμενοι τὰ (B206) τούτων ὁρῶσι στρατεύματα ὅποσα τε καὶ οἷα τυγχάνοιεν καὶ εἰ κατὰ στρατηγικὴν ἐμπειρίαν στρατοπεδεύοιεν. ἴσασι γὰρ ὡς πολλὰ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ἢ φήμη κομίζει ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ὑπὲρ τὸ προσήκον τὰ πράγματα αὐξοῦσα· ὅθεν περιϊόντες ἐσκόπουν, εἴτε κατὰ τὴν |<sup>5</sup> φήμην ἀνεπιχείρητα εἶη τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦς, εἴτε χρῆ δόλοις καὶ λόχοις αὐτοῦς Περσικοῖς περιελθεῖν καὶ κατατροπώσασθαι.

(Γ.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴδοιεν τούτους ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ λείαν παρεξίοντας συχνὰ, καὶ γὰρ ἐληϊζοντο τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὶ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἐχθρὸν προφανῆ, παρακατίασι τῶν ὁρῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μετὰ τῆς |<sup>10</sup> συνήθους σφῶν ἐς τὰ πολέμια τάξεως μικρὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειτα πλεῖον· καὶ αἰεὶ μείζονι καὶ θαρράλεωτέρα χρώμενοι τῇ ὁρμῇ τῆς ἐφόδου δῆλοι ἦσαν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κυκλώσοντες στρατόπεδα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἡμέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἄραντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν καταμικρὸν, |<sup>15</sup> κατόπιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰόντων κάκ τῶν ἔγγιστα παραστρατοπεδεύοντων. οὐ γὰρ ὡς εἶχον πλήθους ἐώρων τοὺς βαρβάρους οἱ ἡμέτεροι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτον ἐπεπόνθησαν ὑπὸ δειλίας, οἷον οἱ μεθύοντες ὑπὸ οἴνου, οἱ οὐ τὰ ὄντα κατὰ φύσιν ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνθ' ἐτέρων ἕτερα οἶονται βλέπειν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον |<sup>20</sup> πλείστης ὑγρότητος κυματομένης τῆς ὄψεως καὶ οἰονεὶ κολυμβώσης ἐς τὰ φαινόμενα πλημμελῶς. τὰ γὰρ ἀδικίαν ἔχοντα προπορευομένην καὶ θράσος στρατόπεδα συγγενῆ φθορὰν αὐτόθεν καὶ κατάλυσιν ἐπιφέρονται· καὶ πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεισπεσεῖν, αὐτοὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνατρέπονται σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ γινόμενοι |<sup>25</sup> πολέμιοι, τῆς δίκης ἄνωθεν κατὰ τὸ προσήκον διδούσης (B207) τῶν πραττομένων τὰ τέλη. οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς κατορθῶσαι τι τοὺς ἀράς καὶ δάκρυα λαβόντας ἐφόδια πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον. ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Μασσαγάτας φυγῆ χρησαμένους ἰδὼν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος μετ' ὀλίγων ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι τοῖς βαρβάρους φέρων ἐμβέβληκεν |<sup>5</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφαλέστατον φρούριον τὴν Μαγνησίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸ τέλος ἀποσκοπῶν. οἱ δὲ Μασσαγάται κατήεσαν ἄχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πάντα ληϊζόμενοι τὰ Χριστιανῶν κάκειθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην διαπεραιοῦνται· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ διὰ μόνον τουτὶ προσεκλήθησαν ἐκ Σκυθῶν, ἵνα τοῦ δέοντος προῖαιτερον τοὺς Τοῦρκους ἄχρι θαλάττης |<sup>10</sup>

army, led by Emperor Michael, crossed from Europe to Asia and camped near Magnesia. The Turks retreated first, as is their custom, into the mountains and dense forests. From this inaccessible hiding-place they would be protected, could contemplate the size and character of the enemy army, and could see whether they were encamping according to the rules of the art of war. They knew that rumour spreads many things that are not true and also greatly exaggerates things. So they spied on the Massagetae from all sides to find out whether it was really true that they could not be attacked, as per the rumour, and whether in fact they could not be lured into a trap and driven away with the help of Persian stratagems and ambushes.

3. They saw, however, that the Massagetae were often disorderly and undisciplined in their sacking, for they were worse at plundering Roman territory worse than a declared enemy could have done. The most valiant detachments of the Turks therefore descended from the mountains in their usual order of battle, first a few, and then more, and approached the Emperor's camp more and more courageously and aggressively. It was clear that they wanted to surround it. Our people did not even wait for the first barbarian attack. They set out from there and slowly retreated while the barbarians followed and set up camp nearby. They did not see how numerous the barbarians really were. Due to their cowardice, they were like drunks who see things that do not exist. The high moisture content of their brain affords them uncertain vision, which perceives the outlines of things as blurred and incorrect and so they see them as something different from what they are. The army, preceded by injustice and outrageous arrogance, thus involuntarily attracted ruin and destruction upon itself. Even before the enemies fell upon them, their cowardice had turned them into enemies and they brought ruin down upon themselves. Divine justice assigned the proper outcome to their deeds. For any army that takes curses and tears with it when it first sets out cannot fight successfully. When the Emperor saw that the Massagetae were fleeing and that he was not going to be able to march out against the barbarians with his few men, he hastened to the strong fortress of Magnesia and waited there for the misfortune to come to an end. On their retreat to the Hellespont, the Massagetae plundered all the Christian possessions and then crossed over to Europe. It was as though they had been summoned from the land of the Scythians just to show the Turks a faster way to the sea than was necessary, for not many days had passed before

ὀδηγήσαιεν. οὐ γὰρ πολλαὶ μεταξύ παρεληλύθησαν ἡμέραι καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανῆκεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι κατήεσαν μικροῦ πάντα διαλαχόντες τὰ μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λεσβίαν παράλιον.

the Emperor returned to Byzantium, and the barbarians occupied almost the entire territory up to the Lesbian coast.

\* \* \*

## VII

### 1. State of affairs in the Byzantine Empire – loss of territories in the East<sup>165</sup>

1 α'. (A.) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἕω τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀνεβράγη πελάγη, καθάπερ μυρίων πνευμάτων ἐξαίφνης ὁμοῦ συρράγέντων καὶ πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐλαυνόντων καὶ συγκυκόντων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔρημα στρατευμάτων τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας<sup>15</sup> ἐλείπετο, συνασπισμὸν οἱ τῶν Τούρκων σατράπαι ποιήσαντες πάντα κατέδραμον ἄχρι θαλάττης ἀπάσης καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς ἤδη ταῖς ἀκταῖς μετοικήσαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων, καὶ ὅσα ἐν κτήνεσι καὶ ὅσα ἐν χρήμασιν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων<sup>10</sup> ἄρτι αἰχμὴν ἐγεγόνεισαν. ὅσοι δ' ἔλαθον διαδράντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις κατέφυγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς Θράκην ἄσκευοι καὶ γυμνοὶ τῶν προσόντων διέβησαν. ἐς δὲ ζυμφονίαν ἤδη ἐληλυθότες οἱ Τούρκοι κλήρῳ διέλαχον πᾶσαν, ὀπόση τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἐτύγγανε γῆ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. κατέσχον οὖν, ὁ μὲν<sup>15</sup> Καρμανὸς Ἀλισούριος τὰ πλεῖω τῆς μεσογείου Φρυγίας καὶ ἔτι τὰ μέχρι Φιλαδελφείας καὶ τῶν ἔγγιστα πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Μαϊάνδρον τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀντιοχείας· τὰ δ' ἐκεῖθεν μέχρι Σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παραλίω τῆς Ἰωνίας ἕτερος, ὄνομα Σαρχάνης. τὰ γὰρ περὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ Πριήνην καὶ Ἐφεσον φθάσας ὑφείλετο<sup>20</sup> σατράπης ἕτερος, ὄνομα Σασάν· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ Λυδίας καὶ Αἰολίδος ἄχρι Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὃ, τε Καλάμης λεγόμενος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Καρασῆς· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ ὅσα τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐξῆς ἕτερος, ὄνομα Ἀτμᾶν· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ (B215) ποταμοῦ Σαγγαρίου μέχρι Παφλαγονίας μεμερισμένως ἐς τοὺς Ἀμουρίου διέβησαν παῖδας.

(B.) Τὸ μέντοι ἐξῆς ἔτος φασὶ διαμηνύσασθαι λάθρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πατριαρχεύσαντα καὶ παρατησάμενον Ἀθανάσιον θείαν<sup>5</sup> προβλέπειν ὄργην κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρακελεύσασθαι τε αὐτὸν ὀλονύκτιος δεήσει χρησασθαι πρὸς θεὸν ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία γενομένου σεισμοῦ

1 1. Around this time a sea of the greatest blows of fate opened up from the east, just as if a thousand winds suddenly collided and then entangled, mixed up, and turned everything upside down. The eastern territory of the Roman Empire remained free of troops, and the Turkish satraps, who had formed an alliance, then advanced with devastating raids all the way to the coast and settled directly by the sea. The inhabitants, men, women and children, cattle, and belongings, now fell under the power of the enemy. Those who managed to get away unnoticed either fled to the nearby towns or crossed over to Thrace, penniless and robbed of all their possessions. The Turks soon agreed among themselves and distributed all the land in Asia under Roman rule by lot. Karmanos Alisurios received most of the Phrygian interior and also the territory from Antioch on the Meander to Philadelphia along with the entire surrounding area. All the land from there to Smyrna and to the intervening coast of Ionia was given to another by the name of Sarchanes. The area around Magnesia, Priene and Ephesus had previously been taken away by another satrap, Sasan. The area from Lydia and Aeolian to Mysia on the Hellespont was given to Kalames and his son Karases and that around Mount Olympus and all of Bithynia again to another. Atman, and the sons of Amourios divided among themselves the land between the river Sangarios and Paphlagonia.

2. The following year [1303] Athanasios, who was patriarch before John and had abdicated, is said to have secretly warned the Emperor that he foresaw the wrath of God on the Romans and admonished him to have prayers made to God throughout the night for three days in a row. The next day there was an earthquake, and the

<sup>165</sup> English translation based on *Nikephoraos Gregoras Rhomäische Geschichte I*, Übersetzt und erläutert von Jan Louis van Dielen (Stuttgart, 1973, pp. 173-) by Ms. Camilla Ferard, revision pending.

τοῦτον εἶναι, φάναι τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν προειρη-  
μένην Ἀθανασίῳ θεομηνίαν· ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τε  
λοιπὸν, ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος ἄξιος μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
τὸν πατριαρχικὸν ἀνεληλυθῆναι |<sup>10</sup> θρόνον· μηδὲ  
γὰρ ἂν βλέπειν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἄνευ θειοτέρας  
ἐλλάμψεως· πεπεῖσθαι τε τοὺς πολέμιους ὡς  
πορρωτάτω γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρων τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
ἡγεμονίας ἅμα τῷ τοῦτον ἐς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν  
ἀναβῆναι θρόνον καὶ γενέσθαι, οἷον εἰπεῖν, ἔαρ  
μετὰ χειμῶνα καὶ γαλήνην μετὰ κλύδωνα καὶ  
ῥᾶστα πλατυνθῆναι |<sup>15</sup> τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγε-  
μονίας τὰ σχοινίσματα.

(Γ.) Τοῦ το μικροῦ πάντας ἀρχιερέας καὶ  
ιερέας, καὶ ὅσοι ἀσκητηρίων ἔτυχον προεδρεύ-  
οντες, καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέω  
λέγειν, ὅσοι τῶν ἀγορανομούντων καὶ δημόσια  
δὴ τινα ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἦσαν πράγματα, ἀναμνη-  
σθέντας τῆς πάλαι πνευματικῆς |<sup>20</sup> βαρύτητος  
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μικρῶς διετάραξεν· ὥστε καὶ  
δημηγοροῦντι τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τοῦ σεισμοῦ καὶ  
τῆς Ἀθανασίου προρρήσεως πιστεύειν οὐκ εἶχον,  
ἀλλ' ὑπεπιθυρίζον, ὡς ποθῶν ἐκεῖνον ἐνδο-  
ξότερον καθιστᾶν πλάττει καὶ χαρίζεται ψευδῆ  
ταυτηνὴν (B216) τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ, ἴν' εὐπαρά-  
δεκτος καὶ ὁ τοῦτου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δοκοίη πόθος.  
δεξιόσεσι δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ λόγοις πειθοῦς ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ἔστιν οὗς τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ μονα-  
ζόντων περιελθῶν ἰδίους τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεποιήκει  
βουλήματι· μεθ' ὧν πεζῆ καὶ βάρην ἄπεισι |<sup>5</sup>  
παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀθανασίου καταγωγὴν τὴν περὶ τὸν  
Ξηρόλοφον· καὶ ὁμιλήσας αὐτῷ τὰ εἰκότα περὶ  
τοῦ θρόνου ἔπεισε καὶ τὰ πατριαρχικὰ περιθέσθαι  
σύμβολα· μηδὲ γὰρ δεῖσθαι φάναι χειροθεσίας  
έτέρας, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὴν κρότοι καὶ θρίαμβοι,  
πάλαι ταύτην εἰληφότα βεβαίως, εἰ καὶ λύπης  
ἔνεκα μεταξὺ ταύτην ἔδοξεν ἀποθέσθαι. τούτων  
οὕτω γενομένων ἄνευσιν ἑβδομαῖος ἐς τὸν |<sup>10</sup>  
πατριαρχικὸν Ἀθανάσιος θρόνον.

(Δ.) Ἔτυχε δὲ τῆνικαῦτα ἐπιδημῶν τῇ βασιλευ-  
ούσῃ καὶ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁ  
πατριάρχης, σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ συνέσει λογισμῶν  
τὰ ἦθη κοσμῶν· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν πολλὴν τὴν αἰδῶ  
καὶ εὐμένειαν πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως πορίζεσθαι.  
οὗτος ὁρῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸν |<sup>15</sup>  
πατριάρχην Ἀθανάσιον φλεγμαίνουσαν σχέσιν  
καὶ ἀκούων ἀεὶ διὰ θαύματος μεγάλων ἐπαίνων  
τὸ ἐκεῖνου τιθέμενον ὄνομα καὶ ἴσον τῷ θειοτάτῳ  
τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρυσοστόμῳ προθέσεσιν ὅλαις τῆς  
γνώμης τοῦτον ἀποφαινόμενον, μάλα τοι  
χαριέντως τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως |<sup>20</sup> καθήψατο γλώττ-  
ης καὶ, οἷον εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἐν οὐ καιρῷ φιλοτιμίας  
οὕτως ἴσως εἰπὼν· “ἦν τις ἀνὴρ τὴν τέχνην  
σκυτεὺς γαλῆν ἔχων τὸ χρῶμα λευκὴν, ἢ τῶν  
κατ' οἶκον μυῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐθήρευεν ἕνα. αὕτη  
λαθοῦσά ποτε κατὰ μέσην κρημνίζεται τὴν  
λεκάνην, (B217) ἐν ἧ τὸ τὰ σκύτη μελαῖνον ὁ

Emperor said that this was the wrath of God pro-  
phesied by Athanasios, and he affirmed that no  
man as worthy as this had ever ascended to the  
patriarchal throne, for if had he not been endowed  
with divine enlightenment he would not be able to  
see into the future. He was also convinced that  
once Athanasios returned to the throne, the ene-  
mies would disappear from the borders of the  
Roman Empire. Then, as it were, the spring  
would return after winter, the calm of the sea  
would return after a storm, and the borders of the  
Roman Empire would be pushed forward slightly.

3. This caused a considerable amount of dis-  
quiet among all the bishops and priests, among  
the heads of the monasteries, among the clergy,  
and I might almost say among all the market  
overseers and holders of any public office, for  
they had memories of the spiritual rigour of this  
man. They were unable to believe the Emperor  
when he spoke to the people about the earthquake  
and the prophecy of Athanasius. It was even  
whispered that the Emperor had invented this title  
of glory for Athanasius, since he wished to secure  
greater prestige for the man. He also wanted to  
make his support for him acceptable. However,  
the Emperor knew how to use gifts and  
insinuating words to win some bishops and  
monks over to his plan. He walked slowly with  
them to where Athanasius was staying near Xero-  
lophos. He held the necessary discussions with  
him about the throne and persuaded him to don  
the insignia of the patriarchs. The Emperor said  
that a consecration and the associated celebrations  
would not be necessary, since he had been  
consecrated long ago, even though he had laid  
down his dignity in the meantime, apparently out  
of pain. A week later, Athanasius ascended to the  
patriarchal throne.

4. At that time the Patriarch of Egyptian Alex-  
andria was also staying in the imperial city. He  
was a venerable man whose deep wisdom shaped  
his way of life and who also enjoyed great respect  
and goodwill from the Emperor. He saw the  
Emperor adoring Athanasius and heard him  
constantly speaking of him with admiration and  
great praise. The Emperor even tried to use all his  
powers of persuasion to present him as equal to  
the noble Chrysostom. The Alexandrian patriarch  
therefore wittily criticized the statement of the  
Emperor and his, to put it mildly, misplaced  
enthusiasm<sup>878</sup>. He did it with these words: “Once  
upon a time there was a shoemaker who had a  
white cat that hunted a mouse in his house every  
day. One day this cat accidentally fell into the  
middle of the basin in which was the broth with  
which the shoemaker blackened the leather.

σκυτεὺς ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν ὕγρον, καὶ μόλις ἐκεῖθεν ἄνεισι μέλαν ἔχουσα χρῶμα. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς μυσίν, ἐκείνην ἴσως μηκέτι κρεωφαγεῖν ἐθελήσιν εἰς μοναδικὸν ἑαυτὴν μεταμείψασαν σχῆμα. ὅθεν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδος |<sup>5</sup> ἐφήπλωσαν ῥινηλατοῦντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω οἷς τραφήσονται· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἄγρας παρελθοῦσα θέατρον πάντας μὲν ὁμοῦ σαγηνεύειν οὐκ εἶχε καὶ μάλα ἐθέλουσα· δύο δ' οὖν ὅμως συλλαβοῦσα κατεθoinήσατο. οἱ δ' ἕτεροι πάντες ὄχοντο φεύγοντες τε καὶ ἅμα θαυμάζοντες, ὅπως ἀπηνεστέρᾳ γέγονεν, ἀφ' οὗ |<sup>10</sup> τὸ μοναδικὸν περιέθετο σχῆμα. δέδοικα τοῖνυν," φησὶ, "μὴ καὶ Ἀθανάσιος οὗτος ἤδη τῶν προρρήσεων γέρας πατριαρχικὸν εἰληφὼς θρόνον ἀποκρύψει τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην σκληρότητα τῆ τῆς ὑστεράς ὑπερβολῆ διὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν οἴησιν."

When she crawled out with difficulty, she was black. The mice now believed that the cat would no longer eat meat after donning the habit of the monk. They therefore fearlessly scattered about the house, sniffing for food everywhere from bottom to top. When the cat saw this spectacle and saw the massive prey, it could not catch them all at once, however much it would have liked to. But she did catch two and ate them up. All the rest fled and were amazed that the cat had become even more cruel since she had donned the monk's habit." "I am afraid," said the Patriarch of Alexandria, "that this Athanasius too, now that he has received the patriarchal as reward for his prophecies throne will, out of pride, eclipse his former indomitable hardness by one that is even greater."

## 2. The arrival of Roger de Flor and the Catalans

2 β'. (A.) Κατὰ μέντοι γε τούτους τοὺς χρόνους συνέπεσε πολεμῆν |<sup>15</sup> ἀλλήλοις ἄμφω τοὺς ῥήγας, Κάρουλον τε τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Θεουδέριχον τὸν τῆς Σικελίας. νῆσος δ' ἡ Σικελία μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, μιλίοις οὐ πλέον ἀπέχουσα τῆς ἠπείρου τριάκοντα, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι μετρεῖν τὸ ἀπὸ Σκυλλαίου τοῦ παραλίου τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄκρου μέχρι Μεσσηνίας τῆς πόλεως, παραλίου καὶ ταύτης οὔσης |<sup>20</sup> Σικελίας τῆς νήσου. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάρουλος ποθῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν Σικελίαν ὑποχείριον θέσθαι καὶ διὰ μελέτης ποιούμενος τοῦτο μακρὰς λάθρα ἐναυπήγησε ναῦς καὶ ἄλλα παρεσκευάζεν, ὡς (B218) ἐνῆν, ὅσα πρὸς τε ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζομαχίαν αὐτάρκη. ὁψὲ δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας ἐς προὔπτον ἀναβραγείσης φοβερὸς ὁ Κάρουλος τὰ πρῶτα ἐδόκει τῷ Θεουδερῖχῳ ἀπαρασκευῶ τυγγάνοντι καὶ πολλὸς αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο συχνὰ διαπεραιούμενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, |<sup>5</sup> ὅσον τε πεζὸν καὶ ὅσον εἰς ἰππέας ἐξεταζόμενον ἦν, καὶ κακῶς τὰ ἐκείνου ποιῶν ἐπὶ δυσὶ τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς, χειμῶνος μὲν οἴκαδε ἐπανήκων, ἔαρος δ' ἀεὶ λαμπροτέρας τὰς ἐκστρατείας ποιούμενος.

(B.) Ἐυνέπεσε δὲ τηνικαῦτα Λατῖνόν τινα, Ῥοντζέριον ὄνομα, στρατόπεδον ἀθροίσαντα ἐκ τε Ἰβηρίας τῆς κάτω καὶ |<sup>10</sup> Γαλατίας τῆς ἐπέκεινα καὶ δυτικωτέρας τῶν Ἀλπεων βάνουσον τε καὶ μάχαις ἀεὶ διαποντίοις καὶ ἠπειρωτικαῖς χαίρον τριήρεις οὐ μείους τεττάρων ἀπὸ τούτων πληρῶσαι· δι' ὧν δὴ καὶ τὸν πειρατικὸν ἀδεῶς μετῆει βίον, δεινότατος ἐν τούτῳ τῶν πάποτε γενόμενος. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ταῖς ἀπ' ἄρκτου καὶ νότου κατιούσαις |<sup>15</sup> καὶ ἀνιούσαις φορτίσι ναυσὶν ἐπετίθετο· ἀλλὰ παραπλέον καὶ περιπλέον κακῶς καὶ αὐτὰς ἤδη μεγάλας τῶν νήσων ἐτίθει καὶ φοβερὸς ἐδόκει τῇ κάτω θαλάττῃ. ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν ἀπεκέκλειστο ἤδη πανταχόθεν ἡ Σικελία

2 1. During these years there was also war between the two kings Charles of Italy and Frederick (Gr. Theuderic) of Sicily. Sicily is a large and populous island, not more than thirty miles from the mainland as measured from Cape Skyllaion in Italy to the city of Messina on the Sicilian coast. Charles had long demanded and planned to subdue Sicily. He secretly built a fleet and, as far as he could, made all the other preparations to be able to independently wage a war on water and on land. When hostility finally broke out, Karl at first seemed a great danger to Frederick, who was unprepared for battle. He often crossed over from the mainland to the island with all his infantry and cavalry, and severely harassed his enemy. For two years he devastated his country. In the winter he would return home and in the spring he would always launch brilliant campaigns.

2. But fortune brought a Latin man named Roger (Gr. Rontzerios) [de Flor] onto the scene. In Iberia and in Galatia, beyond and south-west of the Alps, he had gathered an army of people from the lowest strata, who were tried and tested in wars on land and at sea, and he manned no fewer than four triremes with them. With these he led a pirate life with impunity and became the most feared pirate ever. He not only attacked the merchant ships coming and going from the north and south, but even visited large islands on his wanderings and became a threat to the coastal waters. Sicily was now surrounded on all sides by the naval and land forces of Charles, and Fre-



τῷ τε ναυτικῷ καὶ πεζῷ τοῦ Καρούλου στρατῷ καὶ εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκεν ἀνάγκης Θευδέριχος, ὡς ὑπερορίων |<sup>20</sup> δεῖσθαι συμμαχιῶν, μετακαλεῖται τὸν εἰρημένον Ῥοντζέριον, παραγγείλας αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρους ὅθεν δῆποτε μεταπέμψασθαι κρατίστους, ὡς ἐς χιλίους ἰπέας, ἵν' ἐξ ἀντιπάλου γενναίως τε καὶ εὐρώστως διαμάχοντο πρὸς τὸν ἀντικαθήμενον τοῦ Καρούλου στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκεν ἐκεῖνος ἄγων χιλίους μὲν, ὅσον τὸ ἀπὸ (B219) τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πεζοῦς, χιλίους δ' ὅσους ἐς ἰπέας κατέταξεν, εὐθὺς ὀπόσας Σικελικὰς πόλεις ὁ Κάρουλος εἶλε τε καὶ δεδούλωτο, πᾶσαι καθάπερ ὀστράκου μεταπεσόντος ἐς Θευδέριχον ἐπανῆκον, οὐκ εἰωθυῖαι ἀλλοτρίῳ ζυγῷ προσταλαιπωρεῖσθαι.

(Γ.) Ταῦτα |<sup>5</sup> ἀκούσας ὁ Κάρουλος λίαν ἠγθέσθη καὶ μαινομένῳ ἦν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, παραπλήσιος, ὅτι χρονίους ἐλπίδας ἐς πέρας ἐληλυθυίας ἤδη καὶ μονονουχί τῶν κόλπων ἐντὸς ὄλους ἀποφορτιζόμενας καρποὺς ἐξαίφνης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λιμέσιν ἀνατραπείσας τεθέαται. ὅθεν ἔαρος τελευτῶντος ἤκε μετὰ βαρείας δυνάμεως. |<sup>10</sup> ἀλλὰ κραταιοτέρῳ ἤδη συμμίζας τῷ Θευδερικῷ κατὰ τε πλῆθος καὶ ἀντίπαλον δύναμιν οὐχ ὡς ἠθέλεν ἀπήλλαξε. τούτου μὲν οὖν ἐς τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἅμα ἦρι πᾶσαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαβιβάσει ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ Κάρουλος, ἵνα τελευταία δὴ κρίσις αὕτη καὶ πέρας τῶν μακρῶν κατασταίῃ πολέμων. ἀλλὰ |<sup>15</sup> πολλῶν πλείους αὐθὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἠττημένος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀναχωρεῖ, πανήγυριν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐπαγόμενος θλίψεων. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄπορον πανταχόθεν τῇ γνώμῃ συνελαθεῖς περὶ σπονδῶν πρὸς Θευδέριχον ἤδη διαπρεσβεύεται καὶ τέκνων γαμικὰ συναλλάγματα.

derick felt compelled to seek foreign alliances. He asked the aforementioned Roger to come to him and instructed him to bring a thousand other excellent cavaliers from all over the world. In this way he hoped to be able to fight the enemy army of Charles bravely and energetically. Roger raised a thousand infantry and cavalry from his fleet and came to the king with them. This turned the tide. Immediately all the cities of Sicily that Charles had conquered and subjugated returned to Frederick, for they were not used to enduring a foreign yoke.

3. When Charles found out about this, it pained him a lot and he was, so to speak, close to madness, since he had to bury his long-standing hopes, and the harvest, which had almost been brought into the barn, was suddenly lost as if by a shipwreck in the harbour. Therefore, at the end of spring, he appeared with a formidable force. However, the fight with Frederick, who was now stronger in numbers and quality, did not end as he had intended. After this year had come to an end and at the beginning of the following spring, Charles sent all of Italy across to Sicily in order to decide and bring this long war to an end. But he lost even more people this time and returned home defeated. He carried with him, as it were, an entire camp of torments. Since he now saw no way out, he sent an embassy to Frederick to negotiate a peace treaty and a marriage between their children [1302].

### 3. The exploits of Roger de Flor and his death

3 γ'. (Α.) |<sup>20</sup> Ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ξυνέβησαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα θέμε νοὶ ἀστασίαστον ἦγον εἰρήνην οἱ ῥήγες, σκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Θευδερικῶν συμμαχοῖς ἐπήει, ὅποι ποτὲ ἄρα τραπόμενοι τὴν κερδαίνουσαν εὐρωσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς οἰκία καὶ κτήσεις ἐστῶσαι, ἵνα τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτῶν ἐπισπεύδωσιν· ἀλλ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος καὶ (B220) πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄσκειοι καὶ γυμνήτες κέρδους ἔνεκα ληστρικοῦ συνδραμόντες πλανῆτα καὶ διαπόντιον ἐβοσκον βίον. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ τούτων ἄρχοντι Ῥοντζερίῳ διαπρεσβευσάμενῳ πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον συμμαχίσειν ἐλθόντα οἱ κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων, |<sup>5</sup> εἴ γε βουλομένῳ αὐτῷ εἶη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ σφόδρα ἀσμένου τὴν πρεσβείαν προσδεξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἄρας ἐκεῖνος ἤκεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ἄνδρας· ὧν τοὺς μὲν χιλίους ὠνόμαζε Κατελάνους ὡς ἐκ τοιούτων τὰ

3 1. The two kings came to an agreement, laid down their arms and from then on lived together in untroubled peace. Frederick's allies would now have to see where to turn to find the path to profit, since they had no permanent dwellings or estates to induce a quick return. They came from all directions, one from here, one from there, and destitute and poor flocked together to enrich themselves by robbery and they thus led an unstable life in overseas territories. Their leader at that time, Roger, now decided to send envoys to offer Emperor Andronikos, if he wanted, to come to him and fight the Turks at his side. The Emperor accepted the offer of the envoys willingly. So Roger left Sicily and came to him with two thousand men [1303]. He named a thousand of them Catalans, since they came mostly from this people. The remaining thousand

πλεῖστα τὸ γένος κατάγοντας· τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους χιλίους Ἀμογαβάρους. οὕτω γὰρ ἢ <sup>10</sup> Λατίνων φωνὴ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν πολέμοις καλεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τούτους ἐν μοίρα ταπτομένους τοιαύτη τούτω καὶ οὗτος κέκληκε τῷ ὀνόματι.

(B.) Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ ἐλθόντα γαμβρὸν εὐθὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφιδῇ ποιεῖται Μαρία, τῇ τοῦ Ἀσάν θυγατρὶ, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἀνάγει ἀξίωμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ μικρὸν ἦκε καὶ ἕτερος Κατελάνος, ὄνομα Πιριγκέριος Τέντζας, <sup>15</sup> προσκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ροντζερίου, αὐτῷ μὲν δὴ Ροντζερίῳ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ βασιλεὺς περιτίθησιν ἀξίωμα· τῷ δὲ Πιριγκερίῳ Τέντζα τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς. ἡ μέντοι τῶν χρημάτων δαπάνη, ὁπόση περὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνδύματα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰ <sup>20</sup> ἐπέτεια δεδαπάνηται σιτηρέσια, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνήλθεν πλεονεξίας, ὥστ' ἐν βραχεῖ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐξεκένωσε ταμειῖον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω ταῦτα, καὶ ἔδει διαβάντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν ὅποσα εἰργάσαντο παριόντες δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐν (B221) τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καταφυγόντων πολυχνίοις Ῥωμαίων; ἀνδράσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ γυναιξίν οὐδὲν ἄμεινον, ἢ ὡς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐχρήσαντο· τοῖς δ' ὑπάρχουσιν ἅπασιν ὡς οἰκειοῖς ἀδεῶς κατεχρήσαντο καὶ ἀπέλανον ὡσπερ εἰκὸς πολλῶν τῶν ἐνοδίων ἁρῶν <sup>5</sup> ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς καὶ μετὰ πάνυ πολλῶν τῶν δακρύων ταύτας καταχεόντων τῶν ταλαιπώρων ἐκείνων, οὓς ἠδίκουν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπράχθη ἐνιαυτόν.

(Γ.) Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἕαρος ἀπήεσαν ἐξελάσσοντες τοὺς πολιορκούντας τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν πολεμίους, διπλοῖς γὰρ ἐπολεμοῦντο δεινοῖς οἱ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν <sup>10</sup> κατοικοῦντες· ἔξωθεν μὲν τοῖς χρονίως ἤδη περικαθημένοις ἐχθροῖς· ἔσωθεν δὲ πολλῷ χείρονι πολεμίῳ, τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦργον κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἀνδρικότατα κατεπράξαντο τῆς ἄνωθεν δεξιᾶς συνεργούσης διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱερῶς προεδρεύοντος θεοῦ <sup>15</sup> ἀνδρὸς Θεολήπτου. ἰδόντες γὰρ οἱ πολεμιοὶ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων εὐτακτον κίνησιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῆς ὀρμῆς συσχεθέντες τοῖς φόβοις ὄχοντο φεύγοντες· οὐ μόνον τῆς πόλεως ὡς πορρώτατω σφᾶς αὐτοῦς ἀπάγοντες, ἀλλὰ μικροῦ καὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν. τοσοῦτος γὰρ καὶ τοιοῦτος <sup>20</sup> ἐκεῖνος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ οὕτως ἄριστα συγκεκροτημένος ἐκ τε τῶν ὄπλων ἐκ τε τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας ἐκ τε τοῦ πλήθους (συνεστράτευον γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς Λατίνοις οὐ μόνον οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ὁπόσον ἐτύγχανε στράτευμα) τοσαύτην γοῦν ἐποίει διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐκπληξιν, (B222) ὥστε πολλοὶ τινες ἔφασαν τότε, ὡς, εἰ μὴ τούτους διὰ δειλίαν τινὰ πρόσω

he named *Almogavars*, which is what the Latin called the foot soldiers in war, and since he also established these thousand as infantrymen, he also gave them the title with that name.

2. Upon his arrival, the Emperor immediately made Roger his kinsman, giving him his niece Maria, daughter of Asan, in marriage, and promoting him to the rank of *Megas Dux*. But when another Catalan, Berenguer de Entenca (Gr. *Pirinkerios Tentzas*), who had been summoned by Roger, came to Constantinople shortly afterwards, the Emperor himself bestowed the dignity of Emperor on Roger and that of *Megas Dux* on Berenguer de Entenca. But the expenses incurred for clothing, gifts, and the annual pay of this troop were so high that the imperial treasury was emptied in a short time. After everything was settled, it was necessary to cross over to Asia to fight the enemy. Why is it necessary to tell of how much harm they did to the Romans on their journey, who had taken refuge in the fortified towns of Asia? They treated men and women no better than slaves and squandered their belongings with impunity as if these belonged to them. No wonder that they reaped many curses on their way, since the unfortunate Romans cursed them from the depths of their souls and with many tears. That happened in the first year.

3. The following spring [1304] they withdrew in order to drive out the enemies who were besieging Philadelphia. In fact, the people of Philadelphia were fighting evils on two fronts: externally with the enemy who had long surrounded them, but internally with a much worse enemy, namely the lack of the basic necessities of life and hunger. The Catalans performed this task excellently and very bravely. In so doing they supported the hand of God for the sake of the great virtue of the holy bishop of the city, the man of God, Theoleptos. For when the enemy witnessed the disciplined march, the brilliant equipment, and the unshakable will of the Latins to attack, they took fright and ran away. They withdrew not only far from the city, but almost beyond the former borders of the Romans. This army was so great and strong and so excellently assembled in terms of arms, experience in war, and in numbers given that the Latins were accompanied on this campaign not only by the elite of the Romans, but also by the whole force of the Alans. It caused such consternation among the enemy that many at the time dared to assert that, had not the Emperor, out

ιέναι κεκόλυκε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλύον ὅλας ἐν βραχεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀπόσαι πόλεις καὶ χῶραι ὑπῆρχον καθαρὰς πολεμίων παραδοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἀλλὰ |<sup>5</sup> ταῦτα μὲν ἦσαν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς μόνον τὰ παρόντα βλέποντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρόντων ὑπέριον ξυγιέναι δυνάμενοι. κρίσις γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦν ταῦτα θεοῦ πάλα κυρωθεῖσα, πρὸς ἐσχατίας καταβῆναι δυστυχημάτων τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λόγοις ἀπορρήτοις τῆς προνοίας τῶν μὲν ὠφελούντων |<sup>10</sup> πλεῖστα ἐδόκουν τὰ ἐμποδῶν, τῶν δὲ βλαπτόντων πολύχους ἢ συνδρομή. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦργον ἅμα ἦρι τελευτῶντι ῥαδίως κατεπράξαντο.

(Δ.) Ἐπει δὲ πρόσω ιέναι ἄπορον σφισιν ἦν παραπομπὸς οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οἱ τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀτριβὲς τῆς ὁδοῦ διαλευκανοῦσι καὶ εὐδοκίαν θήσονται τούτοις (οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ πλείστων νεκρῶν |<sup>15</sup> ἑώρων γενησομένην τὴν ὑπερόριον ἐκστρατείαν βουλευθεῖσιν ἐκείνοις ἄνευ παραπομπῶν ἀπιέναι), τὸ δ' ἄμαθῶς οὕτως μεγάλους ἀναρρίπτειν κινδύνους πρὸς τοῦ Ῥοντζερίου οὐκ ἦν, πολλοὺς ἀνατλάντος πολέμους καὶ πολλὴν ἐντεῦθεν ξυνηλοχότος τὴν πείραν· ἀναστρέψαντες διελύθησαν κατὰ γένος, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπιόντες Ἀλανοὶ |<sup>20</sup> τε ὁμοίως· Λατῖνοι δὲ τῷ Ῥοντζερῖῳ ἐπόμενοι Καίσαρι περιήεσαν τὰς ἐναπολελειμμένας τοῖς ἀθλίαις Ῥωμαῖοις πόλεις καὶ κάκιστα διετίθεσαν τὴν πολεμίαν ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλέσαντας τρέψαντες· πρόφασιν λέγοντες, ὅτι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πρυτανείου ταχθεῖσαν ἐπέτειον δαπάνην οὐκ ἐκομίζοντο, καὶ εἶναι (B223) ἀνάγκην, πρὶν ἐπινημηθῆναι σφᾶς τὸν λιμὸν, ἐπινημηθῆναι σφᾶς τοὺς καλέσαντας μὲν, μὴ πληροῦντας δὲ τὰ ὑπεσχημένα. ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν οὐ μόνον τὰς οὐσίας ἄρδην τῶν τάλαιπῶρων ἀρπαζομένης Ῥωμαίων, κόρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑβριζομένης, πρεσβύτας τε |<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἱερέας ἀγομένους δεσμίους καὶ τὰς τε ἄλλας ὑπομένοντας τιμωρίας, ὀπόσας ἢ τῶν Λατίνων δυσμενεστάτη χεῖρ ἀεὶ καινοτέρας ἐφεύρισκε κατὰ τῶν ἀθλίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνὰ γυμνὸν ὀρῶντας τὸν πέλεκυν κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου, ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένους, εἰ μὴ θησαυροὺς ὁμολογοῖεν χρημάτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκτιθέμενοι |<sup>10</sup> πάντα ὑπέρου γυμνότεροι ἀπηλλᾶττοντο· οἱ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτου ἐξωνήσονται ἑαυτοὺς, τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τοῦ σώματος ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀφαιρούμενοι θέαμα ἐλεεινὸν παρὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς ἐξετίθεντο, εἴ τις ἄρτου τεμάχιον ἢ ὀβολὸν παράσχοι ζητοῦντες· ὡς ἐπ' οὐδενί τινι τῶν πάντων ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἀφορμῶν τοῦ ζῆν καταλειπομένων, ἢ |<sup>15</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ταῖς τῶν δακρῶν πηγαῖς.

(Ε.) Ταῦτα πυνθανομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐθ' ὄλως ἀνεκτὰ εἶναι ἐδόκει τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν πολλῶ

of some fear, prevented them from advancing further, nothing could have stopped them from destroying in a short time all the towns and regions that belonged to the Romans and from handing these over to the Emperor free of enemies. But that was talk from people who can only see the immediate present and do not understand anything beyond that. It was truly a judgement of God long since decreed that utter misfortune should befall the Roman state. Therefore, through the unfathomable counsel of Providence, many things always seemed to stand in the way of what was beneficial, while what was harmful was promoted by the concurrence of manifold circumstances. But the task mentioned was easily accomplished at the end of spring.

4. Since they had no companions to illuminate the dark and bottomless path and make it accessible, they could go no further. It was understood that a campaign across the frontiers would suffer great losses if they wanted to move out without escorts. Roger, who had been through many wars and gained much experience, was not so unreasonable to take such risks. They therefore turned around and departed. The Romans went home and so did the Alans. The Latins followed Caesar Roger, traversed the cities that remained to the unfortunate Romans, and badly mauled them. They turned against those who had summoned them and behaved like enemies. The reason they gave was that they had not received their annual pay from the imperial treasury, and they declared it necessary to consume the property of the Romans before hunger in turn consumed them. They had originally been asked for by the Romans but had not fulfilled their promises. It could be seen how the properties of the unfortunate Romans were plundered, how girls and women were raped, how old men and priests were taken captive, how the unfortunate had to suffer all the other acts of revenge which the hostility of the Latins was constantly reinventing. Many saw the naked axe put to their necks with threats of immediate death unless they promised large ransoms. While some gave everything up and were able to narrowly escape a mortar mace, others were unable to redeem themselves and were robbed of one limb or another. They presented a miserable spectacle in the streets, begging for a piece of bread or a coin, showing that they had no means of providing for themselves and shedding tears.

5. Hearing this, the Emperor thought it utterly

πλέον ἢ κατὰ πολεμίους λυμαινόμενα καὶ ἅμα θεὸν παροξύνοντα κατὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς προσκαλεσαμένων αὐτούς· οὐτ' ἄλλως εὐπορον ἦν τῆς ἀδικίας τίσασθαι αὐτούς, |<sup>20</sup> ἐνδείας μακρᾶς τὰ βασιλικά καταγελώσης στρατόπεδα. ἐν στενῷ τοίνυν ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μηχανῆς δεομένου τινὸς βοηθούσης διαβαίνει πρὸς Θράκην ὁ Καῖσαρ Ῥοντζέριος τὸν Λατινικὸν ἐπαγόμενος πάντα στρατόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι τοῖς ἐν Ἀσία Ῥωμαίοις (B224) οὔτε χρήματα, οὔθ' ὅσα τρέφει δημίων γαστέρας. ἔδοξε μέντοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐς τὸ τῆς Καλλιουπόλεως καταλιπόντα φρούριον αὐτὸν ἀπολεξάμενον διακοσίους παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐληλυθέναι Μιχαῆλ ἐν Ὀρεστιάδι διαγόντα τότε τῇ Θρακικῇ μετὰ |<sup>5</sup> τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀπειτήσοντά τε τὴν ἀποτεταγμένην αὐτοῖς ἐτησίαν πρόσσοδον καὶ ἀπειλὰς εἰ δέοι προσθήσοντα. οὗ γενομένου καὶ ἐς πυρσὸν ἀναφθέντος, ὃν καὶ πρότερον ᾧδινε θυμὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ, ξιφήρεις αὐτὸν περιστάντες συχνοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰ βασίλεια κατακόπτουσι καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ τινὰς |<sup>10</sup> τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ πλείους ἔλαθον διαδράντες τὸν κίνδυνον· οἱ δὲ καὶ δρόμῳ συντονωτέρῳ χρησάμενοι ἔφθασαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καλλιουπόλει Λατίνοις.

intolerable that the land of Rome should endure a devastation much worse than that inflicted by its enemies. He also believed that the wrath of God must be summoned against those who had summoned the Catalan army from foreign lands. However, it was not an easy task to punish the imperial force since it was ridiculously small. He needed a stratagem to save him from this embarrassment. He had the Emperor Roger cross over to Thrace with his entire Latin army [1304/5]. In Asia the Romans had nothing left, neither money nor food for the bellies of their executioners. Roger now decided to leave his men as a garrison in Kallioupolis, with the exception of two hundred men, and to go with these two hundred to the Emperor Michael, who was then staying with the army in Orestias in Thracia. He wanted to demand the fixed annual salary from him and, if necessary, to back up this demand with threats. This was done, and the Emperor Michael, who had been angry with him before, flew into such a rage that he had several soldiers surround him with drawn swords and cut him down in front of the palace [in April 1305]. Some of his people were also killed along with him. Most of them, of course, were able to escape the danger by getting away unnoticed. They fled in great haste and were the first to report what had happened to the Latins in Kallioupolis.

#### 4. The Catalan Vengeance – Battle of Apros

4 δ'. (A.) Τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις ἔδοξε τοῦτο πεποιηκόσι θραυσαί τε τῶν Λατίνων τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸν τῆς τόλμης ὄγκον ἐς τὸ |<sup>15</sup> μετριώτερον ἀπαλλάξαντας σφᾶς ὅσα καὶ δούλους ὑπέκρινε Ῥωμαίοις αὐταῖς χερσὶ καὶ αὐταῖς γνώμαις παρασκευάσαι καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον ὁμοιοῦσαντας ἐλέσθαι, ἢ δουλεῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκόντας, ἢ τὴν ἀγαθοῦσαν ἄκοντας ἐπανιέναι.

(B.) Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα λογίζεσθαι διανοίας ἐστὶ χαμερποῦς καὶ ἦν αἱ χεῖρες τῆς φύσεως ἐς |<sup>20</sup> ὕλης ἀγλυώδους ἀπολαβοῦσαι πυθμένας κατήνεγκαν, ὡς μηδ' ἐννοεῖν ἔχειν, ὅτι λόγοι προνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα περιτρέχουσιν ἐκάστου τέλους ἔχοντες ἐνέχυρα προκαταβληθείσας αἰτίας, ἃς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμεθα, τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀηδὲς ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας (B225) ἐκκλίνοντες· ἢ δὲ δίκη τῷ γραμματεῖω ἐαυτῆς ἐγχαράξασα θέρουσ καὶ ἄλωνος εἰπεῖν περιμένει καιρὸν, ἵν' ἐπάξια τῶν σπερμάτων ἀποδῶ τοῖς πράξασι τὰ γεώργια. ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιδάσκετο τῶν πραγμάτων ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ὅσα μὴ συναιρομένην ἔχει |<sup>5</sup> τὴν ἄνωθεν δεξιάν, τούτοις καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα μάχεται καὶ ἀήρ, ὥσπερ τινὶ δραπέτη θεοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης ἀλάστορι δραστηρίως ἐπιτιθέμενα· καὶ

4 1. By doing this, the soldiers imagined that they had broken the pride and high spirits of the Latins. They thought they had achieved that the Latins would now become more amenable and obey the Romans body and soul. They would agree to one of two things: either willingly serve the Romans, or reluctantly go back the same way that they had come.

