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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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:

http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503533667-1
and
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:


The work of Dietereich 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 Dietereich did not give the original Greek texts in his collection.

As Dietereich’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 (11th-15th C.) such as Anna Comnena as these are often highly informative on onomastics and toponyms. Similarly 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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39 Tān dē Σκυθῶν τῆν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα δια-θέντον καὶ τὰς Αθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολεορκη-σάντων, Γαλληνοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τούτους μετήι μάζην ἡδὲ τὴν Θράκην καταλαβόντας, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐόραν πράγμασιν οὐδὲν ἐν ἀπογνώσει βοηθηθείν Ὀδανάθῳ ἔταξεν, ἀνδρὰ Παλμυρηνὸν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀξίωθην τιμῆς ὀ ὅ τοις αὐτοῦ λελεμμένους στρατηδέως δύναμιν ἀναμίζας ὧν πλείστην οἰκεῖαν ἐπέζηε τῷ Σαπιρῷ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, καὶ τὰς τέλεις ἀνεκτάτῳ τῆς ἡδὲ παρὰ Περσῶν ἐχομένης, καὶ Νίσιβι εἰλημένην μὲν υπὸ Σαπιρῶν τὰ Περσῶν δὲ φρονύσαν ἐλῶν ἐς ἐφόδου κατέσκαψαν. 2. Ἐπεζηθῶν δὲ μέχρι Κησιφόντος αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπεκαὶ ἄλλα καὶ δεύτερον, Πέρσας μὲν τοὺς οἰκεῖας ἐναπέκ-λεισσεν, ἀγαπάντας εἰ παίδας καὶ γυναίκας καὶ ἐαυτοὺς περισώσαιεν, αὐτῶς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἡδὲ πεπορθημένην χώραν, ὡς οὖς τῇ, εὐ διετθεῖ-ἐεπε δὲ διατρίβουσαν κατὰ τὴν Ἔμισαν καὶ τῆν γενέθλιον ἄγων ἐπορθῆν ἐς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνηρζῆθη, τῶν ἕκεισε παραγμάτων ἀνταλμάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Οδανάθῳ, φρονύσαν δὲ ἀνδρε- ειρχ χρωμένη καὶ δίᾳ τῶν ἐκείνοι συνόντων τῆν ἐσοφήρουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμέλειαι. …

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44 Τῶν Σκυθῶν τοῖς, ὡς διεξῆθη, ἐσκεδασ-μένον καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀποβαλόντων, μει-ζόνον ἐφεμενὴ ἡ Ζηνοβίᾳ παραγμάτων Ζάβδων ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτιον ἐκπέμπει, Τιμαγένους ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτιος Παλμυρηνοὺς καταπραττομένους συνανθέθος τοῦ στρα-τεύματος ἐκ Παλμυρηνοῦ καὶ Σύρων καὶ βαρ-βάρων ἐς ἐπὶ μυρίας, καὶ Αἰγύπτιον δὲ πέντε μυρίαν ἄντιπαραταξαμένων, μάζης καρτέρας γενομένης περιήπισιν οἱ Παλμυρηνοὶ παρὰ πολὺ τὸ πολέμῳ, καὶ φρουράν ἐγκαταστῆσανς

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
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 Anacyra in Galatia; and who also wanted to take possession of Bithynia to Chalcedon, but the local population on hearing the accession of Aurelianis and rejected Palmyrene rule. 2. The emperor then advanced with his army and re-subjected Anacyra 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-
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. 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
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 a disaster; 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 naughtily 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 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.