2. Only a soul that crawls on the ground and that nature has plunged deep into the dark matter can think in that way. Such a soul cannot see that Providence is watching over our deeds and taking what we have previously done as a pledge of its outcome. We tend to forget that and avoid the unpleasant thought of it, but justice notes it in its agendas and awaits the summer and the threshing time. Then she bestows on everyone the harvest that is equal to the seed they have planted. If man wanted to see this, he would learn from events themselves that those who do not have God as a helper suffer attacks by land and sea and air, which oppose him vigorously as a runaway slave of God and a sinner against justice. Man would learn who he is and then exhort himself not to

διδασκόμενος ὅστις ποτὲ εἶη, ἑαυτῷ ἂν παρήνει μὴ ἀντιπαλαμᾶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄνωθεν κυρωθεῖσαν ψῆφον, ὅποια ποτ' ἂν ᾦ, μηδὲ βίαιον πράττειν μηδὲν, ἀλλὰ μένοντα κατὰ χώραν ἡσυχῇ |<sup>10</sup> διαπεττεύειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ στέργειν μᾶλλον τὴν σύνδρομον τοῦ φέροντος ἀγωγὴν, καὶ εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην φέροιτο, ἢ τὴν ἀντίδρομον. πολλῷ γὰρ δήπου βέλτιον ἀπρακτοῦντα τῷ φέροντι συμφέρεσθαι, ἢ πράττοντά τι καθάπερ ὕλην χορηγεῖν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ φορᾷ τοῦ καιροῦ. ὅμοιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τουτὶ, ὡσπερ ἂν εἶ τις πυρὸς |<sup>15</sup> ὀρμὴν δεδιῶς ἔτι τὰ κύκλω περιθέουσαν τῆς οἰκίας, ὅδ' ἀντὶ τοῦ πάσῃ χρῆσθαι μηχανῇ ἢ τῆς πρόσω συστέλλειν ὀρμῆς ἢ παύειν τελέως, φρυγάνων ἐπετίθει φακέλλους καὶ ἔλαιον ἐνέχει πολύ· ἢ ὡσπερ ἂν εἶ τις ἀπαρκτίου σφοδροῦ καταβρέοντος ἄνωθεν καὶ δεινὰ πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἐπαντλοῦντος ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις τὰ κύμα, |<sup>20</sup> ὅδ' ἀκατίῳ τινὶ πρὸς ἀνάβρουν ἐθελοντῆς ἐπεχειρεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πλοῦν. εἶναι γὰρ τουτὶ τῶν οὐ πάνυ τοι μειδιῶσαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλόφρονον τὴν ὄψιν παρεχομένων τοῖς βουλομένοις, **(B226)** ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐν ὁπόσα πολέμιον ἀνατείνει χεῖρα κάκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς μακρὸν ἐπιφέρει τὸν ὄλεθρον.

(Γ.) Μαρτύρια δὲ μοι τῶν λεγομένων, εἰ μὴ τι πλεον ἔχοιμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν εἶναι μεμνησθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν τά γε ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμβάντα. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἔλλείψασι |<sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαίοις ὧν ἔδει δρᾶν πρὸς κατόρθωσιν πάντα ἐπήει τάναντιώτατα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ δι' ἃ μὴ θέμις ἐν ὑποψία γινόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πόρρω τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴσταντο εὐμενείας, ὅθεν ἀλλοφύλου συμμαχίας ἐλθούσης πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τῶν Μασσαγετῶν, ἔπειτα τῆς τῶν Λατίνων, πολλαπλασίονα |<sup>10</sup> συνεπεπτώκει Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐχθρῶν. ὧν ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μέτρια καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐφθήμεν εἰρηκότες, ἃ δὴ σαφοῦς ἂν εἶη θεομηνίας δείγματα, εἶ τις ὀρθῶς καὶ πάθους ἐκτὸς ἐθέλοι σκοπεῖν, καὶ παιδεία μετρία οὐ μετρίων πλημμελημάτων. τούτων ἐναργέστερον |<sup>15</sup> δεῖγμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ῥοντζερίου Καίσαρος ἐγεγόνει θάνατος. τὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς προσκλήσεως μετὰ μελόν θεραπεύειν Ῥωμαῖοι βουλόμενοι τὸν τούτου κατεπράξαντο θάνατον, ἀπαλλαγὴν εἶναι τοῦτον πονηρῶν πραγμάτων νομίσαντες. ὁ δ' ἀρχηγὸς παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα μειζόνων ἐγεγόνει καὶ μάλα χειρόνων |<sup>20</sup> πραγμάτων, ὡς προϊόντες ἐροῦμεν· οὕτω τῆς θείας οὐ συμμαχούσης προνοίας τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βουλευμάσι τε καὶ πράγμασι πονηρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾷ τὸ τέλος καὶ σφόδρα τοι ἐναντιώτατον. οὔτε γὰρ βουληφόρος ὁ βουληφόρος, οὔτε ἀνδρεῖος ὁ ἀνδρεῖος· ἀλλὰ **(B227)** τὰ τε σοφὰ βουλεύματα πρὸς ἄσοφον τελευτῶσι πέρας καὶ τὰ γενναῖα καὶ ἀνδρικότατα πράγματα ἀνανδρὸν τε καὶ μάλα αἰσχρὰν τὴν

fight against a decision that comes from above, whatever this might be. He would not want to force anything but would stay calm and spend less time playing with dice and going with the tide in an undesirable direction rather than striving against the tide. After all, it is far better to let oneself be idly carried along by the current than, as it were, to use one own's activity as leverage against the passage of time. That would be as if someone who was afraid of the fire that is surrounding his house did not immediately try to do everything to contain it or put it out altogether, but instead threw whole bundles of dry wood at it or poured a large quantity of oil onto it. Or, as if someone in a fierce north wind, which was causing terrible waves to smash against each other, voluntarily undertook to use a small ship to stand in the way of the floods. This wind is something that never shows a smiling and friendly face to anyone but raises a hostile hand towards everyone and involuntarily brings about a bad end.

3. I cannot cite much evidence for what I have said here, but one thing that is certain is the events of the time. The Romans did everything they should to put the matter in order, and yet everything turned against them. The Roman generals were unjustly suspected, and some were imprisoned, while others lost the imperial goodwill altogether. That is why foreign allies arrived, first the Massagetae, then the Latins, and they brought more mischief to the Romans than had those who declared themselves as enemies. We have also mentioned above some of the many. If you look at this properly and without prejudice, you will see in it clear signs of the wrath of God and a light punishment for great sins. The clearest sign was the death of the Caesar Roger. The Romans regretted summoning him and they killed him to make amends. They believed that his death would mean the end of the misery. However, contrary to expectations, it was the beginning of much worse and more serious events, as I will report in the continuation of my account. It is therefore clear that if divine providence does not support the plans and deeds of people, these latter will come to a bad end and achieve the very opposite that they intended. The advice of the adviser is of no use, and the bravery of the brave is of no avail, since wise reasoning leads to a foolish result, and brave and manly deeds reap a humiliating and shameful defeat.

ἤτταν καρποῦνται. ἀλλ' ἐπανιτέον ὅθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβημεν.

(Δ.) Πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καλλιούπολιν Λατῖνοι |<sup>5</sup> τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνον πρῶτον μὲν πάντας τε ὁπόσοι Ῥω μαίων ἐς Καλλιούπολιν ὄκουν κατέσφαξαν ἠβηδόν· καὶ τὰ τεῖχη λαμπρῶς ὀχυρώσαντες κράτιστον εἶχον ὀρμητήριόν τε καὶ φρούριον. εἰς διττὰς δὲ μοίρας ἔπειτα διαμερισάμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατεύματα τῶν μὲν τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπλήρωσαν τριήρεις, ὀκτὼ τὰς πάσας οὐσας, |<sup>10</sup> καὶ ναύαρχον ταύταις ἐπέστησαν τὸν Πιριγκέριον Τέντζαν, ἵνα κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντίαν ναυλοχοῦσι πορθμὸν αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀκλάδες ἀνιοῦσαι καὶ κατιοῦσαι ἀλίσκωνται. οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ λείαν καὶ ὄλεθρον τῆς ἄλλης ἐξήεσαν Θράκης καὶ κακῶς αὐτὴν διετίθουν νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιπορευόμενοι. |<sup>15</sup> ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Πιριγκερίῳ Τέντζα μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς οὐ μακρῶν ἐδέησε τῶν καιρῶν τῇ προνοίᾳ εὐκαιρίαν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι θανάτου. ἀναγομέναις γὰρ ἐκ Γεννοῦας μετὰ βραχὺ τριήρεσι δέκα ἕξ λαμπρῶς ὠπλισμέναις διὰ τὰς τῶν πειρατῶν ἀκοῆς ἀγνοία συνεισπεσόντες αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐγένοντο θαλάττης, |<sup>20</sup> οἱ δὲ ξίφους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος Πιριγκέριος ζωγρεῖται σὺν ἅμα συχνοῖς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πιπράσκειται.

(Ε.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω γυμνωθέντες ἐξαίφνης οἱ Κατελάνοι θαλάττης τε ἅμα καὶ μεγάλης μοίρας στρατοῦ ἐπὶ συχνὰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἔμειναν κατὰ χώραν ὑπεπηχότες τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄδηλον· ἀτολμότεροί (B228) τε ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλα ταῖς γνώμαις περιδεεῖς. ὑπέτρεχε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς διανοίας καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἐσπάραττε τό,τε τῶν Μασσαγετῶν δέος, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτοῖς συστρατεύοντες ἐξεπολεμώθησάν τε κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μικραῖς τισι ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ συχνοὺς |<sup>5</sup> αὐτῶν πεφονεύκασι· τοὺς τε αὖ τῶν Θρακῶν στρατιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐ μικρῶς ἐδεδίσαν. τὰς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν χθὲς καὶ πρῶην συχνὰ παρεξιώντες ἐδήουν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀδεῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν· καὶ οὐδεμίαν οὐδέσι φιλανθρωπίας κατέλιπον πρόφασιν, ὥστε βουληθεῖσι σπείσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κείσεσθαι ἔσχατόν |<sup>10</sup> σφισι τὸ πρᾶγμα κινδύνων ἐκτός. καὶ τό γε τῶν φόβων σφισιν ὑπῆρχεν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ ὄντα ἐπίδοξον ἤκουον ἤκειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς σὺν πολλῷ τῷ στρατῷ. ὅθεν βαθεῖαν περὶ τὸ φρούριον τάφρον ἐλάσαντες καὶ χάρακα κύκλω βαλλόμενοι πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο, πολλὰ πρότερον ἐκ τῆς |<sup>15</sup> λείας ἐνθέμενοι τὰ χορτάσματα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅ,τε χρόνος ἐτρίβετο καὶ ἡ προσδοκωμένη τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφοδος οὐ παρῆν,

4. But I must go back to the point from where I started my digression. When the Latins at Kallioupolis found out about the assassination of the Caesar Roger, first of all they slaughtered all the Romans of armed age living in Kallioupolis, and they converted the city into a strong fortress and base of operations by excellently fortifying the walls. Thereupon they divided their army into two parts and used one part to man their own triremes, which were eight in all. They appointed Pirinkerios Tentzas as Fleet Commander. He was supposed to ambush and capture the Roman cargo ships that were going up and down in the Hellespont. The remainder armed themselves and went out in search of booty. They became the undoing of the rest of Thrace, which they plundered and ravaged day and night. However, Providence did not take long to bring about a favourable opportunity for the sinking of the Berenguer and his fleet. Sixteen triremes soon arrived from Genoa and were well-armed against the rumours of piracy. Unknowingly, the Catalans clashed with them, becoming in part prey to the sea and in part prey to the sword. The fleet commander Pirinkerios was captured alive along with many of his entourage and sold to his fellow tribesmen [31. May 1305].

5. Having thus lost their naval power and a large part of their army, the Catalans feared the uncertain future and remained motionless for many days in their stronghold. They became discouraged and fearful. A terrible fear of the Massagetæ took hold of them, for they remembered that during the joint campaign in Asia they had fought against them for no good reason and had killed many of them. They were also afraid of the Thracian troops, since only the day before they had gone out to devastate their country, set fire to their houses with impunity and left no one with a reason to treat them with leniency. Even if they had wanted to agree a treaty with the Emperor Michael, it did not appear to them to be free from risk. The rumour that Emperor Michael would soon advance against them with a large army caused them great anxiety. They therefore dug a deep ditch around their stronghold, erected a wall with stockades all around, and prepared for a siege. They had already built up large stocks of food from their prey. But time went by and there was no attack from the Emperor Michael. That is why the Catalans made other plans. They were in such

ἐπ' ἄλλας ἐτρέποντο σκεμμάτων ὁδοῦς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς Κατελάνοις τῶν πραγμάτων συνελαθέντων οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῆς διάγειν φόβων ἐκτός· ἀλλ' ὑποψία κινδύνων πολύτροποι πανταχόθεν <sup>20</sup> ἔθραυον σφᾶς. ὅθεν εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας ἐληλυθότες ἐπινοοῦσι πρᾶγμα κακομήχανον καὶ πολὺν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠδίνον τὸν ὄλεθρον. καὶ δὴ διαπρεσβεύονται περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπέρας οἰκοῦντας τῶν Τούρκων καὶ λαμβάνουσι τότε μὲν πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας τρισχίλιοι ὄντες αὐτοί· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ **(B229)** ἑτέρους οὐκ ὀλίγους αὐτομόλους ἰόντας· σὺν οἷς ἐξιόντες συχνὰ τὴν ὄμορον χώραν ἐδήουν καὶ πάσας ἀγέλας συνήθροισαν ἵππων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ ποιμνίων ἅμα τοῖς ἔχουσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιπλέον φέρειν οὐκ ἦν οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων, πολέμου <sup>5</sup> συγκρότησις οἰκονομεῖται παρ' ἀμφοτέρων.

(ζ'.) Τῶν οὖν Κατελάνων ἅμα τοῖς Τούρκοις δυοῖν μεταξὺ πολιχνίων τὰς διατριβὰς τηνικαῦτα ποιουμένων, Κυνηλλων καὶ Ἄπρων φημί, ἀναλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ τὰς Θρακικὰς τε καὶ Μακεδονικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ζὺν γε αὐταῖς τὰς τε Μασσαγετῶν καὶ ὅσαι τῶν <sup>10</sup> Τουρκοπούλων φάλαγγες ἦσαν, κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἄπρους πεδῖον. χίλιοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ Τουρκόπουλοι οὗτοι, οἱ τῷ Σουλτάν Ἀζατίνῃ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, ἠκολούθησαν μὲν αὐτομολήσαντι, ἀπαχθέντι δ' ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν Σκυθῶν, ὡς δεδήλωται, οὔτε συνατήθησαν καὶ τὴν <sup>15</sup> Ῥωμαίων ἀσπασάμενοι συνδιαίτησιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἴλοντο βάπτισμα· καὶ ἦσαν τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἐξεταζόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατιᾶ. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οὐ πάνυ πολλῶν παρελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν ἤκόν τινες τῶν σκοπῶν ἀπαγγέλλοντες ἤκειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀναστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε στρατὸν ὀπλίζεσθαι <sup>20</sup> καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ ἡγεμόνας παρατάττεσθαι καὶ παρατάττειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τοὺς τε λοχαγούς καὶ τὰς φάλαγγας, τοὺς μέντοι πολεμίους τριπλῆν πεποηκότας ἰδόντες τὴν τάξιν τριπλῆν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαράταξιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πεποιήκεσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Τουρκόπουλοι μετὰ **(B230)** τῶν Μασσαγετῶν ἐκλήρωσαντο· τὸ δεξιὸν δ' οἱ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν τε καὶ Θρακικῶν ἱπέων ἐπίλεκτοι· τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περιῶν τὰς τάξεις ἐπεθάρρυνε πρὸς ὀρμὴν ἀνδρικήν.

(Ζ.) Ἄμα δ' ἠλίφ καὶ οἱ <sup>5</sup> πολέμοι προσελάσαντες μετωπηδὸν ἔστησαν ἑαυτοῦς, ἔχοντες μὲν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν κεράτων τοὺς Τούρκους· τὰς δὲ τῶν Κατελάνων ὀπλιτικὰς φάλαγγας μέσας διὰ τὸ βάρος. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μασσαγέται καὶ πάλαι ἀποστασίαν ὠδίνοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ πάνυ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρέσκεσθαι ἤθεσιν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ

distress because they could not live in a foreign land without fear. They were worn down by the many dangers that were constantly threatening from all sides. In this dire situation, they devised an evil remedy that harboured dire calamities for the Romans. They negotiated an alliance through envoys with the Turks on the opposite bank, and at once received five hundred men from them (their own) number was three thousand), and not long afterwards many others who came as deserters. With these they made frequent sorties and devastated the nonlinear country. In doing so, they preyed on all herds of horses, cattle, and small livestock, along with their owners. Since the Romans and their Emperors could no longer bear this, both sides prepared for war.

6. At that time the Catalans and Turks were staying between the two cities of Cypsela and Apros. Emperor Michael marched with the Thracian and Macedonian forces, which were reinforced by the troops of the Massagatens and Turcopouls, to the plain of Apros and set his camp up there. These Turcopouls were a corps of a thousand men who, as I have related, the Sultan Azatines had followed when he defected to the Romans. When he again left there with the European Scythians, as I reported, they did not go with him. They had welcomed living together with the Romans and accepted the true faith through baptism. Since then, they had also been incorporated into the Roman army. Only a few days passed when some spies appeared with the news that the enemy was coming. The Emperor Michael rose up immediately and ordered the army to take up arms. The officers were to go to their posts and set up their lieutenants with their detachments for the fight. Seeing that the enemy had deployed itself in a triple battle formation, they arranged their own deployment in the same way. The left wing was assigned to the Turcopouls together with the Massagetae, and the elite of the Macedonian and Thracian cavalry to the right. The rest of the cavaliers, which were the great majority, took the centre with the infantry. The Emperor Michael rode along the detachments, encouraging them to boldly attack.

7. At sunrise [10. July 1305] the enemies also marched and formed a front against the Romans. The Turks stood on the two wings, and the Catalans in the middle on account of their heavy armament. The Massagetae had long since



λαθραίας προσκλήσεις δεξάμενοι |<sup>10</sup> παρὰ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν δόλον ἐξέφεραν. ἄρτι γὰρ τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐκατέρωθεν σημανθείσης εὐθὺς ἐνέκλιναν οὗτοι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἔστησαν, μήτε Ῥωμαίοις βοηθοῦντες, μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχόμενοι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Τουρκόπουλοι πεποιήκεσαν, εἴτε |<sup>15</sup> συγκείμενον ὄν ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πονηρὸν τουτὶ δρᾶμα, εἴτε τοῦ καιροῦ σχεδιάσαντος οὕτως πῶς. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἔσφηλε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὄλον τῆς τύχης τὸν κλῆρον ἐνεχείρισε φέρον ἀπόνως τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀπροσδόκητον γὰρ οὕτως τὸ τοσοῦτον δεινὸν ἐπελθὼν τῷ στρατῷ τοσαύτην ταῖς τούτων |<sup>20</sup> ψυχαῖς ἐνέσπειρε τὴν δειλίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπήνεγκε θόρυβον καὶ τῶν τάξεων σύγχυσιν, ὅσῃν ἂν ἐπενέγκῃ καὶ βαρὺς ἐπιβρίσας ἀπαρκτίας κατὰ φορτίδος ἐπὶ μεγάλου πλεούσης πελάγους καὶ τοὺς τε κάλως καὶ τὰ ἰστία συντρίψας τελευταῖον καταδύναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς βυθοὺς καὶ πυθμένας βιάσθαι.

(H.) Ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς (B231) οὕτως ταραττομένης τὰς τάξεις ἐξαίφνης ἰδὼν καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν τὸ πλεῖστον ὀρώσας σπουδῇ περιθέων ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπεβοᾶτο σὺν δάκρυσιν ἐξ ὀνόματος, στήναι παρακαλῶν καὶ μὴ προῖκα τοῖς πολεμίοις οὕτως προδιδόναι |<sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαίων τὴν τύχην. οἱ δὲ μικρὰ τῶν λεγομένων φροντίζοντες ὄχον το φεύγοντες ἀμεταστρεπτί. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοσαύτην κεχωρηκότα τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τὰ πράγματα βλέπων ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφειδῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατα-κοπτόμενον τε καὶ συμπατούμενον, ἔγνω καιρὸν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀφειδεῖν ἑαυτοῦ |<sup>10</sup> καὶ κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι προφανῆ, κατήγορον ἐσόμενον τῆς τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀγνωμοσύνης. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν συστραφεῖς (λίαν δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι βραχεῖς) „νῦν ἄνδρες,“ ἔφη, „καιρὸς, ὅτε βελτίων ὁ θάνατος γίνεται τῆς ζωῆς, τὸ δὲ ζῆν τοῦ θανεῖν πικρότερον.“ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν ἐπικαλεσάμενος |<sup>15</sup> συμμαχίαν ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλει κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φονεύει μὲν ἔστιν οὖς τῶν προβόλων, διαρρήγνυσι δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα, θόρυβον δ' οὐ μικρὸν ἐμποιεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων. πολλοῖς γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς περιπαρεῖς ἅμα τῷ ἵππῳ τοῖς βέλεσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄτρωτος ἔμεινε· τοῦ δ' ἵππου πεσόντος αὐτὸς |<sup>20</sup> ἐκινδύνευσεν κυκλωθῆναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τάχ' ἂν ἐς τοσοῦτο κακοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα προὐχώρει, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλέως ζωὴν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλαττόμενος ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δίδωσιν ἵππον, δι' οὗ καὶ σέσωσται διαδράς τὸν ἐπικρεμασθέντα κίνδυνον· ὁ δ' ἀποβάς συμπατεῖται (B232) παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπαλλάττει τοῦ βίου.

wanted to defect from the Emperor Michael because they could not get used to Roman customs. They had also secretly received offers from the European Scythians and now, in the midst of the war, they suddenly revealed their ill-conceived plan. No sooner had the signal to attack been given from either side than they stood aside and neither supported the Romans nor fought alongside the enemy. The Turcopouls did the same thing, either because they had mutually agreed on this criminal procedure, or out of a momentary intuition. This got the Romans into extreme difficulty at the height of the battle and effortlessly bestowed all the fortunes of the war upon the enemy. The great danger which so unexpectedly came upon the army sowed great fear in the hearts of the soldiers and stirred up such unrest and confusion in their ranks, like when a fierce north wind rushes upon a cargo ship on the high seas and tears its ropes and sails and tries by force to sink the ship itself.

8. The Emperor Michael saw how his troops suddenly become confused and how most turned to flee. He rushed to his strategists and battalion captains, calling them by their names amidst tears and encouraging them not to just give away to their enemies the good fortune of the Romans. But they paid scant attention to what he said and fled without looking back. When the Emperor Michael saw the desperate situation and how most of the foot soldiers were being mercilessly crushed and trampled on by the enemy, he understood that the time had come to speak up for his subjects without regard to himself. He decided to take an open risk to undermine the cowardly attitude of his troops. He turned to his companions (they were very few) and said: "Men, now is the moment when death is better than life and living is more bitter than dying." Thus, he spoke, asking God for help and pouncing on the enemy with his own men. He killed some of their champions, broke their order of battle, and caused considerable confusion in the enemy army. He and his horse were also shot at from all sides with many arrows. He himself was not injured, but his horse was killed, and he was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. This misfortune would soon have occurred had not one of his entourage sympathised and bought the life of the Emperor Michael with his own. He gave the Emperor Michael his own horse, which enabled the Emperor to escape and save himself from the impending danger. But the man who dismounted

(Θ.) Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἄπεισιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Διδυμότειχον· μακρὰν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως ἀκούει τὴν μέμψιν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὢν οὐκ ἄξια πράττει τῆς βασιλείας ἀφειδῶν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς οὕτως καὶ |<sup>5</sup> τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κίνδυνον διακυβεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἐξ αὐτομάτου. οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι τοῦντεῦθεν ἐς δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων τραπόμενοι οὓς μὲν ἔκτεινον, οὓς δὲ ζωγοῦντες εἶχον· ἕως γενομένης ἐσπέρας ἀπέπειον τὴν δίωξιν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ λάφυρα διελόμενοι ἀδεῶς τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκη |<sup>10</sup> κώμας ἐπόρθουν καὶ ἔκαον ἐπιτρέχοντες. οὐ πολλὰ μετὰ διήλθον ἡμέραι καὶ πρὸς Κατελάνους αὐτομολοῦσιν οἱ ῥηθέντες Τουρκόπουλοι καὶ ἀσμένως δεχθέντες τοῖς τοῦ Χαλήλ ὡς ὁμοφύλοις συγκατελέγησαν Τούρκοις. Χαλήλ δ' ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχηγὸς ὠνομάζετο.

(I.) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐκπολεμωθῆναι συνέβη τὸν |<sup>15</sup> τε Φαρέντζαν Τζυμῆν καὶ τὸν Πιριγκέριον Τέντζαν κατὰ Ῥεκαφόρτου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόνος, ἀνάξιον εἶναι λέγοντας, τῶν εὖ γεγονότων ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἄρχεσθαι παρ' ἀνδρὸς δυσγενοῦς καὶ βαναύσου τὴν τύχην. καὶ ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ συντέμω, ὅπλοισι ἐπιτρέπουσι τὴν τῆς ἔριδος τύχην. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πιριγκέριος Τέντζας πίπτει |<sup>20</sup> παρὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς· ὁ δὲ Φαρέντζας Τζυμῆς καταφεύγει πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον· καὶ οὕτω παρ' ἐλπίδα λαμπρᾶς τυγχάνει τῆς ὑποδοχῆς, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἀνάγεται ἀξίωμα καὶ Θεοδώρα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδῆι χηρευοῦσα συζεύγνυται.

(IA.) Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Μασσαγέται λαθραίας (B233) ἔφθησαν πέμψαντες ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας συνθήκας πανοικί πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολήσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, ἀναλαβοῦσιν ἤδη γυναῖκας ἅμα καὶ παῖδας καὶ μέλλουσι διαβαίνειν τὸν Αἴμον τὸ ὄρος, ὃ δὴ μεθόριον νῦν ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Βουλγάροις, ἀθροοὶ σφίσι οἱ |<sup>5</sup> Τουρκόπουλοι σὺν Κατελάνων συγχοῖς ἐπεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῦ που παρὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας καὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας ἠβηδὸν συναπέσφαξαν. τοῖς γὰρ Μασσαγέταις αὐτοὶ συστρατεύοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν πολλακίς κεκοινωνηκότες ἀλλήλοις κερδῶν καὶ λαφύρων καὶ φιλονεικιῶν ἐν τοῖς μερισμοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ ἀεὶ τὴν ἥττονα |<sup>10</sup> μοῖραν λαγχάνοντες, ἅτε μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς ἰσχυροτέρους ἀσθενέστεροι μάχεσθαι, διεπέττεον οὕτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπ' ὀδόντα θαλαμειομένην τρέφοντες τὴν ὀργήν. ἦν δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ νῦν εὐτυχῶς ἐς προὔπτον ἐξέρρηξαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως

from his horse was trampled on by the enemies and lost his life.

9. From there the Emperor Michael returned to Didymoteichos. He was severely reprimanded by his father, the Emperor Andronicus, because as a ruler he had not performed any deeds commensurate with imperial dignity. In risking his own life, he had also jeopardized the fate of the Romans, which was automatically linked to it. The enemies gave chase, killing some and capturing others. When evening came, they stopped the pursuit. Early in the morning they robbed the bodies of the dead, distributed the booty, distributed the booty, and went through the villages of Thrace, plundering and setting fire to them. A few days later, the aforementioned Turcopouls defected to the Catalans. They were received with joy and assigned as tribal brothers to the Turks of Khalil. Khalil was called the Leader of the Turks.

10. Soon afterwards Ferran Ximenez de Arenos (Gr. Pharentzas Tzymes) and Berenguer d'Entença revolted against their leader Bernat de Rocafort (Gr. Rekaphortos). They declared it unseemly that they, men of nobility, should be under the command of a man of humble birth and who was from the working class. In short, they took up arms to decide the dispute. Pirinkierios Tentzas instantly died in battle and Pharentzas Tzymes fled to the Emperor Andronicus. Contrary to expectations, he was given such a splendid reception that he was promoted to Megas Dux and married Theodora, the widowed niece of the Emperor Andronicus [early July 1307].

11. The Massagetæ had secretly concluded a treaty with the Scythians through envoys and announced that they would defect to them together with their whole families. They now took their wives and heralds and wanted to cross the Haimos mountains, which today form the border between the Romans and the Bulgarians. Here, at the foot of the mountains, the Turcopouls and Catalans attacked them with combined forces and slaughtered all but a few able-bodied men [summer 1306]. For they had long campaigned with the Massagetæ and had often shared the profits and spoils, but when there had been some serious quarrels in the divisions they had always received the smaller portion since they were weaker and could not fight the stronger. So, they bided their time and silently harboured their grudges inside themselves. This was the moment when they successfully broke away from them. That was how things were.

## 5. On the Empress Irene

15 5 ε'. (A.) Ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως σύζυγος Ἀνδρονίκου Εἰρήνη φύσει φιλότιμος οὕσα ἠβούλετο κατὰ διαδοχὴν παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους αὐτῆς ἐς ἀπείρους ἡλίους κληροῦσθαι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον τουτὶ κράτος καὶ ἀθάνατον διασώζεσθαι τὴν μνήμην αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀπογόνων ὀνόμασι. τὸ δὲ καινότερον, ὅτι οὐ μοναρχίας τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπικρατήσασαν Ῥωμαίους ἀρχῆθεν |<sup>20</sup> συνήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον Λατινικὸν διανεμαμένους τὰς Ῥωμαίων πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἄρχειν κατὰ μέρη τῶν υἰέων ἕκαστον, ὡς οἰκείου κλήρου καὶ κτήματος τοῦ λαχόντος, ἐκ πατρῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν ἐπικρατήσαντα νόμον ταῖς περιουσίαις καὶ (B234) κτήσεσι τῶν βαναύσων ἀνθρώπων κατιόντος· παραπεμπομένου δ' ἔπειθ' ὁμοίως ἐς τοὺς ἐφεξῆς παῖδας καὶ διαδόχους. Λατίνων γὰρ οὕσα γέννημα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων εἰληφύα τουτὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἔθος Ῥωμαίους ἐπάγειν ἐβούλετο. ἐνήγε δ' ἐς τοῦτο τὰ μάλιστα |<sup>5</sup> γνῶμη ζηλότυπος, ἦν ὡς μητριὰ περὶ τὸν προγονὸν ἔτρεφε, τὸν βασιλέα φημί Μιχαῆλ, ὃν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας συζύγου τῆς ἐξ Οὐγγρων ὁ βασιλεὺς γεγέννηκεν. ἔφθημεν γὰρ εἰρηκότες, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνης μὲν γεγέννηκε παῖδας δύο, τὸν τε βασιλέα Μιχαῆλ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν δεσπότην· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Εἰρήνης ταυτησὶ τῆς |<sup>10</sup> ἐκ Λογγιβάρδων θυγατέρα μὲν μίαν τὴν Σιμωνίδα, περὶ ἧς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρήκειμεν, ὅπως ἐπέμφθη σύζυγος τῷ Κράλῃ Σερβίας· υἱοὺς δὲ τρεῖς, Ἰωάννην, Θεόδωρον καὶ Δημήτριον· οὓς δὴ πάντας βασιλέας ἐβούλετο καθιστᾶν· δευτέρους μὲν μετὰ τὸν προγονὸν Μιχαῆλ κατὰ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξίωμα· δευτέρους δὲ καὶ κατὰ |<sup>15</sup> τὴν διανομὴν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡγεμονίας· αὐτονόμους δὲ καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἐκάστους καὶ μηδένα μηδενὶ ὑπακούοντας.

(B.) Ὅρῳσα τοίνυν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σύζυγον στοργὴν αὐτῇ χαριζόμενον πλείονα ἢ κατὰ σύζυγον ἐνόμισεν ἔξιν καταπειθῆ καὶ πρὸς τὰ περὶ τῶν παιδῶν βουλευόμενα. ὅθεν οὐ διέλιπε λάθρα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' |<sup>20</sup> ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοῦσα δυοῖν θάτερον κατα-πράξασθαι· ἢ τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαῆλ ἀποχειροτονῆσαι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ταύτην διαμερίσασθαι τοῖς υἰέσιν αὐτῆς· ἢ τὸ γε δεύτερον, κοινωνοὺς καὶ συμμεριστὰς αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτοὺς καταστῆσαι τοῦ κράτους. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως (B235) ἀδύνατον εἶναι λέγοντος παραλύειν τὰ διὰ πολλῶν ἤδη τῶν χρόνων κυρωθέντα τε καὶ βεβαιωθέντα βασιλικά νόμιμα, ἢ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξήπτετο καὶ διάφορα καὶ ποικίλα ἐδείκνυ πρὸς τὸν σύζυγον καὶ βασιλέα τὰ σχήματα· νῦν μὲν λυπούμενη καὶ |<sup>5</sup> ἀπολεγόμενη

5 1. The wife of Emperor Andronicus, Eirene, was ambitious by nature and wanted her children and grandchildren to inherit eternal dominion over the Romans. This imperial power was also intended to perpetuate their memory in the names of their descendants. But she also wanted something outrageous; that this rule not be a monarchy like the one that ruled among the Romans from the beginning, but that the cities and areas of the Romans should be distributed according to the Latin custom, and then each one of her sons should be in charge of each area as if over his personal inheritance and possessions. Each one would inherit it from his father, just as, as per the prevailing law, wealth and possessions passed from father to son among common people, and then he himself would later pass it on to his children and successors. After all, she was a child of the Latins and wanted to introduce this custom taken from over there to the Romans. Her main reason for doing this was the jealousy she harboured towards the first-born son of the Emperor, that is the Emperor Michael, whom the Emperor had begotten with his first wife from Hungary. I mentioned above that he had two sons by her, Emperor Michael, and the Despot Konstantinos. From this Eirene from Lombardy, he had a daughter, Simonis, about whom I have mentioned above that she was sent to the Kraal of Serbia as a bride, and three sons, Johannes, Theodoros and Demetrios. She wanted to make all these sons emperors. In fact, in both rank and in the division of the empire they should come after the first-born Michael, but otherwise they should be autonomous and autocratic and the slaves of no one.

2. Since the Empress saw that the level of devotion of her husband to her was somewhat more than normal married love, she believed that she could also make him docile with regard to her plans for the children. She kept pressurising him day and night and gradually trying to persuade him to do one of two things: either take the imperial power of the Emperor Michael and divide it among her sons, or, as a second possibility, have her sons participate in his power as co-holders. The Emperor replied that it was impossible for him to repeal the Imperial Laws, which had been unchangeable for many centuries. The Empress gradually grew angry at this, and she adopted a variety of attitudes towards her husband, the Emperor. At one point she would

τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς υἰέας ὄψεται ζῶσα βασιλικοῖς κοσμηθέντας συμβόλοις· νῦν δὲ ἀκκιζομένη καὶ θρυπτομένη καὶ οἶον ἀπεμπολῶσα τῷ συζύγῳ τὴν ὄραν καὶ ὄνιον συγκαταθέσεως τοῦ περὶ τῶν υἰέων βουλευμάτος ποιουμένη. ταῦτα πολλάκις γινόμενα καὶ μηδενὸς ἑτέρου τῶν πάντων γινώσκοντος φέρειν οὐκ <sup>10</sup> ἦν εἰς τέλος τῷ βασιλεῖ. διὸ καὶ τὰ τῆς φλεγμαιοῦσης ἐκείνης στοργῆς ἤδη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐμαραίνετο, καὶ ἀντεισηγετο μάχη διάπυρος μὲν, λανθάνουσα δ' ἔτι τοὺς πλείστους. τέλος δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπέστερξε τὴν τοῦ λέχους αὐτῆς κοινωνίαν.

(Γ.) Ἡ μέντοι <sup>15</sup> σύζυγος Εἰρήνη παραδόξως οὕτω τὴν ταχίστην ἔρημος τῶν ἐλπίδων καταστᾶσα πολέμιον ἔθρευεν ἐν τοῖς στήθεσι λογισμὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι θέλουσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔχουσα δ' ὅπως ἄλλως, ὄχετο ἀπιούσα πρὸς Θεσσαλονίκην οὐ μάλα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐθέλοντος. ἐδεδίει γὰρ αὐτὸς, μὴ κατάφωρα τοῖς πλείστοις τὰ κατ' οἶκον γένωνται πταισμάτα. ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αἰσχύνειν <sup>20</sup> ἐθέλουσα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σύζυγον ἀπῆει θριαμβεύουσα κοινὰ καὶ λαθραῖα τοῦ συζύγου ἐγκλήματα, τοῦτο μόνον φυλαξαμένη, τὸ πρὸς δῆμους καὶ πλήθη προφέρειν αὐτά. πρὸς δὲ γε τὸ πρὸς οὓς ἐκάστη τε καὶ ἐκάστῳ οἷς ἐθάρρει τὰ μάλιστα περιάδειν, **(B236)** πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μάλα ἀφειδῶς εἶχεν ἡ πολλὴν σχηματιζομένη σεμνότητα. ὑβριοπαθοῦσα γὰρ καὶ μαινομένη καὶ κατεπαιρομένη τῆς ἐκείνου πραότητος καὶ μήτε θεὸν φοβουμένη, μήτ' ἀνθρώπους αἰδουμένη, πολλὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐξεφάυλισεν <sup>5</sup> ἀπόρρητα τοῦ συζύγου τε καὶ ἐαυτῆς ἢ πάντολμός τε καὶ ἀναιδῆς, ἃ κἄν ἠρθηρίασε λέγουσα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταιρίδων ἀσελγεστάτη. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἄλλον κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τῶν μοναζόντων ἀπολαμβάνουσα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅποσα ἐβούλετο· νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰσιούσας τῶν εὐγενῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ πλείω τούτων ἐξήγγελλε· <sup>10</sup> νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κράλην Σερβίας τὸν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρὸν ἔγραφεν, ὅσα οὐδὲ λέγειν χρεῶν, πανταχόθεν ἐαυτῇ μὲν περιποιουμένη τιμὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην, τῷ δὲ συζύγῳ πᾶσαν ὑβριν μηχανωμένη. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐρίπιστον ὡς γνώμη γυναικὸς, οὐδέ γε προχειρότερον εἰς τὸ πιθανὰς συνθεῖναι διαβολὰς <sup>15</sup> καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα κακὰ περιτρέψαι τοῖς ἀνεγκλήτοις. ἂν μισῆται, μισεῖν ὑποκρίνεται· ἂν ἐρᾷ, ἐρᾶσθαι φησιν· ἂν κλέπτῃ, κλέπτεσθαι λέγει. καὶ ζητεῖσθαι μὲν φάσκει, βδελύττεσθαι δὲ διὰ σωφροσύνην· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τε καὶ θρύπτεσθαι <sup>20</sup> οὐκ αἰδεῖται, οὐδὲ δυσωπεῖται τὸν ἔλεγχον, ἀλλ' εὐδιάβολα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰδυῖα καὶ ἥδιστα ἀκοαῖς ἀκολάστοις κώδωνος ὀξυτέραν προτείνει γλῶτταν· καὶ ἐπιορκούσα παρρησιάζεται καὶ μίγνυσι γῆν οὐρανῷ. ἂν δὲ καὶ γένει καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ

behave offended and weary of life, and then at other times she would act demure and prim and demand that her husband agree to her plan with the children as a kind of purchase price for marital relations. When this happened on a regular basis and without anyone knowing about it, in the end the Emperor could not bear it anymore. The ardour of his love gradually died out, and a passionate fight ensued in its place, which however remained hidden from most people. But the Emperor eventually became fed up with sharing her bed.

3. Contrary to expectations, in no time at all, his wife Eirene found herself bereft of her hopes and inwardly she planned revenge. Since she saw no other possibility, she left for Thessalonica [1303]. The Emperor did not like this at all because he feared that his marital misfortune would now be known to the great crowd. But she wanted to further humiliate her husband and expose the secrets that she and her husband had shared. She was careful not to spill these things openly in front of the crowd, but this woman, who usually acted so politely, whispered all the details in the ears of her closest people, both men and women. She felt offended and angrily mocked the gentleness of her husband. Knowing neither the fear of God nor the shame of men, that high-spirited and insolent woman made her husband and herself look bad by divulging secrets that not even the boldest harlot could have told without blushing. Sometimes she would take this and that monk aside and accuse her husband of things that occurred to her, and at other times, she would tell these things to noble visitors and to others as well. She also wrote things to her son-in-law, the Kraal of Serbia, which cannot be shared. She always gave herself a certificate of respectability and modesty, but then she would think of every insult against her husband. Nothing is as fickle as the attitude of a woman. Nor is anything so apt to concoct credible slanders and false accusations and foist the faults of oneself on the innocent. When she hates, she pretends she is hated. When she loves, she claims she is loved. When she steals, she says she is being robbed. She claims that she is desired, but because of her chastity, she despises her lover. In addition, she is not ashamed to boast and brag about it and is not afraid of being refuted. She knows that such slanders are easily believed and readily heard by licentious people, and so she lets her tongue sound louder than a trumpet. She outspokenly and perjuringly swears everything by heaven and earth. When this is also distinguished by origin

προέξη, ἃ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πόρρωθεν ὅπως ποτὲ ἀποκρούονται, τότε εὐμενοῦς δεῖ θεοῦ καὶ θαλάσσης μεγάλης, ἀποπλῦναι τὰς (B237) ὕβρεις τε καὶ συκοφαντίας τὸν ἄθλιον, καθ' οὗ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἢ πονηρὰ κεκίνηκεν.

(Δ.) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶός τε ὢν καὶ ἄλλως δειλιῶν τὴν τε γλῶσσαν αὐτῆς καὶ τό γε μεῖζον, μὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπολεμῶση γαμβρὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, λέγω δὴ τὸν Κράλην |5) Σερβίας, παντοῖος ἦν θεραπέυων αὐτὴν καὶ πληρῶν τὰ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἰδίων πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνης ζητήματα καὶ πλέον ἢ δεσποίνῃ χαριζόμενος αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας δίκαια, ἵνα λανθάνῃ τοὺς πλείστους τὰ μεταξὺ σκάνδαλα. ἢ δ' ἀπογνοῦσα τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τοὺς υἱέας βοήθειαν, ὅποιαν ὡς εἰρήκειμεν |<sup>10</sup> αὕτη παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐζήτει, μόνη λοιπὸν ἐπεχειρεῖ μηδενὸς ἀμελοῦσα τῶν ὅσα πρὸς δύναμιν ἦσαν αὐτῇ. ἀκούσασα τοῖνυν, ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δούξ θυγατέρα τρέφει παρθένον, διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγγυωμένη ἐκεῖνῳ γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν δευτέρου ἐπὶ συμφωνίαις, ἵν' ἢ μὲν |<sup>15</sup> ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἐκεῖθεν τῷ ἄρχοντι Πελασγῶν τε καὶ Θεταλῶν ἐγείρωσι πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ μέσου ποιήσωνται, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ταύτης υἱῷ περιποιήσωνται, ἵν' εἴη κληρὸς ἀρχῆς ἴδιος αὐτῷ καὶ διηνεκῆς. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων ψευθεῖσα πλείστοις ἅμα χρήμασι |<sup>20</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπέμπει πατρίδα Λογγιβαρδίαν συζευχθησόμενον θυγατρὶ τινος ὄνομα Σπινούλα τῶν οὐ πάνυ μεγάλων ἐπὶ γένους περιφανεία καὶ δόξη τυγχάνοντος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περισπούδαστόν ἐστι Λατίνων τοῖς εὖ γεγονόσι κηδεύειν, μὴ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεῦσιν· ἄλλως (B238) τε οὐδ' αὕτη τῶν ἐπὶ δόξη λαμπρῶν ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὕτω ῥαδίως ἐστέλλετο κήδη. μαρκεσίου γὰρ ἀπόγονος ἦν αὕτη· ἢ δὲ τοῦ μαρκεσίου τάξις οὐ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐστὶ παρὰ Λατίνοις· ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμασιν ὁ τὴν |5) βασιλικὴν κατέχων σημαίαν, τοῦτο παρὰ Λατίνοις μαρκεσίος.

(Ε.) Ἴνα δὲ πλατύτερον τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσώμεθα διὰ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων ἐνάργειαν· ὅτε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέρρει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης κράτος καὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔψαυεν οὐρανῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὕπατοι τούτων καὶ αὐτοκράτορες, οἱ μὲν Ἀφρικὴν |<sup>10</sup> καὶ Λιβύην, οἱ δὲ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Κελτικὴν ὑπηγάγοντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ πλείω τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, τὰ τε μέχρι Τανάιδος δηλαδὴ καὶ ὅσα μέχρι Γαδείρων· τότε τοῖνυν δουλείας φερόμενοι νόμῳ συνέρρειον ἄλλοθεν

and power, any refutation will be repelled from afar, and the victim, against whom the evil tongue is directed, then needs the goodwill of God and to be surrounded by a great sea to wash away the insults and false accusations.

4. But the Emperor was meek, and he feared her tongue, and he was also afraid that she would incite her son-in-law, the Kraal of Serbia, to go to war against the Romans. He therefore rendered her every service, fulfilled all her requests both in state affairs and in the private sphere, and granted her more power than she was entitled to as Empress. It was in this way that he tried to cover up the scandal from the crowd. But then she renounced the help of the Emperor for her sons, which, as I have mentioned, she had demanded excessively, and from then on tried to achieve her goal on her own. She used every means at her disposal to achieve her ends. She now learned that the Duke of Athens had an unmarried daughter and she sent envoys to offer him her second son, Theodoros, as a husband for his daughter. In return, she demanded an agreement in which she would start a war on one side, and he on the other, against the ruler of the Pelasgians and Thessalians, and that they would not stop until this man was dispatched out of the way. Then her son, Theodoros, would take over his rule and she would have her own and permanent share of the rule. But her hopes were to be disappointed. She therefore sent Theodoros with a great deal of money to her homeland, Lombardy, so that he marry the daughter of a man named Spinola, a minor nobleman without great standing. The Latin nobility, in general, did not attach great importance to marriage ties with the Romans, not even with the emperors. Incidentally, the Empress Eirene herself did not come from the highly respected nobility. If she had, she would not have been so easily sent as a bride to the Romans. She was the daughter of a margrave, and the rank of margrave is not one of the highest among the Latins. The margrave to the Latins is what the imperial standard-bearer is to the Roman army.