54 Αθημίας δὲ πολλῆς εἰκότος ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ Ὑσηνιαίαν ἐχούσῃ, βουλὴ προέκειτο περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, καὶ κοινὴ γνώμη πάσιν ἔδοκε τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἐμεσαν πρόγραμμαν ἀπογνώνα διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἐμισηνοὺς ἀλλοτρίοις πρὸς αὐτὴν

53 Συμμεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλων, ἐδοξεῖν ἦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππὸς κατά τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πλήθη τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἵππων πλεονεκτοῦντων καὶ πατοῦντων στίνῃς τα μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἐμπάσον ἐξ κύκλωσιν λάθη τῶν τοῖνοι Παλμυρηνῶν ἱπποφών τοὺς ἐκκλίναντας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν τάξιν τὴν ὀικεῖαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τούτους ἀπεβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππῶν τὸ βουλευθέντο εὐδιώκοντο γὰρ τὸ ὅτι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσοσθέντες. 2. Ὅσο δὲ καὶ ἐπιτοῦ πλεόστιν, τότε δὴ τῶν πειδῶν τὸ πάν ἐργὸν γενέσθαι συνέβη τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαρραγεῖσαν ἤδοντες ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς ἱππῶν τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκρασαμένους ἐπέθεντο καὶ φόνος ἦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπέντον ὅπλοι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τάς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ῥόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ τεθυρασίμους ἐπιφέροντο, όπερ ἐμπάσον τῆς νίκης εἰς μέρες γέγονεν αὐτῶν, τῷ ἐν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφέρον ἄφθορον τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων. 3. Φειγόντων δὲ ἢ Ἰβρίου τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν προτροπάδῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ φευγόν ἑαυτοῖς τῷ συμμπατοῦντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναρουμένων, τὸ πείδων ἐπερημένο νεκρῶν ἄνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, ἐδοξεῖν δὴ τοῖς διδόναινται τὴν πόλιν καταλαβρόντων.
ἐχοντας τα Ρωμαιον αἱρεταθαι, Παλμυραν δε
καταλαβειν και το της πολεως όχρη την άσφα-
λειν επιτεργαςται σχολαιτειον σκοτησαι τα
cατα σφας συνιδεν ην έργου και λογο το μεσον,
αλλα συνετεν ερι δεθε εδοκει. 2. Πιθομενος δε
την Ζηνοβιας φυγην Αυρηλιανος εις μεν την
Έμεσαν ειπει, προομιους αυτον των πολεο-
νος, ευρον δε πλοτον ου κια ην οτι την
εγεγονε Ζηνοβια μετακομισαι, παραρχησα
τον το στρατον της οδον της επι Παλμυραν εχεσθο
και επιστες τη πολει, κυκλω περιβαλομεν το τεχθη
επολιορκει, της τροφης εκ των πλησιαζομενων
εθνων το στρατοπεδω χορηγουμενης των δε
Παλμυρηνον επιτοιχιζομενον ως αδυνατο της
αλωσιος ουσης, ηδη δε τινος και εις αυτων των
βασιλεα λογους αιχμαλωτων, παραστος τις
tου βασιλει Περσης ανηρ εις εικελευσε εηρι, στον
ιψιστην τουτον νομικ ονερον. 3. Εγκελεσια-
μενον δε του βασιλεως, προσηγουμενοι εαυτω
τις τους Περσης τους αποκρυπτομεν, ενεεινας το
τοξων και βελων θροης αφισθαι, δε δι προκεκυ-
φοτι της επαλαξεος της άνθρωποι και ετι τας
νηρεις επαφιειν προσπαθηνον καταγει τε του τει-
χους αυτων και νεκρον το στρατοπεδο και τω
βασιλει δεικνυσιν.

55 Επει δε αντιχον πολιορκουμενοι, σπανε των
επιτηδεων ιπαγωρευται των πολεμοιος ελπι-
σαντες, εγκατρεουντας θεωμενοι και αυτοι
τροφη ενδεια πιεζομενοι γνωμιν ποιονται επι
tον Ευφρατην δραμει, κακετε παρα Περσων
βοηθουσα ευρεσθαι, πραγματα του Ρωμαιοιι
νεωτερα μιχηνισσασθαι. 2. Ταυτα βουλευσα-
μενοι, καμηλο <<... η στην Ζηνοβιαν αναβα
σαντες, αδη και καμηλων εισιν ταχηται και πασπο
υπεραιρουσα ταχη, της πολεως υπεζαγουσιν
Αυρηλιανος δε αχθομενος επι τη τη Ζηνοβιας
φυγη, το κατα φυσιν ουκ ενδους δραστηριω,
πεμπει παραχηγη των διοξοντας τατη
ιπεσα. 3. Οι δε καταλαβοντες ηδη τον Ευφρατην
αυτων μελλουσαν περαιοσθαι, καταγαγοντες ηκ
του πλοιου προς τον Αυρηλιανον άγονουν δε
το τον άνθρωπο της θεος περιχαρης
ηγεγονε, φυλατσας το νομικ εν ουκ φυσει, λαβον
κατα νοιν ως γνωματικης κρατησης ουκ έσται
τοις εσομενοις επιδοξος, εδυσχεραινειν.

56 Τως δε ενποκεκλειασμενοι τη πολει Παλμυ-
ρηνον αι γνωμαι διχη δηρουντο, των μεν
προκινουνται της πολεως θελοντων και
dιαπολεμειν παντι σθενει Ρωμαιος, τως δε ικε
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
in the well-fortified city. As no faction or advice
interfered, the decision was made. 2. As soon as
Aurelianus heard of Zeno’s flight, he went
back to Emesa, with the citizens gladly taking
him in. He also found valuables that Zeno 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 Per-
sian 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.

56 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 Zeno-
bia 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. Aureli-
anus was annoyed by the escape of Zeno-
bia; but naturally did not give way to the auda-
cious 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
to the boat to Aurelian. 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.
towards the people, and then the emperor himself announced his intention. The emperor then invited the people to discuss their opinions.

57. In John’s <de> also joined the assembly, for he had previously been an Athenian, and at the same time a pupil of the great teacher, Plato. Plato was known for his wisdom and his love of learning. He had taught many important people, including Alexander the Great. In his later years, Plato retired to the island of Erythraea, where he continued to teach and write about philosophy. Plato’s ideas about the nature of reality and the role of the individual in society had a profound impact on Western thought, and his works continue to be studied and discussed today.

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. 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 significant 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 vicinities of the temple of the deity - to all those who suffered from locust plague and sent these out together with the suppliants. These birds then flew about the vicinity of the temple and immediately tore them with their beaks, instantly drove them back, and wiped out an instant that was unnumberable; so, they freed the people from the harm done by those insects. I attribute to the fortunate people who lived at that time, whereas the current generation rejects all divine benevolence.

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58 Καὶ ἑτερον δὲ Παλμυρηνοῖς συννέχθη τοιοῦτον Ἀφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλιο-
πόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ’ ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης
Ἀφακίτιδος ἱδρύται τούτοις πλησίον λίμνη τις
ἐστιν οἰκουμένη χειροποίητη δεξαμενὴ κατὰ μὲν
οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς πλησίαζοντας τόπους πῦρ
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμεσον λαμπρόν ὥσαφρας φαίνεται
ὅδησ, συνόδον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνος τακτοῖς
γινομένοις, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς
ἐφαίνετο χρόνον. 2. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ εἰς τιμήν τῆς
θεοῦ ὄραμα προσέφερον οἱ συνοίκοις ἐκ τῆς
χρυσοῦ δύεσθαι ἄδεκτα ἱωτέρας τιμοῦν,
καὶ τὰ συνόδων, λίνον καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐφαίνετο
ἐνου, δίκην. Οὖν Ἀφακίτιδος τοιοῦτον
κατὰ Πυνθανοδῆν, θεὸς εἰς οἴος ἱρκός
φύτλης Ἕξιτε τὴν τοῦ καθαιρέσεως
τῆς τοῦ εὐαρείας
καὶ ἀλγυντῆρες.

59 Ἐπανελθεῖν δὲ τέως καιρὸς ὅθεν ἐξῆβην, ἵνα
μὴ τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀτέλῆ δόξη χατα-
λιμπάνειν Ἀφρηλανοῦ τοῖνεν 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.
60 As Aurelian continued his journey into Europe, he received the news that some of those he had left at Palmyra, having won over Apaeus, 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 pretense 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.