5. But for the sake of clarity, I would like to talk about this in more detail. When the power of the Romans had spread and reached to heaven, so to speak - for their consuls and emperors subdued Africa and Libya, and others subdued Galatia and Iberia and the Celtic country, and still others subdued most of Asia and Europe up to Tanais and Gadeira - the bearers of the Roman yoke, which included local military leaders, satraps, tribal chiefs, governors of regions and cities,

ἄλλοι συχνὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρξασαν Ῥώμην, ὅσοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τόπους καὶ ὅσοι σατράπαι <sup>15</sup> καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνες τόπων καὶ πόλεων· οἱ μὲν, ἵνα γνωστοὶ τοῖς τε Καίσαρσι καὶ Αὐγούστοις καθίσταντο· οἱ δὲ, ἵνα στάσιν τινὰ καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τῇ περὶ τοὺς Καίσαρας συγκλήτῳ καὶ τάξει λαγχάνωσιν. οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλως <sup>20</sup> ἐνδόξων καὶ ἐλλογίμων προσίαςιν, ἵνα τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης δήμῳ αἰδοῦς ἕνεκα καὶ τιμῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ πολιτογραφῶνται καὶ ὀνόματος ἀξιῶνται τῶν ἐπισήμων τῆς Ῥώμης· ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Ἑβραῖος Ἰώσηπος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κράτιστα πάντων τὰς ἀστρονομικὰς συγγραμμάμενος ὑποθέσεις, ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φλαούτιος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπωνόμασται, ὁ Ἰώσηπος· ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος. (B239) τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τῶν πανταχόθεν συρρέόντων ἡγεμόνων Παρθικῶν τε καὶ Περσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλοι ἄλλας κεκλήρωνται πρότερον κλήσεις. ὁ δὲ Ῥωσικὸς τὴν τε στάσιν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κεκλήρωται Κωνσταντίνου· ὁ δὲ Πελοποννησιακὸς τὸ τοῦ πρίγκιπος· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς <sup>5</sup> τε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀρχηγὸς τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός· ὁ δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ τῶν Θηβῶν τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου· ὁ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης νήσου Σικελίας τὸ τοῦ ῥηγός· καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα. τί γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστα διεξιέναι, ὧν τὴν μνήμην ὁ χρόνος συνέχωσε, <sup>10</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν τελέως ἐκάλυψε καὶ λήθης ποταμοῖς ἀφῆκε συμφέρεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀτέκμαρτα συγκεχώρηκε περὶ τὸν βίον πλανᾶσθαι; οὐ γὰρ ὡσπερ νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐγένοντο ταῦτα, παρ' οἷς ἐγένοντο· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐς διαδοχὰς συνεχωρήθησαν παραπέμπεσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἑκάστων ἄρχουσι τὰ <sup>15</sup> τῶν πρώτως εἰληφότων ἕκαστα ἀξιώματα. καὶ μὲν δὴ ἔστιν ἃ τῶν τοιούτων παραφθοράν τινα τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ παθόντα ἀμυδρῶς πως ὑπεμφαίνουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. τὸν γὰρ τοι τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλου πριμμικηρίου μέγαν κύριον ὀνομάζουσι νῦν εἰς τοῦτο παρενεχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ παραφθεῖραι τὴν <sup>20</sup> πρώτην συλλαβὴν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλου δουκός δοῦκα καλοῦσι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

(ζ') Καὶ ἴν' ἐπανέλθωμεν, ὅθεν εἰς τοῦτο ἐξέβημεν· ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ταύτης ἀρχηγὸς τὸν τοῦ μαρκεσίου εἰλήφει κλῆρον, μικρόν τινα καὶ τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐκείνῃ (B240) ἀνάλογον. κεῖται δ' ἡ χώρα αὕτη μεταξὺ που τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ τῆς κάτω Ἰβηρίας· ἦν ὁ μαρκεσίος ἐκκληρώσατο, χρέος ἄτιδον ἔχων, εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀνίστατο βασιλεὺς, τὴν τοῦ σημαιοφόρου τάξιν ἀποπληροῦν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτός· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε <sup>5</sup> ἐπάνειμι. Θεόδωρον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἑαυτῆς δεῦτερον υἱὸν ἢ βασιλὶς Εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐκεῖσε παρέπεμψεν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ὧν

flocked from all sides to the ruling city of Rome. Some came to present themselves to the Caesars and Augusti, and others to obtain a rank and a post in the Senate or in the imperial army. But it was not only for these reasons. Many famous and learned men also came to acquire Roman citizenship for the sake of honour and to be decorated with one of the distinguished names of Rome; such as the Hebrew, Joseph of Palestine, and Ptolemy, who wrote the most distinguished books on astronomy. Joseph has since been called Flavius, and the other, Ptolemy, is now called Claudius. At that time the leaders of the Parthians, the Persians and the other peoples flocked to Rome from all over the world, and one would receive this title, and another one that title. The Russian ruler received from Constantine the Great the position and dignity of Epi tes trapezes, the Peloponnesian that of Princeps, the governor of Attica and Athens that of Megas Dux, that of Boeotia and Thebes that of Megas Primicerius, that of the great Island of Sicily that of Rex, and others in turn. But why this concern with individual titles when time has buried the memory of them? Time has completely withdrawn some of them from our knowledge and allowed them to be carried away by the streams of oblivion, while others have continued to be used but are now misunderstood by people. In our times, these titles do not have the same meaning than when they were created. Each title could be passed from the provincial governor who first received it to his successor and some of them have become so distorted over time that they now only dimly reveal their original meaning. Today the ruler of Boeotia and Thebes is called Megas Kyrios instead of Megas Primicerius because the first syllable was dropped. Likewise, the ruler of Attica and Athens is called Dux instead of Megas Dux.

6. To return to my starting point, at that time the governor of that province also received the office of margrave, a minor rank corresponding to his province, which lies roughly between the Alps and southern Iberia. The margrave was assigned this area along with the perpetual requirement that if an Emperor from this people emerged, he would take on the task of being standard-bearer for him. Returning to my topic, the Empress Eirene therefore sent her second son Theodoros

δοῦλος αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴ γένηται τοῦ προγονοῦ βασιλέως. εἴλετο γὰρ κοινωνὸν τῆς Λατίνων τοῦτον μᾶλλον καταστήσαι θρησκείας καὶ ἀτιμότερον εἶναι πόρρω διάγοντα, |<sup>10</sup> ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔνδοξον ὄντα δουλεύειν τῷ μισουμένῳ αὐτῇ προγονῷ καὶ ἅμα παῖδας παισὶ καὶ ἀπογόνους ἀπογόνους, συνεξέπεμψε δ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ σωροὺς χρημάτων Ῥωμαϊκῶν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ τὴν φλεγμαίνουσαν ἔφεσιν ἑαυτῆς ἐναντιουμένη τῷ συζύγῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνός γε τῶν υἱέων ἐπέβαινε Θεοδώρου |<sup>15</sup> τοῦ μαρκεσίου.

(Z.) Τὸν μέντοι πρῶτον υἱὸν αὐτῆς Ἰωάννην πάνυ τοι πλείστα ἐσπούδασε πρότερον εἰς ὑπερόριον κῆδος ἐκπέμψαι καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ πλείστα ἀνηλώκει χρήματα θέλουσα τοῦτον ἄρχοντα καταστήσαι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τε καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν, καὶ ὅση τῆς Ἠπείρου περίχωρος· ἀλλ' οὐδαμῆ ἔσχεν εὐδοκίαν εἶναι τὸ βούλευμα. |<sup>20</sup> ἕτερα δ' αὐθις βουλευομένης αὐτῆς περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ φθάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο τῆς ὁρμῆς, πατὴρ εἶναι λέγων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οὐχ ἦττον τῆς μητρὸς κηδόμενος τοῦ υἱέως· προστιθεμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦ μείζονα δύνασθαι τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα, τὸ κωλύον οὐδὲν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελεσθῆναι βούλησιν ἐπὶ τῷ (B241) παιδὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μητρὸς. ἦν δὲ τῆνικαῦτα μεσάζων τοῖς πράγμασι σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ σύνεσιν πλουτῶν ἐς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλα τοι πλείστης ἀπολαύων τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος εὐμενείας τε καὶ ῥοπῆς καὶ πολλοῖς τισὶ βριθῶν |<sup>5</sup> τοῖς χρήμασι διὰ ταῦτα, Νικηφόρος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου. οὗτος θωπευτικοῖς τισὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν ὑπελθὼν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πραότητα αἰτεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν ῥηθέντα τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Ἰωάννην, δεινοπαθοῦσης μὲν καὶ οὐδαμῆ ἐθελούσης τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δεσποίνης· ἔλαβε δ' οὖν. ἀλλ' |<sup>10</sup> οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ κήδους ἀπάνωτο οὐθ' ὁ λαβὼν, οὐθ' ὁ ληφθεὶς, πρὶν γὰρ ὅλα ἐξήκειν τέσσαρα ἔτη, ἅπαις τὸν βίον ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπήλλαξεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐπὶ μητρὶ καὶ πενθερῷ καὶ συζύγῳ.

(H.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς μητρὸς ἐλπίδας ὁ χρόνος οἶά τις Χάρυβδις ἀφελόμενος κατεβάπτισεν, αἱ Κραλαίνης |<sup>15</sup> τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ παιδὸς κατελείφθησαν μόναι. τὸσαῦτα τοίνυν ἐξεκένωσε Ῥωμαϊκὰ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν Κράλην ἢ πενθερά τε καὶ δέσποινα, τὰ μὲν ἐκεῖσε πέμπουσα, τὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μεταπεμπομένη καὶ ἐπιφορτίζουσα, ὅσα καὶ τριήρεις ἑκατὸν ἐξήρτυσαν ἂν καὶ διηνεκὲς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις |<sup>20</sup> ἐγίνοντ' ἂν ὄφελος, καὶ τί δεῖ καταλέγειν τὰς καινὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτῆς, ὅπως μὴ πρὶν γεγονῆναι ἢ πόρρω τοῦ καιροῦ φιλοτιμουμένη γνώμη τῆς σεμνοτάτης ταύτης δεσποίνης ἐνεωτέρισε; θέλουσα γὰρ τὴν

there, so that he and his descendants would not become slaves of the first-born Emperor. It was her desire that he share the Latin confession and live far away with less honour, rather than that he be respected by the Romans and stand with his children and grandchildren in the service of this first-born whom she hated, and in the service of the children and grandchildren of this same. She gave Theodoros plenty of Roman money to take with him. In this way, she defied her husband, the Emperor, and used one of her sons, the Margrave Theodore, to fulfil her burning desire.

7. She had previously also gone to the greatest pains to marry off her first son John abroad, and she had expended a great deal of money to make him ruler of Aetolia, Acarnania, and the whole surrounding region of Epiros. But she had not been able to realize her plan in any way at all, since the Emperor had another plan for his son, and he therefore foiled her plan in good time. He said that he, as a father, cared for the son just as much as he did for the mother. He added that the power of the father was greater than that of the mother and that nothing could therefore prevent the wish of the father from being fulfilled over that of the mother. At that time the Mesazon, a shrewd man of great political experience and insight, enjoyed the special favour of the Emperor and exercised great influence over him. That was why he was very rich. With his flattering words and attentions, this man, *epi tou kanikleiu Nicephorus*, outwitted the compliant character of the Emperor. He requested and obtained the son of the Emperor, who was called Johannes, as a husband for his daughter, notwithstanding the vociferous complaints and resistance of the mother and Empress. He therefore achieved this but neither he nor his son-in-law got much out of the marriage since, before four whole years had passed, Johannes died childless and left his mother, father-in-law, and wife in mourning.

8. Like a Charybdis, time had thus also robbed and buried the hopes of the mother in this son. Her final hopes rested with her daughter, the Kralaina, and her son Demetrios. The Kraal was then showered with Roman money sent to him by his mother-in-law, the Empress. Then he was again invited to Thessalonica and was showered with money there. This was so much money that it would have been enough to equip a hundred triremes and provide permanent protection for the Romans. Why do I need to enumerate the unheard-of and unprecedented schemes devised by the undue ambition of this noble mistress? She



θυγατέρα βασιλικῶς παρασήμοις κοσμήσαι, **(B242)** ἵνα μηδ' ἐκείνη μηδενὸς ἐλαττοῖτο, ὅποσα Ῥωμαίων θεσμοὶ τὰς βασιλίδας ἤρηνται πάλα κοσμεῖν, μὴ δυναμένη δ' ἄλλως τὸ καταθύμιον ἐκπερᾶναι, φέρουσα καλύπτραν ἐπέθηκε πρότερον τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ γαμβροῦ λίθοις καὶ μαργάρους πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένην, <sup>5</sup> ὅποσοις καὶ οἷσις μικροῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενη κατ' ἔτος ἐτέραν προσετίθει κρεῖττω τῆς προτέρας ἀεὶ. τὰς τε πολυτελείας τῶν ἐνδυμάτων καὶ τὰς λαμπρότητας, ὧν ἐχαρίζετο συχνοτέρων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς τῇ Κραλαίνῃ, τίς τὸν <sup>10</sup> ἂν ἀριθμοίη; τίς δ' ἂν ἐξετάζοι τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων ἀριθμὸν, ὅποσα αὐτῇ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεροῦσα τῷ Κράλῃ ἀριθμὸν, ὅποσα αὐτῇ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεροῦσα τῷ Κράλῃ Σερβίας ἐδίδου, κατατροφῶσα μὲν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συζύγου πραότητος, τὴν δ' ἑαυτῆς ἀδεῶς ἀποπιμπλῶσα ἔφεσι; ἔφεσις γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταμειῶν τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐς <sup>15</sup> τοὺς κόλπους τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐκκενῶσαι τέκνων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Κραλαίνης καὶ θυγατρὸς. ἤλπριζε γὰρ καὶ παῖδας ὄψεσθαι γεννηθέντας τῷ Κράλῃ παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προαρπάζουσα τὸν καιρὸν σφισι τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐθησαύριζε πλοῦτον, ἵνα καιροῦ καλοῦντος ὀψὲ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀσθενείας ἐκεῖθεν <sup>20</sup> αὐτοὶ καταδράμωσι καὶ ἦν ἐκόντων Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐκληρώσαντο βασιλείαν, ταύτην ἀκόντων ἀφέλωνται.

(Θ.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔλαθεν ἀνθρωπίνας μὲν ἐπινοίας καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀεὶ στρέψασα, θεὸν δ' ἐπὶ λογισμοῦς οὐκ ἀναβιβασαμένη τὸ σύνολον, ὅτι τῆς ἐκείνου **(B243)** τὰ πάντα χειρὸς ἐξήρηται· καὶ πολέμιον τοῦτον πᾶς τις εὐρίσκει, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν πέρα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μέτρων φρονεῖ καὶ οὐκ εἰς θεὸν ἀναφέρει τῶν ἐνεργουμένων τε καὶ βουλευομένων τὴν διεξαγωγὴν καὶ τελείωσιν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ἡ βασιλις αὕτη <sup>5</sup> Εἰρήνη μεγάλας ἑαυτὴν ἀναρτήσασα ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐλπίσιν αὐτῇ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνως ἐχρήτο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄνευ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, ἀμφοτέραις ἐξήντλει χρήματα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐχθροὺς· τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὐ προὔχῳρει κατὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ματαίαν τὴν ἐκείνης <sup>10</sup> διάνοιαν ἤλεγχον, σφάλλοντος ὡς εἰσκειν ἄνωθεν τοῦ τῆς δίκης κρίματος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ θυγατρὶ ὀκταετῆ πλέον ἢ τετταρακοντούτης ὁ Κράλης μιγείναι τὴν ταύτης πέπραχε μήτραν, ὡς μηδὲ γονὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔτι δύνασθαι γίνεσθαι.

(I.) Κάντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλπίδων ἐκπεπτωκυῖα ἡ βασιλις ἐτέραις αὐθις <sup>15</sup> ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἠρεμεῖ· καὶ πειθεὶ τὸν Κράλην πολλοῖς

wished to adorn her daughter with the insignia of the imperial dignity, so that she should not want for any of the ornaments that a Roman Empress had of old been accorded by law. Since she could not fulfil her wish in any other way, she took a headdress that was adorned with many stones and coloured pearls, like that of her husband, the Emperor Andronicus, and crowned the head of her son-in-law with it. Then, from that point onwards, she began to add more and more precious stones every year. Who can count the costly and splendid robes that she often bestowed upon him and on her daughter the Kralaina? Who can ascertain the number of imperial jewels that she stole from the Romans and handed over to the Kraal of Serbia? This was how she mocked the gentleness of the Emperor and fulfilled her own wish. This wish was to empty the riches of the imperial treasury into the bosom of her children and especially her daughter, the Kralaina. She also hoped to one day see the children that her daughter would give birth to for the Kraal. That is why she hurried ahead of time to save the Roman wealth for them. When the weakness of the Romans finally offered the opportunity, they were to use this wealth to attack the Roman Empire and wrest from the Romans against their will the empire that had not been voluntarily ceded to them.

9. The Empress did not realise that she was continuously making human plans for herself, and she was not taking any account whatsoever of the fact that everything depends on the hand of God, and that anyone who, notwithstanding the fact that he be only human, dares to meditate on things beyond human capacity, and does not place the successful completion of his plans and undertakings in the hands of God, makes God into an enemy. This was therefore what happened here. The Empress Eirene had high hopes for her children, but she tried to realize them by human means and without God. As I have mentioned, she scooped up the wealth of the Romans with both hands and gave it away to their enemies. But things did not go as she wished, and the futility of her plans was to be revealed. It seems that the righteous judgement of God brought them down. When her daughter was eight years old, the more than forty-year-old Kraal had intercourse with her and injured her uterus. No child could therefore be born from her.

καὶ ἀναριθμήτοις ὑπερεχομένη τοῖς δώροις, ἀπαγορευθέντος ἤδη τοῦ παιῶνα γενέσθαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κραλαίνης, ἐλθεῖν κατὰ δεύτερον πλοῦν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἀρχῆς εἰς ἓνα τινὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς Κραλαίνης. Δημήτριος δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ μαρκέσιος· <sup>120</sup> ὁ μὲν οὐπω τότε τὸν ἔφηβον παραλλάττων· ὁ δὲ καὶ παῖδων ἤδη τυγχάνων πατὴρ περὶ χώραν τῆς Λαμπαρδίας, ἔνθα παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, ἐξεπέμφθη τοῦ γένους λείψανον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δημήτριον πολλαῖς ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων τρυφαῖς καὶ βλακείαις πρὸς τὸν Κράλην συνεκέμπει, διάδοχον (B244) χειροτονηθισόμενον, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, τῆς ἀρχῆς· ὅς δὲ καὶ ἄσμενος μὲν ὑπεδέχθη παρὰ τοῦ Κράλη· τὸ δὲ τοῦ τόπου σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον ὄλαις ὀρμαῖς ἀνεσώβει καὶ ἀπετρέπετο τὴν ἐκεῖ διαμονὴν καὶ μακροτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐνδιαίτησιν. ὅθεν μετ' οὐ πολὺ <sup>15</sup> τὸν Δημήτριον οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν ἢ μήτηρ ἐπανάκοντα δεξαμένη καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ψευθεῖσα ἐλπίδων τὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τῆς Λαμπαρδίας υἱὸν μεταπέμπεται Θεόδωρον τὸν μαρκέσιον κεκαρμένον ἐπιφερόμενον πώγωνα· καὶ τὸν ὁμοίον τρόπον ἐκπέμπει καὶ τοῦτον διάδοχον ἐσόμενον τῆς τοῦ Κράλη Σερβίας ἀρχῆς. ἄσμενος οὖν <sup>10</sup> καὶ τοῦτον ὁ Κράλης ὑποδέχεται. τὸ δὲ τοῦ τόπου σκληρὸν τε καὶ ἄηθες οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἀφήκε μονιμωτέραν ἐκεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διατριβήν. ἀλλ' ἐπανελθὼν καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν μητέρα, πάσας παρ' ἐλπίδα ὀπόσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτρεφεν ἐλπίδας ἀποβεβληκυῖαν, <sup>15</sup> ὄχετο ἀπιὼν ἐς Λαμπαρδίαν αὐθις παρὰ τὴν σύζυγον

10. After the Empress was deprived of this hope, she did not allow herself to rest for a minute and she tried something else. She flattered the Kraal with many innumerable gifts and, since he no longer had any hope of having a child by the Kralaina, she persuaded him to choose another course. He was to hand over the succession to the tribal throne to one of the brothers of the Kralaina. These were Demetrios and the Margrave, Theodore. The first was not yet an adult at the time and the other was already a father of children and lived in Lombardy, where, as I have recounted, his mother had sent him as heir. First of all, she sent Demetrios to the Kraal so that, as I have mentioned, he would be named successor. She gave him everything he needed for a luxurious and comfortable life, and he was also welcomed with joy by the Kraal. But the inhospitable and desolate land oppressed him with all its might, and it made it impossible for him to stay and live there for a long time. The hopes that his mother had placed in him were disappointed and she soon saw him return to her from there. She therefore sent for her other son, the Margrave Theodoros, who come from Lombardy with his chin clean-shaven. He was sent out in the same way to become the successor of the Kraal of Serbia. The Kraal also received him with joy. But, again, the inhospitable nature of the country meant that he did not stay there long either. He therefore also returned and greeted his mother, who was now deprived of all the hopes that she had placed in her sons. And then he returned to his wife in Lombardy.

## 6. The Catlans ravaged the Byzantine cities on the coast of the Sea of Marmora

6 ζ'. (A.) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον. τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς εἰρήσονται ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Κατελάνους αὐθις τρεπτέον τὸν λόγον. οὗτοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸν γενόμενον περὶ τοὺς Ἄπρους πόλεμον ἐπαρθέντες τῇ τε νίκῃ καὶ τῇ <sup>20</sup> τῶν Τουρκοπούλων συμμαχία, οἱ ὡς εἰρήκειμεν Ῥωμαίους ἀφέντες ἠτομόλησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, συχναῖς χρησάμενοι ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς καὶ ἐφόδοις ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δυοὶ πᾶσαν ἔρημον καὶ ἀτριβῆ πεποιήκεσαν τὴν τε παράλιον καὶ μεσόγειον χώραν, ὀπόση τε ἄχρι Μαρωνείας τε καὶ Ῥοδόπης καὶ ἄχρι Βιζύης διήκει. ἔπειτα ἀπογόντες <sup>25</sup> ἐντεῦθεν τῶν χρειωδῶν ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω πορεύεσθαι (B245) τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ληϊζόμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ἀποχρῶσαν καὶ μόνιμον εὐρωσιν οἴκησιν. καὶ δὲ διαβάντες τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν ὄρεινὴν τῆς Ῥοδόπης ἦσαν ἀδεῶς λαφύρων συχνῶν ἑαυτοὺς

6 1. That is how things happened at that time. I will later recount to you how events unfolded, but for now we must return to the Catalans. After the battle at Apro, the Catalans felt strengthened from their victory and from the alliance with the Turcopouls who, as has been said, had deserted the Romans and defected to them. They repeatedly plundered the coast and the interior for two whole years [1305-1306], as far as Maroneia and Rhodope and as far as Bizye and transformed it into an uninhabited desert. Then they lost hope of making a living from there and decided to move on. By plundering whatever they could find, they hoped that they would find a suitable place to permanently dwell. They trekked through the coastal mountains of Rhodope [between April and July 1307] and enriched themselves with great booty with impunity. Cavalry and infantry

ἐμπιπλῶντες. ἦσαν δ' ὁμοῦ χιλιάδες, τὸ μὲν τῶν Τούρκων πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τὰς δύο τό, τε |5 πεζὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰππέων· τὸ δὲ τῶν Κατελάνων ὑπὲρ τὰς πέντε, ὅσον τε ἐν ἰππεῦσι καὶ ὅσον πεζόν.

(B.) Τοῦ τε μετοπώρου μεσοῦντος, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἄρκτοῦρος ἄρχεται ἐπιτέλλειν, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος τροφῆς παρασκευάζειν βουλόμενοι εἰσβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας κόμας· κάκει τὰ πλεῖστα |<sup>10</sup> καταστρεψάμενοι καὶ πολλῆς ἑαυτοῦς τῆς ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐμπλήσαντες ὠφελείας στρατοπεδεύουσι περὶ τὴν Κασανδρείαν. πόλις δὲ αὕτη πάλα μὲν οὔσα περιφανῆς, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἔρημος. ὃ γε μὴν περὶ αὐτὴν χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ὢν ἐς στρατοπεδείαν καὶ χειμερίαν καταγωγὴν ὑποδέχεται, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, καὶ τὸν |<sup>15</sup> τῶν Κατελάνων πλανήτην στρατόν. ἄκρα γάρ ἐστι προμήκης εἰς θάλασσαν, κόλποις οὐ μικροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν περιειλημμένη, δι' ὧν ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ὥραις τὸ τῆς χιόνος ἀποσειεται ὑπερβάλλον. ἔαρος δ' ἄρχομένου ἄραντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεχείρουν ταῖς ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς τὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων κεφάλαιον ἢ Θεσσαλονίκη ἐτύγχανεν. |<sup>20</sup> ὄντο γὰρ, ὡς εἰ ταύτης γένοιτο πρότερον ἐγκρατεῖς μεγάλης τε καὶ πολλῶ τῶ πλούτῳ βριθούσης καὶ μάλιστα νῦν ὅτε καὶ τὰς βασιλίδας ἤκουον εἶναι ἐντὸς, Εἰρήνην φημί καὶ Μαρίαν, μηδὲν εἶναι ἐξῆς τὸ κωλύον πάσης ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ὀρμητηρίου τῆς ἄλλης (B246) Μακεδονίας δεσπότης γενέσθαι.

(Γ.) Ἄλλ' ἔφθη τὴν τούτων προεκτεμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίνοιαν. πέμψας γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὴν Χριστούπολιν μακρὸν ἔκτισε τεῖχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μέχρι τῆς τοῦ παρακειμένου ὄρους ἀκρωνυχίας· ὡς ἄβατον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον |<sup>5</sup> καθάπαξ μὴ βουλομένῳ τῶ βασιλεῖ τοῖς τ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐς Θράκην ἐθέλουσι διαβαίνειν, τοῖς τ' ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔπειτα ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τὴν τῶν Κατελάνων αἰχμὴν ἐπίδοξον οὐσαν ὀρμήσειν ἔαρος ἄρχομένου κατὰ τε Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεων, στρατηγούς ἀπολέξας ὅποσοι τὰ πολέμια ἦσαν οὐκ |<sup>10</sup> ἀδαιεῖς πέμπει στρατολογήσοντας ἐκ Μακεδονίας, οἱ ἔσονται ἱκανοὶ φύλακες τῶν ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεων, εἰ βούλοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι περικαθίσαντες ταύτας πολιορκεῖν, ἄφθονά τε τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν προαστείων ἐν ταύταις ξυναθροίσοντας καὶ πάντα ἄλλα εὔ διαθήσοντας, ἵνα μὴ τῶ τῆς πολιορκίας καιρῶ |<sup>15</sup> μείζονα τῆς ἐξῶθεν εὐρωσιν οἱ φύλακες τὴν ἐνδοθεν πολιορκίαν ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

(Δ.) Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἦρος ἤδη ἐνστάντος ἄραντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τῆς Κασανδρείας, οἱ μὲν ἀγχιστά που τῶν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης προαστείων ἠύλισαντο· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξίσαιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε χώραν εὗρον ἅπασαν τῶν τε οἰκητόρων ἔρημον, καὶ ὅσα |<sup>20</sup>

counted together, the Turks numbered over two thousand, but that of the Catalans numbered over five thousand.

2. It was mid-autumn, when the star Arcturus was rising, when they invaded the villages of Macedonia in order to stock up on provisions for the winter. After they had destroyed most of everything there and plundered a rich booty, they set up camp near Cassandra. This city used to be famous, but now it is almost uninhabited. The area around the city was suitable for setting up winter camp and, as I have mentioned, it also received the wandering army of the Catalans. It forms a long tongue of land that is enclosed on both sides by large gulfs. In the winter season these latter receive abundant amounts of snow. They set out from there at the beginning of spring [1308] and they attacked the cities of Macedonia. They had the highest expectations from Thessalonica. They considered this city to be great and very rich, even more so now that they had heard that two empresses, Eirene, and Maria, were staying in it. They therefore believed that once they had got this city under their power, nothing could prevent them from using it as a base for operations to become the lords of all Macedonia.

3. But the Emperor forestalled this plan. First of all, he sent out the people who were at Christopoulos and built a long wall from the sea to the top of the near mountain. This place was thus converted into a barrier that made it impossible for anyone to move from Macedonia to Thrace or from Thrace to Macedonia against the will of the Emperor. But he also knew that the Catalan forces were threatening to move out against Macedonia and the cities of Macedonia at the beginning of spring. He therefore selected experienced military leaders and sent them to Macedonia in order to mobilize troops there that could adequately protect the cities of Macedonia against a possible siege by the enemy. They were also to bring enough food from the settlements outside the walls to the cities and arrange everything else properly. In the event of a siege, it was important that the defenders did not find themselves more distressed by hunger from within than by the enemy from without.

4. When spring arrived, the enemies of Kassandra had already left. Some camped very close to the outskirts of Thessalonica, while others went out to loot. But they found the whole area to have been deserted by the residents. These latter had

ἐνὴν αὐτοῖς ποιμνία καὶ βουκόλια, καὶ αὖ τὰς πόλεις πολλοῖς τοῖς ὄπλοις ὠχυρωμένας, ἔγνωσαν αὐθις ἐπὶ Θράκην ἐπανιέναι· μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι σφισι τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐκεῖ καθημένους τριβεῖν τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς φθειρομένους εἰκῆ συγχωρεῖν. μηδὲ γὰρ ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοσαύτην τε ἵππον ἄγουσι, τοσοῦτους (B247) δὲ αἰχμαλώτους, οὐχ ἦττοσιν ἢ ὀκτακισχιλίοις οὖσι δὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς, κίνδυνον εἶναι προφανῆ φθαρέντας οἴχεσθαι τῷ λιμῷ. ἀλλ' οὐπω τὰ δόξαντα γέγονεν ἔκπυστα τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πυνθάνονται παρά του τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὡς ἀπόρευτος |<sup>5</sup> ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς Θράκην ὁδός, τοῦ πρὸ βραχέος ἀνεγερθέντος περὶ τὴν Χριστούπολιν μακροῦ τείχους ἀποκλείοντος τὸ παράπαν αὐτούς.

(E.) Τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσαν ἀκουσθὲν προσδοκίαν ἐξέπληξε καὶ πρὸς ἀμηχανίαν ἤλασε λογισμῶν· καὶ οὐκ εἶχον ὅ,τι καὶ γένοιτο τῷ τε λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι καὶ ἅμα δεδιότες μὴ τὰ τοῖς ἐν |<sup>10</sup> Μακεδονία Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοροῦντα ἔθνη τὴν αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ἔφοδον ὑποπτεύοντα παροξύνωσιν ἀλλήλους, Ἰλλυριοὶ τε δηλαδὴ καὶ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Ἀκαρναῖες καὶ Θετταλοὶ, καὶ συνασπισμὸν ποιησάμενοι κυκλώσονται τούτους καὶ πάντας ἄρδην οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅποι φυγόντες τὴν σώζουσιν εὕρωσι διαφθείρωσιν. ὅθεν ἔδοξε τούτοις |<sup>15</sup> ὡς ἐν ἀνάγκῃ καιρῷ μανικώτερον ἢ τολμηρότερον ἄψασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ἔδοξε γὰρ μηδὲν μελλήσασιν ὁμόσε τοῖς πρόσω χωρεῖν τὴν ταχίστην καὶ ἢ τὴν τῶν Θετταλῶν χώραν ἄφθονα φέρουσιν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτήδεια ἔξιν αἰχμάλωτον, ἢ τῶν ἐπέκεινα μίαν, ὅποσαι ἐφεξῆς εἰσὶν ἄχρι Πελοποννήσου, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ |<sup>20</sup> μιάς τινας χώρας τὴν οἴκησιν ἰδρυσάμενοι τῆς μακρᾶς ἀπαλλάξαι γε πλάνης· ἢ τὸ γε δευτέρον, σπείσαμένους τινὶ τῶν παραθαλαττίων ἐθνῶν ἀκόλυτον εἰληφέναι τὸν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἀπόπλουν. ἄραντες οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς Θετταλίας (B248) ὄρη· Ὀλυμπος ταῦτα καὶ Ὅσσα καὶ Πήλειον· ὧν ἄγχιστά που στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐπόρθουν τὴν χώραν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνεπίμπλων ἀφθόνων τῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μικροῦ με παρέδραμεν. ἀναληπτέον οὖν, ἵνα καθ' εἰρμὸν ὁ λόγος |<sup>5</sup> ὀδεύη.

(ζ'.) Συνεστράτευον τοῖς Λατίνοις, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ Τοῦρκοι τρισχίλιοι· ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους ἔφαμεν εἶναι τοὺς ἐναπολειφθέντας ἅμα τῷ Μελίκ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σουλτάν Ἀζατίνης πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας φυγὴν τῷ τε θείῳ βαπτίσματι τελεσθέντας καὶ συγκαταλεγέντας μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων |<sup>10</sup> διαδοχαῖς αὐξηθέντας, ὕστερον δ' ἀποστατήσαντας μὲν Ῥωμαίων, προσρυνέντας δὲ τῷ τῶν Κατελάνων στρατῷ, ὅποτε συρρήγνυσθαι κατ'

taken their cattle and herds with them, and the cities were also occupied by heavy troops. So they decided to return to Thrace, realizing that they could not afford to sit there wasting their time and letting themselves be ruined. They had a large body of cavalry and many prisoners of war, but they did not have the necessary provisions with them. As they numbered no less than eight thousand men, there was a very real danger of starvation. Scarcely had this decision been made known to the mass of soldiers than they learned from the prisoners of war that the route to Thrace was shut off. The long wall recently erected at Christopoulos completely closed access to them.

5. This news came totally unexpectedly for the Catalans. It terrified them and made them perplexed. They did not know what was to become of them. They saw themselves threatened by hunger and feared that the neighbouring peoples of Roman Macedonia, each expecting their own attack, would incite each other to fight against them. If these Illyrians, Triballians, Acarnanians and Thessalians formed a war alliance, they could be encircled and everyone up to the last man cut down with no escape for them. Seemingly cornered, they decided on being foolhardy rather than brave. Their decision was to advance as quickly as possible without hesitation and either subdue Thessaly, which offered them everything they needed to live in abundance or conquer one of the areas lying behind Thessaly as far as the Peloponnese. So, either they wanted to settle somewhere and end their long wanderings, or, as a second option, enter into a treaty with one of the coastal peoples so that they could return home unhindered. So, they set out from there and in three days reached the mountains on the border of Thessaly, Mount Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion. They set up camp nearby, devastated the area and provided themselves with plenty of the necessary food. I almost skipped the following. So, we have to go back a bit for my narrative to progress properly.

6. I almost skipped the following. So, we have to go back a bit for my narrative to progress properly. As I have reported, three thousand Turks went with the Latins. Eleven hundred of them led by Melik, as I have said, were made up of the people who remained after the flight of the Sultan Azatine to the Scythians. They had received holy baptism and had been admitted into the Roman army. With the succession of their children, their number had increased. Later they defected from the Romans to the Catalans. That

ἀλλήλων ἔμελλον τὰ στρατεύματα κατὰ τὰς περὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἄπρω πεδιάδας· τοὺς δὲ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἅμα τῷ Χαλήλ ἐξ Ἀσίας διαπεραιωθέντας ἐς μισθοφορικὴν συμμαχίαν<sup>15</sup> τῶν Κατελάνων. τῶν οὖν Κατελάνων τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ὀδευόντων, ἤρξαντο κατ' αὐτῶν στασιάζειν οἱ Τούρκοι τὴν σφῶν συνδιαίτησιν ὑποπεύοντες καὶ οὐ μάλα τοι σφόδρα ἀκίνδυνον ἐσομένην οἰόμενοι. συστάντες οὖν οἱ τῶν Τουρκικῶν στρατευμάτων ἡγεμονεῦοντες, ὃ, τε Μελῆκ καὶ ὁ Χαλήλ, τῷ τῶν<sup>20</sup> Κατελάνων ἀρχηγῷ λόγους περὶ τῆς ἅμα εἰρήνῃ διαλύσεως κεκινήκασιν. οὗ δὴ προθύμως τὴν αἴτησιν δεξαμένου (οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ἀπαλλαγῆσι χρειάδης ἐτύγχανεν ἢ τῶν Τούρκων ἔκδημος συστρατεία) ἄσμενοι διελέλυτο τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους (B249) καὶ ὅσα ἐπέφεροντο λάφυρα διανεμιάμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἑκατέρους τοῖς μέρεσιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν Τούρκων πλειόνων δεόμενα λόγων ἐροῦμεν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς.

### 7. The Catalans in Thessaly

7 ζ'. (A.) Οἱ δὲ Κατελάνοι τῶν Τούρκων ἤδη ἀπαλλαγέντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἦσαν παραχειμάζοντες πρὸ τῶν ὄρων τοῦ τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης, ὡς ἔφαμεν. ἔαρος δ' ἐπιστάντος ἄραντες ἐκεῖθεν διαβαίνουσι τὰς τε τῶν ὄρων κορυφὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις Τέμπη· καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ θέρος, ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὰ Θεσσαλικά πεδία. ἐνθα δὴ χώραν εὐρόντες ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ πῖονα ὅλον ἐκεῖ διατετρίψασιν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν τε χώραν δηοῦντες καὶ διαφθείροντες<sup>10</sup> ὅσα μὴ ἐντὸς ἦσαν τειχῶν μηδενὸς ἀντιτατομένου. εἶχε γὰρ ἀσθενῶς τηλικαῦτα τὰ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν πράγματα, τοῦ διέποντος ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν νέου τε ὄντος τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀπείρως ἔχοντος ἐς πραγμάτων μεγάλων διοίκησιν καὶ ἄλλως νόσῳ δαπανωμένου<sup>15</sup> μακρῶ καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω τεθνήξεσθαι μέλλοντος καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ καταλύσειν τὴν μέχρις αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν τῆς τῶν προγόνων καὶ σεβαστοκρατόρων ἀρχῆς. γυναῖκα μὲν γὰρ οὗτος ἠγάγετο ἑαυτῷ πρὸ βραχέος Εἰρήνην, τὴν νόθην τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου θυγατέρα· παῖδα δὲ μετ' αὐτῆς οὐ γεγέννηκεν, ὅς ἂν αὐτῷ τῆς<sup>20</sup> ἀρχῆς καταστῆ διάδοχος. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλημμελῶς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐφέροντο πράγματα. πλείονα δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ὄδιον ταραχὴν τε καὶ στάσιν ἕνεκα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀδηλίας ἔτι κεκαλυμμένου βυθοῖς τοῦ ταύτην διαδεξομένου. καὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος τῆς χώρας ἐσχάτη νόσῳ πιεζομένου καὶ τῶν πολεμίων (B250) δίκην φλογὸς ἐπιόντων καὶ νεμομένων τὴν χώραν ἔδοξε τῇ τῶν προεχόντων ἐκεῖ κατὰ γένος βουλῇ, χρήμασι περιελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δωρεῶν ἀβροτέρων ὄνιον

was just before the battle at Apros. The majority of the Turks, however, were the people who had come over from Asia under the leadership of Khalil to help the Catalans as mercenaries in the war. As has been said, when the Catalans marched into Thessaly, the Turks began to rebel against them. They no longer had any confidence in working with them, and in the long run they considered it dangerous for themselves. The leaders of the Turks, who were Melik and Khalil, therefore met with the leader of the Catalans and opened negotiations for a peaceful split. He gladly complied with their request. The Catalans no longer needed the help of the Turks since they had left Roman territory. The prisoners of war and the spoils that they had taken were divided up appropriately and they parted happily. Below I will have more to tell below about the further history of the Turks.

7 1. After the Catalans separated from the Turks, they remained on their own and wintered [1308-1309], as has been said, in front of Mount Olympus and Ossa. When spring came they set out from there and marched over the tops of the mountains and through Tempe in between. Before summer had come, they invaded the Thessaly plains. They found there an excellent and fertile region and stayed the whole year [1309-1310]. During this time, they devastated the country and, without encountering any resistance, destroyed everything that was not protected by the city walls. The Thessalonian state was weak at the time since its ruler was young and inexperienced in high-level politics. He also suffered from a chronic illness and was in danger of dying at any moment. The sebastocrator rule he had inherited from his ancestors would have ended with him. Although he had shortly before married Eirene, the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Andronicus, he had not fathered any child with her who could possibly succeed him. That is why affairs there were not as they should be, and even greater unrest and upheaval threatened for the future, for it was still entirely unclear who would succeed him. Since the ruler of the country was dying and the enemies were attacking and destroying the area like wildfire, the council of the chiefs of the country decided to influence the enemies with money and buy the goodwill of the leaders with lavish gifts before these things that had been given to them could be stolen by enemy hands. They would also promise them guides to

ἐσχηκέναι τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἡγεμόνων, πρὶν ταῦτα αὐτοὺς ἀφελεῖν πολεμῖα χειρὶ, <sup>5</sup> δώσειν τε ὑποσχέσθαι πομποὺς τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Βοιωτίαν, χώραν ἀβράν τε καὶ εὐκαρπον καὶ πολλὰς κεκτημένην τὰς χάριτας καὶ ἅμα πρὸς οἰκησὶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην πασῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ συμμαχίας δέοιντο, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μάλα προθύμως τελεῖν καὶ φίλους εἶναι σφίσι διὰ βίου.

(B.) Τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Λατίνοις <sup>10</sup> ἀρεστόν τε ἔδοξε καὶ μάλα δήπου κατὰ γνώμην. ἔφασαν γάρ, ὡς εἰ πολέμῳ καὶ μάχῃ τὰ τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἐπιτρέψαιμεν, ἢ τε χώρα φθαρήσεται τὰ τε πράγματα συντριβήσονται κακὰ πολλῶν ἐς στενὸν κομιδῆ συνελαθήσονται, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμῖν ἢ πᾶσα σπουδὴ. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῆς νίκης οἷ προχωρήσει, τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὃς ἐξέπίσταται <sup>15</sup> πλὴν ἢ θεός. ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀμφισβητήσιμα ταῦτα καὶ οὐδαμῆ πω σαφῆ. εἰ γὰρ αἱ πλείους ζυγνυχίαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπίσης εἰσὶν ἐπιζόμεναι, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ σφίσι τὸ περιγενέσθαι συμβάλλεται ἢ περ ἡμῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστι πιστόν τι ἐχέγγυον ἐς τὸ μέλλον περὶ τῆς νίκης, οὔτ' αὐτοῖς ἀπλανῆς εἶ <sup>20</sup> τις περὶ ταύτης δόξα πρόσσεστιν. αἶ τε γὰρ δυσχωρία τῶν ὄρων, οἷς ἢ φύσις πολλαχόθεν τὴν χώραν ὠχύρωσεν, ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ θάρσος τοῖς ἔχουσι δίδωσι· τὰ τε φρούρια ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν ἰδρυμένα τῶν τόπων ἀμήχανον ἡμῖν παρέξει τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὥστε ὁποτέρως ἔξει τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ εὐόδα τὰ τῆς ἀποβάσεως ἡμῖν ἀπαντᾶ (B251) οὕτως ἐπὶ ξένης πλανωμένοις καὶ ἀλλοτρίας καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς οἰκείας ἀπωκισμένοις, τῶν οὖν ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη, παρὸν ἐμπλῆσαι τοσοῦτων χρημάτων τὰς δεξιὰς ἄνευ πόνων καὶ ἅμα συμμάχων καὶ φίλων εὐπορήσαι τοιούτων, ἔπειτα παραδραμόντας ὑπὲρ ἀδήλων <sup>5</sup> ἐλπίδων μεγάλους ἀναδέχεσθαι κινδύνους.

(Γ.) Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι συνιδόντες καὶ οὕτω διασκεψάμενοι σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμβάσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τίθενται πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς· καὶ ἅμα ἦρι τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τοὺς πομποὺς παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότες ὑπερβάλλουσι τὰ μετὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὄρη· καὶ διαβάντες τὰς Θερμοπύλας <sup>10</sup> στρατοπεδεύουσι περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν Κηφισόν· ὃς μέγιστος ὢν ῥήγνυται μὲν ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ Παρνασσῶ, κάτεισι δὲ πρὸς ἕω τὸ ῥεῦμα κινῶν, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτους ποιούμενος τοὺς τε Ὀπουντίους καὶ Ἐπικνήμιδας Λοκροὺς, πρὸς δὲ μεσημβρίαν καὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὴν μεσόγειον ἅπασαν τῆς τε <sup>15</sup> Ἀχαΐας καὶ Βοιωτίας· μέγιστος μὲν καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ἄχρι τῶν περὶ Λεμβαδίαν τε καὶ Ἀλιάρτον πεδιάδων τηρούμενος, ἔπειτα πρὸς δύο σχιζόμενος ῥεῦματα καὶ ἐς Ἀσωπόν τε καὶ Ἰσμηνὸν μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ διὰ μὲν Ἀσωποῦ τέμνων τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι θαλάττης· διὰ δ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τῆς

accompany them to Achaea and Boeotia, a glorious and fertile region, with many charms, and the most suitable one of all for dwelling. Moreover, if the Catalans needed alliances, they would be happy to do that too, and they wanted to be friends with them for life.

2. The Latins were also pleased with this since it corresponded entirely to their wish. They said to themselves: "If we wage war and struggle, the land will be devastated, and its wealth will be destroyed. We would then return from the abundance to the scarcity of everything to which all our effort had been directed. Moreover, no one knows but God who will win. This is always doubtful and never clear to us humans. Everyone hopes for a happy ending, and our opponents expect victory just as much as we do. As for victory, we have no right to inherit it for the future, and our expectations of what they may have may also be wrong. The impassability of the mountains, with which nature has fortified the country from many sides, offers its dwellers security and lends them courage, and the high fortresses make a siege impossible for us. Therefore, whatever the case may be, it will not be easy by any means for us who are wandering about in foreign countries far from our fatherland. It would also be very unreasonable to have the opportunity to obtain so much money without effort, turn down such friends and allies, and to face great dangers on the basis of uncertain hopes."

3. Based on these insights and considerations, the Catalans signed a contract on the terms mentioned with the Thessalonians. At the beginning of the spring [1310] they received money and companions from them and went over the mountains on the other border of Thessaly. They crossed the pass of Thermopylae and encamped at Locris on the river Cephissus. This great river rises from the Parnassus and flows in an easterly direction. It forms the southern border against the Opuntia and Epicnemidian Locris, the northern and eastern borders for the whole interior of Achaea and Boeotia. It remains very broad and unramified as far as the plains of Levadia and Haliartus, and then divides into two rivers named the Asopus and the Ismenus. The Asopus flows through the Attic land into the sea and the Ismenus flows into the straits of Euboea near Aulis, where the heroes of Hellas are said to have anchored when they gathered for the voyage to

Εὐβοίας θαλάττη |<sup>20</sup> σπενδόμενος περι τὰ τῆς Αὐλίδος προαύλια· ἔνθα πάλαι τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν ναυστολοῦντας Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ ἥρωας τὰ πρῶτα προσεσηκέναι τε καὶ αὐλίσασθαι λέγουσιν.

(Δ.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπύθετο ἔφοδον ὁ τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Θηβῶν διέπων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην ἔχων ἅπασαν, ὃς δὴ καὶ (B252) μέγας μὲν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκειμεν, ἐπωνόμαστο πριμμικῆριος, τῆς δὲ λέξεως ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διαφθαρείσης μέγας ἐλέγετο κύριος· οὗτος τοῖνυν δίοδον μὲν αἰτήσασι τοῖς Κατελάνοις οὐ βεβούληται δοῦναι, ὥσθ' ὅποι βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι διὰ τῆς χώρας |<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἀλλὰ μακρὰν τὴν ὄφρυν διὰ τῆς γλώττης ἐπιδειξάμενος καὶ πολὺν τὸν μυκτῆρα κατ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐ φροντίδος μεγάλης μάλα ἀξίων καταχεάμενος ἤθροϊζε τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ τε φθινοπώρου καὶ χειμῶνος ἐς ἔαρ. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κατελάνοι ὡς ἢ τεθνηξόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ ἢ ζήσοντες εὐκλεῶς.

|<sup>10</sup> (Ε.) Ἔαρος μὲν οὖν ἐπιγενομένου διαβάντες οἱ Κατελάνοι τὸν Κηφιστὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περι τὴν Βοιωτίαν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αὐτοῦ που συστήναι τὸν πόλεμον περιμένοντες. ἦσαν μὲν οὖν τῶν Κατελάνων οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς πεντακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν τετρακισχίλιοι· οἷς καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διὰ |<sup>15</sup> τὴν τῆς τοξικῆς εὐφυΐαν συγκατελέγησαν. ἀκηκοότες δ' ὅσον οὐδέπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφεστήξοντας ἀροῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἅπασαν, ἔνθα συστήναι τὸν πόλεμον ἔγνωσαν. ἔπειτα περιταφρεύσαντες καὶ διώρυχας ἀνοίξαντες ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄλον ἄρ δέουσι τὸ πεδίον οὕτω πλουσίως, ὥστε ἐλλιμνάζειν καὶ ἀνίσχυρον |<sup>20</sup> τὴν βάσιν τῶν ἵππων ποιεῖν, συγχωνυμένων τῷ πηλῷ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐχόντων κινεῖσθαι.

(Ζ'.) Καὶ μὴν δὴ μεσοῦντος ἔαρος ἐφίσταται καὶ ὁ τῆς χώρας ἀρχηγὸς πολὺν ἐπαγόμενος στρατὸν συγκεκροτημένον ἐκ τε Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ ὅσοι Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Μεγαρέων ὑπῆρχον |<sup>25</sup> ἐπίλεκτοι. ἱππεῖς μὲν οὖν ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι τούτῳ καὶ τετρακόσιοι. (B253) πεζοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους· οἷσιν δὲ καὶ φρόνημα πολὺ τὸ παράλογον κεκτημένη. ἠλπίζε γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς Κατελάνους αὐτίκα συγκατασφάξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας ἐφεξῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεις ἄχρι τῆς Βυζαντίδος ἕξειν ὑποχειρίους. τὸ δὲ ἦν πᾶν |<sup>5</sup> τούναντίον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμπεν ἔκβασιν, παίγνιον ἐν βραχεῖ τῶν πολεμίων καθίσταται. θεασάμενος γὰρ τὸ πεδίον πολλῇ τῇ χλόῃ τῆς πόας κατάκομον καὶ μηδὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπονοήσας βοῆ καὶ παρακελεύσασιν ἅμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πᾶσιν ἱππεῦσιν ὄρμᾳ κατὰ τῶν |<sup>10</sup> πολεμίων, ἀκινήτων ἔξω τοῦ πεδίου κατὰ χώραν ἐστῶτων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶντων ἔφοδον. ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν τὸ

Troy.

4. The ruler of Athens and Thebes and the whole region found out about the approach of the enemy. As I said above, this ruler was called Great Primicerius, but he was popularly called Great Kyrios due to a distortion of the pronunciation. Now when the Catalans asked him to traverse his territory wherever they wished to go, he would not allow them. He spoke of them with great arrogance and contempt, as if they did not require much thought. He thus mobilized his forces during the autumn and winter and up to the spring. The Catalans also armed themselves. They wanted either to die in the war or to live in glory in the future.

5. When spring came [1311] the Catalans crossed the Cephissus and camped not far from the river in Boeotia. There they hoped to deliver the battle. The Catalan cavalry numbered 3,500 and their infantry 4,000. Many good archers from the prisoners of war were also incorporated into the latter division. When they heard that the enemies were about to appear, they ploughed up all the ground where they had decided to fight. Then they dug a ditch all around and channelled plenty of water from the river into the plain. In this way, they made a pool out of it, which offered no solid ground for the horses. Stuck in the mud, they would barely be able to move their hooves.

6. When spring was half over, the ruler of the land appeared with a large army. It was a conglomerate of Thebans, Athenians, Plataea, and a selection of Lockrians, Phocaeans and Megarans. He disposed of over 6,400 horsemen, more than 8,000 infantry and an excess of self-conceit and arrogance. He not only hoped to immediately smash the Catalans, but also to subdue the whole area and all the cities up to Byzantium. But the opposite occurred. Because he relied on himself and did not leave things in the hands of God, he quickly became the laughingstock of his enemies. He saw the plain overgrown with thick green grass and had no idea what had happened. So, he shouted encouragement to his people, and charged with all his cavalry at the enemy, who stood motionless on the edge of the plain, awaiting the attack. Before the horses even reached the middle of the plain, they got stuck.



πεδίου, ὡσπερ στερῶν τινη πεδηθέντες οἱ ἵπποι δεσμῶ τῶ τῆς ὑγρανθείσης γῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ποδῶν θραυστέραν βάσιν μάλα ὑπέκοντι, οἱ μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐκυλίοντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ·<sup>15</sup> οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἱπέας ἀποβαλόντες πλημμελῶς ἐφέροντο κατὰ τοῦ πεδίου· οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας συγκαταχώσαντες ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἴσταντο, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀνέχοντες. οἱ μὲντοι Κατελάνοι ἀναθαρσήσαντες πρὸς τὰ δρώμενα παντοδαποῖς κυκλωσά μενοι βέλεσιν τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας ἄρδην κατέσφαξαν· κάπειτα<sup>20</sup> εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξιπασάμενοι τοὺς φεύγοντας κατόπιν ἐδίωκον ἄχρι Θηβῶν τε καὶ Ἀθηνῶν· ἃς δὴ καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπεισεσόντες ῥᾶστα χειροῦνται αὐτοῖς χρήμασι καὶ αὐταῖς γυναιξί τε καὶ τέκνοις. οὕτω τοῖνυν ὡσπερ ἐν κύβοις ἐξαίφνης μεταπεσοῦσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ Κατελάνοι γενόμενοι τῆς τε μακρᾶς πλάνης<sup>25</sup> ἀπῆλλαξαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεόν ἡρέμα τοὺς ὄρους (B254) οὐ λήγουσιν ἄχρι καὶ τήμερον αὖξοντες ἧς ἔσχον αὐθεντίας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν Κατελάνων οὕτως ἔσχευ.

### 8. The adventures of Khalil and his fellow Turks in Europe

8 η'. (A.) Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι μετὰ τὸ διαστήναι τῶν Κατελάνων εἰς δύο σχίζονται μοίρας· καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶ Χαλήλ, οἱ δὲ τῶ Μελήκ<sup>3</sup> ἔπονται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μελήκ ἐπειδὴ τῶ θεῖῳ βαπτίσματι πρότερον τελεσθεὶς μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς γε ἱκανοὺς τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπολαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα τοὺς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠθετηκῶς ὄρκους καὶ ἀποστέρξας τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας θεσμούς τε καὶ νόμους πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐχθροὺς ἠτομόλησεν, ἀνέλπιστον<sup>10</sup> τὸ παράπαν ἐνόμιζε τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἤδη φιλίαν. ἐν τεύθειν εἴλετο μᾶλλον προσιέναι καλοῦντι τῶ Κράλῃ Σερβίας, ἣ Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν· καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἅμα χιλίοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεντακοσίοις πεζοῖς τὰ τε ὄπλα ἔθεντο καὶ τὴν ἵππον πᾶσαν παρέδοσαν τῶ Κράλῃ Σερβίας κελεύσαντι, καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν τινα ζῆν<sup>15</sup> προσετάχθησαν βίον, πλὴν ἐν μόνῳ πολέμου καὶ χρείας τοιαύτης καιρῶ τὰ ὄπλα λαμβάνοντας, ὅσους ἂν ἐπιτάξειεν αὐτοὺς, ἔπεσθαι τῶ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν στρατεύματι.

(B.) Ὁ δὲ Χαλήλ περιμεΐνας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ μετὰ τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἱπέων καὶ πεζῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐζήτηε σπεύσασθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ δυοῖν, ἵνα τε τὰ περὶ τὴν<sup>20</sup> Χριστούπολιν ἀφθεῖεν στενὰ διελθεῖν, καὶ ἵνα Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ναυσὶ διαπεραιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἑλλησπόντιον πορθμὸν ἀπέλθωσιν ἐς τὰ οἴκοι μετὰ τῆς λείας ἧς ἐπεφέροντο πάσης. ταύτης δὴ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκηκοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὄσσην καὶ οἶαν ἐπήγαγον (B255) τὴν φθορὰν τῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεία, ὡσπερ τι βαρύτατον ἄχθος

The wet earth gave way particularly under the stormy ride and held the horses imprisoned as if with strong chains. Some of the horses rolled in the mud with their riders, others lost their masters and strayed across the plain, others got stuck with their hooves so deeply that they remained in one place like equestrian statues. This process encouraged the Catalans who surrounded the enemies and killed them with arrows right up to the last man. They then immediately followed the fugitives with cavalry and pursued them to Thebes and Athens. With their unexpected attack, they easily captured these cities, along with their wealth, women, and children. Suddenly, like a game of dice, the power fell to the Catalans, and they were able to happily end their long odyssey. Since then, up to the present day they have not ceased to gradually expand the frontiers of their dominion. That was the story of the Catalans.

8 1. After splitting from the Catalans; the Turks divided into two groups: one followed Khalil and the other Melik. Melik had previously been baptised along with his people and had received ample pay from the Emperor. He later broke his oath of allegiance, disregarded the commandments and laws of religion, and defected to the enemies of the Romans. That is why he had absolutely no hope of being able to make friends with the Romans, and Khalil accepted an invitation from the Kraal of Serbia to come face to face with them. He went there with a thousand cavalymen and five hundred foot soldiers and by order handed over arms and horses to the Kraal of Serbia. In the future, he and his people were to lead a middle-class urban life. Only when war so required, should a number to be determined by the Kraal take up arms again and march out with the Triballian (i.e. Serbian) army.

2. With 1,300 cavalry and 800 infantry in Macedonia, Khalil tried to come to a treaty with the Romans. He made two demands: that he should be allowed to pass through the mountains at Christopoulos, with the Roman ships over the Hellespont and that he should be allowed to return to his homeland with the entire booty. The Emperor gave audience to the embassy and remembered what terrible damage they had done to the territory of the Romans. That is why he wanted to shake them off as quickly as possible,

ὅσον τάχος ἀποφορτίσασθαι τούτους ἐβούλετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀποστείλας εὐθὺς τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν τὸν προὔχοντα τὸν Σεναχηρεῖμ, μέγαν στρατοπεδάρχην τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντα μετὰ τρισχιλίων <sup>5</sup> ἰπέων, διεβίβαζεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ Μακεδονίας εἰς Θράκην ἄχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων θεασαμένοις τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τε ἵππου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πάσης καὶ παντοίας λείας, ὅπερ ἔχοντες ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἔμελλον οἱ ἔχθροὶ διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἄτοπον ἔδοξεν ἔκουσίσις τοῦτο <sup>10</sup> γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς. εἴτε γοῦν οἶκτον τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σχόντες πραγμάτων, εἴτε κέρδους καὶ λημμάτων παραχθέντες ἐλπίδι πρὸς ἄλλοτρίους τῶν συνθηκῶν τε καὶ σπονδῶν ἐβάδισαν λογισμοῦς, οὔτε ναῦς ἐδίδουν, αἱ πρὸς Ἀσίαν αὐτοὺς διαβιβάζειν ἔμελλον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσθαι σφίσι ἐσκέψαντο.

(Γ.) Τοῦτο τοὺς <sup>15</sup> Τούρκους οὐκ ἐλελήθει. διὸ καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀμείψαντες παρεσκευάζοντο δέξασθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων μάχην· μᾶλλον δὲ δραμόντες αἰροῦσιν ἐν τῶν παρακειμένων φρουρίων, κάκειθεν ὡς ἐξ ὄρμη τηρίου πρὸς μάχας καὶ πολέμους ὠπλίζοντο. τοῦτο τὴν Ῥωμαίων μελέτην διέκοψε καὶ ὡς πορρώτατω τούτων αὐτοὺς στρατοπεδεύειν <sup>20</sup> ἠνάγκασεν, ἕως ἂν καὶ βασιλεῖ ποιήσωνται δῆλον τὸ ξυμβεβηκός. καὶ μέντοι καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐν τούτοις ἐτρίβετο χρόνος, εἰωθὸς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι ῥαθύμως χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν σπουδαίων πραγμάτων σκέμμασι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀμελεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ πέμπαντες ἐς Ἀσίαν πλείστην (B256) ἐκ τῶν ὁμοφύλων βαρβάρων ἐν βραχεῖ διεπεραιώσαντο συμμαχίαν. ὅθεν αἰεὶ παρεξιώντες καὶ αἰφνιδίους ἅμα καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλοθεν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἐφόδους ἐδήουν τὴν χώραν.

(Δ.) Τοῖς γε μὴν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων ἡγεμόσι τῶν <sup>5</sup> ἀτοπωτάτων ἐδόκει, καθημένους ὀρᾶν δηουμένην τὴν χώραν. διὸ πρὶν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἀρθῆναι θράσους τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὶν πλείονα τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπενεγκεῖν πράγμασι, δεῖν ἐνομίσθη τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ ἀναγκάσαντας ἅμα αὐτῶ πάντα στρατὸν συναθροῖσαι τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐκπολιορκήσαντας διαφθεῖραι τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗ δὴ γενομένου πάντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ πάντα <sup>10</sup> στρατεύματα περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἠθροίζοντο. οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι δῆτα ἀγροῦ καὶ δικέλλης ἀπόζουσι, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐκεῖ συνηλαύνοντο, δίκηλλαν ἔχοντες ἕκαστος καὶ σκαπάνην ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὡς πολεμήσοντες ἀπῆσαν, ὅσον ὡς ἐφ' <sup>15</sup> ἐτοιμῇ τῇ θήρᾳ, συγκαταχώσοντες αὐτοῖς πολεμίσις αὐτὸ τὸ φρούριον. ὅθεν ἄραντες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς σὺν γε

like a heavy burden. He immediately sent his best army commander Senachereim, then the Grand Stratopedarchēs, with three thousand cavalry and had the Turks escorted from Macedonia to Thrace and up to the Hellespont. The leaders and soldiers of the Romans saw their enemies attempting to cross over from Roman land to Asia with a vast booty of horses, money, and other wealth, and it seemed unheard of to allow this to happen. Either they were sorry about the situation of the Roman state, or they were seduced by the hope of gain and booty, but in any case they had ideas that conflicted with the agreement. They did not provide the Turks with ships for the crossing over to Asia and decided to attack them at night.

3. This did not go unnoticed by the Turks, who moved their camp and prepared to fight the Romans. They overran one of the nearby fortresses and prepared to use it as a base of operations to fight and wage war against the Romans. This thwarted the plan of the Romans and forced them to camp at a great distance from the Turks until they had informed the Emperor of the incident. The Romans lost much time in this because the Roman rulers have always had a habit of treating urgent matters carelessly. Meanwhile, the barbarians did not remain idle. In a short time, they themselves received considerable reinforcements from their tribal brothers in Asia and then they continued to make sudden and unexpected forays, this way and then that way, and devastated the country.

4. The leaders of the Roman troops found it most improper to stand idly by while the land was being laid to waste. They wanted to prevent the enemy from becoming even bolder and the situation of the Romans from becoming even worse. They therefore felt it necessary to force the Emperor Michael to gather the entire army and besiege the fortress and destroy the enemy. And so it happened, and all the troops with their leaders gathered around the Emperor. That was not all. There was even a multitude of people, smelling of soil and spades, who flocked together and brought their picks and spades. The reason they went out was not so much to make war as it was to collect a booty ready for the taking. Not only did they want to destroy the enemy, but also to clear out the fortress itself. So, under the leadership of the Emperor, the strategists set out with their troops and marched against the enemy,

τῷ βασιλεῖ, πολλὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγο ραῖον ἐπισυρόμενοι καὶ ἀγρότην ὄχλον, καὶ ὅσοι σκαπάνης καὶ δικέλλης ἀπόζουσιν, οὐ μάλᾳ ἄκοντας ἅπαντας, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀπειρίας |<sup>20</sup> οἱ πλεῖστοι ξυνελαυνόμενοι πρὸς ἐλπίδα μόνην τοῦ κέρδους ἐώρων· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις κινδύνους λήθη μακρᾶ παραπέμποντες διετέλουν.

(E.) Ὅσῳ μέντοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνήν ἐρῶσθαι πρὸς ἀθαιρέτους κινδύνους διὰ τε δὴ τὸ ἐν πολεμῖα περικεκλεῖσθαι γῆ καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθει στρατοῦ πολλῶ τῶν ἀντιπαραταττο (B257) μένων ἠττᾶσθαι, τοσοῦτῳ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέβαινε περιφρονώντας ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀμελοῦντας τῶν τακτικῶν διὰ τὸ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ὄπλοις καὶ πλήθεσιν ὑπερέχειν· μὴ ξυνιεῖσιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πραγμάτων βέβαιόν τε καὶ |<sup>5</sup> ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ παίγνιον θεοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ ἀδήλως πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιχωρεῖ καὶ ἐναλλάξ ἀτέκμαρτον πορεύεται δρόμον. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πρότερον ἀπὸ μόνης τῆς φήμης τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δεδιότες στρατεύματα καὶ τοῖς τεθηκόσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ζῶσι συγκαταλέγοντες ἑαυτοὺς νῦν |<sup>10</sup> τὴν οὐκ ἐν τάξει τούτων θεασάμενοι κίνησιν, θαρσαλεώτεροι σφόδρα γίνονται πρὸς τὴν μάχην· καὶ συναγαγόντες ἅπαντα χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ ὅσα μὴ πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἦσαν χρήσιμα πόλεμον, ἐντὸς ἡσφαλίσαντο τῶν τε χαρακωμάτων καὶ τάφρων, ἃ φθάσαντες καλῶς προπαρασκευάσαντο πρὸς οἰκείαν ἀσφάλειαν. |<sup>15</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἱππέας ἀναλαβόμενοι καὶ ὀπλισθέντες λαμπρῶς οὐ πλείους τῶν ἑπτακοσίων τυγχάνοντες ἐξαίφνης πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως διεκθέουσι σημαίαν οὔτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τοῦ τόπου σταθεῖσαν, οὔτε τῆς προσηκούσης δυνάμεώς τε καὶ εὐταξίας ἠξιωμένην.

(ζ'.) Πρὸς δὴ τὸν οὕτως αἰφνίδιον δρόμον τῶν πολεμίων |<sup>20</sup> θορυβηθέντες πρῶτον ὁ συρφετώδης ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀγρότης ὄχλος πρὸς ἄσχετον ἔβλεψαν παρευθὺς τὴν φυγὴν· ἔπειτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἕτεροι διελύοντο· καὶ τέλος τραπόμενοι πάντες δίχα πολεμικοῦ κρότου ἔφευγον ἀμεταστρεπτί. βουλόμενος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τάξιν ἀθροίζειν τὸ στράτευμα εὔρισκε τῶν πάντων οὐδένα τὸν |<sup>25</sup> ἀκροώμενον· καὶ ἀπαγορεύσας ἦει τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτὸς λύπης (B258) καὶ δακρύων μεστὸς, ἔκτισιν εἶναι ταῦτα σαφῆ διαλογιζόμενος ἐκ θεοῦ παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων ἀμαρτημάτων. οἱ δὲ πλείους τῶν στρατηγῶν αἰσχυνθέντες τὴν οὐκ ἐν τάξει φυγὴν ἐκαρτέρουσαν μέχρι τινὸς ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ περισπῶντες εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν πόλεμον τοὺς |<sup>5</sup> βαρβάρους καὶ οἷον ἀναστέλλοντες αὐτοὺς, μὴ διώκειν τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, μὴδ' αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν βασιλέα. τέλος δὲ κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πάντων ἀθροισθέντων ὁμοῦ παρέδωσαν ἑαυτοὺς. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τούτους τε ἐν

accompanied by crowds of merchants and peasants, people who smelled of picks and spades, and everyone spontaneously went with them. Most of these had no experience and only saw an opportunity to win. They completely overlooked the dangers involved.

5. The enemies found themselves surrounded in the land of the opponent and greatly outnumbered by this opponent, and so they bravely faced the danger that they had chosen for themselves. On the other hand, the Romans matched this with a high degree of negligence, and advanced against them without caring about the tactics of war, since they outnumbered the enemy in armour and numbers. They were apparently unaware that nothing in the world is permanent and certain, but that, as Plato says, all human things are the toys of God and that everything ebbs and flows for no apparent reason and takes an unpredictable and changeable course. At first the mere rumour had made the enemy fear the Roman troops, and they had counted themselves among the dead rather than the living. But when they now saw how undisciplined they were when they were marching, they mustered up courage anew to fight. They took their possessions and women, and everything they did not need for the coming armed conflict, to safety inside the ramparts and ditches which they had carefully dug beforehand for their own protection. Then they chose their best riders and armed them splendidly. The group numbered no less than seven hundred men. They made a sortie and suddenly ran towards the imperial standard. This was neither set up in a safe place, nor had efforts been made to ensure adequate and disciplined surveillance.

6. The sudden onslaught of the enemy first of all confused the crowd of peasants who had gathered and immediately and inexorably fled. Others then stole away in small groups, and finally they all fled without a fight. The Emperor, however, wanted to gather the army for deployment, but nobody listened to him. So, he gave up and went the same way, sad and weeping. He understood what had happened to be a clear punishment from God for his old sins and for his new sins. Most of the leaders were ashamed of the undisciplined flight and resisted for some time. They turned the attack of the enemy back on itself and thus prevented it from pursuing the fleeing Romans and the Emperor himself. But eventually they were surrounded by the entire enemy force and surrendered. The enemies imprisoned them and divided the money of the Emperor among

δεσμοῖς ἡσφαλί σαντο καὶ τὰ βασιλικά διενείμαντο χρήματα, καὶ ὅσα τῶν βασιλικῶν |<sup>10</sup> παρασήμων ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦσαν σκηνη- μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ καλύπτρα, κεκοσμη- μένη συνήθως τῶ τε λίθῳ καὶ ταῖς τῶν μαργάρων σειραῖς· ἦν δὲ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ τὸν Χαλῆλ ἐπιθέντα φασὶ σκωπτικούς τε καὶ εἴρωνας λόγους ἀφιέναι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

### 9. The schism of Aresenius

|<sup>15</sup> 9 θ'. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀθανάσιος τὸν πατριαρχικὸν παραιτησάμενος θρόνον ἡσύχασεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ξηρόλοφον κελλίους αὐτοῦ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι τινὲς τῶν πολὺ κατ' αὐτοῦ βάρους τρεφόντων οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τῆς πατριαρχικῆς περιωπῆς ἀπολαύοντα (ὄγδοον γὰρ ἔτος ἠνύετο τούτῳ τηνικαῦτα, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ δεύτερον ἐς τὸν |<sup>20</sup> πατριαρχικὸν ἀνεβιβάσθη θρόνον) ἐπιβουλήν ἐξαρτύουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ μάλα φρικώδη καὶ ἀσεβείας μεστήν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔτι καὶ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ξηρόλοφον αὐτοῦ κελλίους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διέτριβε, κλέπτουσι ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ (B259) θρόνου τὸ ὑποπόδιον αὐτοῦ· ὅφ' ὁ τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα στηλογραφοῦσι τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ταύτης τὸν τε βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον χαλινὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι φέροντα καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην Ἀθανάσιον ἔλκοντα τοῦτον ὡσπερ τις ἠνίοχος ἵππον. |<sup>5</sup> ἔπειτα οὕτως ἔχων τὸ ὑποπόδιον ἀπρόντες τιθέασιν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἔκειτο, παρὰ τὸν πατριαρχικὸν δηλαδὴ θρόνον. ἔπειτα θεατρίζουσι τὸ δρᾶμά τινες θεασάμενοι παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῆ τὸν πατριάρχην διαβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ μὲν δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναμφιβόλως |<sup>10</sup> εἶναι συλλογισάμενος τοὺς τὸ ἀσεβὲς ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἄθεσμον δρᾶμα συσκευασμένους εἰρκτῆ παραδίδωσι χαλεπω- τάτη τε καὶ διηγεκεῖ. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης δυσχεράνας, ὅτι μὴ πολλῶ μείζονι τούτους παρέδωκε τιμωρίᾳ, τὸν πατριαρχικὸν εὐθὺς παρητήσατο θρόνον.

(B.) Δύο δὲ μεταξὺ παρερρήκωτων ἐνιαυτῶν εἶτα τὸν πατριαρχικὸν |<sup>15</sup> διαδέχεται θρόνον Νίφων, ὁ τῆς Κυζίκου μητροπολίτης, τῶ βασιλικῶ θελήματι τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰζάντων καὶ μεταστησάντων αὐτὸν ἐκ Κυζίκου πρὸς τὴν τῆς πατριαρχείας περιωπῆν. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ πάντη μὲν ἀδαῆς τῆς ἕξω παιδείας, οὐχ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ, καὶ τῆς θειοτέρας, ὡς μηδ' οἰκεία χειρὶ τὰ τῶν γραμμάτων στοιχεῖα |<sup>20</sup> γράφειν εἰδώς. ὅσον γὰρ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ ταύτης γευσάμενος ἠρκέσθη τῇ φύσει χρώμενος. σύνεσιν γὰρ πλουτῶν καὶ

themselves, as well as the imperial regalia that were kept in the tent of the Emperor. Among these was the headgear of the Emperor, which, as was the custom, was studded with stones and rows of pearls. Khalil is said to have put it on his own head, while mocking and ridiculing the Emperor.

9 1. Around this time the Patriarch Athanasius abdicated and dedicated himself to the contemplative life in his cell in the Xerolophos district [September 1309]. The reason for this was that some persons were harbouring a deep grudge against him since they could not bear to see him in his high post for such a long time. At that time eight years had passed since he had ascended to the patriarchal throne for the second time. They therefore devised an abominable and ungodly deception against him. Even though Athanasius was still in possession of the patriarchal power, most of the time he was living in his cell in Xerolophos. And so, they took advantage of this to steal the footstool from the throne of the Patriarch. On this they painted the image of the Redeemer Christ and to the left and right of this latter the Emperor Andronicus with a bridle in his mouth and the Patriarch Athanasios pulling him from behind like a steerer pulling his horse. They then put the footstool back in its place, that is in front of the patriarchal throne. Some of these persons then pretended that they had seen this unexpectedly and proceeded to slanderously accuse the Patriarch of having an impious attitude towards the Emperor. The Emperor ordered the slanderers to appear before him and stated that these latter had no doubt orchestrated this ungodly crime themselves. So, he sentenced them to long years of severe imprisonment. However, the Patriarch immediately gave his resignation because he was dissatisfied that they had not been punished far more severely.

2. Two years elapsed, and Niphon, the Metropolitan of Cyzicus, ascended the patriarchal throne [11th April 1310]. The bishops gave in and elevated him to the high post of patriarch since this is what the Emperor wished. For the demands of this type of post, the man was not only singularly lacking in any secular education but also in ecclesiastical education. He could not even write a letter on paper with his own hand. He had only dipped his toes into education and had otherwise contented himself with his natural talent. He was, in fact, naturally very clever and

περίνοιαν φυσικήν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς γραμμάτων ἀσχολίαν ταύτην ἐκίνει, τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν σοφῶν ἐξητάζετ' ἄν. ἀλλὰ φθάσας τῶν χρημάτων ὁ πόθος καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφανείας καὶ δόξης τὸ ἀπειρόκαλον |<sup>25</sup> ὅλην ἐς ταῦτα τὴν φυσικήν ἐκείνην ἀπησχόλησε σύνεσιν καὶ περίνοιαν, (B260) καὶ ὅλην ὥσπερ ἄμπωτις ἐξερρόφησε τὴν νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μελέτην αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἦν ἐμπειρότατος διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς πᾶσαν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστάσιαν, ἐς τε φυτηκομίας δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀμπελώνων ἐργασίας εὐκαίρους καὶ οἴκων παντοίων οἰκοδομὰς |<sup>5</sup> καὶ, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ὅσα τοὺς σιτῶνας καὶ τῶν οἴνων τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ τὰ βαλάντια ῥήγνουσι, μεῖζω τῶν ὄντων ἀπαιτοῦντα καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐὼ λέγειν ἐνδυμάτων βλακείαν καὶ ἵππων ἀγερώχων καὶ ὑψαυχένων κτήσεις καὶ τραπέζης ὅσα θωπεύει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μήτε ὕλης πάχος ἐντίθησι, μήτε τὸ εὐχρουν ἀπαγορεύει. |<sup>10</sup> ἐδίδου γὰρ καὶ τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι καιρὸν ἀσχολίας οὐ ῥάθυμόν τινα καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπίσης ἐνδεχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπαραίτητον. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος τρόπος παρέπεισε τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπήν καὶ διοίκησιν ὕστερον τῶν γυναικείων πραγμάτων καὶ κτημάτων ὑπελθεῖν, λέγω δὴ τῶν δύο παρθενῶνων, |<sup>15</sup> τοῦ τε Περτζέ καλουμένου καὶ Κραταιοῦ, ἵνα ἅμα μὲν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων ἔστιν ἃ σφετερίζεται προφάσει τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συχνότεραν ἔχη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκεῖσε διατριβὴν μετὰ τινος γαύρου καὶ χλιδῶντος ἤθους. οὗτος ὀπόσους εὐδοκί μῆσει χρωμένους ἐώρα φύσεως ἢ τέχνης ἡστινοσοῦν, ὀπόσαι πρὸς |20 ἀρέσκειαν καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πεφύκασι, (B261) φίλος εἶναι σοφῶν ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐξ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον· κρύφα δ' ἤχθετο πᾶσι καὶ βάσκανον ἔτρεφεν ὀφθαλμόν τε καὶ γνώμην κατ' αὐτῶν· καὶ λάθρα προσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπορύττειν οὐκ ὤκνει τὰς ἀκοὰς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις λοιδορούμενος παραπλήσιον |<sup>5</sup> ποιῶν τῷ ὄφει τῷ Λιβυκῷ. γίνεσθαι γὰρ φασι παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσιν ὄφιν ἐχίδνη παρόμοιον, ὃς πολὺν ἐπιχεάμενος ψάμμον, ὡς μὴ θεῶτο τοῖς παριοῦσι, μόνον ἀνεωγμένον ἐξω ποῦ τῆς ψάμμου τὸ στόμα μετὰ τῆς γλώττης ἀφίησι τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἀπροσδόκητον ὄλεθρον.

(Γ.) Ἐν τι μόνον ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ συμβουλευσεῖν |<sup>10</sup> χρηστὸν καὶ τοῦτο δ' οὐ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐνδεικνύμενος τρόπον· ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τοῦτο διάπυρον ξυννεοηκῶς ὀρμὴν συνεργὸς ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ βούλευμα καὶ αὐτός. συνήργησε γὰρ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως δόγματι ἐς τὸ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἀρσενιάτας ἅπαξ τῆς καθολικῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀπορράγέντας διὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἵνα |<sup>15</sup> μὴ αὐτοὶ τε τὸν ψυχικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν κινδυνεύσωσι θάνατον καὶ ἅμα ἄλλους ἐξαπατῶντες ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν συνελαύνωσιν

gifted, and had he devoted himself to study he would surely have ranked among the greatest of scholars. But greed for money, low ambition, and desire for worldly fame predominated in him. These occupied the place of all of his natural prudence and in a way, like the ebb tide, absorbed all his cares day and night. This is why he was extremely experienced in all economic matters, such as tree planting, viticulture, construction, in short, in all matters that fill the barns and the wine cellars and that empty the wallet, and which therefore demand larger wallets every year. We do not even have to talk about luxury in clothing, owning proud and high-necked horses, or exquisite food that does not make you fat or spoil the colour of your skin. He also dedicated a good part of his cares to women, and not carelessly and indifferently, but as if this were, so to speak, an absolute necessity. This trait also led him to take charge of the administration of the affairs and estates of women; to be more exact of two convents, which were called Pertze and Krataiu. On the one hand, this gave him the opportunity to appropriate money from the income of these convents, allegedly due to costs of construction, and on the other hand, to frequently stay there with all the requisite expense and luxury. Towards persons with qualities or abilities that are generally pleasing to all men, and especially towards emperors, he would behave outwardly as if he were their friend, but in secret he hated them all and nurtured envy and resentment towards them. He also did not hesitate to defile the ears of the Emperor with blasphemies, now against this person and now against that person, and he comported himself like the Libyan snake. There is said to be a snake in Libya that resembles an adder and that moves about covered with so much sand that it cannot be seen by passers-by. But its open mouth peeks out of the sand and with its tongue it prepares the walkers for an unexpected doom.

3. There is only one thing that Niphon seems to have given the Emperor, and this was good advice. But not spontaneously since he was well aware of the ardent desire of the Emperor in this matter, and so he would give the impression of having contributed to the plan. He assisted, namely, in the signing of the imperial decree that ordered that the Arsenites, who at one time had separated from the universal Church of God due to an idle lust for fame, were to be accepted back again. They and their descendants would no

ὄλεθρον. τοῦ δὴ βασιλέως εἷξαντος ταῖς πατριαρχικαῖς συμβουλαῖς οὕτως, ἅτ' ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τουτὶ βουλομένου, συναθροίζονται πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ὥσπερ ἐκ πετρῶν καὶ βάτων αὐθήμεροι βλαστώνοντες |<sup>20</sup> Γίγαντες, ράκη μὲν περικείμενοι διερρώγοτα, πλεῖστον δ' ἐν τοῖς τῆς καρδίας μυχοῖς τὸν τῆς κενοδοξίας καλύπτοντες ὄγκον. καὶ δὴ βαρέα τινὰ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐ μετρίως κνίζοντα προβάλλονται τὰ ζητήματα, ἵν' ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐμφανίσωσι δῆθεν οὐκ (B262) ἀνατίως ἑαυτοὺς σχιζομένους. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ πατριαρχεύσαντος Ἀρσενίου λειψάνον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου μονῆς ἐντίμως ἀνειληφότες ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας νεῶ μεταθῶσι. δεύτερον, ἵνα καθαρικῶ τινι καθυποβληθῶσιν ||<sup>5</sup> ἐπιτιμίῳ τὰ γένη τῶν ἱερέων, ἀργίαν δηλονότι τῆς ἱερουργίας ἐφ' ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα. τρίτον, ἵνα νηστείας καὶ γονυκλισίας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἅπασ λαὸς καθαρῶσι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἕτερα τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπονοίας ἐχόμενα, ἃ πάντα διὰ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας καλὸν σπεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπεραίνει.

|<sup>10</sup> (Δ.) Εἶθ' ἐξῆς ὅσοι μὴ ἀξιώμασιν ἀναλόγοις τετίμηνται τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίσματος ἀθροισθέντων, προστασίας δηλαδὴ μητρο πόλεων, προστασίας μοναστηρίων, παρρήσιας ἐν βασιλείαις, πορισμοῖς προσόδων ἐτησίων, οὗτοι δὴ πάντες μετὰ βραχὺ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπερράγησαν ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰσι ταῖς προτέραις αὐθις ἐμμένοντες ἰδιοτροπίας καὶ σχίσμασιν. ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης |<sup>15</sup> προτραπείας παρ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν συνελθόντων Ἀρσενιατῶν ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ἐνδεδυμένος τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν, καὶ στάς πρὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ Ἀρσενίου ἐξεφώνησεν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσενίου δῆθεν συγχώρησιν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ.

### 10. The devastation of Thrace by Serbia

|<sup>20</sup> 10 ι'. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκεῖνην θρασυνθέντες ὅσον πλεῖστον ἐξῆν οἱ βάρβαροι μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἐδήωσαν τε καὶ κάκιστα διέθηκαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Θράκην τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν, ὡς μήτε ἀροτριᾶν, μήτε σπεῖρειν τῶν πόλεων ἐξιόντας δύνασθαι Ῥωμαίους ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι παρὰ βραχὺ δυσί. καὶ ἦσαν διὰ ταῦτα (B263) λύπη βαθεῖα καὶ παλαμναιοτάταις φροντίσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ψυχὴν κατατέμνοντες. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων βοήθειαν ἀπεγνώκεσαν ἤδη τελέως, ξυνιέντες μὲν ὡς θεομηνίαν τινὰ περὶ τούτοις ἐπιπολάζειν, τὰς δὲ τῆς θεομηνίας |<sup>5</sup> αἰτίας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐ ξυνιέντες. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς

longer face the danger of spiritual death, nor would they deceive others and plunge into the same perdition. The Emperor took the advice of the Patriarch since he had himself long wanted the same thing. Then, like giants sprouting from rocks and bushes all on one day, numerous Arsenites streamed together from many sides. They were wrapped in tattered rags, but in the depths of their hearts they carried their immeasurable vain glory. They presented arduous and insulting petitions to prove to the crowd that they had had good reason to separate. In the first place they demanded that the body of the Patriarch Arsenius be taken from the monastery of St. Andrew and transferred with honour into the Great Church of Divine Wisdom, and, secondly, that a penance be imposed on the priesthood, namely a forty-day suspension from sacrificial service, and thirdly, that all the people should also, according to certain conditions, perform a cleansing penance through fasting and prayer. They also made other equally nonsensical demands. The Emperor, meanwhile, endeavoured to fulfil all of these in order to gain the greater good of peace and harmony.

4. But those who had returned from the schism also wanted the appropriate honours and to be rewarded with the leadership of metropolitan areas, the presidency of monasteries, influence at court, and receipt of annual revenues. Those who were not rewarded in this way soon left the community and have since been living again in their original peculiar way and in their splinter groups. Requested by the assembled Arsenites themselves, the Patriarch now ascended the Ambon and dressed in the liturgical robes and standing in front of the corpse of Arsenius, he proclaimed the absolution of the entire people, so to speak in the name of Arsenius.

10 1. In this period, following the above-mentioned victory, the barbarians became as brazen as they could be. They brought down the worst destruction and devastation on the Roman lands in Thrace. For almost two full years [1311-1312] the Romans were not able to leave their cities to plough and sow. This situation filled the Emperors with deep pain and agonizing sorrows. They had already given up all hope of being rescued by the Roman troops and had at last understood that the wrath of God had risen against them. But, for some reason that I cannot fathom, they could not understand the reasons for this divine anger. And so, their only concern was

ἡ πᾶσα μελέτη μισθοφορικὴν τινα προσκαλέσασθαι συμμαχίαν ὅθενδὴ ποτε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐτίβητο χρόνος οὐ μέτριος, ἀναλογιζομένων τὴν τῶν χρημάτων δαπάνην ἐσομένην μεγάλην καὶ οὐ μάλα τοι φορητὴν τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ, χρημάτων εἶπερ |<sup>10</sup> ποτὲ νῦν μάλιστα σπανίζοντι διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας κάκωσιν. ὁμως μέντοι τῆς ἀνάγκης ἠρεμεῖν ἤκιστα συγχωρούσης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρὸν, τὸν Κράλην λέγω Σερβίας, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος συμμαχίαν μεταπεμπόμενος.

(B.) Ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐκείνην ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων |<sup>15</sup> πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον κύριος διανίστησι πρὸς ἀνδρικόνα τινα ζῆλόν τινα τῶν εὐγενῶν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ κατὰ γένος τῷ βασιλεῖ προσηκόντων, Φιλῆν τὸν Παλαιολόγον, ὃς καὶ τὴν πρωτοστρατορικὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ὕστερον παρειληφώς ἦν βακτηρίαν. οὗτος οὖν περὶ τὰ βασιλεία διατρίβων αἰεὶ καὶ μάλα τοι πλείστην καρπούμενος |<sup>20</sup> τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐμένειαν διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀκίβδηλον καὶ διάπυρον πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ ἔτι τὸ τοῦ βίου σεμνόν, ἀδαῆς τις ἐδόκει καὶ ἄπειρος τὰ πολέμια, ἄτε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ φύσιν ἔχων ἰσχνόν καὶ τὰ πλείστα νοσηλευόμενον· καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ μόναις ταῖς θειοτέραις μελέταις ἦν ἐνδιατρίβων (B264) βων καὶ ναοῖς προσεδρεύων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλείστην αἰδῶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν πραγμάτων παρέχειν ἔργον ποιούμενος. οὗτος γὰρ βαρεῖαις φροντίσι κάτοχον θεασάμενος τὸν βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον ἔπαθε τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ προσελθὼν, “δός μοι,” φησὶν, “εἰς τὰ |<sup>5</sup> τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα παρελθόντι βραχύν τινα στρατὸν ἀπολέξασθαι καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξίαρχους, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλοιμι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δαπάνην ἀνευδὲ τῶν χρεωδῶν τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων καὶ αὐτῶν. αἰ γὰρ πρὸς θεὸν στερραῖ μου καὶ ἄρρα γεῖς ἐλπίδες τὴν ἐμὴν ὑποτρέχουσαι περιθάλλουσι καρδίαν καὶ με |<sup>10</sup> πείθουσι διῆσχυρίζεσθαι, ὡς ὄψει με τὴν ταχίστην τρόπαια φέροντα κατὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν βαρβάρων.”

(Γ.) Πείθεται τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπειπῶν, ὡς δίκαια ποιῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐν ταῖς κνήμαις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκεῖ, οὐδ' ἐν πλήθει ἰσχύος, ὡς αὐτὸς διὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ προφήτου φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐν συντετριμμένῃ καρδίᾳ |<sup>15</sup> καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν υἱῷ τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ Μιχαὴλ οἶμαι ἀπεχθανόμενος διὰ τὰ τῶν φυσάντων πλημμελήματα τὴν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οὐ δίδωσι· δώσει δ' ἴσως τουτωῖ τῷ σεμνῷ τόν τε βίον καὶ τρόπον. τιμιωτέρα γὰρ παρὰ κυρίῳ σεμνότης καὶ βίος ἄληπτος ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ὄπλων. ἀπέστρεψα |<sup>20</sup> γὰρ, φησὶ, καὶ εἶδον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, ὅτι οὐ τοῖς κούφοις ὁ δρόμος, καὶ οὐ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ γε οὐ τῷ σοφῷ ὁ ἄρτος, καὶ γε οὐ τοῖς συνετοῖς ὁ

to procure mercenary troops from somewhere as allies. This took up a considerable amount of time. They calculated that the expenses would be high, and that the imperial treasury would hardly be able to support it, since it was now suffering more than ever from money shortages due to the devastation of the country. But the situation demanded action, and so the Emperor Andronicus sent an embassy to his son-in-law, the Kraal of Serbia, asking for military help [end of 1312].

2. But before help came from there [1313], the Lord, who brings everything about and works out everything for the best, raised up a man and filled him with manly zeal. This man, with the name of Philes Palaiologos, who was from the nobility and was a member of the senate and a relative of the Emperor, was later to be awarded the staff of office of Protostrator by the Emperor. He lived at court and enjoyed the greatest favour of the Emperor on account of his sincere and warm affection for the Emperor and due to his noble way of life. But it appeared that he had had no training or experience in military affairs, since he was physically weak and ailing. Moreover, he only devoted himself to divine things and spent most of his time in churches, making it his business to reverently worship all that was sacred. But it depressed him to see the Emperor Andronicus plagued by grave sorrows, and so he went to him and said: 'Let me go to the Roman forces and select a small army with the Lochagen and the Taxiarchs that I myself want and provide me with ample means so that I can supply the men and the beasts of burden with what they need. Planted in my heart is that beneficent, firm, and unshakable hope in God, which persuades me that I can assure you that you shall soon see me victorious over these barbarians'.

3. The Emperor allowed himself to be persuaded by these words and said: “Rightly does God find no pleasure in the muscles of man [Ps. 146, 10] nor in the magnitude of his power [Ps. 32:16], as he himself proclaimed through the prophet David, but rather in a contrite heart and in a humble mind [Ps. 33, 18 and 50, 17, respectively; 146, 3 + Dan. Th. 3, 39]. I think he is angry with the sins of the ancestors of my son, the Emperor Michael, and so he does not lend him his support. But maybe he will give it to this man with his holy conduct and character; for holiness and a life without sin are more precious to the Lord than might in arms. I have looked



πλοῦτος, καί γε οὐ τοῖς γινώσκουσιν ἢ χάρις· ὅτι καιρὸς καὶ ἀπάντημα συναντήσεται πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μὲν δὴ πᾶσαν τούτου τὴν αἴτησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς (B265) ἀσμένως ἀποπιμπλᾷ, χρήματά τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἵππον ὅσην καὶ οἷαν ἐβούλετο δούς. (Δ.) Ἄ δὴ πάντα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ γεγονότα παρειληφώς ὁ Φιλῆς πρῶτα μὲν φιλοφροσύναις καὶ δεξιώσεσι παντοδαπαῖς ἀναρρίπιζει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς φλόγα πολεμικῆς |<sup>5</sup> ὀρμῆς, χρήματά τε χαρίζόμενος καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἐκπώματα· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζώνην λυσάμενος στρατιώτῃ χαρίζεται, ἄλλω δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ παραξιφίδιον· ὁμοδιαιτός τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται καὶ ὁμόπλους, τιμάς τε αὐτοῖς ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ δωρεὰς οὐ μικρὰς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλόγους τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐκάστου· |<sup>10</sup> ἔπειτα πάσης ἀδικίας ἀφέξεσθαι παραινεῖ, ἱερεῦσί τε πλείστα διανέμει χρήματα δεήσεων ἕνεκα τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς θεόν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις δεῖν ἔκρινε, πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλευούσης, λάθρα τοὺς κατασκευομένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα πέμψαι, ὡς μὴ ἀτέκμαρτον ἔχοι τὴν κίνησιν. καὶ δὴ |<sup>15</sup> μαθὼν ὡς χιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ διακοσίους ἵππεας ὁ Χαλῆλ ἀπολεξάμενος πρότῃτα πέπομφε, πάσας τὰς περὶ τὴν Βιζύην καταστρεψομένους χώρας καὶ πλείστην ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ τὴν λείαν κομίσοντας, ἔξεισι τὴν ταχίστην βουλόμενος πρὶν ἐπανήκειν τοὺς πολεμίους συμμιξαί σφισι περὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα τοῖς λαφύροις ἔπα νιοῦσι. |<sup>20</sup>

around the world and seen, as it says in the Scriptures, that speed is not assured for the swift, war for the mighty, bread for the wise, riches for the clever, and favour for the learned, for these are all dependent on time and chance [Ecclesiastes 9:11]". The Emperor gladly granted Philes Palaiologos any request that he had and provided him with as much money and arms and horses as he wanted and the ones that he wanted. Having obtained all this as he wished, Philes first of all used all kinds of favours and gifts to awaken aggressiveness in his soldiers. He distributed money, horses, weapons and drinking vassals to them. Once, he even untied his own belt and gave it to a soldier, and he gave his dagger to another. He also shared the everyday lives of his soldiers and was of the same mind as them. He promised post-fight posts of honour and great gifts to those who fought. He later exhorted them to avoid any injustice and distributed large sums of money to the priests so that they would pray for him and his army. Before departing from the Imperial City, he also considered it necessary to secretly send out scouts to watch over the enemy camp. He did not want to move out on the spur of the moment. This was how he discovered that, three days beforehand, Khalil had sent a thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry to plunder the land up to Bizye and bring him back rich booty from there. Philes thus set out as quickly as possible since he wanted to meet the enemy before they arrived at the camp, and while they were still on their way back with the booty.