**Bibliography**

Text and editions:

Studies:
1. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὅστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὐννόν τῶν Ἐφθάλητῶν ἔθνος, ὀσσεῖτε λεικοῦς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διέφερε, λόγῳ τέκνων Ἐφθάλησι ἐκ αὐτῶν ἱεῖ. 2. Ἐφθάληταὶ δὲ Οὐννικόν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσί τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὕτω χρὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν σχημάτων ὑπὲρ ἀρχῇ ὑποτέλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ προσοικόδοτα μὲν Πέρσας πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμων, οὕτω δὴ πάλις Γοργοῦ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐτὰς ποὺ τάς Περσῶν ἐχάναις ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴσθαναι. 3. οὕτω γὰρ νομάδες εἰσίν ὀσσεῖτε τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὴ ἔθνη, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρύνεται. 4. ταῦτα τοι ὅσον τινα ἐσβολήν πεποίηται πόσπος ὡς Ῥωμαίοι τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ἔνθι ποὺ Μήδων στρατὸ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐννόν ὀτοὺ λεικοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποι τὰς ὄνεις εἰσίν. 5. οὐ μὴν ὦν τὴν διάτανν οἰκοτροποῦν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσιν ἦντον θηρίῳ μίν τινα ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἱεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλεὔς ἐνος ἁρχῇ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ πολιτεῖας ἐννομὸν ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοῖς πλάσι ἵνα ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐξιμβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς καὶ Περσῶν ὑπὸν τὶ ἔσησι. 6. οἱ μὲν τοῖς εὐδαιμόνες αὐτοῖς φύλος ἐπαιρίζονται ἄρχεν ἐς ἐκκοιμήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκροτοῦν καὶ ὀτὰν τοῖς πλείου τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔχονται μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς ἑαυτῶν ἤγερναι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τοῖς ἑξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταύτα ὄψεις. 7. ἔπειδον δὲ τῷ αὐτῶν ἐπαιρίζεσθαι ἐκκοιμήσεσθαι, τοῦτος δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔσησι, ἐς τῷ Μήδων τάφον ἀνεύεται πόσπος. 8. Εἰπὶ τοῦτος τοῖς Ἐφθάληταῖς τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένου ἐξερεύνηται προεβεβηκαί, ὡς ἄκουε πρὸς βασιλέως Ἁγάμους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαλληλοῦν, Ἐπικτείου ὄνομα. Ἐφθάληταὶ δὲ δόκησαν παρεχομένου τοῖς πολεμίως ὡς ἀὐτῶν κατορροδήσαντες τὴν ἐρυδόν ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμηται, ἔπειδαν ὄρομον ἐς χώραν τῶν ὄντων ὀρθη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκκοιμήσεσθαι, συγκροτοῦσα ταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔνθι ποὺ Μήδων τὰ μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώποιν ἐς τοῦτον τῶν ὑπὸν τὶ ἔσησι. 9. Πορευομένοι τοῖς δὲ Ἐφθάληται τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένου ἐξερεύνηται προεβεβηκαί, ὡς ἄκουε πρὸς βασιλέως Ἁγάμους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαλληλοῦν, Ἐπικτείου ὄνομα. Ἐφθάληταὶ δὲ δόκησαν παρεχομένοι τοῖς πολεμίως ὡς ἀὐτῶν κατορροδήσαντες τὴν ἐρυδόν ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμηται, ἔπειδαν ὄρομον ἐς χώραν τῶν ὄντων ὀρθη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκκοιμήσεσθαι, συγκροτοῦσα ταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔνθι ποὺ Μήδων τὰ μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώποιν ἐς τοῦτον τῶν ὑπὸν τὶ ἔσησι. 10. Πορευομένοι τοῖς δὲ Ἐφθάληται τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένου ἐξερεύνηται προεβεβηκαί, ὡς ἄκουε πρὸς βασιλέως Ἁγάμους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαλληλοῦν, Ἐπικτείου ὄνομα. Ἐφθάληταὶ δὲ δόκησαν παρεχομένοι τοῖς πολεμίως ὡς ἀὐτῶν κατορροδήσαντες τὴν ἐρυδόν ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμηται, ἔπειδαν ὄρομον ἐς χώραν τῶν ὄντων ὀρθη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκκοιμήσεσθαι, συγκροτοῦσα ταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔνθι ποὺ Μήδων τὰ μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώποιν ἐς τοῦτον τῶν ὑπὸν τὶ ἔσησι.
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. 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.