# DEMETRIUS CYDONES



## Oration on not surrendering Gallipoli to the Turks

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the Byzantine period, Kallipolis, better known as Kallioupolis (Καλλιουπόλις), became important as a naval station from the period of the Crusades onwards because of its strategic situation in being able to keep watch on a vital section of the Hellespont and at the same time allowing Byzantine naval vessels to reach the Aegean without starting their voyage from Constantinople across the Sea of Marmara. Its value as a toll station – a role formerly enjoyed by Abydos – was realized by the Venetians who took control it after the Fourth Crusade (1204) as the management of the revenues of the port-city was handed over to two Italian merchants. It was undoubtedly during the half century of Italian occupation that name Callipolis came to be pronounced by Franco-Italians as ‘Gallipoli’ – an onomastic transformation shared by Gallipoli in Apulia in S. Italy which, like its namesake in the Chersonese, was a Greek foundation with the name of Kallipolis. Kallipolis also became the first port of call for foreign diplomats and official visitors to the Byzantine court at Constantinople – a role she would play well into the 19<sup>th</sup> C.

The Byzantine Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes ruling from Nicaea expelled the Franks from Kallipolis in 1234 before the capital city on the Bosphorus was liberated in 1261. The following decades witnessed the rise of the Ottomans as a major military force in Western Anatolia culminating in the Battle of Baphesus near Nicomedia in 1302. The need for the Byzantine Emperor now to take the war to the Turks became urgent and the fortuitous availability in 1303 of a band of Italian and Catalan mercenaries, the self-styled Grand Catalan Company, to do the fighting for her for suitable remuneration appeared at first to be a godsend. However, the Company led by Roger de Flor did no more than liberate Cyzicus and a number of cities along the Aegean coast. Disgruntled with the lack of pay and provision, the Company headed back to the Hellespont and was quartered at Gallipoli 1304-07. In early 1305, Roger de Flor was assassinated by a jealous Michael Andronikos who lured the mercenary captain to his capital at Hadrianople. The Company, realizing that the Byzantines would now do their utmost to evict them from Greek soil, turned Gallipoli into a veritable redoubt and beat back a number of attempts to capture it by the Byzantines. The latter were saved from further embarrassing defeats by the Company’s decision to leave Gallipoli for Greece via Thrace and Macedonia in the winter of 1307.<sup>166</sup>

In the last two centuries of Greek rule over what was left of the former Eastern Roman Empire, the port-city of Gallipoli became one of Byzantium’s last key possessions. By holding on to Gallipoli, the Greeks could prevent the Ottomans from utilizing the most convenient ferry crossing to link up their growing territorial possessions in Asia with those in Europe. Without Gallipoli, the Ottomans could only gain access to Eastern Europe, especially

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<sup>166</sup> On Kalli(ou)polis in the tumultuous years after the Fourth Crusade see A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Camb. MA, 1972) 133-46, A. Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance* (London, 1972) 58-93 and A. Külzer, *Ostthracien (Eurōpē)*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 12 (Vienna, 2008) 426-29. On earlier history see S.N.C. Lieu, . “From Kallipolis to Gallipoli - What is in a Name” in *Text and the Material World, Essays in Honour of Graeme Clarke*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, PB 185, edited by Elizabeth Minchin and Heather Jackson (2017, ISBN 978-91-7081-219-4) 243-54. {Turkish translation of article by Prof. Betül Öztby, ‘Kallipolis’ten Gelibolu’ya – bir isim nedir ki?’, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XXXIII/2, 2018, 625-638.}

the Balkans, via opportunist crossings on the Bosphorus. The strong Byzantine defences of Gallipoli, however, were demolished in a severe earthquake in early March 1354 and the Ottomans who were participants in one of Byzantium's many civil wars simply marched into the ruined city from the nearby fortress of Tzymbi that had been their base. The loss of Gallipoli was a disaster for not just Byzantium but the fortunes of the fledgling Christian kingdoms in the Balkans as the Ottomans were now able to send a steady stream of soldiers and colonists into Eastern Europe. The Ottomans won a crushing victory over the Serbs at Martiza in 1371 and Hadrianople (Turk. Edirne) would become the new European capital of the Ottoman Dynasty. However, the Ottomans probably did not refortify Gallipoli to the same standards as the Byzantines and the city was easily captured by a Crusader army under the command of Count Amadeo of Savoy in 1366 and returned it to the Byzantine Emperor.<sup>167</sup>

THE *ORATIO DE NON REDDENDA CALLIPOLI* OF DEMETRIUS CYDONES

By now Byzantium was in a parlous state and she had virtually only two bargaining chips left, the small but strategically situated island of Tenedos near the mouth of the Hellespont and the even more strategically important port-city of Kallioupolis/Gallipoli on the Hellespont in all her negotiations with foreign powers. Kallioupolis was eventually handed back to the Ottomans without a fight as a result of a domestic dispute, this time involving both the Byzantine and Ottoman courts but with fateful consequences for the Byzantines.

John V Palaiologos had spent much of his reign (1341-91) seeking help from Western powers but without full scale re-unification with the Church of Rome and with the major European powers deeply divided, genuine help from the West was simply not forthcoming and, with hopes of Serbian help crushed at the Battle of Maritsa, John V had effectively become a vassal to the Ottoman Sultan. By the spring of 1373 he was accompanying Sultan Murad on a campaign in Anatolia. His son Andronikos used his father's absence to rebel against him and found an unlikely ally in Saudži Čelebi, the disaffected eldest son of Murad who was then governor of Rumelia, i.e. the European territories now under Ottoman control. The result was a curious double rebellion within both empires by princes against their ruling fathers. Murad and John V hastened back and suppressed the rebellion. Murad had Saudži blinded at the fortress city of Didymoteichion in Thrace in September 1373, and demanded that John V should do the same to his son. While Saudži appeared to have died from the severity of his wounds, Andronikos was only partially blinded and a skilled physician would later restore his eyesight with considerable success.

Andronikos escaped with his son John in 1376 to the Genoese quartered at Galata on the other side of the Golden Horn from Constantinople. They had long been grateful to Andronikos for not acceding to his father's demands to surrender the island of Tenedos to their rival the Venetians in 1370. Andronikos knew, however, that support from the Genoese alone was not enough and he had to somehow wean Murad from supporting his father. He contacted the Sultan and offered obedience and tribute and very probably the cession of Gallipoli.

Murad was all too happy to help foster strife within the Byzantine royal family. With his help, Andronikos became master of Constantinople after a thirty-two day siege (October 1376), and after his surrender John V was incarcerated in the Anemas tower in Constantinople

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<sup>167</sup> On the last years of Byzantine Kalli(ou)polis see D. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Cambridge, 1995) 139-280, idem, *The Reluctant Emperor - A biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and monk* (Cambridge, 1996) 125-26 and 177-78, and E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy - Amadaeus VI and the Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (New Jersey, 1967) 223-30.

along with his two younger sons. He, too, succeeded to escape and, with the help of Murad and the belated assistance of the Venetians against their Genoese rivals, John V was restored. A new civil war now broke out between John V supported by his younger son Manuel and Andronikos and his son John who had fled once more to Galata. Peace was finally restored through Genoese mediation and pressure from Murad in April 1381. John V had to agree to divide the Empire into semi-independent principalities, with him supposedly ruling from the capital and his son Manuel II ruling in Thessalonica (r. 1382-1387), while Andronikos received as his appenage Selymbria on the Sea of Marmara. The same treaty also reaffirmed the tributary status of the Byzantine Empire – the Ottomans had imposed a tribute on the Byzantine empire within a year of her capture of Gallipoli – as both factions were obliged by its terms to assist each other against any aggressor except for ‘Murad and his Turks’. The civil war was finally ended when Andronikos IV Palaiologos (r. 1376-79) tried to extend the boundary of his appenage and was defeated by his father John V. He was stripped of his imperial titles and died on 28 June 1385.<sup>168</sup>

Soon after helping Andronikos IV to return to his capital in late 1376, Murad officially demanded the return of Gallipoli as promised by Andronikos for his support in the coup. No one felt the shock of such a request more deeply than the Byzantine statesman and man of letters, Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324 - c. 1398), who was also the former tutor to the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425). He wrote an impassioned oration against its return to the Ottomans (*Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*) in a style reminiscent of the oration ‘On (not surrendering) the Chersonese’ (*De Chersoneso*) of the Athenian orator Demosthenes.<sup>169</sup> Demetrius was an avowed enemy of Gregory of Palamas and a strong advocate of reunification with Rome. He had accompanied the Emperor John V and with his enthusiasm for Latin theology – he had earlier translated Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae* into Greek – coupled with his strong suspicion that the Orthodox states of the Balkans like Serbia could not render real assistance to Byzantium against the Ottomans, he urged and succeeded to persuade the Byzantine Emperor to convert to Catholicism on 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1369.<sup>170</sup>

In his address, Cydones sees Gallipoli as a bulwark for ‘the remaining Greeks in Europe’ against both pirates and Barbarians (i.e. foreigners) – making it interestingly one of the very earliest comments on the conflict between Byzantium and the Ottomans as not just one between Christendom and Islam but also one between the continents of Europe and Asia.<sup>171</sup> He also says that rumours of the imminent arrival of the Turks caused panic among the citizens of Constantinople who felt ‘as if they were caught in a net of the barbarians’.<sup>172</sup> Also of great concern was the possible interference by the Turks with the corn-supply from the Mediterranean on which the city of Constantinople now so heavily depended.<sup>173</sup> Andronikos finally agreed in 1376 to surrender Gallipoli to Murad and the fortress was handed over

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<sup>168</sup> The most important modern studies on the complex political history surrounding the civil war are P. Charanis, ‘The strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402’, *Byzantion*, 26 (1942-43) 292-94, G.T. Dennis, *The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Rome, 1960) 26-112, J.W. Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus (1391-1425) - A study in Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick 1967) 19-52 and C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481* (Istanbul, 1990) 32-33.

<sup>169</sup> Demetrius Cydones, *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*, PG 154.1009-36. On the career of Demetrius see now the important study of J.R. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, Vol. 85 (Leiden, Brill, 2010) passim and esp. 43-44, 59-61, 79-81.

<sup>170</sup> O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972) 164-288.

<sup>171</sup> Id. 1012C.

<sup>172</sup> Id. 1013A, see also 1034C/D.

<sup>173</sup> Id. 029B.

before the end of the winter of 1377.<sup>174</sup> A greatly disappointed Demetrius Cydones wrote to one of his friends, Calopheros, on the political crisis in an often-cited letter as it captures the contemporary mood of total helplessness:<sup>175</sup>

Know then that personally I feel well, but I suffer in common with the city (i.e. Constantinople) about which one reports nothing good. For the old scourge, the Turks, pushed to arrogance by the alliance which they concluded with the new emperor against his father, have become more terrible for us. Although they received Gallipoli as compensation and seized many other things belonging to us, and in addition exacted such an amount of money that no one can count easily, they still claim that they are not sufficiently paid for their aid. They command everything and we must obey or else be imprisoned. To such a point they have risen in power, and we are reduced to slavery.

Fortunately, the dreaded blockade of the Straits did not materialize as the Ottoman fleet stationed at Gallipoli seldom numbered more than 20 galleys. In the event, Italian merchantmen, sometimes protected by Venetian galleys, usually managed to get through except when Constantinople was under siege at which time the size of the sentinel was significantly increased. Unlike the failure of the Allied fleet to shoot its way past the Turkish guns in 1915, artillery had not yet become sufficiently advanced in the fourteenth century for merchant ships to be seriously affected by shore-based Ottoman batteries.

With Gallipoli once more in Ottoman control, Khairaddin, the Ottoman governor of Rumelia, built one of the city's first mosques in order to consolidate Islamic rule.<sup>176</sup> Now that he had total control of one of the best sea-crossings between Asia and Europe, Murad could wait for an opportune moment to slip a large Turkish army past the Venetian naval patrol in the Dardanelles. This he achieved in 1389, and the effect of the arrival in Europe of this major reinforcement was both immediate and decisive on Murad's expansionist policy in the Balkans. The hastily combined forces of the Serbians, Bosnians, Albanians and Bulgarians met the Ottomans in the same year on the field of Kosovo Poyle ('the field of blackbirds') (15 June 1389).<sup>177</sup> In the ensuing battle, the Serbian king (or *kral*) was killed but Murad himself fell victim to the dagger of a Serbian assassin in the course of the battle. His successor Beyazid I (r. 1389-1402), however, rallied his father's forces, allowing both sides to claim victory. It was in the waters off Gallipoli that one of the greatest Venetian admirals of his time, Pietro Loredan, won a spectacular victory over the Ottoman fleet on 29 May 1416<sup>178</sup> but his decision not to land forces to capture the city left the vital port facilities in Turkish hands. Gallipoli would further prove its worth to the Ottomans as the base from which Mehmed II the Conqueror would launch his fleet for the final onslaught on Constantinople in 1453.

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<sup>174</sup> On the problem of dating the surrender of Gallipoli see Barker, *op. cit.*, 458-61. Most scholars now accept a hand-over date of 1377.

<sup>175</sup> Idem, *Ep.* 25.11-23, ed. G. Cammelli, *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, i, Collection Byzantine (Paris, 1939) 58-59: Ἴσθι τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντας, νοσοῦντας δὲ μετὰ τῆς πολιτείας κοινῇ, περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν φασιν ἰερόν· τό τε γὰρ ἀρχαῖον κακόν, οἱ Τοῦρκοι, βαρύτεροι γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν, ἐπαρθέντες τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἣν τῷ νέῳ βασιλεὶ κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συνεμάχησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Καλλίπολιν μισθὸν ταύτης λαβόντες καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προπαρалаβότες τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ προσέτ' ἀργύριον ὅσον οὐδ' ἂν τις ῥαδίως ἀριθμῆσαι πραξάμενοι, οὐπω φασὶν ἄξιόν τι τῆς βοήθειας κομίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάττουσι πάντα καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς πάνθ' ὑπαοῦειν, ἢ τι τῶν προστεταγμένων μεμφομένους δεδέσθαι· εἰς τοσοῦθ' ἤκουσιν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐξουσίας, ἡμεῖς δὲ δουλείας. . . . Trans. Charanis, *Strife*, 297-98.

<sup>176</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, 127.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. N. Radojčić, 'Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kosovo Polje', *Byzantion*, 6 (1931) 241-46.

<sup>178</sup> S. Antoniadis, 'Le récit du combat naval de Gallipoli chez Zancaruolo en comparaison avec le texte d'Antoine Morosini et les historiens grecs du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle' in A. Petrusi (ed.) *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento* (Venice, 1966) 268-69.

## DEMETRIUS CYDONES

*Oratio alia deliberativa de non reddenda Callipoli petente Amurate**A Speech asserting that Kallipolis must not be surrendered despite Murad's request*

PG 154, 1009-36

Translated by Dr Gregory Fox<sup>†</sup>

[1009A] Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ περὶ τοιούτων ἡμᾶς ἦκειν βουλευσομένους, ἐξ ὧν ὁποτέρου συμβάντος, αἰσχύνῃ καὶ κίνδυνον ἀνάγκη τῇ πόλει προσγίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων τε καὶ βελτιόνων ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον· ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πράξεσιν, οὐδὲν πώποτε μὴ φιλοτιμίας καὶ δόξης ἐχόμενον, ἀνασχομένης ἐνδείκνυσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλα πράττειν ἡμᾶς ὑπολέλοιπεν ἤδη, πεπράγαμεν δὲ οὐτῶ κακῶς, ὥστε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήτορσιν ἔργον εἶναι τῶν προτιθεμένων ἀεὶ κακῶν τὸ κουφότερον ἐξευρίσκειν· τί λοιπὸν ἢ Θεῷ μὲν εὐχεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν μετριώτερόν τι βουλεύεσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ λελογισμένως τῇ παρουσίᾳ τύχῃ χρωμένους, πειρᾶσθαι [1009B] σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἕως ἔξεστι, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἀπογνόντας, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὴν τε καὶ δόξαν προδοῦναι παντάπασι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνα φαίνεσθαι τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ νῦν ἀποβλέποντας· Ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλή καὶ ἡ καθημέραν γινομένη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀντιλογία περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως ἦν ὁ Μουράτης παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτεῖ. Καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευεῖν εἰωθότων, φασὶ δεῖν ἤδη διδόναι, καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς φανερόν κίνδυνον ἐχούσης τῇ πόλει. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀτυχίας νομίζων οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων προσληγόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τούτοις προησόμεθα τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἂν φαίην ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι τοὺς πλείστους [1009C] τῶν ἐναντίων λόγων οὐδ' ἀνεχομένους ὁρῶ· ἀλλ' οὕτως ὅλους τῆς δουλείας καὶ τοῦ τῷ βαρβάρῳ χαρίζεσθαι γεγονότας. ὥστ' ἐκεῖνου πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τούτους ἐτοιμοτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διδόναι. Τί γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι πρὸς τὴν ἄλογον αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν ἀποβλέπων, καὶ τὸ πολεμίους καὶ προδότας τῶν κοινῶν σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπισχεῖν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι τι περὶ τοῦτοῦ βέλτιον ἀξιοῦντας;

[1009A] Gentlemen, it is not necessary for us to come and enter upon deliberations about these matters, as a result of which whatever happens, shame and danger will of necessity be inflicted upon the city, but our discourse should deal with more noble and glorious themes, especially since our city has never tolerated the manifestation of anything not connected with ambition and glory in the common events. Since prosperity and great deeds have already eluded us, we have fared so badly that it is the task of our public orators to find what is less burdensome than the events which constantly assail us. What else can we do but pray to God to ordain some less severe providences in our regard, that we ourselves may prudently make use of our present fortune, and try [1009B] to save ourselves while we may, not giving way to desperation, as it were, and utterly betraying the valour and glory of our forefathers, but being seen to look to those examples at the present time to the best of our ability. So this issue that is being debated, and about which there is daily disputation back and forth in our assemblies, is about matters in the Chersonese and the city of Kallipolis which Murad (Gr. Muratēs) claims from us in order to maintain peace(able relations). And indeed most of the city and of those who are accustomed to take part in deliberations, affirm that it is necessary to hand it over and not to hesitate, as a delay may cause open danger to the city. But I think that it is an appalling situation, not that we should claim what belongs to the enemy, but that we should deliberate to hand over what is ours to them. In addition to this, I would state that I am particularly annoyed, for I see that most of [1009C] the contrary arguments are not to be tolerated. But I see that they are all so given over to servitude and gratifying the foreigner that they are more ready to give up things than he (Murad) is to receive them. For what should anyone say, as he looked at their mindless impetuosity, both that they are clearly shown to be enemies and

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ [1012A] τοσοῦτον ἐχούσης τοῖς λέγουσι κίνδυνον τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημηγορίας, οὐκ εὐλογον δὲ ἢ τινῶν ἄρξαντα τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος συμβουλῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. Δίκαιοι δ' ἂν εἴητε καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ χαλεπαίνειν, ἂν τινων λογισμοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις μὴ συμβαίνοντας αἰσθησθε. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, περὶ τούτων αἱ πόλεις εἰώθασιν σκοπεῖν καὶ βουλευέσθαι· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ περὶ ὧν τις τάναντία λέγων, οὐ δόξει ληρεῖν. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν εὖ ποιοῦντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδεδώκατε καὶ βουλὴν, ἄλογον δυσχεραίνειν, εἴ τις καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας ἄπτοιο δόξης· ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντος ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινέσαντας χρῆσασθαι ταύτῃ, ἢ, τῶν ἐναντίων κρατούντων, [1012B] τοῖς δόξασιν ἐπεσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμητέον, ὡς αὕτη γ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καλλιπόλις, ἧς οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ τῆς πόλεως φροντίζουσιν φάσκοντες οὗτοι τοῖς πολεμίοις παραινοῦσιν ἐκστῆναι, ἢν αἰεὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων ἡγούμεθα τιμιώτερον, καὶ μεγίστην ἡμῖν συντέλειαν πρὸς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρασχέσθαι δυνάμενον.

Ἀλλὰ κὰν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, κὰν ταῖς βουλαῖς, ὅτε πᾶσι μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ δοκοῦν ἐξεστὶ λέγειν, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἤκουεν ἂν τις ἀλλήλοις πολλοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλων τιθέμενα, ὑπ' ἄλλων δὲ ἀναιρούμενα· φιλόνεικος δὲ οὕτως οὐδεὶς, ὥστ' ἀξιοῦν ἄλλο τι τῆς Καλλιπόλεως προτιμῶν· ἀλλὰ αὕτη δὴ μία γνώμη διὰ πάντων ἐκράτει, ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ φρουρίου, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένειν καὶ [1012C] πονοῦντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ὥστε σῶν αἰεὶ τῇ πόλει τηρεῖσθαι. Τοῦ δ' οὕτω πάντας περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου φρονεῖν αἴτιον ἢ πείρα, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς διδαχθῆναι, ὅσον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις συνήνεγκε πράγμασι. Τοῦ γὰρ μὴ παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος κύματος κατακλυσθέντας μηκέτ' εἶναι πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤγον καὶ ἔφερον οἱ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπικείμενοι, τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἦν. Ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ τειχῶν πάντων ἐπικαιρότατον ὄν, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πόρῳ καὶ τῷ στενῷ κείμενον, ὅθεν αἱ τῶν βαρ-

traitors to the common cause, and that they are claiming to strive and make better deliberations about this matter?

No, but the [1012A] public speech about contrary matters has entailed so much danger to the speakers, that it would not be sensible (for me), once having commenced some matters, to abstain from consultation on behalf of the public benefit. Indeed it would have been right that you should not take it badly if you perceived that the thoughts of some people did not harmonize with our own. For the cities are not accustomed to consider and deliberate about matters about which there is no dispute. But (they will be more likely to talk) about matters that are uncertain and of the kind that someone speaking the opposite about them will not seem to be stupid. Therefore since at the present time you have done well and have offered an assembly and a council, it would be illogical to feel bitter, if anyone might embrace the opposite opinion. Since it especially follows your utterances and judgment either to approve a decision and use it, or, if your adversaries prevail, to follow the course which seems best to you; now therefore this point [1012B] must be kept in mind, that in fact this is Kallipolis which those worthies, those declaring that they care for the city, are urging to give up to the enemy - this city which we always consider to be more valuable than all our possessions and able to provide us with the greatest contribution towards war with the foreigners (lit. barbarians).

But even in the assemblies and in the councils, when men are at liberty to say what they like with freedom, one might hear many men in opposition to one another on many topics - some offering these points and others rejecting them. But there has been nobody so contentious as to consider that anything should be valued more highly than Kallipolis. On the contrary this one opinion prevailed constantly, that we should hold fast to the garrison and put up with all manner of [1012C] trials and tribulations and expenses so that it should be kept safe forever for the city. Experience and being instructed by it have been the cause of all people feeling this way about the garrison, inasmuch as it (Kallipolis) always brought succour to our circumstances. For when all of us and the rest of the Greeks who inhabit Europe were not completely overwhelmed by some wave, when those who are now pressing upon us were harrying and carrying off Asia, this (garrison) was the reason. For indeed it is the



βάρων ἀναγόμεναι νῆες οὐκ ἔμελλον λήσειν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις τριήρεσιν ἐφορμούσαις αὐτόθι παρῆγεν ἄδειαν τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνείργειν ληστὰς, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀσφαλῶς τὰς πόλεις οἰκεῖν. Ἐπειτ' οὐ [1012D] μόνον ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν ὧν . . . . πεπειράμεθα καὶ πειρώμεθ' αὐτὸ ἀπολέσαντες ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν, ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀποστατέον ἢ τούτου. Τοῦ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντιίδα συμβάντος σεισμοῦ ὃς πάντα ἀνέτρεψε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τοῖς βαρβάροις προδεδωκότος, ἢ τε Χερρόνησος πᾶσα τούτοις ἐδουλεύσε, καὶ τὰς ἐν Θράκη πόλεις δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαντο, καὶ πρὶν ἔτος ἐξήκειν, φόρους τε ἡμᾶς ἐπράξαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτεμον γῆν. Κἂν τις τῆς παρουσίας αἰσχύνῃς, καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀδόξων καὶ ταπεινῶν τὴν πόλιν βουλευέσθαι, αἰτίαν τὴν Καλλίπολιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἀπώλειαν εἶναι φῆ, οὐδένα ἂν ἔχοι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον, ἂ παρόντα μὲν τοσαύτην ἠνεγκε τὴν ὠφέλειαν, [1013A] ἀπόντα δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἐπήνεγκε, τούτων ἐκστῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προλαβοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔτι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀτόλμητον ἔσται; Καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὡσπερ δέον τοῖς βαρβάροις πάνθ' ὑπακούειν, ἢ τῶν ἡμετέρων πλεονεκτημάτων ἐκείνους κυρίους ποιεῖν.

Κάκεινο δὲ χρῆ προσενθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠγγέλθη τὴν Καλλίπολιν σεισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ληφθῆναι, τίνας φωνὰς ἠφίεμεν. καὶ τίς ἦν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως θρήνος; καὶ τίς ἦν ἢ τότε παρὰ τῇ πόλει κρατοῦσα φήμη; Οὐχ ὡς ἀπολώλαμεν; Οὐχ ὡς ἐν σαγήνῃ πάντες ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐχόμεθα; Οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοῦδαφος αὐτὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπόκειται τοῖς κινδύνους; Οὐκ [1013B] εὐδαίμων ὁ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν καταλιμπάνων τότε ἐδόκει; Πάντως μέμνησθε, ὡς τῆς πολεμίας μᾶλλον ὑπωπτεύομεν τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὴν ἐξω Στηλῶν πάντες ἠπεύγοντο θάλασσαν, ὡς οὕτω μόνως τῆς δουλείας ἀπαλλαγόμενοι. Ἦν τοίνυν τότε ἔθρηνοῦμεν ἀπολωλυῖαν, καὶ ἧς δουλευούσης, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἦν ἀνέλπιστον τῶν κακῶν, ταύτην οὕτως ἀπλῶς προησόμεθα, ἐπειδήπερ ἢ πρόνοια πάλιν εὖ ποιοῦσα τὰ πράγμαθ' ἡμῖν ἐπανήγαγεν· ὡσπερ ἢ τῆς ζημίας ἐπιλαθόμενοι, ἢ δυστυχοῦντες μὲν

most strategic of all the fortifications in the Hellespont, being situated at the mouth and at the straits. As a consequence, if the ships of the foreigners set sail there, they could never escape notice. Also it provided security to our triremes lying at anchor, in order to force back the thieving foreigners and enable our citizens to dwell safely in the cities. In addition not only [1012D] from the miseries which (we fear but also from those which) we have experienced and are experiencing, once having lost it, it is easy to perceive that we should part with every one of our possessions rather than this. For when the earthquake that took place around the Hellespont and the Propontis overthrew everything and delivered up this territory to the foreigners, all the Chersonese was under their domination and they also annexed the cities in Thrace. Before the year was out, they exacted tribute from us and ploughed the land in front of the walls. Now if anyone were to say that Kallipolis and its loss was the reason for the present shame and the city's debating about such unworthy and humiliating occurrences, - he would meet with no contradiction. How can it be anything but the height of absurdity to surrender to the enemy that which, when we had it, brought such benefit and, when we didn't have it, brought extreme danger? [1013A] When they have taken this, there will be no indignity left for them to perpetrate against the city. And to think that it comes as a result of a treaty, as if it were necessary to obey the foreigners in everything or make them lords of our possessions!

But we must give careful consideration to this; - when the announcement was first made that Kallipolis had been shattered and captured by foreigners, what cries did we utter and what mourning was (manifested) throughout the whole City? What was the predominant utterance? Wasn't it that we are lost? Wasn't it that we are all now shut up within our walls by the foreigners as if in a fishing-net? Wasn't it that the very soil of the City is exposed to danger? At that time wasn't the man who left the city before the danger came considered to be fortunate? [1013B] You have a clear memory of how we viewed our native land with more suspicion than the enemy's and that all hurried to Italy and Cadiz and the sea past the Pillars (of Hercules), as if this was the only way that we were going to get free of slavery. At that time when we had lost it, we indeed grieved for it, and when it was under servitude, there was not a misfortune that we did

ειδότες λογίζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ βελτίονι τύχῃ μὴ δυνάμενοι χρῆσθαι. Καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀπέραντον τὸ κακὸν, εἰ κύριοι μὲν τινῶν ὄντες, οὐκ αἰσθησόμεθα τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφέλειαν, ἀπολωλότων δὲ, ἀθυμήσομεν; καὶ ποθήσομεν μὲν μὴ [1013C] παρόντα, ἐπανελθόντα δὲ αὐθις ρίψομεν· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες, ὡς οὐ καταλύσομεν τὸν ἔρωτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσθήσομεν, ὅταν οὐκ ἦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντικρὺς οὐ Πενελόπης ἰστὸν, ἑαυτοὺς δ' ἔστιν ἀναλύντων, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μισούντων εὐχάς.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μὲν οἰκειοῖς τέλεσι καὶ στρατείαις καὶ πόνοις ταύτην ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένην ἀνεκτησάμεθα, χρῆν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως ὧν ἀνηλώκαμεν καὶ πεπονήκαμεν ἐπιλαθομένους, ταύτην ἐκείνοις πάλιν προέσθαι· ὅμως εἶχε τινα λόγον τὸ πάλιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι ταύτην ἀναλαβεῖν ὅταν βουλώμεθα, πείσαι ταύτης νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀμελήσαι· εἰ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀνόητον, ἐκόντας ἐκδιδόντας, αὐθις ἀνασώζειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἑκατέραν πράγματα ἔχειν. [1013D] Εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς τόθ' ἀλούση τῶσαυτ' ἀπέσχομεν αὐτῇ βοηθήσαι, ὅσον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦ πτήσεσθαι· ἴστε γὰρ ὡς ἔτους ἐκάστου περὶ τούτων ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζοντες, πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἢ Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἦγε, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλέγομεν δεῖν· νεῶν δὲ πλείονων, ἢ δι' ὅσων τὴν Τροίαν Ἕλληνες εἶλον· χρημάτων δ' ὅσων οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἐκάστων οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν ἀρκέσαι· ἄλλοι δὲ τινες πόρρωθεν ἦγοντες, καὶ ἡμῖν ὧν ἀπεστερήμεθα συναλγήσαντες, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις καὶ ἀναλώμασιν αὐθις ἡμῖν ἀπέδοσαν, ὧν πρότερον ἐκπεπώκαμεν· τί δεῖ πάλιν εἰς τὰς πρότερον καθίστασθαι συμφορὰς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀφανίζειν φιλοτιμίαν, οἷς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ στήλην ἔδει σταθῆναι μνημεῖον ὧν ἡμᾶς εὐηρέτησαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν [1016A] μαινομένων ποιεῖν, οἱ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιρρηγνύντες· ἀσημονοῦσι· κἄν τις αὐτοὺς περιστέλλῃ, οἱ δὲ πάλιν γυμνοῦνται, καὶ δάκνουσι τοὺς δι' οἶκτον ἐπιμελουμένους αὐτῶν.

not expect. So shall we simply abandon it (Kallipolis), since again a benign providence has brought back prosperity (?) to us, like people who forget about the cost or who know how to reason in miserable circumstances, but do not know how to cope with better fortune? Indeed how will misfortune ever have an end, if when we have some control of some matters we do not realize the profit to be gained from them? But when these things are lost, we shall be despondent, and we shall long for the things that we do not [1013C] have, but when these return to us, we shall fling them out again. And we know this that we will not abolish love, but that we will increase it, whenever it is absent. For this clearly a case not of those unravelling the loom of Penelope but of those unravelling themselves and hating their own prayers.

Now indeed, if we have gained this city at the time that it was subject to the foreigners (lit. barbarians), through our own taxes and expeditions and toils, we ought not to forget in this way our expenditure and suffering and surrender this city to them. Nevertheless there might be some rational justification for our surrendering it now when it is in our power to take it back when we wish. Although otherwise, as I said, it would be stupid to give it up willingly and then again try to recover it and have problems on a daily basis. [1013D] When it was under occupation, we were so far from giving it assistance as being able to fly, in my opinion. For you know that we used to say when we convened the assembly each year to deal with these matters that we needed an infantry force to cope with the problems no smaller than what Xerxes led against the Greeks, and more ships than those used by the Greeks to capture Troy, and we said that all the money that would be raised by everyone cashing in their estates would not be sufficient. Indeed some people who came from a long distance expressed their deep sympathy at the privations that we had suffered, and despite their own dangers and expenses, restored to us what we had previously lost. So what need is there now to plunge ourselves into those previous misfortunes and to nullify the magnanimity of those who deserved to have a column erected by us in their honour for all the benefits that they bestowed on us? [1016A] They rip off their garments and disgrace themselves, perform the rôle of maniacs. And if anyone tries to put clothes on them, they remove their clothes again and bite those who through pity are

Αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δῆλον εἶναι τινα ἑαυτῇ μὴ ἀρκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τινῶν παιδαγωγῶν ἐτέρων δεῖσθαι, οἱ τούτω τὰ ὄντα τηρήσουσι· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βοηθούτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικεῖν βουλομένους εἰργόντων, καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὅπως εὖ πράξειε προνοούντων, αὐτὸν κρημνίζειν ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πληροῦν τὰς εὐχὰς, τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν μαινομένων παραδείγματα σαφῶς ὑπεραίρει. Πρὸς Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλθόντες, ἢ καὶ πρέσβεις [1016B] πέμψαντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οἱ καὶ Καλλίπολιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀφελόμενοι, καὶ ἡμῖν παραδόντες, λέγοιεν· «Ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ προξενία γέ τις ἦν ἡμῖν παρὰ Βυζαντίοις, οὐδὲ χάριτός τινος ἢ βοηθείας ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπαρξάσης, ἔδει τὴν δωρεὰν ἀνατανάπληροῦν· τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ οὐδ' ἄνευ ἐρμηνέων ὅτι βούλεσθε συνιέντες, ἐπειδὴ μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν προσκυνούοντας, ἠκούομεν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καταπατεῖσθαι· καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν γῆν ἐκεῖνοις φέρειν τοὺς καρπούς καὶ τὰ κέρδη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνασταθῆναι· καὶ τῶν μὲν σωματῶν ὅσα τὸ ξίφος διέφυγε, πανταχόσε διασπαρέντα δουλεῦειν· τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἅμα τούτοις τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ πειθοῖ καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτους ὀμίλια μαινεσθαι· τοσοῦτο [1016C] δ' ὑμῖν τῆς χώρας λειφθῆναι, ὅσον μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς φόρους οὕς οἴσετε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀρκεῖν· πάντα δὲ τὸν ὑμέτερον κόσμον πρὸς ἐκείνους μετατεθεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιπὸν εὐχὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι τὸ γοῦν δουλεῦειν συγχωρηθῆναι· ταῦτα τῆς φήμης ἀκούσαντες, καὶ συμφορὰν ἰδίαν τὰ οἰκεῖα λογισάμενοι πάθη, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ταῦτ' ἐροῦσαν πρεσβείαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀναμείναντες, ἐξήλθομεν μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, κατελίπομεν δὲ γονέας καὶ φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτηδείους, δεομένους καθῆσθαι, καὶ τῶν οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολαύειν ἡδέων, καὶ μὴ περιεργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακῶν καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων τύχης κληρονομεῖν. Ἦσαν δὲ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἡμῶν καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ πατέρων δεόμενα. Καὶ ἴστε τοὺς τῆς οἰκίας ἔρωτας, [1016D] καὶ ὡς τὴν ἐξ ἀδάμαντος καρδίαν γυνὴ δακρῦσασα μαλάξειεν ἄν, καὶ τέκνων ἀσθένεια πατρικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δεομένη. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμῖν πρὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας γέγονε σωτηρίας·

concerned for them.

Now this is a shocking thing that it is obvious that a person is not self-sufficient (*compos mentis*), but needs certain other tutors as it were, to mind his things for him. So that even when he has others helping him and restraining those who wish to harm him and taking precautions in every way so that he may prosper, he hurls himself down headlong on purpose and fulfils the prayers of his enemies – this clearly goes beyond the (bad) examples of those who are insane. In the name of God – if only those who snatched Kallipolis from the [1016B] foreigners and handed it over to us could come or send ambassadors and say, “Gentlemen, we are bound to you by no ties of blood, for we had no friendship-treaty with the people of Byzantium, nor did we receive any benefit or assistance from you, which might have necessitated some repayment of the gift. No, but from the beginning we did not know what you wanted without resorting to interpreters, when we heard only that those who with us worshipped Christ were being trampled under foot by foreigners. And further that your land was providing them with produce and profit, and that your cities were being overthrown by them and that whatever persons had escaped the sword were scattered to every place and in slavery. In addition to these things their souls were polluted by force, by persuasion and by daily relationships with them (i.e. the foreigners). [1016C] And such a small portion of your land was left for you that it wasn't even enough to provide the tribute that you had to pay to the foreigners. Also all of your resources was transferred to their ownership and subsequently it was your prayer that you might be permitted to exist at least in a state of servitude. Having heard the report of these things and considering your misfortunes to be our calamity and not waiting for envoys from you by which you might tell us these things. We left behind our fatherlands and left behind our parents and friends and the other close acquaintances, although they asked us to stay and enjoy the pleasant benefits at home with our relatives and not be anxious or incur the miseries that come from war and the misfortunes of others. Most of us had wives and children – the former needed their husbands, the latter their fathers. And you know the love of the household, [1016D] how a weeping wife would soften a heart made of adamant, as would the weakness of children, which had need of the protective gaze of a father.

ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑπεριδόντες, καὶ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ μέγα πέλαγος διαβάντες, καὶ ταῖς τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῶν χειμῶνων τύχαις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποθέντες, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν προειρημένου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐλπίζομένου, πλὴν τῆς ὑμῶν ὠφελείας, μισθοῦ, ἤκομεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν γονέων, τὰ ὅπλα θέμενοι· καὶ πρὶν τῶν νεῶν ἀποβῆναι, πολλὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους κινδυνεύσαντες, μεγάλη δυνάμει τὴν ἀπόβασιν εἰργοντες, οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν βιασάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤκομεν· τὸ τότε μὲν ὑμῖν πάντων ἀνάξιον, νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ [1017A] τοῦτ' ἔχετε, μηδ' ἐν προσθήκης μέρει δοκοῦν· καὶ Θεοῦ τυχόντες εὐμενοῦς, εἴλομεν μὲν ἐκεῖνο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αἰσχυρῶς φυγεῖν ἠναγκάσαμεν. Ἀνελαμβάνομεν δὲ τοὺς ὑμετέρων αὐτόθι δουλεύοντας· ὅπλοις δὲ, καὶ σίτῳ, καὶ σώμασι, καὶ πᾶσιν ὧν ἔδει τὸ τεῖχος ἐπισκεύασαντες, παρεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκεία κεκρησθαι.

καὶ τὸ τέως ὑπὸ πάντων θρυλλούμενον ἀμῆχανον, ὡς τῆς Καλλιπόλεως ἀφεστῶσης ἀμῆχανον μὴ δουλεῦσαι, καὶ ὃ πάντες ἔν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ᾤοντο, ταύτην ἐπανασῶσαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ δόξαν ἐκπέπρακται· καὶ κύριοι μὲν ὑμεῖς τοῦ πορθυμοῦ· ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λιμέσι χρωμένους, τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ληστείας καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλους ἀνείργειν·» εἰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοιεν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθάνοιντο· «Τί δήποτ', ὃ χρηστοὶ. καὶ [1017B] πρὸς μηδὲν τέλος ὀρῶντες ἐν οἷς πράττετε, ὧν πρὶν ἐπεθυμεῖτε τυχόντες, πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας φθονεῖτε, καὶ δουλεῦειν αἰρεῖσθε; Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν βούλεται τὸ τοῖς βαρβάρους πάλιν ἐγχειρίζειν τὴν πόλιν·» τί ἐροῦμεν, ἢ τί ἀποκρινόμεθα πρὸς Θεοῦ; Πάντως ἀνάγκη κύπτειν εἰς γῆν, καὶ συγχωρεῖν μετ' αἰσχύνῃς οἷς λέγουσι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν δίκαιον ἀντειπεῖν. Καὶ μὴν οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦντας Χριστιανοὺς, οἷεσθαι χρὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν εἶναι λόγον. Ἄ τε γὰρ ἔπραξαν οἱ δεῦρ' ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκείνων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· καὶ νῦν ἂν τὰ μετὰ τοσοῦτων κινδύνων κτηθέντα προώμεθα, πάντως οὐκ ἀγνοήσουσι. Τίνας τοίνυν οὕτω δεινοὺς λέγειν πέμψετε [1017C] Ἰταλοῖς, Γαλάταις, Γερμανοῖς, Κέλταις, Ἰσπανοῖς, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις, τοῖς ἔξω Γαδείρων, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας πρὸς πάντας ἀπολογήσονται; Καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων οὐδένα λόγον ἐνδεχομένων,

But nevertheless we valued none of these things more than your safety, but disregarding everything and crossing the great sea with a large fleet and subjecting ourselves to the fortunes of sea and storms, with no terms appointed and nothing promised, except your welfare, we came bearing arms on your behalf no less than for ourselves and our children. And before we disembarked from our ships, we experienced many dangers at the hands of foreigners, who were trying to prevent our landing with great might. We overcame their first combatants with considerable danger and toil and made our way to the garrison. Then indeed it was beyond all price to you, but now since you have this, it does not even seem to be an acquisition. [1017A] Now under the gracious hand of God, we have captured it and compelled the enemy to flee ingloriously. And we have recovered those of your people who were in captivity. We equipped the garrison with weapons and food, with soldiers and everything that was necessary and we restored the city to you for you to use as your own possession.

What everyone in general conversation declared was that with Kallipolis not under our own control it was impossible to avoid servitude, and what everyone thought was in the realm of the impossible - to secure this city - this has been accomplished contrary to expectation. Indeed you are masters of the Strait. It is possible for you to use the harbours there and to restrain the brigandage and naval expeditions of the foreigners. If they were in fact to say these things, they might find out the reason. Why on earth, my noble hearers [1017B] do you begrudge yourselves liberty and choose bondage, not seeing any purpose in the matters that you are transacting after having obtained the benefits which you previously desired? For this means that you are handing the city over to the foreigners again. What are we to say or what response are we to make before God? It is quite necessary that we bow down to the ground and admit with shame the things that they are saying because we have nothing just to say to them in defence. Indeed we must not think that that same opinion will be held about you by them (the foreigners) alone, but by all the Christians who dwell in Europe. For everyone knows what those of the foreigners who have sailed out to this place have done. Now if we let go what has been acquired at such great danger, they will absolutely know what it is all about. Indeed, what clever

ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις συναχθομένων, τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων, ἐφ' οἷς ματαίους αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πεποιήκαμεν πόνους. Τίνας δ' ἡμῖν οἶεσθε καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀράς ἐπαχθήσεσθαι, ὀρώσης οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον δι' ὧν ποιούμεν προδιδόντας τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ τούτου γινομένους αἰτίους, οὗ τῶν πάποτε τολμηθέντων ἐναγέστερον οὐτ' ἀπανθρωπότερον εἴποι τις ἄν;

Τίνας δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ἢ καὶ θυσίας προσοίσει, ὀρῶσα πάντας ἐκόντας οὕτως τὰ χεῖριστα αἰρουμένους; [1017D] Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν πῶς οὐ καὶ καταράτους τοιούτοις ἐπιχειροῦντας ἠγήσεται; Ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθὰ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλομένων, καὶ ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεομένων, οὐ τῶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολλύντων, καὶ θύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν. Κατηγορίαὶ δὲ καὶ ἀραὶ παρὰ πάντων. εἴ τις ἑαυτὸν προδιδούς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζοι. Τίνας δ' ἡμῖν καὶ συγκαλέσει συμμάχους, ἢ μετὰ ποίας γνώμης ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέξεται βοήθειας; τίνας δὲ καὶ πείσει ποιεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν εἰς τὸναντίον αὐτῇ τὴν σπουδὴν ὀρᾷ τελευτῶσαν; Ἄ γὰρ ὁ Κόμης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπόνησεν ἐκείνη πεισθεὶς, τούτων ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους μετενεγκεῖν τὴν ὠφέλειαν βούλεσθε. Ὅλως δὲ τίνας χρῆ προσδοκὸν ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους ἡμῖν, εἰδόμενος ὡς οὐδὲν οὐτ' αὐτοῖς οὐθ' [1020A] ἡμῖν ἔστ' ὄφελος ὧν πονήσουσιν, ἡμῶν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλα πάλιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ῥιπτόντων μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῖν λειπομένου ὑπὲρ οὗ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰσόμεθα τῶν κινδύνων, ὃ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἠγωνισμένοις λείπεται πρὸς παραμυθίαν; Οἱ γὰρ εὖ παθόντες, ῥίψαντες τὰ δοθέντα, οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὧν ἔδοσαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μήτ' αὐτοὶ οἰκεία δυνάμει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμεθα, καὶ τοῖς συμμαχεῖν δυναμένοις ἄντικρυς προερούμεν δι' ὧν ποιούμεν φεύγειν ἡμᾶς, τί λοιπὸν, ἢ τῷ χεῖρε δήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἰκετεύειν, καὶ μόνον ἄν συγχωρῶσι ζῆν, κέρδος ἠγεῖσθαι;

orators will you send to the Italians, Gauls, Germans, Celts and Spaniards, [1017C] to those who live on the continents, on the islands and those who live beyond Cadiz, who will (be able to) make a defence to everyone in the light of this shame and madness? And moreover since the changes have no rationale, some of them will be grieved at the things being destroyed and others will be enraged, as they perceive that we have rendered their labours on our behalf futile. And what kind of anathemas do you think will be flung at us by the Church, when it sees that we are betraying to the ungodly not only ourselves through the things which we do, but that we are becoming the instigators of this evil against all Christians? Of all the evils perpetrated at any time, it would be impossible for anyone to name a more accursed and inhuman one.