Then the Persians, knowing only too well what danger they were in, lamented their plight, with no hope that they would escape the Huns. 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
1. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. 2. animated, new attack on the Ephorthites began to wish to exact vengeance on the Ephorthites for their insult to him. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. Even so, they found the enemy ready every morning. 22. Nepos, by the peace and made obei to the rising sun. This way, they were to draw themselves together into a narrow column and go carefully into this trench, they were about to retire. 3. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. 4. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 5. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 6. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 7. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 8. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 9. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army. 10. Nepos di korou torpe to mount. He marked off a large and extensive space, thirty in number. As he liked, but for the rest he must have his hands and arms free. He laughed and asked them what it was of theirs. They answered that as to the oath he had abandoned it, and retired home with the whole Persian army.
σχολαπτέρους έναν, φυλασσομένους διότι μή ἐς τά ἐσκαμένα ἐμπιτόπουν: 9. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῳ ἄκρῳ σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρίμανσαν ἐς οὓς τῶν ὄρκων Περόζης ὅμως πρότερον, ἦν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἰτὰ ἐπὶ Οὐννοος ἐστράτευσεν. 10. ἦς μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ συνέτρε τοὺς πολεμίους ἰκουν εἶναι, ἴσημι εἰμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργοῦ πόλιν ἐμάθου ἀρκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῖς κατασκόποις, ἦτερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περόζην ὑρίως τυγχάνει οὐσα, ἐνθένδε τα ἀπαλαγίαντα ὁδὸ ἐπὶ σφας ἵνα ἴναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ πλείον τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρον ἑντὸς ἐμείνεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμπεσα ὄρθησά μὲν τοῖς ἑναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευα μακρὰν ἀποθέντα, ὀρθὴν δὲ μὸνον εἰτὰ ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὁπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τάς αὐτοῦ ἐντολαῖς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατώρχω ἔχοντας, ἤνικα δὴ αὐτῆς ἐχώρα ἴκοντο. 11. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρχου ἀχτότα ἐγένοντα, ἐς ὀλίγους σφας ἔναν αὔστερον ἐθύμησαν ἀπαντεῖς κἀ τῷ ἄλλο στρατῷ ἀνεμιγνόντα. 12. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἔστην ἐν αὐτῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐδέμιο ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπὲρ ἐδιόκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἐς τῇ τῶν τάφρον ἐμπετύκουσαν ἀπαντεῖς, οὕς ἐν πρώτῳ μὸνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόσην ἐπέστι. 13. ἀτε γὰρ τὴν διόκαν ἔμοι μεγάλο, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποισμένοι, ὡς ἦκστα ἐσπόντο τῷ κακῷ δὴ ἐξενεπηρέχας τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲν οὐσαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑποὶ τε κἀ δόραν ἐμπετυκότας ἔκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τῇ ἤσον ξυνομοθάρασαν. 14. εν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἂν ἐν παῖσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπασί, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλοντα ἐς τὸν βάραρθν τοῦτο ἐμπετύκασθαι φασὶ τοῦ τῇ δεινῷ ἔσθησαν κἀ τῷ μάργαρον, ὁ ὁ λυκοκτόνων καὶ τῇ μεγεθοῦσὶ ὑπερβολή ἐντιμον ἐς ὅτι τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἐπεκρίματο, ἀγελόντα ρίσα, ὡς δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροῦ, ἐπεὶ ἀξιόσεβον ἑπερφύτευα ἢ, οἰνον ὀπίσω πρότερον ἐτέρω τῇ βασιλεί γέγονεν, ἐμοί μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. 15. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑναπόδα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὄπου ἐς φροντίδα ἠμέλην ἀλλ’ ὕμιν τὸ τῇ οὗτοι αὐτὸ ἐν τοῦτῳ ἐξεκεκόρθη τῷ πάθει κἀ τῷ μάργαρον ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀφαινοθήκην. 16. ὅπερ ὁ Ρωμαῖον βασιλεὺς τότε πράσεθαν πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλτῶν ἐς σαυρᾶ ποιησάμενος ἡκατα ἤσανον, οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὔρεσθαι οἱ βαρβαροὶ εἶχον, καίτερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τῇ ἐξίσθεν ποιησάμενοι, φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτης εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάθῳ ἀποδόθαι. 17. ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τοῦτο Πέρσαι λέγουσι εἰποῖν ἄξιον: Ἰορδανία γὰρ ἄν τῷ καὶ ὀ παντάπασιν ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος ὀδύεις 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 that he was breaking in making war on the Huns. 10. As long as he heaped that they had reached the city of Gorgo, which is on the furthermost 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 to 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 inhibiting 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 this pearl was in its
Eagerly he made for the oyster and seizing it shown to the dead, the fisherman saw what was going on, but shrank from the danger in the fear of beast, and took the whole story to Peroz the king. They say that when Peroz had heard it he conceived a great longing for the pearl and urged this fisherman on with flattering and hope of gain. 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.” 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. 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. 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. 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.” 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 owner. As soon as the shark had come upon something that would make him feel safe, 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
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. Metá de Kaβaβdêς épi tò biaútôrnon tò tì ἀρχή χρῶμενος ἄλλα tò neótera éz tìn tò polítëian eîzhè kai nómos égrapèn épi koînà tâs ùnovaxhí méngusèa Pèrsâs: òpèr tò plêhôs òudâmê ûrèskê. diá dtí dtû apostàstàntes parèlûsan tìn tîs ἀρхῆs kai dîsíntes én phulâkê ézhô. 2. kai basileûa mún soîs Blâsth tòn Pèròuçòs âdeîfôn éllhôn, õpeîdhî ãnoûs mún õudêîs ëtì ðérrhî Peroûçè, õpèr épêr érrhê, ÿlêlêiptô, Pèròsàs dtô õu Òhîs ìndhra éz tìn basileiân kaiástathâi idôîthn gêños, õti mú Õëîtîlô pàntaspas gêños tûs basileiôn òntîs: 3. Blâsthè dtû tòn basileiân parèlûsan Pèròsàs tûs àrístous ùnovxiéîs kai tò àmî iô tòn Kaβaβdês én boûlâ õpiastô: tûn ōðr anôvùsos ápokînvnà oûk õì ùnovxùmînvs tûs plèiôsan. 4. Ên ëði dtô pollaî mún õlêçhîsan gnâmîa ér èkàtà ðêròsuai, parèlûsan õi tûs tûn õì Pèròsàs ùnovxhî, õnoma mún Þûnavan-astàdîs, xânavàggî s dtô òçîôma ’ëhî ð àn õì 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 he himself not long afterwards caught and killed.