What kind of prayers and sacrifices will it (the Church) offer on our behalf, when she sees everyone choosing the worst possible policies? Quite the contrary, how will she not regard [1017D] as accursed those who attempt such things? For we think it right to sacrifice and pray and do all manner of things on behalf of those who desire good things for themselves and others and who pray to God that they may obtain these things, not for those who destroy themselves deliberately. But accusations and curses from everyone, if anyone was betraying himself, would compel other people (to the same judgement). And what allies will it (the church?) summon for us, or with what mentality will it talk about assistance for us? What people will it persuade to act and take risks for us, when its zeal ending up in a state contrary to it? For you are thinking about transferring the benefit of the things for which the Count at its (the church's?) persuasion, has worked for us to the hands of the foreigners. [1020A] Indeed what allies must we expect to secure, once they knew that there will be no benefit either to them or to us from all their toils, as we throw back to the conquered enemy the rewards we have gained at the conclusion of the war and as there will be nobody left for us to thank for the largess that they have incurred - the only thing which remains as a consolation for those who have striven on behalf of others? For those who have been treated well but fling away what they have been given do not demonstrate gratitude to their benefactors for the things which they have given. But indeed if we do not defend ourselves against our enemies by our own power

[1020B] Ὡσθ' ὅταν εἰ δέοι τὴν Καλλίπολιν διδόναι βουλευήσθε, οὐδὲν ἕτερόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, ἢ ζητεῖν πότερον ἐνδοξότερον, καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις λυσιτελέστερον, ζῆν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀπολαύοντας τῶν ὄντων, καὶ τούτων ἀντεχομένων, ἢ ταῦτα ῥίψαντας, τὴν δουλείαν ἀσπάσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑβρίν τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων δόξης προτιμότερον θέσθαι. Ἀλλὰ τούτων γε ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ παντάπασιν ἐξεστηκότες δύνανται σωφρονεῖν. Οὐδεὶς δὲ οὕτω δυστυχῆς, ὅστις, ἐξὸν ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττειν, ἄλλοις ὑπακούειν αἰρήσεται· καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ πολεμιοτάτοις, καὶ μηδένα μὲν ἔχων μισθὸν τῆς δουλείας, προστιθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ οἴκοθεν. Εἰ δέ τινες τούτοις μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀντιλέγειν τολμῶσι, τῷ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ φύσει πραγμάτων οὕτω ταυτί διωρίσθαι, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι [1020C] καὶ Βαρβάροις οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔμφυτον εἶναι μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ οἰκεῖα προῖεσθαι· δεδοίκασι δὲ τὸν μὲν λιμὸν ἐπικείμενον βλέποντες, ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν τὸν σῆτον, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους, ἂν μὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀφεστώμεν αὐτοῖς. κερεῖν μὲν τὴν γῆν, καταλήψεσθαι δὲ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια, πάντα δὲ ἀνασπάσειν ἐφεξῆς ἀπειλοῦντας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιοῦσι συγχωρεῖν οἷς αἰτοῦσι, κουφότερον τὴν εἰς τᾶλλα ζημίαν κρίνοντας τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὀλέθρου· πρῶτον μὲν ἴστωσαν οἱ ταῦτα δημηγοροῦντες, ὡς οὐ δι' ὧν ἐλάττω τὰ κακὰ ποιήσομεν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν καὶ προσθήσομεν. Οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς, οὔτ' ἄλλους εἰπεῖν ἂν νομίζω τὸ μὴ τὰς ἡμετέρας πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις προῖεσθαι αἴτιον ἡμῖν γενόμενον τῶν [1020D] παρόντων κακῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ προδιδόναι ταύτας ἀφαιρήσειν τῆς δυστυχίας· ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦναντίον ἡμῶν ἀμελούντων ἐάλωσαν, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς παρούσας ἀνάγκας, Οὐ δὴ δι' ὧν ἐκ μεγάλων φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα γέγονε, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῦτα πειρατέον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι· ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτ' ἀφεκτέον τοῦ καὶ νῦν τὰ ὄντα προῖεσθαι, ὅσον καὶ πάντα, τῷ προσκτᾶσθαι καὶ τῷ προσλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ τὰ ὄντα ῥίπτειν, πλουσιωτέρους γινομένους ὀρῶμεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ποιεῖτε παραπλήσιον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τῶν μελῶν ἀφαιρῶν, οἷοιτο τὴν ἀκμὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τηρεῖν· ἢ τοῖς διαρπάζειν βουλομένοις ἐκδιδοῦς τὴν οὐσίαν, προστιθέναί τοις οὐσίαις. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τᾶναντία τοῖς

and definitely send a message to those who are able to be our allies, as a result of the things which we do, so that they run away from us, what else is there left for us but to tie both our hands and beseech our enemies in supplication and count it a benefit, if only they grant us our lives?

[1020B] As a consequence, whenever you deliberate about whether you should hand over Kallipolis, you seem to me to be doing nothing other than inquiring whether it is more glorious and universally advantageous to live in liberty benefiting from one's possessions and holding on to them or to hurl these things away and embrace slavery and value the brutality of the foreigners more highly than glory from other people. But indeed because of these things men who have been absolutely beside themselves can behave in a sober fashion and no one is so unfortunate, when he is permitted to give instructions to others, that he will choose to obey orders from others, especially when they are the worst and most warlike of people and when he has no reward for his servitude, but actually contributes from his own resources. Whereas some people do not dare to contradict these things at all, because these things are so defined by the order and nature of things and are taken for granted among all the Greeks [1020C] and foreigners and it is an innate feature of all people not to give up their personal possessions to the enemy. Indeed they fear the onset of famine as they see the corn at its height, the foreigners (unless we can banish them from the city) threatening to ravage the land, capture the garrisons of the city and rip up everything one after the other. They think for this reason that they should agree to what they demand, judging that damage to other things is a lighter affliction than the destruction of the native land. First let those who utter such sentiments know that they are not saying things through which we will make the misfortunes less, but through which we will increase them. For I do not think that any other people will say that the fact that we are not giving up our cities to the foreigners is the cause of the present [1020D] misfortunes and that because of this – giving them up – we will remove the misfortune. But quite the contrary, because we were neglectful they were captured – this brought upon us the present calamities. Indeed we must not use the means whereby our greatness has become paltry to try to restore it to its former glory. But we must desist from now giving up our possessions just as

φανεροῖς ἐστὶ καὶ φρονεῖν, καὶ ποιεῖν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶ  
τινα Θεὸς πέμψας προσέτατε δωρεὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ  
ζητεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀτυχήσοντας, οὐδὲν ἄν [1021A]  
ὑμᾶς ἕτερον αἰτῆσαι νομίζω πρὸ τῶν πόλεων ὡς  
ἀπωλέσαμεν, ὡς οὐτῶ μόνως ἐξὸν εἰς τε τὴν  
προτέραν τύχην ἀναδραμεῖν, καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτῆσαι  
τοὺς νῦν πλεονάζοντας. Εἰθ' ὧν τυχόντες οὐκ ἄν  
εὐξαίμεθα μείζω, ταῦτ' ἐξεπίτηδες ἀπολλύντες,  
τὸ συνοῖσον περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν νομίζομεν  
βεβουλεῦσθαι; Καὶ πῶς οὐ μαίνεσθαι δόξομεν;

Ἐπειτα οὐδ' ὅμοιον, προπολεμοῦντας τῶν  
οἰκείων, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, εἶτα παίσαντας  
ταῦτα ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αἰτούντων ἢ  
καὶ ἐπιταπτόντων, ταύτην ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ζημίαν.  
Ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ τὸ γοῦν αἰσχρὸν ἄπεστι, καὶ  
μόνης τῆς τύχης γίνεται τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἧς  
ἀνθρώπους γε ὄντας οὐκ ἔστιν αἰεὶ [1021B] περι-  
γίνεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἐκόντας καθ' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς ἐχθίσι-  
τοις ὑπηρετεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς  
ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως πόρρω πίπτει, καὶ μόνης  
ἀναισθησίας ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει· ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν συμ-  
βήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ μεταθώμεθα περὶ ὧν βουλευό-  
μεθα.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ μὲν ἦν τις ἡμῖν ἀξιόχρεως  
τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων γνώμης ἐγγυητῆς (Θεὸς δ' ἄν  
ἦν οὗτος· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
δοτέον ἐπίστασθαι), ὡς ἐὰν ἂ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι  
παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπαγγέλλουσι λάβωσιν, ἡσυχάσουσι  
τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν στήσουσιν ἐν τοῖς  
δεδομένοις, αἰσχρὸν μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὕτως, καὶ  
τῶν μέχρι νῦν τοῖς προγόνοις κατωρθωμένων  
ἀνάξιον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ γῆν [1021C] καὶ κατὰ  
θάλατταν αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἐναντιώτατον, καὶ  
πᾶσαν ἄρδην ἀνατρέπον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν,  
δοκεῖν εἶκειν τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ὅπως οὖν, καὶ  
ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς λυμαίνονται τοῖς ἡμετέροις καλοῖς,  
καὶ κατορύττειν γε προσῆκε τὸν ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμ-

much as we see everybody becoming richer, not  
by throwing away their possessions, but by  
gaining and obtaining more. And you do virtually  
the same thing as if someone were to amputate  
some of his limbs and think that he was  
maintaining the vigour and strength of his body.  
Or, by handing over his substance to those who  
wanted to grab it, he might think that he would  
add to his possessions! But this is contrary to  
what is obvious both in thought and action.  
Indeed I think that, if God sent someone and  
instructed you to receive gifts from him, so that  
you [1021A] would not get discouraged, you  
would not ask anything else, the consideration of  
the cities that we have lost, than that you be  
permitted to do this one thing and rush back to  
your former fortunate situation and seek repara-  
tion from those who are now behaving in an  
excessive manner. So are we to think that by  
deliberately destroying those things which are  
greater than our most hopeful prayers, we have  
taken beneficial counsel on our own behalf?  
Surely we will appear in the eyes of people to be  
insane.

Furthermore it is not the same thing when we  
have fought beforehand for our possessions and  
incurred danger and then to falter and cast away  
these things, and when the foreigners request  
these things, or rather demand them, to bear this  
loss. For in that way what is evil is absent and  
there is nothing but the loss [1021B] of fortune,  
over which it is not always possible for us being  
mortals to exercise control. But to be willing to  
do service to those who are utterly hostile against  
ourselves, this is far removed from rational  
feeling and human nature, and shows nothing else  
but insensibility. This now will happen to us if we  
do not change our attitude in the matters about  
which we are deliberating.

Apart from these things, if we could find any  
worthy guarantor for the intentions of the  
foreigners (it would clearly be God, for no human  
being may be allowed to understand such things)  
that if the foreigners take what now they demand  
from us they would subsequently relent and  
would limit their covetousness in respect of the  
things that have already been given to them, it  
would be so utterly bad and unworthy of the  
noble deeds of our forefathers up till the present,  
and completely contrary to their achievements on  
land [1021C] and sea, and would completely  
overthrow all the glory of the city so that we  
would seem in some way to surrender to the

βουλεύειν ἢ καὶ πείθειν τολμῶντα, Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἡμᾶς πείθοι, ὡς ἔστι τῶν νῦν ζητουμένων παραχωρήσαντας, τοῖς λειφθησομένοις χρῆσθαι μετ' ἀσφαλείας, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν μελῶν τινα σιδήρῳ καὶ καύσεσιν ἐκδιδόντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι ζῆν· οἷς τοῦ θανάτου πικρότερον γίνεται τὰ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδη.

σιγάσθω μὲν τὰ τῆς πατρίδος καλά· ἀριστέων δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἀνατραπήτωσαν· ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ἐξαλειφείσθω, τοῖς ἐσομένοις δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν· καὶ πᾶς δ' αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ δόξης διηनुσμένος [1021D] ἀγὼν λήθη δεδόσθω, καὶ περιεργία δοκείτω τὸ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ δόξης αἰρεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὴ, ὅπως μὲν πόλεως, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερέχει· καὶ ἀνθ' ὑπακουστέον τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ οἷς συγχωροῦσιν ἔχειν ἐμμενέ- τέον. Εἰ δ' ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτ' ἐλπῖσαι τις ἄν, τοὺς βαρβάρους λαβόντες, ἃ νῦν αἰτοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἡσυχάζειν, τίς ὁ πείθων λόγος ὡς ἄρα δεῖ συμφέρον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὅπλοις τοὺς πολεμίους ὀπλιζέειν, ἴν' ὡς ἔοικε δυσκαταγωνιστοτέροις χρῆσώμεθα; Εἰ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐθήτεον καὶ κλοπαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου, καὶ ληστεῖαις ἐχρῶντο, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἐπεθύμησαν, οὐδένα πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι παραιτούμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡμετέρων τότε καὶ σώμασι, καὶ χρήμασι, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἐλλείπειν, ἐρρωμένως [1024A] ἀμυνομένων· τί χρὴ νῦν προσδοκῶν αὐτοὺς δράσειν, καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα προσλαβόντες ἰσχυρὰ, καὶ μάλιστα νῦν, ὅτε τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἀπόθετα πάντα ἀνήλωται, οἱ δὲ πόροι τούτων ἐπέλιπον· ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἕκαστος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρκεῖ· σώματα δὲ ἔφθαρται· αἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συντάξεις ἐκλέλυνται· χωρία δὲ πάντα προεἰλη- πται; Οὗτοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μυσῶν πρότερον τὴν Τριβαλῶν νῦν ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι βασιλείαν· τοσοῦτον ἀναπνεῖν ἡμῖν συγχωροῦντες, ὅσον πρὸς ἐκείνους ἡσχόληνται. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τάκει διοικῆσονται, ἐπανήξουσι μὲν ἡμῖν φοβεροὶ, ζητήσουσι δὲ οὐ τὴν Καλλιόπολιν τότε, οὐδὲ περὶ φόρων τότε ἀκριβολογήσονται, οὐδὲ στάχυσιν οὐδ' ἀμπέλους ἀπειλήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὸ χρεῖναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων [1024B] καὶ ἡμᾶς γινῶναι τοὺς ὄντας δεσπότης.

foreigners, and that in those things which damage our goods; and he who would dare to give this counsel to us or persuade us would have to be buried in the earth. But indeed if someone were to persuade us that after making the concessions which are now being sought, we should use the things that are left behind in safety, like those who give up some of their limbs to the sword or burning tortures so that they may stay alive with the remainder of their body. To them the reproaches from everyone become a more bitter trial than death.

Indeed let the good things of the native land be silent, let the statues of men of nobility be overthrown, let the inscriptions, which show the valour of the city to future citizens, be obliterated. [1021D] And let every conflict completed in her for the sake of glory be consigned to forgetfulness and let the choice of incurring danger for the sake of glory be considered a work of supererogation. Indeed this is the issue, whereby one city is better than another and one man better than another. Otherwise we must obey the foreigners in every respect and remain satisfied with those things which they allow us to have. But if someone would hope for everything rather than this, that the foreigners, after having taken what they now are demanding from us, would be quiet, what is the persuasive argument that it is necessary in fact and advantageous to arm the enemy with our own weapons, so that we may seemingly enjoy greater invincibility? For if, when they were in bondage and had recourse to thieving and robbery to meet all the exigencies of life, they desired our realm, shirked no toil or danger, so that they could obtain it, and that when our soldiers were stoutly resisting with their bodies and their substance and with the greatest possible zeal, [1024A] what are we now to expect them to do, when they have taken our strongholds and especially now that all the funds laid aside have been used up and their revenue has failed? On the personal level each person does not have enough to sustain his household – bodies have been destroyed – the covenants made with the enemy have been broken and all the places (of importance) have been taken already. But they after the battle with the Bulgars (lit. Mysians) first and now with the Serbs (lit. Triballians) lead and bring the kingdom, allowing us to take a respite as long as they are busy with them. But if they settle affairs there (properly), they will come back upon us with a vengeance and then they will



Τότε τί συμβουλευόσους οἱ πάντ' εὐχερεῖς οὔτοι, καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον σκοπούμενοι; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ νῦν τοῖς βαρβάρους ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω καὶ τότε δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς παραινέσους, χρηστοὺς ἄρα πολίτας αὐτοῦς, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξίους προστάτας ἀποφανοῦσιν· εἰ δ' ὅπερ εὐλογον καὶ Θεῷ μὲν ἀρέσκον, πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν συγκεκριμένον ἀνθρώποις, εἰθὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐξαρχῆς τοῖς πόλεως ἔργοις, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ συμβαῖνον, τότε συμβουλευεῖν θελήσους, ὡς ἄρα ἀθεκτέον μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὴν δουλείαν φοβερῶτατον [1024C] ἡγήτεον· τί νῦν παραινῶσιν, ἃ τότε ἀναιρήσουσι δι' ὧν συμβουλευόσους; Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τότε πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν συμβουλευόντες, καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ συμμάχων, καὶ τόπων, καὶ λιμένων, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσθήκην ἐπινοήσουσιν. Εἶτα τῶν μὴ ὄντων ὅπως προσέσται τότε σκεψόμενοι, τὰ ὄντα νῦν ἐκβαλοῦσι; καὶ προσθήκην ζητοῦντες, ἀφαιρέσει νομοῦσι περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δοκοῦντος; Εἰ γὰρ ὅπως δεῖ πολεμεῖν, βέλτιον τοῖς ὅλοις μετὰ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλαττοῦν ἐξεπίτηδες, μεθ' ὧν ἀνάγκη διαφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ καὶ μετὰ συμμάχων. Εἰ τούτων ἄνευ εἴποι τις ἂν δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ πενίας· καὶ ἀπλῶς μεθ' ὅτι πλείστης οἷόν τε περιουσίας· εἰ δ' ὅτι μικρὰ μὲν ἢ Καλλιπόλις, [1024D] μεγίστη δὲ ἢ μητρόπολις, διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ τοῦλαττον ἀντι τοῦ μεγίστου προῖεσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀνόητον μεγέθει τὰ πράγματα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ βέλτιον μὲν αἰεὶ τὸ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἦττον χειρόν δοκεῖν· ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν χειρίστον ᾤετο, ὅτι δὴ καὶ μικρότατον, ἢ καὶ τοὺς τὰ σώματα μεῖζους βελτίους τῶν μετρίων ἡγεῖτο. Καὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως τοῖνον οὐ τὸν περίβολον μόνον καὶ τὸν τῶν πύργων ἀριθμὸν προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τοῦ χωρίου λογίζεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀκρόπολις τις τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως εἶναι δοκεῖ· καὶ ὡς ἕως μὲν αὐτὴν ἡμεῖς εἶχομεν, ἢ τε Χερρόνησος καὶ αἰ ἐν Θράκῃ πόλις ἡμῖν ὑπήκουον καθαρῶς· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ταύτην κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐκεῖνά τε ἀπέστη, καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας οἱ λόγοι γίνονται [1025A] καθημέραν· τοσαύτην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ῥοπήν ἔχει τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο χωρίον, Ὡστ' εἰ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος

not only aim at Kallipolis nor will they make precise demands for tribute nor will they threaten to attack the crops or the vineyards but they will demand (our) liberty and that we and other people [1024B] must not know that they are our real masters.

Then what counsel will they give, those who are always easy going and consider only the present? Indeed if just as now they urge the people to give up our possessions to the foreigners, then they will give advice to be their slaves, indeed, they will declare themselves to be good citizens and worthy leaders of the commonwealth. But if what is consonant with reason and pleasing to God and ratified by all men, so to speak, it is also our custom, and according to the (noble) deeds done in the city from its inception and agreeable to its glory, that then they will want to deliberate that we must hold on to our liberty and must consider that slavery is the most fearful fate [1024C] of all. Why do they now advise those things which will destroy the means through they will exercise their deliberations? For it is obvious that when they deliberate about waging war at the same time that they will be thinking about an increase in finances, troops, allies, locations, harbours, in short absolutely everything. Then they will consider how the things which they do not have will be provided so will they cast away now what they have? And while they are seeking addition(s) will they think that they will gain control of what seems good (to them) by a process of subtraction? For if generally it is necessary to wage war, it is better for everyone to undertake it with the wherewithal, but certainly not to diminish it on purpose the resources, with which it is necessary to carry on the war, as with allies. Apart from these things, if someone were to say that we must incur danger, it should be with resources but not with poverty, in short, that we do so with as great resources as possible. But if the fact is that Kallipolis is small [1024D] the mother city big, then for this reason is it necessary to give up the lesser instead of the greatest? First of all it is stupid that matters be judged by size and that the larger seems better and the smaller worse, as if someone thought the eye to be the worst thing in the body, because it is the smallest or thought that those who had larger bodies were better than those of average size. So as far as Kallipolis is concerned, it is not appropriate to consider just the perimeter and number of the towers, but also

ἀφέντας, λοίξεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, οὐ παρὰ πολὺ διαφέρειν εὐροί τις ἄν τοῦ ταύτην ἐκδοῦναι τὸ τὴν πατρίδα προδοῦναι.

Ἐπειτα εἰ ταύτην τοῖς βαρβάροις αἰτοῦσιν οὐκ ἀντιλέγειν τολμήσομεν, τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν δεδιότες, εἰπάτω τις ἐμοῖ, τί τὸ κωλύον καὶ δεύτερον αὐτοῖς αἰτοῦσι καὶ τρίτον πεισθῆναι; Ἔως γὰρ ἄν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι [1025B] στήσονται τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἢ πείθειν τις, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγομένοις συντίθεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τούτων ὑφορωμένους. Ὁ γὰρ ἅπαξ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἐκπλαγεῖς, καὶ μεμελετηκῶς ὑπακούειν, οὐ τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω συγχωρήσει, πρὸς δὲ τὰ μείζω φιλονεικήσει· ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁμοίως ὑποστήσεται, ἕως ἄν τὴν τῶν ἐπιτατόντων ἰσχὺν ὑποπτεύῃ. Ὡστ' οὐχὶ περὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως μόνον, εἰ χρῆ προέσθαι ταύτην, ἡμῖν ἐστὶ νῦν ἡ συμβουλή, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν λοιπῶν. Οὐ χρῆ τοίνυν οὕτω ταπεινωθέντας πάντα συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ συμφερότερον νομίζειν ἐνίστασθαι, καὶ νομίζειν τέχνης τινὸς εἶνεκα καὶ πείρας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ταυτὶ προβεβλήσθαι· ἴν', ἐὰν μὲν ἐνστῶμεν καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀντιποιώμεθα, καὶ δῆλοι γενώμεθα [1025C] μὴ ἐπιτρέποντες ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἡμᾶς, ἄλλο τι ζητήσωσι λυσιτελήσον αὐτοῖς· ἐὰν δ' ὑποπτήξαντες συγχωρήσωμεν, λοιπὸν ὡς ἤδη ταπεινωθεῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ συγχωρήσουσι, χρῆσονται· καὶ πάντα περικόψαντες, τελευτῶντες ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἀναισχυντοῦντες, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπιστήσονται σωφρονεῖν. Καὶ εἰ ταῦτα συγχωρήσαιμεν, ὡς ἔγωγε οὐχ ὀρῶ πῶς οὐκ ἀξιόσομεν, τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τόθ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἐπικειμένης, πάντα ἄρα τοῖς βαρβάροις προστάτους ὑπακουστέον εἶναι πάντως ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τούτου συμβαίνειν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, σωφρονούντων, ἄν εἴη, πρὶν καθέκαστον διδόντας πράγματα [1025D] ἔχειν, ὑφὲν πάντ' ἐκείνοις ἀμαχητὶ προεμένους, τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν κακῶν πείραν κερδᾶναι· ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ μὴ πληγῆ πεσεῖν

the reflect upon the strategic nature of the place and that it seems to be a citadel of this great city state. And as long as we held it, not only the Chersonese, but also the cities of Thrace openly obeyed us. But from the time when the foreigners took possession of it, and then those things passed out of our control, now we have daily discussions about our (very) survival. [1025A] This small place has such significance for both sides, so that if it is necessary to ignore the question of its size but consider its usefulness, one would find that there is not much difference between giving up this place and betraying our native land.

Yet again, if we do not have the courage to contradict the foreigners' demands, because we fear their power, someone might say to me, 'What is to stop your obeying them, when they ask a second or third time? For as long as they [1025B] refrain from gaining an advantage, nobody would be able to argue a case that it would be necessary for us to agree with the things said by the former, looking askance at the power of the latter. For the person who has once been stunned by the power of the enemy and has been schooled to give obedience will not make lesser concessions, but will dispute about greater issues. But he will put up with everything in a similar fashion, until he suspects the strength of those giving the orders. So our consideration is not merely about Kallipolis, as to whether it is necessary to give it up, but about the very soil of the city and virtually everything else. So it is not necessary for us to be so humiliated that we make all concessions to the foreigners, but sometimes we must consider it more advantageous to resist and to consider that these things are being proposed by those men with some skill and subtlety. So that if we resist and contend for our possessions and it becomes obvious [1025C] that we are not about to allow ourselves to be carried to and fro, they may seek some other plan which will be advantageous to them. But if we make concessions in craven cowardice, then they will treat us like people who have already been humiliated and are not about to make any further concessions and, having laid waste everything, they will finally come at our daughters, sons, wives, most precious possessions and our fatherland. For those who behave shamelessly in minor matters will not know how to be have prudently in matters of the greatest significance. And if we were to make these concessions and I do not see how we can avoid giving consent, with

αίρετώτερον τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναλοῦσθαι τὸ σῶμα. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' εἰδότες σαφῶς ἐκβησόμενα, δέχεσθε μὲν τὸ μέλλον, ἀπλῶς δὲ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν ἐκρίνατε, ἄλλο τι τοῦτο εἶη· καὶ δῆλον ὡς οὔτε θηρίων, οὔτε πολλῶ μᾶλλον ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οἱ λογισμοί. Πᾶσι γὰρ ἔμφυτον τὰ οἰκεῖα τηρεῖν ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἕως ἔξεστι μάχεσθαι. Καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ζώων ἀσθενέστατα ἐρρωμένως ἂν τις ἴδοι τοῖς ἰσχυροτάτοις ἀντεπιόντα, ὅταν αὐτὰ βλάπτειν ἐπιχειρῇ· ὡς ἢ τῆς ἀδικίας ἐκεῖνα κωλύσοντα, ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἀποθανεῖν ἀμυνόμενα, ὡς ἄλλην τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν εἰσοίσοντα, ἧς εἶναι νόμον σώζειν αὐτά.

[1028A] Εἰ δὲ τὴν Καλλίπολιν ὄρον ἔσεσθαι τῆς πλεονεξίας τοῖς βαρβάροις νομίζετε, καὶ ταύτην λαβόντας, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἡμῖν οἴεσθε μετ' ἀσφαλείας χρῆσεσθαι συγχωρήσειν· ἴστω πᾶς τις ταῦτ' ὄνειροπολῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων παντελῶς ἀμαρτάνων. Ὁ γὰρ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπειλῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτης γενέσθαι κύριος, τί οὐκ ἂν πιστεῦοιτο δράσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πόλεων, καὶ ἧς οὐδ' ἂν τις εὐροὶ παράδειγμα, κτήσασθαι, καὶ τοιαύτη χρημάτων καὶ δόξης προσθήκη τὰ ὑπηργμένα κοσμήσαι; Πῶς οὖν οὐκ εὐηθεῖς, τῶν μικρῶν ὀρῶντας οὕτως ἀντιποιοῦμενον, οἴεσθαι τῶν μεγίστων αὐτὸν ἀμελήσειν; Ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ πληγῶν ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὲρ ὀβολοῦ τινα βλέπων, ἔπειτ' οἴοιτο ταλάντων ἐκόντα καταφρονήσειν. Μωρία καὶ ἄνοια τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν. [1028B] Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν αἱ προσθήκαι φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αὐξοῦσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἅτε τοῦ τέλους ἐγγύτερον γινομένοις, ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα πράττουσιν.

Εἰ τοίνυν ὑμῖν μέλει τοῦ μὴ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων

this same obligation being laid upon us, it will happen as a consequence of this agreement that we have to obey utterly all the demands made upon us by the foreigners. But if matters turn out this way, it would be the wisest counsel, before causing problems to afflict us [1025D] on an individual basis, to send them away with a single word without any fighting, and profit from experiencing an interval between evil circumstances. In my judgement, it is more preferable to die by a single blow than to have one's body worn out little by little. So if, knowing clearly that these things will come to pass, you accept what is about to happen, but have simply decided not to exert yourselves against it, this other alternative may come into being. And it is obvious that this line of reasoning is not even at the level of wild beasts, let alone at the level of a human soul. For it is an intrinsic quality of everybody to preserve their own goods and to fight while they may against those who use force against them. Indeed one might see the feeblest of animals retaliating against the strongest animals, when they attempt to do them harm. (They do this) either to prevent them from doing harm or to die in self-defence, or to pay some other homage to nature, which may require them to safeguard these things.

[1028A] Now if you think that Kallipolis will be the limit of the covetousness of the foreigners and that once it has been taken, they will allow us to use the rest with impunity – let such a person who has these dreams realize that he is completely missing the point of what is happening. For if a person were to make such great promises and make such threats with the purpose of gaining sovereignty over it, why would credence be not given to his intention to annex this greatest cities in this unparalleled way and adorn the possessions that came to him with such an increase of resources and glory? Therefore how would it not be stupid that we who see him laying claim to small things with such zeal should think that he will disregard the things which are greatest? It would be just like someone looking at someone putting up with violent blows for a mere obol, but then thinking that he would willingly take no account of a talent! To have expectations like that is madness and folly. [1028B] On the contrary it is natural that acquisitions will increase the covetousness of men, inasmuch as they are nearer the goal for which they do all these things.

So if you are concerned about not stirring up

ἐρεθίζειν ὀρέξεις, ἀνθεκτέον ὧν νῦν αἰτοῦσιν ἵνα μὴ χαλεπωτέροις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τᾶλλα χρῆσώμεθα· μηδὲ ἐρωτᾶτε, εἰ δίκαιον ἀντεχομένους ταύτης ἀπολέσαι τὸ θέρος, πρὸς ὃ πάντα ἀνάγετε, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πόνων ἐτέρους ποιῆσαι κυρίους· μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων πάθος οὕτως ἡγεῖσθε βαρῦν, ὥστ' εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλη πρὸ ἐκείνων τμηθῆναι. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰς ταῦτα ζημίαν χαλεπὴν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ λυπηρὰν οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι ταύτην, [1028C] ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσους εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας ἡγαγον οἱ καιροί; ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν μὴ τοῦ παρόντος γίνεσθαι μόνον, καὶ τὸ νῦν λυπηρὸν θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ τι χεῖρον εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀπόκειται, τοῦτ' ἢ μὴ προβλέπειν, ἢ προορωμένους ἐπιτρέπειν τῇ τύχῃ· ἀλλ' αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν εἰς τὰ κουφότερα λύπην τοῦ μετὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἐσομένου κινδύνου. Ἔστω γάρ, καὶ συγκεχωρήσθω τὴν Καλλίπολιν ἐκδόντας, τὸν σῖτον κομίσασθαι· οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐν τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔτος ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάζομεν. Καίτοι τις ἂν ἴσως εἴποι διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπιστίαν μηδὲ τοῦτο βέβαιον εἶναι. Πολλὰ γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπισχνούμενοι, ἐναντία τὰ τέλη τοῖς ὑπεσχημένοις ἐξήνεγκαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τίθημι τηρήσειν αὐτοὺς τὰς συνθήκας, πάντως οὐχ ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν τὸ νῦν ἔτος ἔσται· ἀλλὰ τελευτήσει μὲν τοῦτο: [1028D] ἀναλωθήσονται δὲ οἱ καρποί· καὶ πάλιν ὁ σῖτος ἐν ἀκμῇ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἀσθενῆ. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ὥσπερ πυρετοῦ περίοδος ἤξουσιν· καὶ ἡμῖν δεήσει τροφῶν· τί ποτ' αὐτοῖς δώσομεν ὑπὲρ τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ὠραίων; Σηλυμβρίαν ἐρεῖ τις ἢ Πείρινθον, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐνεχυράζοντες.

Ἄλλ' οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἄπειροι πόλεις δι' ὧν τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀμητοὺς ἢ τρυγητοὺς ὠνησόμεθα, οὐθ' οἱ βάρβαροι συγχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν προῖκα τρυφῶν. Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπαντὸν· ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν πόλιν αἰτούντων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὕστατα λείπεται· ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντιλέγειν μὴ δυναμένων, τῶν καρπῶν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦ θέρους ἐμφορατόντων τὰ στόματα. Ὡστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύσομεν. Οὐ [1029A] γὰρ ἔγωγε ἄλλο τι μέσον ὁρῶ τῆς τε τῶν βαρβάρων πλεονεξίας καὶ τοῦ μὴδ' ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπολέσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χωρὶς τούτων δέδοικα μὴ τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν σφόδρα

the cupidity of the foreigners we must hold on to what they now are seeking, so that we may not find them to be more obnoxious in other matters. And do not ask if it is right to hold on to this city (Kallipolis) and lose the harvest to which you are exercising all your energies, and to make other people profit from all our hard work. And do not think that the damage done to the vines is so severe that there should be those who want their bodies to be mutilated rather than the vines! Indeed think that there is a grievous and sad loss, not only to us who sustain it, [1028C] but also to all whom circumstances have driven into such necessities. But (may it be the responsibility) of men not only to be (masters) of the present, and to attend to what is now grievous, but if there is something worse set aside for the future, either not to look to it or if they do look at it, to entrust it to fortune. But (it is better) to choose present misery which tends to be lighter than danger which in a short time will be grievous. Well, let it be, and after giving up Kallipolis, let us be permitted to bring in the harvest. For in this way we will spend this one year at least in prosperity. And yet someone might perhaps say that even this was not a sure thing because of the faithlessness of the foreigners. For after promising many things on many occasions, they have brought about results which are contrary to what they promised. Now I affirm that they will keep the agreements, but this present year will not be the whole generation. For this year will end [1028D] and the crops will be used up and again the corn will be at its height but (public) affairs will be weak and the foreigners will come like a bout of fever and we will lack provisions. What on earth will we give them for the procuring of provisions? Someone will say in Selymbria or Perinthus, as if they were people who always pledged their surplus wealth.

But in fact our cities, through which we will gain our harvests and vintage every year, are not unlimited, nor will the foreigners allow us to live in luxury free of charge. So then what remains is to approach the primary issue – they are asking for our city and our liberty. For these are the last things which remain. But we do not have the power to speak against them, as our crops and harvest are shutting our mouths and so of necessity we shall be slaves. For I cannot [1029A] see any other middle course between the greed of the foreigners and our not putting up with the destruction of our produce from the

ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἐφεξῆς πόλλ' ἔτη λιμώττειν ἀναγκασθῶμεν. Νῦν μὲν καὶ μὴ γεωργοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργοῦμενα κομιεῖ· καὶ πολλάκις ἴσμεν τοῦτο συμβᾶν, ὅταν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὐρανίων ὁ τῆς γῆς τόκος κωλύηται, ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων τουτωνὶ βλάβηται, ποιούντων ἃ νῦν ἀπειλοῦσι. Τότε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα γίνεται· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ ταύτην ἀροῦντες καὶ σπεύροντες· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν κομίζοντες ἡμῖν ὧν δεόμεθα· καὶ πολλάκις ἢ πόλις τὰ τῆς περιοικίδος μὴ συγκομισαμένη, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις διήγαγε. [1029B] Καὶ ὅλως τῆς θαλάττης ἤρτηται τὸ πλεον τῆς ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς, ἧς ἐκστάντες, ἀναγκασθόσμεθα συνεχῆ λιμὸν ὑπομένειν. Τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς ἅμα τε τῆς Καλλιπόλεως οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας ἔσονται κύριοι, καὶ οὔτε σιταγωγός, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ἡμῖν κομίζουσα ναῦς οὐδεμία ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἕξει λιμένας; Τίς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λιμώττειν ἑτέρους αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται κινδυνεύειν; Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἕξοντα διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἰέναι, τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτόθι συνεχῶς ἐγκαθημένων πρὸς τοῖς στενοῖς, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ πλοίοις ἄλλοις τοὺς στελλομένους εἰργόντων, καὶ τὸν πόρον ποιούντων οὐκ ἄδεᾶ. Ὡστ' εἴ τι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὠρῶν παισείεν, οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀεὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς εὐτυχεῖν, [1029C] ἀθεραπεύτῳ συντυχεῖν ἀνάγκη λιμῶ. μήτ' ἄλλων παρ' ἡμᾶς δυναμένων καταίρειν, μήθ' ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάγεσθαι· καὶ συμβήσεται, τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἔτους δυσχέρειαν ἐκφυγεῖν βουλομένους, κακοῖς ἀμηχάνοις περιπεσεῖν, λιμώττοντας διὰ βίου· ὃ τῆς φύσεως στέγειν μὴ δυναμένης, λοιπὸν ἢ θανεῖν δυστυχῶς, ἢ ζῆν δυστυχέστερον, αὐτοχειρίᾳ παραδόντας τὰ τείχη.

Τί οὖν; πολεμήσομεν, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο κελεύεις; Ἐγὼ δ' ἀντερήσομαι· Τί οὖν; δουλεύσομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔσται ποιεῖτε; Ἄλλ' οὐθ' ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ποτὲ προδότας ἔγωγ' ἂν εἶποιμι, οὔτ' ἐγὼ δυναμένους ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ταύτης συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν [1029D] ἀνθελέσθαι τὸν

fields. And indeed apart from these things, I fear that we, who eagerly desire our annual crops, may be compelled to suffer famine for many years in succession. So now if we do not work our farms, the sea will bring us provisions produced by others. And we know that this has often happened, whenever either the produce of the earth is prevented by heavenly enemies or is harmed by (earthly) enemies such as these, as they do what they are now threatening. For under such circumstances, for us the sea takes the place of the farms. And there are many of our men who are ploughing and sowing this earth, but there are also many who bring from afar the provisions which we need and often the city which has not gathered provisions from the neighbouring area lives in a more affluent state.[1029B] And the bulk of the provisions that we have here depends entirely on the sea. If we depart from this, we shall be compelled to endure continual famine. Who does not know that the foreigners will gain control both of Kallipolis and the transport of corn, and that neither a corn-ship nor any ship conveying any other of our necessary provisions will come to the harbours of the city? For who will choose to incur danger so as to prevent others from experiencing famine? For it is necessary that anyone coming to us must pass through many dangers, with the foreigners lying in ambush here at the straits continually, preventing those who have been despatched with ships and triremes and other vessels, and making the journey fraught with fear. So that if there were some misadventure with storms, it would not be possible for things to go well with the farmers, [1029C] but we would be of necessity afflicted by a famine with no solution, since others would not be able to put into port near us, and we would not be able to set sail from this place. And so what will happen will be that we who wish to escape the unpleasantness of the present year will be involved in irresistible misfortunes and will suffer famine all our lives. So since our nature is incapable of tolerating this, it remains that we will die miserably or live more miserably, having handed over the walls of the city with our own hands.

What then? Shall we go to war and do you order (us to do) this? But I will speak against this. What then? Shall we be slaves, and are you acting in such a way that this will happen? But I would neither say that you were at any time the betrayers of liberty nor would I advise you, when

πόλεμον. Ἄλλ' εἰ τὰ πράγμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἄγει, οὐ τοῖς γε συμβούλοις δίκαιον τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων λογίζεσθαι; Ὅμως οὐχ οὕτως ἀπλῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ τοὺς πολέμους αἰροῦνται· ἀλλ' ἐνῶμᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ σωτηρία καὶ τὸ τυγχάνειν ὧν βούλονται περιγίνεται, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς προτιμᾶται θατέρου. Καὶ γὰρ πολεμοῦμεν ἐφ' ὃ σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰρηνην ἀσπαζόμεθα, εἰ διὰ ταύτην τὰ ὄντα τηροῦμεν. Τὸ δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐξ ἧς πάντα ἀπόλλυμεν, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἢ δι' εὐπρεποῦς ὀνόματος τὸ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχροὺς ὑπομένειν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡσυχάζουσιν ἀπολαύειν ἔξεστι τῶν οἰκείων, σύμφημι τοῖς μηδὲν περιεργάζεσθαι παραινοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ῥήματος μόνον τὸ σεμνόν ἐστι τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ δὲ ὄντα πόλεμός ἐστι χαλεπώτατος, πῶς ἂν εἰκότως δυσχεραίνετε τοὺς πολεμεῖν ἀξιοῦντας, ἐφ' ὅπερ [1032A] ἡμᾶς ὠθεῖ καὶ ἄκοντας ἢ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη; Εἰ δὲ τις τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας λογιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς δυσκολίας, ὀκνεῖ τοῦτον ἐκφέρειν, ἄλλοτε μὲν σωφρονούστος ἂν τις εἶπεν εἶναι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ταύτην· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντα τὰ αἰσχίστα πρόσεστι τῇ ἀναβολῇ. Τί γὰρ τῶν ὀνειδῶν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀκούσειεν ὁ πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας στερούμενος, ἔπειτα μὴ κινούμενος, ἀλλ' εἰδώλου τινὸς ἔτ' αὐτῷ λειψθῆναι δοκοῦντος ἐχόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀξίων σπένδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πάντα ἀφελομένους· καὶ νομίζων ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ μετρίου τινὸς ἀπολαύσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, ὡς ἢ τῶν δούλων τύχη οὐδενὸς ἀπολαύειν χρηστοῦ, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην πάντων τοῖς δεσπότηαις ἐξίστασθαι;

[1032B] Ὡστ' εἰ μὲν ἐλπίς ἐστὶ κομειῖσθαι ὧν διὰ τὴν ἄγαν ἀπραγμοσύνην πρότερον ἐμπεπτώκαμεν, πολεμητέον, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολογιστέον, οὐ πόνον, οὐ κίνδυνον, οὐ δαπάνην, ἐξ ὧν μέλλομέν τε εὖ πράξειν, καὶ τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι βουλομένους, καὶ τσοαῦτα ἡδίκηκότας ἀμυνεῖσθαι δικαίως· εἰ δ' οὐδὲν χρηστὸν τέλος ἡμῖν ἐλπίζομεν οἴσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σφαλέντας μηκέτ' εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευτὴν ταύτην ἀτιμαστέον, καλήν τε οὔσαν καὶ ἔντιμον, καὶ δόξης οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσαν· ἧς καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις. Τί γὰρ σεμνότερον, τί δ' ἐντιμότερον ἀνθρώπων τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν τετηρηκότων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος

you were able to maintain peace, to choose war in its place. [1029D] But if circumstances drive us in this direction, is it not the right thing to (respect) our counsellors and to consider the way matters are? Nonetheless men do not choose peace or war(s) so simply, but that method by which their deliverance is attained and their purposes are realized is preferred to the alternative. For we wage war in order to get deliverance and we welcome peace if through it we keep our possessions. But to keep a peace from which we lose everything is nothing else but putting up with the debasement of circumstances under a specious name. So if it is permissible for those living quietly to enjoy their possessions, I agree with those who advise us not to get agitated. But if the grandeur of peace is nothing but a name and in reality war is the most serious issue, how could you be justifiably upset at those who are determined to make war, towards which [1032A] the necessity of circumstances is forcing us against our will? But if anyone considers the vicissitudes and difficulties of war and is reluctant to wage it, on another occasion people might say that this was the caution of a prudent man. But in this situation delay involves the worst consequences. For what reproach is there which a person does not deserve to hear, who is deprived of his liberty in addition to all other benefits, but is not moved as a consequence, but clings to a phantom which seems to be still left in his mind and because of this thinks it appropriate to enter upon a treaty with those who have taken away everything? Such a person thinks that he will gain some reasonable benefit in slavery and does not take this into consideration that the fate of slaves is to enjoy no benefits, but in short to give up all rights in favour of their masters.

[1032B] So if there is some hope that we will recover the thing which we have lost because of our previous excessive laziness, we must go to war and not consider the cost, whether it be toil or danger or expense, whereby we will achieve prosperity and defend ourselves justly against those who wish to reduce us to the state of slaves, and have already done us so much harm. But if we expect that war will bring us no good outcome, then it will be necessary for us to perish with disappointed hopes. We must not despise this outcome, which is good and honourable and not devoid of glory. Many excellent and noble men have desired this, both as individuals and in their cities. For what is finer, what is more

καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν κίνδυνον καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς [1032C] ψυχῆς προτετιμηκότων, καὶ θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἐλομένων, ἢ τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ὑπομεῖναι; Θάνατος μὲν γὰρ ἅπασι πρόκειται κοινός τις ὄρος πᾶσι τῆς γενέσεως μετασχοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον φυλάξασθαι, ἅν μὲχρι τοῦ παντός τις τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην τηρήσεται· τὸ δὲ μετ' ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἐκείνου τυχεῖν, τοῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ Θεοῦ μὲν ὀλίγοις δίδεται γέρας· ἀνδρῶν δὲ δοθέν τε ἀρπάσαι, καὶ τῷ βίῳ τέλος εὐκλεές ἐπιθεῖναι. Οὐ δεῖ δὴ, τὸ κοινῇ πάντως καὶ μετ' ἀνάγκης ἐσόμενον σκοποῦντας, τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμελεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅπου μὴ ἄμφο λαβεῖν ἔνεστι, τῆς γοῦν ἀρετῆς πάντα τρόπον ἀντιποιώμεθα, ἧς τοῖς ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν ὠφελιμώτερον κτῆμα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐνταῦθα οὐδ' ἀνέλπιστα παντάπασι πολεμήσομεν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου μερίδα· καὶ τὸ, [1032D] δεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συμπλέκεσθαι, αἰεὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἶναι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἄνωθεν ἔθος εἶναι τούτους ὑπακούοντας ἔχειν· καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβεια, ἢ δὴ μάλιστα τὸν Θεὸν εὐμενῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασκευάζει, πολλὴν ἡμῖν εἰσοίσει ῥοπήν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συναγωνιέται.

Ἐπειτα καὶ τὰς εἰς πολὺ μέγεθος ἐπιδούσας τυραννίδας ἴδοι τις ἂν νοσοῦσας ἐν ἑαυταῖς τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν σαθρῶν περιφερούσας λανθάνειν, ὧν εἴ τις ἀποπειρῶτο καὶ πολέμῳ κινοίη, ἐλάττους αὐτὰς τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν δόξης εὐρήσει· καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι [1033A] πολλὰ φανήσονται πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων καθαίρεσιν ἀφορμαί. Καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ νῦν ἀποστάντες τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ πόλεμον φανερῶς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξενεγκόντες· οἷς εἴ τις ἐπικελεύοιτο, καὶ χρήμασιν ὀλίγοις καὶ συμμαχίᾳ τὰς ὀρμὰς ἐπιρρώσειε καὶ συμπροθυμοῖτο, ἴσως ἂν, ἀξιόμαχοι γενόμενοι, τράποιντο μὲν ἐφ' αὐτούς· ἡμᾶς δ' ἢ μηδὲν ἢ ἐλάττω βλάπτειν, ἀσχολούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Τριβαλῶν ἴκουσι πρέσβεις, ἀζιοῦντες κοινῇ τοὺς κοινούς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ γάμους αἰτοῦντες, καὶ χρήματα ὑπισχνούμενοι, δι' ὧν οἴονται κινήσειν ἡμᾶς· οὗς βεβαίους κρῆ νομίζειν ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἠδίκηγνται. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῶν χάριν ἀμυνομένους, εἴποι δ' ἂν [1033B] τις, καὶ ἄλλα, ἃ νῦν μὲν χαλεπὸν καθέκαστα λέγειν· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ

honourable than man who have maintained the duty of justice and have preferred to incur danger on behalf of their fatherland and its citizens rather than [1032C] their very lives and have preferred to die rather than to endure some indignity? For indeed death lies ahead of all mankind, as a common boundary for all who have been brought into this world and it is not possible to avoid it, even if a person avoids activity throughout all his life. But to reach death with courage and glory, is given as a prize from God to few indeed. And (may it be the lot) of man to grasp what has been given and put a glorious end to life. Indeed it is not necessary (for us) to look to the future constantly with others, bound by necessity and to disregard the virtue of courage. But in a situation where it is not possible to receive both benefits, let us lay claim to courage by all means, for there is no more useful possession for those who have it. But indeed as everything here is in line with our expectations, we will launch into war. Now the first thing is that the portion of justice is on our side. Also, since it is necessary [1032D] to engage with them in open warfare, the victory will always be ours and we will have them in subjection as was the practice of the Romans in times of old. Above all, reverence for the divinity, which especially renders God benign towards mankind, will bring us great influence and will help our struggle in the war.