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 στρατηγούς τούτο γέ, πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχαταῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἄρχην ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἤ τοὺς Ἔρνθαλτας ὁμορό ἐστί, καὶ τὴν μάχαραν ἐπὶ ἔδειξα ἢ τῶν ὄνυχων τὰ προῦχοντα Πέρσαι εἰσώθησαν ἀποτέμενεσθαι, μήκος μὲν ὅσον δακτύλου ἄνδρος, πάχος δὲ σοῦ δρυμῶρίου δακτύλου ἔχουσαν 5. Ἕν τὴν ὁράτη, εἶπε, ἥ τὴν μάχαραν, βραχέσιν παντάπεπαν οὔσαι: αὐτή μέντοι ἔρχετον ἐν τῷ παρνάτι ἐπιτελεῖν οὕτα τέ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ εἴ ὅστε ὁλογρ κέφερον, ὁ φύλαττος Πέρσαι, μιρὰδες δὲ τεθωρακισμένων ἄνδρων ἐξεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀν δύναντο. 6. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, παραδηλὸν ὡς, ἣ μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλοισα, αὐτίκα πράγματα Πέρσαις περὶ νῦν παρέει. 7. οἱ δὲ κτέναι ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἴματος οὐδὲ ἄλος ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φρουρῷ καθερίζα ὅπερ τῆς Λήβης καλεῖν νεομίκασαν. 8. ἦν γὰρ τὰς ἐντάσσας ἐμβληθεὶς τοῦρ, οὐκῆτι ὁ νόμος ἐφράσε ιδνήμαν, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος τὸ ᾠνικάκοτο ἡ ζημία ἐστί: διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπονυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Πέρσαιν ἔλαχεν. 9. ἀπὸ δὲ ἤ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορίᾳ φησι νόμου τοῦ ἅμι τῇ Λήβης φρουρῷ παρελεύσθαι τὴν δόμαν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