Then, as for those tyrannies which increase to a great size, one might see that in many places they are sick and endure many corrupt things secretly, but if someone were to make the attempt and engage in a war, he will find them to be inferior to the report (circulated) about them. To those who attack (them) there [1033A] will come many occasions in which they (the enemy) may be destroyed. Those who have recently defected from their own people are witnesses to this, as are those who have openly waged war against them. If someone were to cheer them on and with limited resources and an alliance were to strengthen their attacks and join with them zealously, they might well turn them against themselves, provided that they were fit for battle. But being busy with one another, they would not harm us at all or even less. But in fact ambassadors are coming from the Serbians (lit. Triballians), requesting that we defend ourselves with a common purpose against a common enemy. They are seeking a marriage alliance and promising money, through which they intend to stir us to

πόλεμος κινούμενος σαφῶς πάντα δείξει. Οὐ δὴ δίκαιον τοιοῦτον παραπεπτωκότα καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μηδὲ βουλομένους ἡσυχάζειν συγχωροῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καθημένους τῆς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τύχης κληρονομήσαι· χρηστέον τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ προθυμητέον ἢ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐλευθεροῦν, ἢ γενναῖον γοῦν τι καὶ καλὸν πράξαντας, μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. Εἰ δ' οἴομεθα, προδόντας τὴν Καλλίπολιν, οἰκήσειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πατρίδα, δέδοικα μὴ καὶ ταύτης μετὰ μικρὸν ἐκπεσόντες, οὐδ' ἦν οἰκήσομεν εὐρωμεν τοῦ λοιποῦ. Τίς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων προδότας ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συγχωρήσειε; [1033C] Τίς δὲ τοὺς τοῦ τοιοῦτου μύσους σκυτόχειρας, πρὸς τινα τῶν σεμνῶν πράξεων ἐπιτηδεύεις ἡγήσεται; Ἄλλ' ὅσοις περ ἂν ἡμῶν γένηται τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων χεῖρας διαφυγεῖν, πλανησόμεθα μὲν λανθάνοντες περὶ τὰς ἀλλοδαπὰς· κἄν που φανῶμεν, ἀραὶ παρὰ πάντων ἡμῖν ἔψονται καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ γέλως. Τοῦτους δὲ χρῆν ὁρᾶσθαι; μετέχειν δὲ συλλόγου; ἀναπνεῖν δὲ ὄλω; οἱ τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχοντες πόλιν, τοσαῦτα δὲ χρήματα, τοσαύτην δὲ δύναμιν· θαλάττης δὲ καὶ γῆς ὄντες κύριοι· πάντα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνύειν δυνάμενοι, τὴν μὲν περιουσίαν ἐκείνην βλακευόμενοι καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ὑβρίζοντες πᾶσαν ἀνήλωσαν· τελευτῶντες δὲ, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδόντες, νῦν ὡς περ κοινόν τι περιίασιν ἄγος· λοιμοὶ τινες, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς νόσου μεταδιδόντες! [1033D] Ἡμῖν δ' οὐτ' ἀντιλέγειν ἐξέεται. Τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐλέγχων δίκαιον τὴν παρρησίαν παντελῶς ἀφαιρήσεται· καὶ τὸ φέρειν ὑβριζομένους ποίας οὐ βαρύτερον συμφορᾶς! Ὡστ' ἀνάγκη φεύγειν μὲν πόλεις, φεύγειν δὲ συλλόγους· εἰς χηραμοὺς δὲ τινὰς καταδύντας, ζῆν, κρύπτοντας ὄθεν ἐσμέν, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν εὐχομένους. Οὐκ, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πειθήσθε· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν γοῦν παντελῶς ἀπιστήσαντες τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ πιστεύσαντες πρὸς ἕν αὐτοῖς πάντα τείνουν, ὅπως ἡμᾶς καταδουλωσάμενοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέλοιτο τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοῖς δ' ἡμετέροις σώμασι τὰς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐπιθεῖεν ἀνάγκας,

action. Such people we ought to consider to be our future firm allies, as they themselves have been wronged by the foreigners. But let no one say [1033B] that they will take vengeance on our account and (say) other things which it is now difficult to say in detail: the war itself, once declared, will demonstrate these things clearly. Indeed it is not right to let slip an opportunity like this which has fallen into our lap. However, since the foreigners are allowing us to be at rest even though we do not want to be, it is necessary for us to sit still and experience as our lot the fate of slaves, we must use our opportunities and must be eager either to free our native land and our kith and kin or to perform some especially good and noble deed and leave behind a memorial of our courage for our successors. But if we think that after betraying Kallipolis we will be able to inhabit our native land and in safety again, I am fearful that after having departed from it for a short time, we may not find any city where we will dwell in the future. For who would allow those who have betrayed their own to set foot on his land? [1033C] And who will consider those who have cobbled together such defilement to be suitable for any of their noble activities? But as many of us have the good fortune to escape the hands of the foreigners will wander in obscurity around strange lands. And if we make an appearance somewhere curses, accusations and laughter from everyone will follow us. "Was it necessary for these men to be seen to take part in a meeting? In short to have a respite? Men who are in possession of such a city, such great wealth and such great power, being lords of land and sea, who are able to accomplish everything with a command, who in their indolence sleep and abuse and have squandered all that abundance, and finally, having betrayed their fatherland, they now walk around it as if it was a common curse. They are pestilences spreading their diseases to others." [1033D] But we will not have the means of contradicting them. For the just accusations will completely remove any free speech. And to have to put up with being abused what kind of disaster is (more grievous) than this? So it is necessary to flee the cities and flee the assemblies, to sink down into some hollow and live our lives, concealing our origins and praying for death. No, not if you do what I say, But if you have not done so previously, now at any rate do not put any trust in the foreigners but believe this one thing about them, that they are stretching



οὐ μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε τῶν νῦν βουλευμάτων· ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσνους τῇ πόλει νομίσαντες τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντας ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν, πέμπειν μὲν τοὺς τὴν Καλλιπόλιν [1036A] φυλάζοντας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσων δέοι πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προνοησομένους καὶ πράζοντας, ὅπως ἂν βεβαία παραμένει τῇ πόλει· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας γεγονότας τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθεροῦν. Εἴρηκα ἂν νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔλοισθε τὸ μέλλον κοινῇ συνοίσειν.

every sinew to enslave us, confiscate our possessions and subject our bodies to the privations suffered by prisoners of war. So, not only must you withdraw from the present deliberations, but you must consider those who are so bold as to join in these deliberation with us as being malevolent towards the city. You must send (soldiers) to guard Kallipolis [1036A] and also provide and put into practice all that may be necessary for its safety, so that the security of the city may continue. May you who are men by birth use your good fortune to free the city. I have said what I think is beneficial. May you choose what in the future will be of benefit to all!



# LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

## On Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Cathayans etc.



Laonicus “Chalcocondylas” (“the man with the brazen candlestick”) was one of only a handful of Greek and Byzantine historians who could claim genuine Athenian origin – the others being Thucydides, Xenophon, Dexippus and Praxagoras. The works of the last two named have only come down to us in citations. Born in Athens circa 1423, Laonicus’s father betook himself to the Morea after an unsuccessful coup against the Frankish rulers of his city. Laonicus had the opportunity to study under the famous Gemistos Plethon at Mistra.

His most famous work, *Ἀποδείξεις Ἱστοριῶν* (*Proofs of Histories*, Lat. *Historiae Demonstrationes*) was written in the 1480s after Constantinople had fallen to the Turks. It is one of the most important accounts in Greek of the rise of the Ottomans. More importantly for the SERICA project is that it includes lengthy excursus on lands and peoples of Central Asia, written at a time when the Mongol conquest of Asia Minor brought unprecedented knowledge of such matters to the notice of Byzantine men of letters. Many of these excursus have been conveniently collected together and translated into German by Karl Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde (5.-15. Jhd.)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde 5, 2 vols in 1 (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1912). However, Dieterich did not give the Greek text. Although the Bonn edition of the text of Laonicus is now available on-line, the project-leaders of SERICA have decided to give the Greek text of Darkó to aid the researcher, especially since the text of Darkó (published in Rumania) has for a long time been extremely hard to obtain.

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## SELECTIONS FROM

## LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

Translated by Dr Greg Fox

## 1. Mercantile Cities in Central Asia

(III; i, 118.6-120.7, ed. Darkó = 126.20-128.21, ed. Bonn)

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν τοῦ Μεχμέτεω νομοθεσίαν ἕς τοσοῦτον ἀναγεγράφθω ἡμῖν· Τεμήρης δ' ὡς τὴν χώραν ταύτην ληϊσάμενος, καὶ πόλεις ἐλὼν ἐνίας, ὑπεκομίζετο ἐπὶ Σαμαρχάνδης. Σκύθας δὲ ὠρημένους ἐπυρθάνετο ἀπὸ Ταναΐδος τὴν τε χώραν <sup>10</sup> αὐτοῦ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ ληϊσασθαι οὐκ ὀλίγα· χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔφερεν. ἐντεῦθεν τὸ αὐτίκα ἵετο ὁμοσε ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας. λέγονται δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι Μασσαγέται τὸ παλαιόν, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀράξην τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενους ἐνοικῆσαι. τούτους παρ-εσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν, <sup>15</sup> καὶ στράτευμα ποιησάμενος ἕς ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε τοὺς Χαταΐδας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἐλαύνων ὁμολογία τε παρ-εστήσατο, καὶ μισθωσάμενος παμπόλλους αὐτῶν, τοὺς γε κρατίστους τὰ ἕς πόλεμον γενομένους, ὄχετο ἄγων. <sup>20</sup> ὁμήρους δὲ λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ φόρον ταξάμενος τούτοις ἀπάγειν τε ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀπήλαυνε. τὰ δὲ Χαταΐα πόλις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἕω τῆς Ὑρκανίας μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαιμων, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὄλβῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία προφέρουσα (119) τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων πλὴν Σαμαρχάνδης καὶ Μέμφιος, εὐνομουμένη δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν. τῶν μέντοι Περσῶν τοὺς πλείστους μισθωσάμενος τούτους, οἷα τῶν τε Σκυθῶν ἐμπείρους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γενομένους καὶ τὰ ἕς τὴν δίαιταν οὐκέτι <sup>1</sup> ἄβροῦς ὄντας, ἐν νῷ ἔχων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τὴν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ πυρθανόμενος, ὡς εἶη τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο παλαιότατόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων χειρώσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ γένος, κακὰ δὲ ὡς πλείστα ἐργασάμενον ποιῆσαι τὴν <sup>10</sup> τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην, ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ πλείωτα ταμειούμενον τῇ χώρᾳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ νοῦν τιθέμενον, καὶ ὡς Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Περσῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατεύ-

So this is all I want to say about the legislation of Mohammed. Timur (Tamerlane) devastated this land and, having captured some cities, arrived back safely in Samarkand. He learnt that some Scythians, who had set out from Tanais had invaded his land and ravaged it in many places. And he was furious. From there he immediately set out to the same place against the people of Khataia. These people are said to be the Massagetae of years gone by. They crossed the Araxēs, went through the land a great distance on this side of the river and colonized the peoples subdued under them. He made preparations for them as if he was going to capture them. Having formed an army of up to 800,000 soldiers, he conducted an expedition against them. Meeting them in battle, he overcame the people of Khataia. He marched into their actual assembly place and royal places (capital) and met with them to discuss terms of peace. He hired very many of them as mercenaries, the ones who had proven to be the strongest in warfare, and left with them. He took hostages and the sons of the nobles and, after imposing tribute on them to pay within the year, rode away. Khataia is a great and prosperous city to the East of Hyrcania. It is pre-eminent for population, wealth and other signs of prosperity among all the cities in Asia (Minor) except for Samarkand and Memphis. It was well governed from of old by the Massagetae. He hired as mercenaries for the most part those Persians who had had a lot of experience among the Scythians and who had not yet become soft in their demeanour, because it was his intention to launch a campaign against the Scythians, against their assembly place which is called Horde. He learnt that this race was the oldest of the peoples in the inhabited world and that none of the kings before him was able to subdue this race, but that for the most part it treated Asia and Europe badly and controlled the land by making attacks. Having put this in mind that Darius the son of Hystaspes and king of the Persians had led an attack against them and accomplished nothing, he

σαντι αὐτοὺς οὐδέν τι προὐχώρησεν, ὥρμητο αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ κλέος ἰέναι. ὥστε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔχεσθαι τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐγγυτέρω τούτων γενόμενον, <sup>15</sup> ἐς τὴν χώραν Χεσίην πόλιν κατοικίσας ἀπὸ τε τῆς Σαμαρχάνδης καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτῷ στελλομένων ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ὄκισε πόλιν Χεσίην οὕτω καλουμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἅτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβοντος καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτοῦ, τῶν τε τῆς Ἀσίας στρατῶν ἐς αὐτὴν συνιόντων. <sup>16</sup> μεγάλη τε ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Χεσίη, καὶ εὐνομήθη μέντοι καὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ βασιλέως Τεμήρῳ περιόντος. ὅποι μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας ὄκισται ἡ πόλις αὕτη, καὶ εἴτε ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ χώρα, εἴτε καὶ ἐν τῇ Μήδων, οὐκ ἔχω τεκμήρασθαι. λέγουσι (120) μὲν τινες Νίνον τὴν Χεσίην γενέσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίων χώραν τετάχθαι, τεκμαιρόμενοι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Παγδατίνης Βαβυλώνας. οἰκίσας τὸ Χεσίην πόλιν, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενος, ἐπενόει ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας <sup>17</sup> στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγορὰν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ στρατὸν μέγαν συναγείρας καὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας· συμπαραλαβὼν ἤλαυνεν εὐθὺς Τανάϊδος.

## 2. India

(III, p. 152.15-154.12, ed. Darkó = 163.6-165.6, ed. Bonn)

<sup>15</sup> Ὁ δὲ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοῦνομα ἔχων, Τζαχατάης βασιλεὺς. τῶν ἐννέα δὲ βασιλέων βασιλέα γενόμενον τοῦτον, τὸν διὰ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατὸν μέγαν ἐπὶ Τεμήρην ἐπιπέμψαντα, λέγεται τὸν τε Ἀράξην ἐπιόντα διαβῆναι, καὶ τὰ πλέω τῆς ταύτης χώρας καταστρεψάμενον ἐπ' <sup>16</sup> οἴκου αὐθις ἀποχωρῆσαι. Σίνης τε βασιλεύει καὶ Ἰνδίας [καὶ] Ξυμπάσης, καὶ διήκει αὐτῷ ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ Ταπροβάνην νήσον, ἐς Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς Ἰνδίας χώρας ποταμοὶ (153) ἐκδιδοῦσιν, ὃ τε Γάγγης, Ἰνδός, Ἀκεσίνης, Ὑδάσπης, Ὑδραώτης, Ὑφασις, μέγιστοι δὲ οὗτοι ὄντες τῆς χώρας. φέρει τὸ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα ἀγαθὰ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβον πολύν, καὶ ὃ τε βασιλεὺς Ξυμπάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπ' αὐτὸν γενομένης. ὁρμώμενος τὸ οὗτος <sup>17</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ Γάγγην χώρας καὶ τῆς παραλίου Ἰνδικῆς καὶ

was eager to attain to this distinction. So that he might keep himself there and be nearer the work, he settled soldiers and nobles from Samarkand in the city of Khesiē (Kesh) so-called. It was great and prosperous, since the king and his nobles were dwelling in it and the armies of Asia assembled in it. Kesh became great quickly and in fact was well-governed subsequently, particularly when king Timur was on the scene. So I am not able to affirm where in Asia this city was founded, whether in the land of Assyria or in the land of the Medes. Some people say that Khesiē (Kesh) was Ninos (Nineveh) in days of old and was assigned to the land of the Assyrians. They deduce this from Pagdatinian Babylon. After having colonized the city of Kesh, Timur made it his capital and took it into his mind to lead an expedition against Egypt and the Scythians and their assembly place called Urde (Urda). Having gathered a large army and enlisting the people of Khataia, he pressed on to Tanaïs (i.e. Don).

The King of the Indians is this man who has the name of the nine kings, King Khaghatai. It is said that he became the king of the nine kings after sending a large army because of the Massagetae against Timur. He went to the Araxēs and crossed it and after subduing most of the land there, withdrew and came home again. He is the King of Sines (i.e. China)<sup>179</sup> and of all India and his land extends as far as the Taprobanē Island (Sri Lanka), to the Indian sea, into which the greatest rivers in the land of India empty themselves – the Ganges, the Indus, the Akesinēs, the Hydaspēs, the Hydraotēs and the Hyphasis – these being the greatest rivers in the land. The land of India provides many goods and much wealth, as does the King of the whole land, which is under his sway. He himself, setting out from the land above the Ganges and the coast of India and Taprobanē (Sri Lanka), went against the King of Khataia,

<sup>179</sup> Or: 'Sinēs rules over the whole of India...'. Trans. N. Nikoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A Translation and Commentary of the Demonstrations of Histories* (Athens, 1996) 331.

Ταπροβάνης, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Χαταίης, τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Γάγγου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ καταστρεψάμενον τὴν ταύτην χώραν τὰ βασιλεία ἐν ταύτην δὴ τῇ πόλει ποιήσασθαι: ξυμβῆναι δὲ τότε γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ ξύμπασαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν χώραν. <sup>10</sup> νομίζουσι δὲ οὗτοι θεοὺς, οἳ τε τὴν Χαταίην χώραν οἰκοῦντες, Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἥραν. φωνὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν σφίσιν ἴενται, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔθνη τε πολλὰ διηρημένα εὐνομεῖται ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κώμας. θυσίας δὲ ἀνάγουσιν ἵππους μὲν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, βούς δὲ τῇ <sup>15</sup> Ἥρᾳ: τῇ τὸ Ἀρτέμει θύουσι παῖδας ἀρτίως ἡβάσκοντας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. φέρει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη πυροὺς μὲν ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεις, ὡς λέγεται, βασιλικούς, καὶ κριθὰς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καὶ μελίην ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ μέγεθος. καλαμίνοις τὸ πλοίοις χρώμενοι διαπορθμεύουσι τὸν ποταμόν. φέρει δὲ ἡ Ἰνδική, ὡς <sup>20</sup> λέγουσι, τοσοῦτον τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ναυπηγεῖσθαι πλοῖα μεδίμων τεσσαράκοντα Ἑλληνικῶν. τὸ μὲν γένος τοῦτο οὐ πάνυ γνωστὸν ἡμῖν γενόμενον πολλὰς ἀπιστίας παρέχει μὴ πείθεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα πυνθάνομαι. ἢ τε γὰρ χώρα αὕτη πρόσω ἐκποδῶν (154) γενομένη οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτήδειος εἶσω ᾤκηται τε καὶ ὅποι ἔχει ἠθῶν τε καὶ διαίτης. γένος μὲντοι ἰσχυρότατον γενόμενον τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς τε Περσῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, ἡγουμένους τῆς Ἀσίας, θεραπεύειν μὲν τοὺς Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε Σεμίραμις <sup>5</sup> καὶ Κύρος ὁ τε Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀράξην διαβάντες μεγάλῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐχρήσαντο. ἢ τε γὰρ Σεμίραμις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλισσα ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα ἐλαύνουσα μεγάλην παρασκευῆν, ἐπεὶ τε τὸν ποταμόν διέβη, ἐπεπράγει τε χαλεπώτατα καὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐτελεύτησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω, Περσῶν <sup>10</sup> βασιλεὺς, λέγεται δὴ τὸν τε Ἀράξην διαβάς, καὶ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἔπραξε τε τὰ χαλεπώτατα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς Τομύριος τῆς Μασσαγετῶν βασιλευούσης ἀποθανεῖν.

### 3. Tabriz and the Adzamians

(III, p. 156.12-157.4, ed. Darkó = 167.5-18, ed. Bonn)

Ταβρῆζη δὲ πόλις εἶναι μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ γε Σαμαρχάνδην χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ προέχουσα: σῆρὰς τε τρέφει ἢ

the land inside the Ganges and the Indus. He overthrew its land and made this city his capital. Then it transpired that the whole of the land of India was under one king. These people reverence the gods who manage the land of Khataia – Apollo, Artemis and especially Hera. They do not all speak the same language among themselves, but good governance is given to the many distinct races, to most of the people in their cities and villages. They offer horses as sacrifices to Apollo and oxen to Hera. Every year they sacrifice boys who have just attained puberty to Artemis. This land produces so-called “royal” wheat up to fifteen cubits high and barley after the same fashion and millet up to the same size. They cross the river using boats made of reeds. The land of India, as they say, produces reeds of such great size that boats of forty Greek *medimni* are constructed from them. Because this nation is not very well known to us, I have many doubts and do not believe the things which I hear about it. For this country is so far away, inaccessible and uncolonized that we don't know about its customs and way of life. However, they were a very powerful race in days gone by- the kings of the Persians and the Assyrians, who ruled Asia, paid honour to the kings of the Indians, when Semiramis and Cyrus the son of Cambyses crossed the Araxēs and engaged in a great war. For Semiramis, the Queen of the Assyrians, marched against the King of the Indians with a great force. She crossed the river, fared very badly and died in that place. After this Cyrus the son of Cambyses the King of the Persians is said to have crossed the Araxēs and come into conflict with the Massagetae, but fared very badly and died there – while a woman called Tomyr ruled as queen.

Tabriz is a large and prosperous city. After Samarkand it is the most eminent in Asia in income and other forms of prosperity. This country breeds silkworms and produces raw silk

χώρα <sup>15</sup> αὕτη μέταξάν τε καλλίστην ποιουμένη καὶ τῆς Σαμαχίης ἀμείνω. φέρει δὲ καὶ κριμίζιν σῆρα οὕτω καλούμενον πορφυροῦν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰ τε ἀπὸ ἐρίων καὶ σηρῶν, βαφὴν ἐνδεικνύμενα ἀξίαν λόγου. ἔστι τὸ πλέα τὰ ἐν τῆδε τῇ χώρᾳ Περσῶν τῶν Ἀτζαμίων καλουμένων ὅσοι γὰρ τὴν Ἀτζαμίων <sup>20</sup> φωνὴν προίενται, Πέρσαι τε οὗτοι σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν (157) φωνῇ διαλέγονται. οἰκοῦσί τε Ταβρέζην τε καὶ Καγινὸν καὶ Νιγετίην, πόλεις εὐδαίμονας τῶν Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώρας. Σαμαχίη τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρᾳ ὤκημένη, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

of the finest quality, even better than that produced in Shemakhi. It produces a purple silk which is called *krimizis* (cream), which is suitable for garments of wool and silk - the dye being of the highest quality. Many of these are (found) in this land of the Persians, who are also called the Adzamians. For all the people who speak the language of the Adzamians are all Persian and converse in the Persian language. They dwell in Tabriz, Kagino and Nigetia, wealthy cities of the land of the Medes and the Assyrians. Shemakhi is situated in the land of the Armenians and is a prosperous and densely populated city.

#### 4. The Caspian Sea

(III, p. 109.19-110.21, ed. Darkó = 117.19-118.24, ed. Bonn)

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔστρα-τεύετο καὶ τὴν ταύτην <sup>20</sup> θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε Ὑρκανίαν ἐνοικοῦντα παράλια κατ-εστρέφετο. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη καὶ Κασπία ἐς τὴν τε ἔθνος τούτου ἐπωνυμίαν διήκει δὲ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν Σάκας τε ἔχων καὶ Καδουσίους ἐπὶ σταδίους τρισμυρίους, (110) πρὸς ἕω δὲ καὶ βορρᾶν Μασσαγέτας, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ ἐν πολέμοις εὐδοκιμοῦν, ἐπὶ σταδίους δισμυρίους μάλιστα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ἐλαῦνον ἐπὶ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν λέγεται κατα-στρεψάμενον πολίσματα κατασχεῖν ἔστιν ἄ, καὶ Τεμήρην τοῦ γένους <sup>5</sup> τούτου γενόμενον σὺν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ὁρμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρχάνδης ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενον ἔχειν. τὴν μέντοι θάλασσαν ταύτην ὑπὸ ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐκδιδόντων μεγίστην τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους διήκειν, οὐδαμῆ ἐκδιδοῦσαν, ἣ λέγεται, εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλασσαν. <sup>10</sup> διώρυχα μέντοι ἐπυθόμην ἔγωγε ἀπὸ ταύτης διήκειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ἐνοικοῦσι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε ἔθνη πολλά τε καὶ ἄλκιμα. καὶ ἰχθύας μὲν φέρει αὕτη ἢ θάλασσα πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, φέρει τὸ καὶ ὄστρεα μαργαρί-τας ἔχοντα, ἥπερ τὸ καὶ ἢ Ἰνδικὴ θάλασσα. καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ <sup>15</sup> πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, παρὰ ἀλλήλους ἐπιπλέοντα φορτίων πλέα. ἔστι τὸ αὕτη ἢ θάλασσα πρὸς ἕω μάλιστα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐς ἣν ἐκδιδοῖ ὃ τε Ἀράξης ποταμὸς μέγιστος καὶ Χοάσπης πρὸς ἕω ῥέων, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. τὰ μέντοι ἐς

After this he (Timur) led an expedition against the Hyrcanians and towards the sea there. Quite a number of coastal tribes dwelling at this Hyrcanian sea were overthrown. It is called the Caspian Sea, being named after this nation. It extends for 30,000 stades in a southerly direction past the Sakai and the Cadusians. On the East and North it borders the Massagetae, a nation notable for its strength and warlike qualities – this extends as far as 20,000 stades. It is said that this nation invaded the land of the Persians, overthrew some cities and occupied them. Timur, who was born into this nation, joined with the Massagetae in invading the kingdom of Samarkand and overthrowing and posse-ssing the land of the Assyrians. The sea in this place (the Caspian) is very large and extends over many stades, as many rivers flow into it. But it is said that that it does not flow into the sea outside (the Black Sea?). However I learnt that a canal extends from this sea and flows into the Indian Ocean. Many powerful tribes live near this sea and this sea produces many fine fish and also produces oysters which have pearls in them, as is the case with the Indian Sea. Many vessels sail on this sea, conveying merchandise from one group of people to another. It lies mostly on the eastern side of Asia. The mighty Araxēs, Khoaspēs, which flows towards the East and many other rivers flow into it. We mentioned earlier that the peoples which live near this river are ruled by the Cadusians and that they pay their taxes every year to the city of the Cadusians.

τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθνη ὑπὸ Καδουσίων τε ἄρχεσθαι πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν, <sup>120</sup> καὶ τοὺς γε φόρους αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Καδουσίων πόλιν ἔτους ἑκάστου ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τούτους.

### 5. Iberia (i.e. Georgia) and the Illyrians

(IX; ii, p. 223.5-224.14, ed. Darkó = 467.10-468.21, ed. Bonn)

Ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία προσεχῆς ἐστὶ τῇ τῆς Κολχίδος χώρα, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τούτων οὐκ ἀγενεῖς. διήκει τὸ ἢ χώρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Βαθὺ λεγομένου καὶ ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἕως Χαλτζιχί, ἢ τοῦ Γοργούρου αὐθεντεῖα καὶ Κορίου καὶ Καχετίου καὶ Τυφλισίου, σύνεγγυς οὖσαι αἱ πόλεις αὗται τε Σαμαχίου, Τούρκων <sup>10</sup> οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐχόντων χωρὶς κάτωθεν τε Καχετίου πόλεως τοῦ ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Σεβαστοπόλεως Μιγκρελίων τοῦ Δαδιάννου αὐθεντεῖα καὶ Μαμία καὶ Σαμανταύλα καὶ Γουρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραθαλασσιῶν πόλεων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἄνωθεν Ἰβηρίας εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀλανοὶ ὄμοροι καὶ Οὐνοὶ καὶ <sup>15</sup> Ἐμβοί. οἱ δὲ Ἀλανοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον παρατείνοντες. οὗτοι καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄνδρες νομιζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι, ποιούντες λωρῖκια ἐξαίρετα. πολιτεύονται δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θρησκείαν, δια-χρῶνται δὲ φωνῇ ἰδίᾳ τὸ παράπαν, καὶ ὄπλα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ, <sup>20</sup> τὰ Ἀλανικὰ καλούμενα. Ἰβηρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἀφίκοντο, εἴτε ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν, οὐκ ἔχω διασημῆναι δοκοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα χωρῆσαι δυνάμεως, (224) καὶ ὄλβον κτησάμενοι καὶ πίστιν ἐκ Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως παρὰ μᾶς γυναικὸς ἐκείσε διαφοιτώσης πίστεως εὐσεβοῦς ἕνεκα τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης: ἥδς καὶ θαυματουργίαις τοὺς Ἰβηρας καταπλήξασα μετηλλάξατο τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αὐτῶν πίστεως, καὶ Χριστιανούς <sup>15</sup> ἀπεφῆναντο τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ αὐτῶν. μετὰ τὸ χρόνους πολλοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι οἱ ὄμοροι αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἤρανον κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς χώρας τῶν Ἰβήρων διερχόμενοι ἐδήουν καὶ παντελῶς ἠφάνιζον, καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενοι κατ-έσχον αὐτούς, καταφυγόντων τῶν βασιλέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων. ὕστερον δ' οἰχομένων τῶν Σκυθῶν <sup>10</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς σφετέρας διατριβὰς ἐπικαταβῆναι τε ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ δασμὸν φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύοντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀλανοὺς

Now Iberia borders the land of Colchis and the kings of these people are not of lowly birth. The land extends from the so-called Bathu River and the Phasis River as far as Khalchikhi and is the property of Korias, Kakhetias and Typhlisas, these cities which are quite near Samakhias. Turks live in it and possess separately from below, the city of Kakhetias, which is in the coastal area and in the domain of Dadiannos of the Migrelian of Sebastopol and Mamias and Samantaulas and Guria and the other coastal cities. For from the cities of Upper Iberia are also the Alanians, who share a border, and the Huns and the Embians. The Alanians seem to be living alongside the Caucasus. These men are considered to be the most excellent in military matters, making remarkable corslets. These men also serve as citizens in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ. They use their own language constantly and fashion their shields from bronze – called “Alanic shields” I am not able to indicate from where the Iberians have come to this land, even from Iberia in the West. They indeed seem to have attained great power, having gained wealth and faith from Constantinople from one woman who constantly visited that place for the sake of the most holy faith. By her wondering she astounded the Iberians, converted them from their ungodly belief and declared them to be Christians by their profession of faith. But after some considerable time the Scythians, who had the same borders as they did, undertook a war against them, went through the lands of the Iberians, ravaged them and completely devastated them. They enslaved the men and held them in subjection, after the kings had fled to the tops of the mountains. Afterwards, when the Scythians had gone to their own pursuits, they came down to the land and by bringing tribute to the king of the Scythians, continued to rule there. Not long after this they fought against the Alanians, the Unians and the Sasians.... Such is the extent of my knowledge and I will make mention of them.



μαχεσάμενοι, Ούνους και Σάσους .... τοσόνδε  
ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιμνήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

### 6. Cairo and the Expansion of Islam

(III, p. 131.10-133.9 , ed. Darkó = 140.18-142.23, ed. Bonn)

Ὁ δὲ τῆς Μέμφιος βασιλεὺς χώρας τε ἄρχει οὐκ ὀλίγης καὶ εὐδαίμονος: ἀπὸ Ἀράβων ἀρξάμενος Συρίαν τε κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ σύμπασαν τὸ Αἴγυπτον ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἔχει. βασιλεὺς τὸ καθίσταται τῆς Μέμφιος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆσδε τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ὅσοι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦνται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ, <sup>15</sup> ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίστανται ἐς τοὺς στρα-τιώτας. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι δορυφοροῦντες βασιλέα, ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους, Μαμλουκίδες καλούμενοι. ἀπὸ τούτων δέ, ὅσοι ἐπίσημοι ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὅτιοῦν τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένων, οὗτοι ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς κατὰ βραχὺ καθιστάμενοι ἐπὶ μείζον χωροῦσι τύχης ἅμα κατὰ βασιλέως, <sup>20</sup> καὶ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα τιμῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μελικαμηράδας καθίστανται, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤδη χωροῦσι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Μέμφιος ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπάσης τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου Ἀραβίας τε καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, ὅσοι ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεὶ τάττονται. (132) Μελικαμηράδες εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ τήνδε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπισήμους, ἄρχοντες καθιστάμενοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ταύτην τῆς Μέμφιος μεγίστην δὴ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἔστε τὴν ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος <sup>5</sup> τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃ τε γὰρ περίβολος ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίου διήκων. εὐνομεῖται δὲ κάλλιστα πασῶν δὴ, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, πόλεων. οἰκίας δὲ ἔχειν καλλίστας λέγεται ἐς τὰς πενήκοντα μυριάδας. ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως Νεῖλος ποταμός, κράτιστον ὕδωρ παρεχόμενος, ῥέων ἀπὸ <sup>10</sup> ἀργυροῦ ὄρους. Αἴγυπτον δὲ σύμπασαν ἀρδεύει ἐς τὰ κάλλιστα κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκασταχῆ χωρῶν κατεσκευασμένων, ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἀρδεῖν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην Μονοθελῆται καὶ Ἰακωβίται, ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα, καὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν τελούντων τε καὶ <sup>15</sup> φρονούντων ἄλλων ἄλλη, οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὔτε κατὰ τὰ Ἑλλησι δεδογμένα ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν φρονούντες· ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀρμένιοι πλείστοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην, Μονοθελῆται δὴ καὶ

Now the King of Memphis (i.e. Cairo) rules over a substantial and prosperous land. Beginning from the Arabs he holds all of Coele Syria, Palestine and Egypt under his control. He has become the King of Memphis and this empire in the following way. All the prisoners of war that demonstrate valour are raised by the king to the status of soldiers. These men are called Mamelukes – there are about two thousand of them and they are the king's bodyguards. Those of them that are outstanding in carrying out any of the commands of the king rise to power in a short time, even attaining the level of the king. When they are considered worthy of the highest honour, they are promoted to the rank of Melik emirs, as they are called. From this they progress to the very territory of the king and hold sway over the dominion of Memphis and the whole of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine and the other regions which are under the sway of the king. The Melik emirs are rulers over the notable cities under this kingdom and have been made rulers by the king. This city of Memphis is the greatest city in the world in both prosperity and population. The area of this land extends as far as seven hundred stades. Indeed it is the best managed of all the cities which we know. It is said that it has five hundred thousand very beautiful houses. The Nile River, which flows from the Silver Mountains, runs through the middle of the city and provides the best quality water. It irrigates the whole of Egypt in an excellent way through the canals which have been dug in every part of the country, so that the land is watered in a very suitable fashion. Great numbers of Monothelites and Jacobites inhabit this land and of those who worship Jesus as divine, some think one way, others another way. They do not think the same way as the Romans or according to the concepts approved by the Greeks in their worship. But just as there are very many Armenians throughout this land, so there are many Monothelites, Jacobites and Manichaeans. The land of the King of Memphis extends from Libya as far as the city called Aleppo in Asia. This king is considered by the peoples in Asia and Libya and even in Europe to be the high priest of their worship and the laws

Ἰακωβίται καὶ Μανιχαῖοι πάμπολλοι. διήκει δὲ ἡ χώρα τε τῆς Μέμφιος βασιλέως ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἔστε πόλιν Χαλεπίην<sup>120</sup> οὕτω καλουμένην κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν νομίζεται δ' οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐθνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Λιβύης καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀρχιερεῦς τε τὰ ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Μεχμέτεω, παμπόλλων αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διδασκομένων τοὺς τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῦ (133) νόμους, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀρχιερεῦς τε ἐνομίσθη, καὶ γράμμασι τοῖς τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀκριβέστατα δὴ τὸν τοῦ Μεχμέτεω νόμον. τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέχοντες μέγα τε ἀποφέρονται κέρδος, καὶ ἄρχοντες μέγιστοι<sup>1</sup> δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου ἐς φυλακὴν τε σήματος καθίστανται. διήκει δὲ Αἴγυπτος ἀπὸ Φάρου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔστε Ἰτουραϊαν χώραν, ἐπὶ σταδίους μάλιστα πη... ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοί ἐς θάλασσαν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

### 7. The religion of the Arabs

(III, p. 112.22-132.18, ed. Darkó = 121.4-124.2, ed. Bonn)

Ὁ μέντοι νομοθέτης τούτων ὁ Μεχμέτης παῖς λέγεται γενέσθαι (113) Ἀλίω, ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας τῆς εὐδαίμονος. ἐκθέμενος δὲ τὴν νομοθεσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν μέντοι μηδὲν βιάζεσθαι, ἀναπειθοντά τε τοὺς Ἀραβας καὶ Σύρους μετὰ ταῦτα· μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα προσλαβόμενον τοῦ Ἀλίω δυνάστου τε τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖου αὐτῷ,<sup>1</sup> ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιόντα προσάγεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νομοθεσίαν, ὅποι ἂν ἐπίη, τοὺς τὴν χώραν οἰκούντας. ἀνίει τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔστε τὴν ῥαστώνην καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βακχείαν μέντοι, συνεχῆ δὲ ὡς μάλιστα μελέτην. νομίζεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τετράκις τῆς ἡμέρας προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλυόμενον εἰς τοῦτο,<sup>10</sup> ὥστε μὴ προσεύξασθαι. τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρᾳ κοινή τε ἅπαντας ἐς τοὺς ναοὺς ἰόντας προσεύχεσθαι νομίζεται μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν, μήτε ἄγαλμα, μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν γεγραμμένων προσβαλόμενον σφίσιν ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς. ἱερεῖς τε σφίσιν καθιστώντες, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐς περιωπὴν τινα πύργον πεποιημένον<sup>15</sup> ἀναβαίνοντα προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ μεγάλη φωνὴ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς νομιζόμενας εὐχὰς ποιέσθαι κεκραγότα γεγωνότερον. ἐς μὲν οὖν τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ γένος τὸ τοῦτο

laid down by Mohammed. Very many people are taught the laws of his religion there. He was considered to be a high priest by the ancients and according to their writings he expounded the law of Mohammed very accurately. As they own the tomb of Jesus in Palestine, they derive much financial benefit. The highest rulers of the house of the king have been assigned to guard the monument. Egypt extends from Pharos in Alexandria as far as the land of Ituraea for as long as 80 stades. The Nile, the river of Egypt, flows northward into the sea near Alexandria in Egypt.

The lawgiver Mohammed is said to have been born the son of Ali from Arabia Felix. As he set forth his teaching he did not use force at first, but subsequently persuaded the Arabs and Syrians. After this he engaged Ali, who was the ruler of the land and his personal friend, to go and convert the inhabitants of the land to the teaching wherever he went. He disseminated the teaching towards gentleness and the fervour of the divine (worship), but yet inculcated continual study. For it is laid down by him as a statute to pray to God four times a day and that one should not be prevented by anyone in this matter of praying. On Aphrodite's day (Friday) they all go to the temples *en masse* and pray. Nothing at all, neither an image nor anything painted is allowed to impinge upon their prayer in the temples. They ordain priests for themselves, so that the priest goes up on a tower constructed with a panoramic view in front of the temple and utters prayers in a loud voice – he constantly yells the appointed prayers in a very vociferous manner. So as far as its prayers are concerned we know that this race is most vehement and does not admit of any relaxation at all. Yet in other matters their customs as far as their way of life and demeanour

ἴσμεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐντεταμένον, μηδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀνιέναι προσ-δεχομένου· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐς δίκαιαν καὶ ἐς τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς οὔτε κεκολασμένον<sup>120</sup> νομίζεται, ὥστε μὴ ἐς τὸ τοῦ βίου ἠδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι· οὕτω τὴν φύσιν μηδαμῆ βιάζεται. γυναίκας μὲν γὰρ ἄγεσθαι, παλλακίδας μὲντοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων, ὅσαις ἂν ἕκαστος οἴός τε **(114)** εἴη τροφήν παρέχεσθαι ἐς τὸν βίον. γυναίκας τὸ κουριδίας ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰς πέντε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων παῖδας νομίζεσθαι σφίσι οὐ νόθους. ἂν δὲ ἀπὸ παλλακίδων ἐλευθέρων γένωνται σφίσι παῖδες, νόθοι τε αὐτοῖς νομίζονται, καὶ οὐκ εἰς<sup>15</sup> τὴν πατρῶαν οὐσίαν εισέρχονται. ὠνοῦνται τὸ καὶ τὰς κουριδίας, ὅσου ἂν τις βούλοιο ἐκδοῦναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. λαμ-πάδων δὲ προενηνεγμένων σφίσι ἐς τοὺς γάμους ἄγονται τὰς γυναίκας. ἂν δὲ ἀχθεσθεῖς τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέιπῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τριῶν σπληνῶν ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἠλλοτριῶται τῷ λόγῳ ἢ<sup>10</sup> γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. νομίζεται τὸ αἰσχιστον, ἢν ἂν τις ἀποπέμψῃται, αὐτίς αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι· ἂν δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ ἐτέρου μοιχευθῆ, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀπάγειν. οἴνῳ τὸ χρῆσθαι ἀθέμιτον ἀπαγορεύει τῷ γένει τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ λουσάμενον μὴ ἐξείναι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἰέναι. δεκατεῖαν δὲ τινα ἐξελόμενος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἔτους, ἐς νηστεῖαν<sup>15</sup> αὐτοῦς προάγεται ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἡμέρας. τῆς μὲντοι ἡμέρας ὅλης μηδ' ὅτι οὖν προσίεσθαι μήτε τροφῆς, μήτε πόσεως, ἐσπέρας δέ, ὅταν ἄστρα φαίνηται, σιτίζεσθαι· πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μὴ ἐξείναι οἴνου πιέσθαι τὸ παράπαν. περιτέμνεσθαι δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον χρῆναι παντά-πασιν. Ἰησοῦν<sup>120</sup> δὲ θεοῦ τε ἀπόστολον γενέσθαι νομίζει, καὶ ἐξ ἀγγέλου τοῦ Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, παρθένου τε οὔσης καὶ μηδενὶ **(115)** ἀνδρὶ συγγενομένης γεννήσαι Ἰησοῦν, ἥρωά τινα μεῖζω ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπειδὴν ἐς κρίσιν τῶν σφίσι βεβιωμένων καθιστῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν γε Ἰησοῦν φασὶν ἄγεσθαι δίκαιον τε κόσμον. σὺς δὲ μὴ ἄπτεσθαι<sup>15</sup> θέμις εἶναι, καὶ τὰ γε ζῶα πάντα ἐσθίουσιν, ἂν μὲντοι ἐπὶ σφαγῆν γένωνται. θεὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα ἐφιστῶσι τῷδε τῷ παντί, ὑπηρέταις δὲ χρώμενον τοῖς πυρίνοις, ἢ φασί, νόοις. πεπομφέναι δὲ Μεχμέτην ἐς τὰ ἐλλιπῆ τοῖς πρότερον ἐπιπεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην νομοθέταις. κάθαρον δὲ ἡγοῦνται τὴν τε<sup>10</sup> περιτομὴν σφίσι πάντων δὴ μάλιστα, ἐν ἧ καὶ γάμους ποιοῦνται.

are not straightened, so that they do not campaign against the pleasure of life. Thus they do not repress their natural instincts. For they marry women and may have as many concubines secured as slaves in wartime as they are able to maintain. They have as many as five lawful wives and the children born to slave women are not viewed as illegitimate. But if they beget children from free concubines, these are regarded by them as being illegitimate and do not become beneficiaries of the family's estate. They purchase their wives for as much money as a man might require for his daughter. They carry lighted candles in front of the procession as they escort the women into the nuptials. If a husband is annoyed with his wife and makes the pronouncement that henceforth he will keep away from her for three spleens (i.e. months). It is considered to be disgraceful for someone to dismiss his wife and to marry her again. Unless she has been debauched by another man, it is not permitted to lead her away (into marriage). It is absolutely forbidden for people of this nation to partake of wine and if they have not washed themselves they are not allowed to go to prayers. They give a tithe to God every year. They are supposed to fast for thirty or more days. During the whole of the day time they do not touch either food or drink, but in the evening, when the stars appear, they do eat. Especially at this time they are not allowed to drink wine at all. Circumcision of the genitals is mandatory. They consider Jesus to be an apostle of God, the progeny of the angel Gabriel and Mary, who was a virgin and had not had intercourse with any man. She gave birth to Jesus, who was a kind of demigod, greater than a man. They say that at the end of the world, when people are appointed to be judged for the things they have done in their lives, Jesus will be designated as the judge of the world. They eat all animals that are slaughtered, but do not think it right to touch pork. So they acknowledge on God who rules over everything and uses servants of fiery minds, as they say. They say that God sent Mohammed to complete the teaching of the lawgivers who had previously been sent by God into the world. They think that the purification of everything is particularly effected by circumcision, which they link with marriage. They customarily bury their dead near roads- it is not permitted to bury them anywhere else. They wash and shave the body and then bury it. They have this custom as well, that whoever does not obey

ταφὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς νομίζεται γίνεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλη ἐξεῖναι θάπτειν. θάπτουσι δὲ λούσαντες καὶ ξυρῶ ἅμα τὸ σῶμα. νομίζεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τόδε, ὅς ἂν μὴ πείθεται τῷ νόμῳ, τελευτᾶν τῷ σιδήρῳ. Ἀρμενίους δὲ μόνους τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν<sup>15</sup> διαφορο-μένων σφίσιν ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ὡς Ἀρμενίῳ τινὶ προειρηκότι τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐσόμενον. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἐπιτρέπεται ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι Ἀρμενίους.

the law should be killed by the sword. The Armenians are the only ones of the other races that differ from them in religion, whom they do not

### 8. The Origin of the Turks

(I; i, pp. 7.10-9.10, ed. Darkó = 9.10-11.9, ed. Bonn)

Τούρκους τὸ οὖν ἔγωγε οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν καλέσαιμι κατὰ τὸ παλαιόν, ὥστε τάληθοῦς μὴ διαμαρτεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκυθῶν ἀπογόνους τοὺς Τούρκους οἴονται εἶναι, ὀρθότερον τὸ συμβαλλό-μενοι περὶ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐς ἦθη οὐ πολὺ διεστηκότα καθισταμένους γλώττη σύνεγγυς μάλα διαχρήσθαι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ.<sup>15</sup> Σκύθας τε γὰρ φασι τὸ ἑβδομον ἡδη ἀπὸ Τανάιδος ὠρμημένους καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν ἄνω Ἀσίαν, Πάρθων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τὴν τε Περσῶν χώραν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπικαταβάντας ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν, Λυδίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὰ ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὑποχείρια<sup>20</sup> σφίσι ποιήσασθαι. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἣ λέγουσι, πολλὰ τε γένους τούτου πολλαχῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπινεμόμενα, πρὸς Σκυθῶν (8) τῶν νομάδων ἦθη τε καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένα οὐδαμῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔσχον καταφανῆ τὴν διατριβήν. κἀκεῖνη δὲ ἔτι συμβάλλονται, ὡς Ἀσίας τὴν κάτω χώραν ἐνοικοῦντα βάρβαρα ἔθνη Τούρκων, Λυδίων, Καρίων, Φρυγίων τε καὶ Καππαδοκίων, Σκύθαις τὴν ἀπὸ<sup>5</sup> Τανάιδος ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν χώραν ἐπινεμομένοις ὁμόγλωττά τε ἔστι καὶ ὁμόσκενα.