1. Καβάρρι βάντα δὲ τῶν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν η γνήν ἐσινότα τε παρὰ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίσομα: ἦν δὴ ὅ τῆς εἰρκῆς ἄρχουν πειρὰν ἤρετα: ἦν γὰρ τὴν δύνην οὐκ τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπῆς. 2. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ο Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναϊκὸς ἐμαζη, ἐκλέανσεν ἐνδοῦδον αὐτὴν τὸ ἀνθρώπο δὶ τοῦ βουλοῦτο κρηθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ τὴ γυναῖκ̄ ἀς εὐνύνην ἄρρενον τὸν φρουρίου ἄρχον ἡράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἐρωτά ἐξαίτιον οἷον, 3. καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς ἐνεχώρησα παρὰ τῶν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους τουιζθα, οὕτη ἢ αὐτῆς βουλομένη εἶπ, καὶ αὐθῆς ἐνθάνει ἀπαλλάγοσθαι, οὐδὲν τὸ ἀμοινὸν ἀσταμάνουν. 4. οἷο δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου τουτοὶ διατρήμον εἶναι, καυχοφιλικὰν εἰ ποῖς αὐτῶν ἐνδοῦθεν ἐξελάθανε δύνασθαι. 5. διὰ τῆς γυναῖκὸς τοῦ Καβάδη εὐποιεῖται ὡς ἵπποι τὲ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευή τυγχάνοσιν ὅτες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποδεν, δηλῶσας τι χαρίν αὐτοῦ. 6. καὶ ποτὲ νικότου εἰπαρβούσης ἀνέπεξεν τὴν γυναῖκα Καβάδης εὐθῆτα μὲν αὐτῶ τὴν ὁικεῖαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκῆς ἄνει αὐτοῦ καθῆθαι, ἀντὶ ἐκείνος ἐκάθη. 7. οὕτω μὲν όν Καβάδης ἀπηλάσισε ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου.