As far as the Turks are concerned, I do not know what name from the past I should use to describe them, so as not to deviate from the truth. For some people think that the Turks are the descendants of the Scythians. This deduction about them is quite accurate, because they are not far removed from them in customs and even now use almost the same language. People say that the Scythians set out from the Tanais River (the Don) for the seventh time and subjugated Upper Asia, at the time when the Parthians held sway, and also the land of the Persians, the Medes and the Assyrians. After this they went down to Lower Asia – to Phrygia, Lydia and Cappadocia – and made the regions about this land subject to them. At the present time they say that it is possible to see many of this race spread over many parts of Asia. They have adopted the customs and way of life of the nomadic Scythians and have not had a conspicuous dwelling place anywhere in Asia. It is supposed that the barbarian Turkish races who inhabit the lower regions of Asia – Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia – speak the same language and use the same tools as the Scythians who occupy the area from Tanais to Sarmatia.

Ἐνιοὶ δὲ Πάρθων ἀπογόνους Τούρκους φασι εἶναι. τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων διωκομένους ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν ἐπικαταβῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον ἀποκλίναντας<sup>10</sup> σκεδασθῆναι ταύτῃ ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὡς δὴ νομάδας Τούρκους τὸ γένος τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασι ἀπὸ Τούρκης τῶν Περσῶν πόλεως μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος, προελθεῖν τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο δισχυρίζονται, καὶ εἰς τὴν κάτω χώραν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπαλλαττομένους σκεδασ-

Some people say that the Turks are descended from the Parthians. For when they were pursued by the nomadic Scythians, they ended up in Lower Asia. When they were inclined there to a more nomadic life, they scattered there among the cities, and as a consequence this race was called nomadic Turks. But other people assert vigorously that this race is descended from Turke, a great and prosperous city of the Persians, that it went forth, moved to the lower region of Asia, were scattered there over Asia and subjugated the

θῆναι ταύτη <sup>15</sup> ἀνά τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ταύτη αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντας ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον <sup>20</sup> ἀποκλίνειν. ὡς μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕκαστα ἔχει ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐφ' ἃ (9) δὲ τούτων χωροῦντας πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον, οὐκ ἔχω ξυμβαλέσθαι ὡς ἀσφαλέςτατα. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἰρήσεται, ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτοις δυσχυριζομένοις ἔχει ἂν τις συμφέρεσθαι ἄμεινον, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς ἔω <sup>3</sup> ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαγενομένους κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καλουμένην τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Τούρκων ἐπαίειν ὁ χαλεπῶς, διαίτη τε καὶ σκευὴ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ ἄμφω τῷ γένει διαχρωμένους, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας ἐπικρατήσαι ἀπανταχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὴν νομαδικὴν δίαιταν προηρημένον καὶ τὸν ταύτη τοῦ βίου <sup>10</sup> πλέον αὐτῷ ποιούμενον. ἐπικατασχόντας τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ βούλονται Τούρκους ἀπὸ Συρίας μᾶλλον τῆς κοίλης καὶ Ἀραβίας ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ Ὀμάρεω τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν διαδεξαμένου ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν προεληλυθέναι.

### 9. The Mongols of Central Asia and countries of Eastern Europe

(III; i, pp. 120.8-128.3, ed. Darkó = 129.1-137.4, ed. Bonn)

Ἐνταῦθα πυθόμενοι Σκύθαι Τεμήρην βασιλέα ἐπὶ σφῶς ἐπιόντα μεγάλη παρασκευῇ, τὴν τε εἰσοδὸν ἐπεμπον στρατεύματα <sup>10</sup> προκαταληψομένους τῶν ὀρέων, ἧ ἔμελλε Τεμήρης σὺν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ διεύειν. Σκύθαι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐς μοίρας τινὰς διηρημένοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἕστε ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον. νῦν δὲ γένος μέντοι τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν γενόμενον, τὰ πρὸς ἔω αὐτοῦ τε ἐνοικῆσαν τὴν ἐπὶ <sup>15</sup> τὰδε τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τετραμμένον, Σαχάταιοι ἐκλήθησαν, ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν χώραν ἐς τοὺς Σάκας τε καὶ Καδουσίους ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ Τεμήρην αὐτὸν οἶονται γεγενῆσθαι τινές. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἄλκιμον τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολεμικώτατον, καὶ σὺν τούτοις λέγεται <sup>20</sup> τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ παραλαβεῖν, πλὴν Ἰνδῶν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς Σκύθαι κατὰ ταῦτο φρονουσί τε καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχονται βασιλεῖ, κατὰ Οὐρδὰν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγορὰν τὰ βασιλεία ποιούμενοι, ἀποδεικνύμενοι σφίσι βασιλέα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ βασιλείου τὸ παλαιότατον. καὶ ἔστι δὴ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὸν <sup>25</sup> Βόσπορον μοῖρα τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγη, ἀνά τὴν χώραν ταύτην διεσκεδασμένον, (121) ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ταττόμενον, οἴκου τῶν βασιλέων, ὄνομα δὲ τούτῳ Ἀτζικερίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐπετράποντο σφῶς τούτῳ τῷ

country. There are some who want to say that the Turks came to this land from Coelesyria and Arabia, rather than from the Scythians. They say that they came with Omar, who was Mohammed's successor in spreading the teaching. He rose to exercise rule over Asia, while the Turks who were left behind were inclined to a more nomadic style of life. As for the issue of how much truth lies in each of these suggestions and what theories are worthy of more credence, I am not able to give a certain conclusion. However this much can be said, that those who assert that this dominion originates from the Scythians would seem to be more in harmony with the facts. The Scythians who still reside in Eastern Europe, in the so-called "market", comprehend the Turks in Asia without difficulty. Both nations even now still enjoy the same way of life and apparel, as the Scythians ruled everywhere in Asia. Indeed the name itself (Scythian) designates a person who has chosen a nomadic way of life and practises this style of life more than any other.

Then learning that King Timur was attacking them with a great army, the Scythians sent an army to seize the entry to the mountains beforehand at the place where Timur and his army were planning to pass through. These Scythians divided up into tribes long before and managed the country between the Ister and the people that are near the Caucasus. Now one of these tribes called the Sachataioi (Chaghatais) ended up in Asia. They settled in the eastern part of Asia and spread over much territory north of the country of the Persians and going towards the Sakai and the Cadusians. Some people believe that Timur was descended from them. This nation is a strong nation and the most warlike of all those in Asia. With their assistance Timur is said to have seized control of all the regions of Asia except for India. The rest of the Scythians are of the same mentality and are governed under one king. They have their capital in Horde, which is the so-called 'market'. They claim that their king comes from a very old royal lineage. They are also elsewhere in Europe. A large proportion of them went to the Bosphorus, being scattered throughout that land. They were under the direction of a king, from a house of kings, and his

βασιλεῖ, ἐς τήνδε ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἐπελάσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες, μοῖρά τοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγη<sup>5</sup> τῆς Θράκης λεηλατοῦντες ἐπέδραμον, καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ἰόντες. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ γένους τούτου αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐνέμειναν. ὧν τὸ πλεόν ἐπὶ Παιαζήτεω διαβάν τὸν Ἰστρον [ἐνέμειναν] ᾧκίσθη χωρὶς ἕκαστον μέρος τοῦ γένους τούτου γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν μέρος αὐτοῦ πέραν<sup>10</sup> τοῦ Ἰστρου <παρὰ> Καζιμήρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λιτουάνων τὴν δίαιταν ἔχουσι, τὴν γῆν νεμόμενοι ἐς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἔς τε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους αὐτῷ πόλεμον συμβαλλόμενοι τὰ κράτιστα ὅπου γὰρ ἄν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, δοκοῦσί τε τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰσὶ κράτιστοι. ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὴν<sup>15</sup> Ταυρικὴν νῆσον καλουμένην, διείργουσαν λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τὸν γε Εὐξείνιον πόντον, ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀτζικερίῃ τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ ἐς γῆν ληϊζόμενοι κατεστρέψαντο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς τε Γότθους καλουμένους καὶ Ἰανυίους τοὺς τὴν τε Καφᾶ πόλιν ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ Σαρματίας μέρος τι ἀπάγει τούτῳ τῷ<sup>20</sup> βασιλεῖ φόρον. Σαρμάται μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Εὐξείνιον πόντον καὶ οἱ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (122) φόρον ἀπάγουσιν, ἐξ ὅτου τὴν Σαρματίαν ἐπιδραμόντες τὰ μὲν ἠνδραποδίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ληϊσάμενοι κατέσχον ἐπὶ συχνὸν τινα χρόνον, καὶ ταύτη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἔτους ἐκάστου ἀπάγουσι.

<sup>5</sup> Σαρματία μὲν οὖν διήκει ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων ἐπὶ Δᾶκας τε καὶ Λιτουάνους, γένος τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν φωνῇ τὰ πολλὰ διαχρώμενον. καὶ διαίτη τε καὶ ἥθεσι τε Ἰησοῦ νόμοις ἔποικοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μᾶλλον τετραμμένοι οὐ πάνυ συμφέρονται τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, Ἑλληνικῶ τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ χρῶνται, καὶ τούτῳ<sup>10</sup> πείθονται τὰ ἐς θρησκείαν τε καὶ δίαιταν σφίσι. καὶ ἥθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλλήνων διαχρώμενοι, σκευῇ τῇ Σκυθῶν παραπλησίᾳ προσχρῶνται. τὰ μέντοι πρὸς Εὐξείνιον πόντον Σαρματῶν γένη, ἀπὸ Λευκοπολίχνης καλουμένης, ἡγεμονίαι τε διαλαγχάνουσι τὰ πολλὰ, τό τε Μοσ-χόβιόν τε καὶ Κίεβος καὶ Τοφάρι καὶ Χαρκόβιον,<sup>15</sup> πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννουσιν εὐθυνομένην, ἐς τὴν μέλαιναν οὕτω ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν καλουμένην Σαρματίαν τελοῦσι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον οἰκημένα γένη λευκὴν Σαρματίαν καλοῦσι. πρὸς μέντοι ὠκεανὸν πόλις Οὐγκράτης καλουμένη, ἐς ἀριστοκρατίαν τετραμμένη, ὄλβον τε παρέχεται καὶ αὐτὴν εὐδαιμονία<sup>20</sup> ὑπερφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Σαρματίας πόλεων, τῆς τε λευκῆς καὶ

name was Atzikerie (Hadji Girai). These people submitted themselves to the rule of this king, proceeding to this land and even pressing on as far as the Ister. They crossed the Ister, overran a substantial portion of Thrace and plundered it. Then they withdrew from Sarmatia on their way to the Tanais. Many from this race settled at the Ister. Most crossed under Paiazetis (Bayazid) and settled there. Thus each part of this race was settled. The remainder of it (Scythia) beyond the Ister is subject to Casimir, the King of the Lithuanians. They have their way of life, look after the land even to this present time and ally themselves with him to a great extent in his fighting against his neighbours. Wherever this nation happens to be they seem to be warlike and are very powerful. The people who live around the Bosphorus and the so-called Taurus Island, which marks off Lake Maiotis and the Black Sea are under the rule of King Hadji Girai Atzikerie. They raid the peoples in the land and have subjugated them to pay tribute- the peoples are the so-called Goths and the Genoans, who inhabit the city of Caffa. A section of Sarmatia also pays tribute to this king. So the Sarmatians, those who live near the Black Sea and those near the Ocean pay tribute to the great King of the Scythians “in the market” – inasmuch as (the Scythians) overran Sarmatia and enslaved some sections, others they raided and occupied for a long time.

So Sarmatia extends from the Scythian nomads to the Dacians and the Lithuanians, a tribe that mostly uses the language of the Illyrians. Both in manner of life and customs they are adherents of the laws of Jesus, being rather inclined to the Greeks. They are not very partial to the high priest of the Romans, but use the Greek high priest and obey him in matters connected with their worship and behaviour. Although they practise the same customs as the Greeks, they wear almost the same apparel as the Scythians. Most of the Sarmatian tribes that live near the Black Sea (Euxine), near what is called Leukopolichne (White City) are divided into principalities. Moscow, Kiev, Tofar and Kharkov are cities ruled by princes in the so-called Black Sarmatia. The tribes that live in the (sub-) arctic region near the Ocean call their region White Sarmatia. However the city by the Ocean called Ugkratis (Novgorod) has been converted into an aristocracy. It is rich and exceeds the other cities of Sarmatia in wealth, whether they are called

μελαίνης ούτωσι καλουμένης. καὶ διήκει ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν αὐτῆ ἢ χώρα, Ἰνφλάντη καλουμένη. ἔνθα δὴ ὀρμίζονται καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Δανίας νῆες καὶ Γερμανίας, φορτία φέρουσαι Βρετανικά τε ἅμα καὶ Κελτικά ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν (123) Τανάιτοῖς ἐς ὠκεανὸν τὸν Βρετανικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτῶν χώραν εἴη ἂν ὁδὸς τὸ μακρότατον ἡμερῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ οἰκούμενον ἐπὶ μῆκος, ἐπὶ πλάτος δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώραν εἶναι μεγίστην, ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἢ<sup>5</sup> χώραν. Σκύθαι νέμονται τήνδε. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔμοιγε καταφαίνεται, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώραν μεγίστη δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατ' ἄμφω, μῆκός τε δὴ καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ μήκιστον διήκουσα.

Πέρμιοι τὸ οἰκοῦσι τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σαρμάτας, ἢ<sup>10</sup> ὄμοροι δὲ εἰσι Σαρματῶν, καὶ φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔναι οἱ Σαρμάται τοῖς Περμίοις. λέγεται δὲ περὶ Περμίων τάδε, ὡς ἔστι γένος ἀπὸ ἄγρας τὸ πλέον τοῦ βίου σφίσι ποιούμενον καὶ ...

Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς ὠκεανὸν διήκουσα Σαρματία ἐπὶ Προυσίαν καλουμένην χώραν διήκει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ταύτη λευκοφόρους ἢ<sup>15</sup> Ναζηραίους καὶ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ. δοκοῦσι δὲ γένος τοῦτο εἶναι Γερμανοί, καὶ φωνῇ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσχρόμενοι καὶ διαίτη. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πόλεις περικαλλεῖς καὶ εὐνομουμένας ἐς τὸ κράτιστον. ἔστι δὲ τούτοις ἱερὸν, ἢ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρία ἱερὸν νομίζεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνοικοῦν Ναζηραίων γένος. ταῦτα ἢ<sup>20</sup> γὰρ δὴ τὰ τρία ἱερά ἀνά τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὠκημένα τὸ καταφανῆ ἔστι, τὸ τε ἐν Ἰβηρία πρὸς τοὺς ταύτη τῶν Λιβύων διαβάντας, καὶ Προυσίων πρὸς τε τοὺς Σαμῶτας καὶ Σκυθῶν τοὺς νομάδας, αὐτοῦ (124) ταύτη ἀγχοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ὠκισμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τάφον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους.

Προυσίων δὲ ἔχονται Σαμῶται, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ οὐδενὶ ἢ<sup>5</sup> τῶν περιοίκων ὀμοδίαιτον, οὐδὲ ὀμόγλωσσον. νομίζει τὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος θεοὺς Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν διαίτη τὸ χρῶνται τῇ πάλαι Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἤθεσι, σκευῇ δὲ τῇ Προυσίων παραπλησία.

Τούτων τὸ ἔχονται Βοέμοι, τῇ τε Σαμωτῶν δόξῃ τιθέμενοι καὶ τῇ Γερμανῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐνοικοῦντες, σκευῇ τῇ ἢ<sup>10</sup> τῶν Παιόνων παραπλησία ἐσκευασμένοι. ἔνεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μητρόπολις, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, Βράγα οὕτωσι καλουμένη, καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπεὶ

white or black. And this land called Inflante (Livonia) extends to the Ocean. Indeed ships from Denmark and Germany, which carry cargo from Britain and Celtica to this land anchor there. Now from the Tanais to the British Ocean and the land of the Celts the journey over the inhabited area would take a maximum of thirty-five days. The area beyond the Tanais is extremely wide, from Sarmatie to the land of the Assyrians. The Scythians occupy this land and so, as it seems to me, the land beyond the Tanais is the largest of the lands in Europe in two respects, both in length and breadth.

The Permians live in the area north of the Sarmatians. They share a border with the Sarmatians and the Sarmatians speak the same language as the Permians. It is said about the Permians that they make their living mostly through hunting and ...

The region of Sarmatia which borders on the Ocean also borders the country called Prus(s)ia and the White-robed Nazirites (Knights) and the religious order in this land. This tribe seems to be German and they use the language and way of life of the Germans. They live in very beautiful cities which are extremely well governed. They have a religious order, which is the same as that practised in Iberia and the race of Nazirites which dwells in Rhodes. These three religious orders are prominent throughout the inhabited world. They have been founded to promote the religion of Jesus against the barbarians. The one in Iberia was founded to fight the Libyans who crossed over to Iberia. The Prussian one is fighting the Samo(ge)tai and the Scythian nomads who settled there in times gone by. The Rhodian order is fighting for the grave of Jesus against the barbarians in Egypt and Palestine and those in Asia.

The Prus(s)ians border on the Samo(ge)tai who are a strong nation and do not have the same customs or language as their neighbours. This race worships the gods Apollo and Artemis. They practise the old Greek way of life and customs and their apparel is like that of the Prussians.

These people (The Samogetai) border on the Bohemians – they live in this land appearing like? the Samogetai and the Germans (and) use almost the same apparel as the Paeonians. They have a capital which is a prosperous and densely populated city called Braga (Prague). Many of the inhabitants of this city have not long ceased

ἐπαύσαντο τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ θρησκεύειν. μόνον δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐκτὸς γενόμενον ταῖς ἐγνωσμέναις ἡμῖν <sup>15</sup> ἐν τῷ παρόντι θρησκείαις, τῆς τε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φημι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μεχμέτεω καὶ Μωσέως· ταύτας γάρ τε σχεδὸν τε ἴσμεν δια-κατέχειν τὴν τε ἐγνωσμένην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην. ἔστι μέντοι, ἣ πυνθάνομαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν ἐς ταύτην τετραμμένον τὴν <sup>20</sup> θρησκείαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. νομίζει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ γένος καὶ θεοὺς ἔτι ἄλλους, Δία τε καὶ Ἥραν, ὡς προϊόντι πρόσω τε λόγου δηλωθήσεται.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταύτη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· Πολάνοι (125) δὲ ἔχονται Σαρματῶν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τούτων νομίζουσι, καὶ ἤθεσι δὲ καὶ διαίτη τῇ Ῥωμαίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Πολάνων δὲ ἔχονται Λιτουάνοι ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν καθήκοντες καὶ οὗτοι. ἢ μὲν μέλαινα Πογδανία, <sup>1</sup> ἢ ἐν τῇ Λευκοπολίχῃ καλουμένη τὰ βασιλεία ἔχουσα, ἀπὸ Δακῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ Λιτουάνους καὶ Σαρμάτας διήκει. γένος δὲ ἔστι τοῦτο δόκιμον, ἣ ἂν τοῖς τεκμαίροιο, τὴν τε φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἰέμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ διεσχισμένον διχῆ τὸ γένος ἐς τυραννίδας καὶ ἡγεμονίας δύο κατέστη. <sup>10</sup> Λιτουάνοι δὲ οὔτε Σαρμάταις εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε Παίοσιν, οὔτε μὲν Γερμανοῖς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Δαξίν, ἰδίᾳ τὸ τὸ παράπαν νομίζουσι φωνῆ. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεία πόλις μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυ-άνθρωπος καὶ εὐδαίμων. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ γένος εἶναι τε μέγα τῶν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἔθνων καὶ ἀνδρειότατον, <sup>15</sup> καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς Προυσίους τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Πολανούς διαπολεμοῦν περὶ τε ὄρων τῶν ἐς τὴν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ διαίταν τετραμμένον, σκευῆ δὲ τῇ Σαρματῶν παραπλησίᾳ χρωμένους, καὶ τῇ μελαίνῃ Πογδανία ὁμορος τὰ πολλὰ οὕσα πρὸς τούτους ἀγωνίζεται.

(126) Σαρμάται τὸ φωνῆ διαχρῶνται παραπλησίᾳ τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον παραιοκούντων ἔστε ἐπὶ Ἐνετούς. ὁπότεροι μὲν τούτων παλαιότεροι, καὶ τὴν ἐτέρων ὁπότεροι τούτων χώραν ἐπινέμονται, ἢ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης διαβάντες Πολανίαν <sup>1</sup> τε καὶ Σαρματίαν ᾤκησαν, ἢ Σαρμάται δὲ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ γενόμενοι τὴν τε Μυσίαν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν χώραν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἄχρι δὴ Ἐνετῶν ᾤκησαν, οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐπυθόμην τῶν παλαιότερων διεξιόντος, οὐτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι πάντη ὡς ἀληθῆ δια-σημήνασθαί.

<sup>10</sup> Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, ὃ δὴ

worshipping the fire and the sun. This is the only race of those in Europe which does not abide by the religious observances known to us at the present time, I mean the religions of Jesus, Mohammed and Moses. For we know that these religions have almost covered the known world which has been inhabited. As I have ascertained, there is also beyond the Caspian Sea and the Massagetai the Indian nation, which is devoted to the worship of Apollo. That race worships still more gods, Zeus and Hera, as will be made clear as my account progresses. Let this conclude my remarks about them at this point.

The Poles border on the Sarmatians and use a language cognate to theirs and have a way of life and customs which are similar to the Romans.

The Lithuanians are neighbours of the Poles and border on the Black Sea and Sarmatia. Black Bogdania, which has its capital in White Town, borders on Dacia along the Ister (Danube), Lithuania and Sarmatia. This nation is worthy of notice, one might say, as it has the same language as the Dacians and from old has been divided into two kingdoms and principalities. The Lithuanians do not have the same language as the Sarmatians or the Paeonians, nor the Germans or even the Dacians, but use their own individual language. Their capital city is large, populous and prosperous and this race seems to me to be the greatest and bravest of all the races in this region. They are at war with the Prussians, Germans and Poles about the borders of their land. This race is inclined towards the customs and way of life of the Romans. They wear virtually the same apparel as the Sarmatians and as they share a border with Black Bogdania over a long distance, they are engaged in hostilities with them.

The Sarmatians speak a language which is almost the same as that of the Illyrians, who live by the Ionian Sea as far as the Enetoi (Venice). I have not been able to ascertain from the narratives of any of the elders nor could I signify as being true which of these two nations are older and which of these two nations settled in the territory of the others, or whether the Illyrians crossed Europe and settled in Poland and Sarmatia, or whether the Sarmatians came to this side of the Ister (Danube) and settled in Mysia, the land of the Triballi and the Ionian coast as far as the Enetoi (Venice).

I shall now return to the question of the



γένος μέγιστόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρόν καὶ γενναιότατόν ἐστιν, οἷον οὐδενὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνῶν παραβάλλειν, ἂν μὴ πολλαχῆ ἀνά τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ τε Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην ἐσκεδασμένον ἄλλη τε τῆς αὐτῶν βασιλείας ᾠκίσθη, ὡς τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ πολλὰ χρησάμενον.<sup>15</sup> ἢ δὲ χώρα ἠρέσκετο, ταύτη ἑναπολειφθὲν ᾤκησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφρόνει κατὰ τάδε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνοικοῦν χώραν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ γένοιτο βασιλεῖ, οὐδένας οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ἐνίσταντο ἄν, ὥστε μὴ συνομολογεῖν αὐτῷ. νῦν δὲ ἀπανταχῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπινεμόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν<sup>20</sup> Βόσπορον ἐνοικοῦν, ἀπώκισται τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλείας τῆς ἐς τὸ Οὐρδάν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον τὴν ταύτην χώραν ἐπινεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ὄμορον λεηλατοῦντες, τὴν τε Τζαρκάσων (127) καὶ Μιγκρελίων καὶ Σαρματῶν, καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἐπὶ Καφᾶν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιδα καλουμένην λίμνην ἀπάγοντες, ὀλίγου τε αὐτὰ ἀποδιδόμενοι τοῖς τε Ἐνετῶν καὶ Ἰανυῶν ἐμπόροις, οὕτω τὸ βιοτεύουσι. Σκύθαι<sup>5</sup> δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενοι, γάλακτι τὰ πολλὰ ἵπων τε καὶ κρέα διαχρῶμενοι, οὔτε σίτω, οὔτε κριθῇ καταφανεῖς εἰσὶ διαχρῶμενοι, μελίγη δὲ τὸ πλεόν καὶ σηκάλῃ, λινᾶς τε ἐσθῆτας φοροῦντες ἐς τὸν τῶν λίθων ὄλβον εὐδαιμονέστατοι καὶ πλουσιώτατοι νομίζονται. τόξοις<sup>10</sup> δὲ χρῶνται, τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, καὶ ξίφεσι βαρβαρικοῖς, καὶ θυρεοῖς τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν παραπλησίοις, πῖλοις δὲ τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι, οὔτε ἢ περὶ Σαρματιαν οἰκοῦντες, οὔτε ἱματίοις ἀπὸ ἐρίων, ὅτι μὴ λινοῖς νομίζουσι. δῆκει δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ τούτων τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὁδὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν, ὥστε<sup>15</sup> ἐπινέμεισθαι τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον σφίσι καταστάντες, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους διεσκεδασμένοι, ἀφ' ἑκατέρου πλαγίου καθιστάμενοι ἐφ' ἐνός τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ μήκιστον, καὶ διανέμονται τὴν χώραν, τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄφθονον παρεχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς τάξιν τὴν ἀρίστην ὑπὸ σφῶν νομιζομένην καθιστάμενοι.<sup>20</sup> κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ταύτην ἀρίστους ἐπὶ κύκλους καταστάντες, καὶ περιόδους ποιούμενοι, βασιλεία τε παρέχουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ ξύλων κατεσκευασμένα. ἐπιδιελόμενοι (128) δὲ εἰς μοίρας ταύτην σύμπασαν τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἄρχοντάς τε ἐφιστᾶσι τούτων, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλη βασιλεύς, χωροῦσιν, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν γένηται χρεῖα.

Scythian nomads. They would have been the greatest, strongest and most noble of races, such that none of the races in the inhabited world would be able to come near, if it were not for the fact that they have been scattered in many places throughout the world, throughout Asia and Europe, and have established their kingly rule in different places, as they have been heavily involved in conducting raids. Where the land was pleasing, once they were left in it, they settled it. So if they had had this inclination to settle in the same land and if they had been under the rule of a single king, nobody in the world could have withstood them. But now they have settled everywhere in Asia and Europe, settling in Thrace and around the Bosphorus. They have established their capital in the Horde. So those of them who have settled around the Bosphorus, in the land there, raid the bordering countries – the Circassians, the Mingrelians and the Sarmatians. They carry off many captives to the Bosphorus, the city of Caffa, and Lake Maiotis, as it is called, and make a living selling them cheaply to the Venetian and Genoese traders. The Scythians in the market travel around in carriages and on beasts of burden. The live mostly on horse milk and meat and apparently do not consume wheat or barley, but rather millet and rye. They wear linen garments and their riches and affluence is measured according to their wealth in (precious) stones. The bows and swords that they use, to tell the truth, are quite barbaric. Their shields are similar to those used by the Dacians. Many of them wear caps but not those who live near Sarmatia and they do not wear woollen garments, just linen. The “market” of these Scythians and the Great King extends for a distance of fifteen days. They have managed the land and subdivided it in a manner most suitable to themselves. They are scattered into small groups, being established from each side into one. They make their “market” a very long distance and subdivide the land, providing abundant pasture for their livestock. They live under the government thought best for them. They establish the king and the aristocracy in rotation and have them for periods of time. They provide the king with a royal residence made out of wood. They subdivide this “market” into sections and appoint rulers over them. And whenever the king summons them, they proceed to whatever task is needful.

### 10. The Karamanians and the Barsakians

(V; ii, pp. 20.5-128.3 , ed. Darkó = 242.10-245.17, ed. Bonn)

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἀπὸ Ἰταλῶν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας περιῆλθεν. Ἑλλησι μὲν οὖν οὕτω προσέφερε τὰ πράγματα, ὑπαγομένοις σφίσι τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀμουράτης τὸ ὁ Μεχμέτεω ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβαλλῶν χώραν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον, στρατεύματα ἐπιπέμψας ἐδήου τὴν<sup>10</sup> χώραν. καὶ τότε δὴ οὖν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἐπιέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, πρέσβεις τε ἐπέπομφει, καὶ ἡξίου σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν ἀπάγειν φόρον, ὃν ἂν τάξεται αὐτῷ βασιλεύς, καὶ πείσεσθαι, ὅ τι ἂν κελεύοι αὐτῷ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀμουράτης ἄγεται τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιπέμψας<sup>15</sup> δὲ Σαραζίνην τὸν τῶν θυρῶν ἡγεμόνα ἡγάγετό τε τὴν γυναῖκα, τοῦ Χαλίλεω ἀνάγοντος, παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα εὐδοκισμοῦντος, κατὰ τὰ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤλανεν ἐπὶ Καραμᾶνον τὸν Ἀλισούριον, ἡγεμόνα τῆς Καρίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα αἰτιασάμενος, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔπεμψεν<sup>20</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἐπιὼν δὲ σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ τὴν χώραν ἐδήου, ἐκλελοιπότης αὐτὴν τε Καραμᾶνου καὶ τὰ ἄκρα κατέχοντος (21) τῶν ὀρέων. ἐστὸν δὲ αὐτῷ δύο πόλεις, ἡ μὲν Λάρανδα λεγομένη, ἡ δὲ τὸ Ἰκόνιον, πόλις μεγάλη τε οὖσα τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ εὐδαίμων, ἐν ἧ καὶ βασιλὶς ἦν τῶν πρόσθεν βασιλέων τοῦ γένους τούτου· ἄτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρέων τῆς χώρας ἰσχυρῶν ὄντων<sup>5</sup> καὶ οὐκ εὐπετῶν ἐπιβῆναι, ὀρμώμενοι τὴν ταύτην χώραν περίοικον ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες κατεστρέφοντο. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις αὕτη εὐνομουμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ. Λάρανδα δὲ ἡ πόλις ᾠκῆται μὲν αὕτη ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν ταύτην ὀρέων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἐάλω τινὶ ὀχυρώματι. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐπιόντος τοῦ Ἀμουράτεω<sup>10</sup> ὑπέμενε τε καὶ οὐκ ἐξέλιπεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομίζεται Τούρκους γε ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ τε ἅμα ἦθη καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν δίαίταν καθισταμένους. ὁ μὲντοι Καραμᾶνος οὗτος ὁμορός ἐστι τῇ Πισιδῶν χώρα καὶ τῇ Τουργούτεω. οἱ δὲ Πισιδῆται οὗτοι καὶ Βαρσάκιδες καλοῦ-μενοι νομάδες μὲν εἰσι<sup>15</sup> καὶ γλώττη τῇ Τούρκων διαχρῶμενοι, ληστρικώτερον δὲ βιοτεύουσι, τὴν τε Συρίαν ληϊζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σφίσιν χώραν, καὶ δὴ τὴν Καραμᾶνου διαπολεμοῦντες ληϊζονται. ἄρχοντες δὲ σφίσιν ἐφεστῶτες καὶ ληϊζόμενοι τῆς τε λείας τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (22) μέρος αὐτοὶ τε διαλαγχάνουσι, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπιμένουσιν ἐπιδιελόμενοι διδόασι τὸ ἄλκιμον μέρος. Τουργ-

And so in this manner the Peloponnese passed from the Italians to the Greeks. So it brought business to the Greeks, who subjugated the Peloponnese to themselves. Murad, the son of Mahomet, led an expedition to the land of the Triballi. And first, when he initiated the war, he sent forth armies and ravaged the land. So then, when the king of the Triballi learnt that the king was attacking him, after sending ambassadors, he requested that they make a treaty, with the proviso that they take whatever tribute the king might demand and that they would put up with whatever conditions he might exact. Then Murad married the daughter of the leader of the Triballi and sent Sarazie the keeper of the gates and married his wife, when Chalilis, who was of great reputation with him, took him up to his capital. After this he attacked Karamanos the Alisurian, the leader of Caria, making some accusations and primarily the one that when he had his younger brother beside him, he sent him against the Greeks. When he arrived with a great army, he devastated the land, when Karamanos had left it and was occupying the high places of the mountains. He had two cities – one of them called Laranda and the other Iconium, a city which from days of old was great and prosperous. In it was the queen of the previous kings of this race. Now since the mountains of the land were strong and were not easy to climb, they set out from that point and took the surrounding land and captured it. After attacking it for a short time, they subdued it. The city (Iconium) has been well governed for a very long time. Now this city of Laranda has been settled at the foot of the mountains there and was not captured with any stronghold.. When Murad attacked, the land withstood him and did not give in. For it is not considered appropriate for those who are Turks to be enslaved, in that they have been established both in the same customs and way of life as the Romans. Now this Karamanos shares borders with the land of Pisidia and the land of Turgutis. These Pisidians and those called Barsakians are nomadic and use the language of the Turks. They live in a rather piratical way and plunder Syria and their other territory. And in fact they carry on hostilities in the land of Karamanos and plunder it. Those who rule over them, when they engage in piracy, divide up the share of the plunder which falls to

ούτης δὲ τὸ τῆς Φρυγίας χώρας ἐπάρχει τε, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἦκει καὶ Καππάδοκας ἡ χώρα αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ Τουργούτεω γένος δοκεῖ<sup>5</sup> νεώτερον γεγονέναι ὑπὸ Ἀμουράτη, καὶ ἐπικαταβὰν ἐς τὴν ταύτη τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν ἐπικρατήσαί τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐς δεῦρο διαγενόμενον πρὸς τε τοὺς παῖδάς τε καὶ Καραμᾶνον διαπολεμεῖν. διεπολέμησε μὲν οὖν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λευκάρνας Καραϊλούκεω παῖδας. τὸ μέντοι Κανδυλόρον<sup>10</sup> ἢ πόλις τῆς Καρίας ὑπὸ ἀνδρὶ τοῦνομα ..... καὶ τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενος Ἀμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέτεω τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν ἐς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἄρχειν τῆς χώρας. τοὺς μέντοι ἡγεμόνας, τὸν τε Κερμιανὸν καὶ Αἰδίνην, ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Καραμᾶνον, καὶ τὸν τε Σαρχάνην τῆς τε<sup>15</sup> χώρας ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐπιὼν τὰ βασιλεία αὐτῶν ἠνδραποδίσατο. ὁ μέντοι Αἰδίνης ἐτελεύτησεν ἅπαις ὧν, Σαρχάνης δὲ καὶ Μενδεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμόρους αὐτῶν χώρας διεσώζοντο, ἀποφυγόντες Ἀμουράτην ἐπιόντα. Μενδεσίας μέντοι ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμενος διέτριβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κηρυκευσάμενος ἀφίκετο παρὰ<sup>20</sup> βασιλέα, δεόμενος τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ (23) ἐς δεῦρο ἔτι διατρίβων τὴν δαπάνην ἔχει ὑπὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ὁ μέντοι Καραμᾶνος, ὡς τό τε Ἰκόνιον κατειλήφει καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ κατέχων διέτριβεν, ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀμουράτην, ὑπισχνούμενος τὴν τε θυγατέρα δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ<sup>5</sup> τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέμπειν συστρατευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμουράτεω θύρας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀμουράτης ἐπέιθετο, τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ὄρκια ποιησάμενος ἀπήλαυεν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου ἐπιγιγνομένου αἰτιασάμενος Ἰσμαήλην τὸν Σινώπης καὶ Κασταμωνίας ἡγεμόνα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὡς<sup>10</sup> ἐτύθετο ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐπιέναι Ἀμουράτην, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ πρόσδοτον ὑπέσχετο ἀποφέρειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὅση ἂν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοι οὔσα, καὶ τὸν γε παῖδα ὑπισχνεῖτο ἐπιπέμπειν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. τὸν μέντοι Τουργούτεω παῖδα καὶ πρότερον ἔτι παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας<sup>15</sup> ἐπυθόμεθα ἐπαγαγέσθαι βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ διαθεῖναι, ἢ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκοίη.

them and distribute the lion's share and give it to those who stay at home with wives. Turgutis rules over the land of Phrygia and his land extends to Armenia and Cappadocia. The family of Turgutis seems to have come on the scene more recently under Murad and went down there and wrested the land from him. And when he reached this place, he conducted hostilities against his children and Karamanos. So he conducted hostilities of old, against the Leucarnians, the children of Karailoukis. Kanduloron the city of Caria is under a man named ... and after overthrowing the land, Murad the son of Mahomet put his daughter into the harem and left his son behind to rule the land. The rulers, Kermianos and Aidines, he drove towards Karamanos and drove Sarchanes out of the land. After attacking their capital, he enslaved them. Now Aidines died being childless and Sarchanes and Mendesias escaped to the lands that shared the same borders and fled from Murad's advance. Mendesias actually arrived at Rhodes and stayed there. After this having been summoned by a herald, he went to the king. He made a request to receive some benefit from the king and staying in that place had his expenses paid by the gates. Now Karamanos, as he had captured Iconium and subjugated its land, stayed there. He sent envoys to Murad, promising to give his daughter to him as a wife and to send his son to serve with him at the gates of Murad. Murad was persuaded by this and after making a truce and taking an oath, advanced on Europe. After this, when some time was elapsing, he found fault with Ishmael, the leader of Sinope and Castamonia and conducted an expedition against him. On learning that Murad was attacking him, he sent envoys, undertook to deliver revenue of bronze (money), as much as he had, and he too undertook to send his son to the king's gates. We learnt that he brought in the son of Turgutis, who had previously been present at the king's gates, made him king and entrusted the land to him to manage it, as might seem good to him.

### 10. The Administrative hierarchy and Military command of the Turks

i. (V; ii, pp. 7.23-10.8 , ed. Darkó = 228.9-231.4, ed. Bonn)

αἱ μὲν οὖν θύραι ὧδε πη ἔχουσαι. πεζοὶ πάρεισι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐνίοτε ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους ἀπὸ (8) γὰρ τούτων φρουρὰν τε φαίνει ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι, καὶ αὖθις ἑτέραν ἐς

So the gates (ie. the Porte) function something like this. The foot-soldiers wait upon the king, about the six thousand and sometimes about the ten thousand. For from these he displays a garrison

τὴν χώραν ἐκείνων καθίστησι. παρεγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ τῆδε. παῖδας λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ὄσους ἂν τύχη ἀνδραποδισάμενος, κατατίθεται ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ τοῖς Τούρκοις, ὥστε τὴν <sup>5</sup> φωνὴν ἐκμαθεῖν ἓνα ἕκαστον. καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρία ἔτη διαγενόμενοι τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐκμανθάνουσι, καὶ συνιέντες τῆς φωνῆς, ὅσα ἂν δυνηθῶσιν, αὐθις συλλέγει, ἀφ' ὧν κατέθετο, ἐς δισχιλίους καὶ πλείους τούτων. ἄγει δ' αὐτοὺς ζύμπαντας ἐς τὴν Καλλιούπολιν, καὶ καθίστησιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, ναυτίζεσθαι <sup>10</sup> τε καὶ διαπορθμεύειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τοὺς βουλομένους διαβαίνειν. ὀβολὸν δ' ἔχει ἕκαστος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ χιτῶνα τε ἐνιαυτοῦ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταπέμπονται ἐς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ, παρέχων τε μισθόν, ὅσος ἂν ἰκανὸς εἴη ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν αὐτοῦς, ἐνίοις ἄλλοις δὲ πλείω παρέχεται. καὶ ἐς δεκαδάρχας <sup>15</sup> τε καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας καὶ ἐνωμοτίας καὶ λόχους τεταγμένοι τε καὶ διακεκριμένοι στρατεύονται, κατὰ τὰ συσσίτια τε καὶ τῆ δύσει ἡλίου εἶναι σὺν τῷ δεκαδάρχη ἐς τὴν σκηνήν. σκηνοῦσι τὸ οὗτοι ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χῶρον ἕκαστος ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐντὸς μέντοι τούτων οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι <sup>20</sup> σκηνοῦν, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος. σκηνή τὸ ἐρυθρὰ αὐτῷ. ὅτε μὲν δύο, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἴδρυνται αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀπὸ πύλου ἐρυθροῦ χρυσόπαστοι, καὶ σκηναὶ ἕτεραι ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντεκαίδεκα, πᾶσαι ἐντὸς τῶν νεηλύδων. ἐκτὸς δὲ σκηνοῦσιν οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν (9) θυρῶν ἄνδρες, οἷτε ἀμουραχόριοι καὶ οἰνοχόοι οἱ λεγόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν σαραπτάριοι, καὶ σημαιοφόροι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐμουραλάμιοι, καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν πρυτανεῖς, βεζίριδες οὕτω καλούμενοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελιαφόροι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μεγάλοι τε ὄντες, καὶ ὡς <sup>5</sup> πλείους ἐπαγόμενοι θεράποντας, πληθὺν παρέχοντας ἄπλετον. μετὰ δὲ συλικτάριδες ἐνεῖσι τῶν βασιλέως θυρῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, οἱ ἰππεῖς ὄντες ἀπὸ τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ ταύτην παραγίνονται τὴν χώραν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καρίπιδες οἱ ἐπήλυδες καλούμενοι, ἀπὸ τε Ἀσίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ δὴ καὶ Λιβύης αὐτῷ <sup>10</sup> ἐς τὰς θύρας παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιούμενοι ἐναντι βασιλέως, μεμισθωμένοι αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν πλείονος, ὁ δὲ ἐλάττονος. τούτων τὸ ἔχονται ἀλοφατζίδες ὁ μισθωτοὶ καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. τούτων δὲ αὐθις ἔχονται οἱ σπαχίδες καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων <sup>15</sup> παῖδες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐκβαλὼν ἐς ταύτην αὐτοὺς καθίστησι τὴν χώραν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἔχει ὡς ἀνδρῶν παῖδας ἀγαθῶν γενομένους.

son on the citadels and he establishes yet another one for their land. And they were near him in this place. After having taken the children captive, he settled as many as he happened to enslave in Asia to stay among the Turks, so that each one of them might learn the language thoroughly. So having spent two or three years they do understand the language thoroughly. And when they have understood the language, he again assembles as many as possible of those whom he settled, up to two thousand and more. He leads them all to Kallioupolis (Gallipoli) and puts them on the boats, to act as sailors and carry across those who want to cross from Europe to Asia. Each one of them receives an obol there and a coat each year. After a short time they are sent to his gates. He provides some of them with a salary sufficient for survival. But to others more is provided. They are assigned to decemvirs, leaders of fifty men, bands of sworn soldiers and armed bands of soldiers. Those who have distinguished themselves go on campaigns, share in the officers' mess and at sunset are with the decemvirs in the tent. These dwell in their tents in close proximity to the king, each in his own spot, but adjacent to another person. However within this area nobody is permitted to pitch a tent, except for the children of the king and the treasures of the king and the bedchamber. He has a red tent. Now when there are two and when there are three tents situated near the king himself, they are made of red felt shot through with gold. The other tents around the fifteen are all inside the newcomers. The rest of the men of the gates dwell outside, the ἀμουραχόριοι, and the cup-bearers, which are called σαραπτάριοι by them and standard-bearers, which are called ἐμουραλάμιοι and the chief magistrates of the gates which are called βεζίριδες, the message-bearers of the king. So these men are important and possess as many servants as possible, which produce an immense multitude. As well there are the keepers (?) (συλικτάριδες) of the three hundred. These are cavalry from the recent arrivals who have come to this land. After these are the foreigners called *karipides* (καρίπιδες), who have come from Asia and Egypt and even Libya to his gates. They demonstrate valour before the king and are hired by him, one man for a greater amount, another for less. Close to these are the paid officials called the *alophatzides* (ἀλοφατζίδες) around the eight hundred. Close to these again are the so-called spachides (σπαχίδες) around the two hundred. These are the children of

Καὶ αἱ μὲν θύραι, ὡς ξυνελόντι μοι φάναι, οὕτω τετάχεται· δύο δὲ ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐς ξύμπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίστανται |<sup>20</sup> στρατηγοί, ὁ μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ τούτων ἑκατέρῳ ἔπονται τὰ τε στρατεύματα καὶ ὁ ἄρχοντες, ὅποι ἂν ἐξηγῶνται, ἐπειδὴν ἐπαγγελίῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. ἔπονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημαιοφόροι καλούμενοι· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίσταται, **(10)** σημαία τε δωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς στρατηγῷ γενομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι πόλεων. τούτῳ δ' αὖ τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἔπονται οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντες, ὅποι στρατεύηται. χωροῦσι δὲ ἅπαντες κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπόμενοι τοῖς σφετέρους αὐτῶν ἄρχουσι τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, |<sup>5</sup> ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὸ βασιλέως παραγένονται στρατόπεδον. αὕτη σχεδὸν ἢ τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτῷ διάταξις. οἱ μὲντοι ἵπποδρόμοι τάττονται καὶ οὗτοι ἐς τοὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχους. οἱ δὲ ἀζάπιδες ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι, ἐς ταὐτὸ γιγνόμενοι στρατεύονται.

the chiefs, some of whom, after removing them from the bedchamber, he sets in charge of this land, while he chooses others and keeps them there as the children of noble men.

Now the gates, as was told to me briefly, are arranged in this way: two generals are appointed by the king to rule over his whole empire – one over Europe and the other over Asia. The armies and the rulers follow each of them wherever they lead, whenever the king issues instructions to them. The subordinate commanders, who are called among themselves standard-bearers follow them. For whenever someone is assigned to this responsibility, the king bestows a standard on him, as having become a general and a ruler of many cities. Also the rulers of the cities follow this subordinate commander, wherever he leads his army. They all proceed according to these criteria, as they follow their own rulers and generals, whenever they are involved with the king's army. So this is roughly the way his armies are managed. The cavalry however are organised for their own subordinate commanders. The *azapides* (ἀζάπιδες), who follow under one leader, go on military expeditions for the same purpose.

ii. (VII; ii, p. 103.3-12, ed. Darkó = 331.12-22, ed. Bonn)

**(103)** |<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς νεήλυδας παραταξάμενος ἐκυκλοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν, εὐμεγέθεις πηξάμενος σιδηρεῖους |<sup>5</sup> ἐς τὴν γῆν. φέρει δὲ τούτους αἰεῖ, ὅποι ἂν στρατεύηται βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων· καὶ πρὸς γε τὰ ὄπλα τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέρει, καὶ ὅποι ἂν ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ μάχη, διανεμιάμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐς μάχην καθίσταται. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἄγων καὶ τὰς καμήλους αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἔμπροσθεν |<sup>10</sup> τῶν θυρεῶν ἔστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρετάσσετο ἐς τὰς θύρας. ἐν μέσῳ δ' αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ οἴκου ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν, ὅσοι πάρεισιν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

First of all, having drawn up the newcomers in battle array, he was surrounded by the shields, having fixed huge iron posts in the ground. The king constantly conveys these on the camels, wherever he leads an expedition. In addition he conveys the weapons of the newcomers on the camels. Whenever he might be involved in a battle, he distributes the weapons and gets involved in the battle. After bringing the shields and camels, he puts them in front of the shields and thus things are arranged for the gates. But in the middle, he and the leaders of his household and those in charge of the gates are situated, as many as are at hand for his army.

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