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 tot eh 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. …
κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὕτη ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπεστόπασαν εἶναι: ταύτα τοι οὖν κοιλεῖν οὐτε ἄλλους αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐγνωσαν. 8. ἀμα τε ἡμέρα τὴν γυναίκα ἐς τὸ δομάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἵματίους ἴδοντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἁληθοῦς ὅντος Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, 9. ἢ τε δόκησις αὐτὴ ἐν ἡμέραις συγχαῖς ἦκμαζεν, ἠκος Καβαδῆς πόρρῳ ποιεῖ τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐγνοεῖνε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄμφι τῇ γυναίκι ζυγενετήν, ἐπεὶ ἐς φος ἢ ἐπίβουλῳ ἥδε, καὶ ὑνταινα τρόπον ἠκόλυσαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβίζει οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὠμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλους διό δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφῆμι. 10. Καβαδῆς δὲ λαθὸν ἀπαντὰς ξίνω τῷ Σσέθῃ ἐς Οὐνύνους τοὺς Ἐφραίλητας ἱφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμητήν δίδωσαν, οὕτω τε στράτευμα λογίων πολλῶν ἄξον ἀτε κηδεστὴ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ζυγενετήμε. 11. τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ Πέρσαι υπανταύζεσαν οὐδαμὴ ἠθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλα ἀλλη ἐς φοινὴν ἀρμάτω. 12. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἐνθὰ ὁ Γουσαναστάθης τὴν ἄρχην εἶχεν, εἰπεῖ τῶν ἐπιπεριδεῖον τινὶ ως χαναράγγην κατακατῆτισαν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὡς αὐτὸ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκείνη τῆς ἡμέρاء ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων ὑπογεγαγενοῦν βούλωτο. 13. εἰπόντε τε οἱ μετέμελον ἴδῃ τοῦ λογίου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτῶν ἑσάη, ὡς δὴ οὐκ ἔδε Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἄλλοτροις τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσαν, ἀλλὰ ὁ τε ἡμῖν ἐκάστη κατά γένος προσηκεί. 14. ἐδίδεις γὰρ μὴ τὰς ἱκοῦτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τὸ χαναράγγη ὡς ζυγενὴς ὄν, τὸν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζεται λάειν ὅποιος αὐτὸς ἀληθιζεί. 15. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νό ἔχοντο ζυγενής τῆς τύχης ὡςτε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἐπιμαζόντα ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἐτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Αδεργοουνδούβαδης ἐς αὐτῶν ἦκων, νεανίς ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὸν τῷ Γουσαναστάθης καὶ διαφερόντος ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμία. 16. δὲ δὴ δεσποτὴν τε προσέπλη Καβαδῆς καὶ βασιλέα προσκεύνεσθαι πρῶτος, ἐδείτι τε οἱ ἄτε δούλω τούτοις χρησάθαι. 17. Καβαδῆς οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείσι τοῦ νπὸν γενέμους, ἔρμων τὸν Βλάστην τῶν ἁμυνομένων λαβάν εξεσφορᾶς, τράπεξ δὴ ὅπο θυρεώσις οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰσώθασιν, έλανον ἔγγοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ἕξον ἐς τοὺς ὀρθολογοὺς οὕτω μίσοντας ἐπεχείντος, ή πέραν ὑπεραν διὰ σιδηρῶν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτη τε τῶν ὀρθολογῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρονίστως, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ήχον ἀρξάντα Περσῶν ἐναυσίοις διό. 18. καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάθης κτεῖνας τοῖς Αδεργοουνδούβαδης ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ κατατήματο απὸ τίς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἄρχης, τὸν δὲ Σεόσην ἄδρασταιάραν σαλάνθεν εὖθες ἀνείπε. δώνατα δὲ τούτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἄρχας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ στρατιώτας 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 Seosus reached the Epithalite 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 chanaries 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 by family right. 14. He was afraid of someone coming to him first who was not related to the chanaries 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 him to chance 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 chanaries in his place, and immediately proclaimed Seosus as “adrastadaran salanes”. This means the man who is in charge of all offices and over the whole army. 19. Seosus was the first and
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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
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peripheromenon ἐς Καβάδην ἠλθεν, αὐτότης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἑργοῦ ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἵδον τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλω ἐκαὶ Ἱππον τοῖς παρόδοις ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἑλπισάμενοι ἦσαν τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἐγκλήμα. ὁ δὲ ἀφήκη τε λόγῳ ἔνι καὶ τὰ δείνα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξέλυσεν. 10. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν: αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείλειν ὃ τι ἄν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ, χρήματα οἴομεν αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσεις, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιεσάμενος ὡς οὐδένος πρὸς αὐτόν ἄτυχοίμεν. 11. ο δὲ οἱ τούς ἀνθρώπους ἐδείπτεες χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρὰ αὐτῶν ἔκοινε. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέξιν ἐπετέλη ἐποίει καὶ γράφματα ἐδίδοτι τοῖς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθηνεν ἥρμανοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώοντο: περίβολος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δὲ ἔσχε. 12. Καβάδης δὲ Ἀμίδαν πολιορκοῦν ἤκοιν τῷ του ἡ μηχανή τοῦ πανταχός τοῦ περίβολον προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμίδηνοι μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἕλθαν δοκοῖς ταῖς ἐγκαταστάσις ἀνέστελλεν, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἔσοι ταύτῃ ἀνάλοστον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. 13. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβαλὼν καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περίβολον ἦ κατασείκα ἢκαὶ ἠγχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλεῖς ἢ οἰκοδομίας τοῖς δειμαμένος τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγκαταστήσατο. 14. τούτω δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτεθεὶς, λόφον τὸν εὐφυοτότατον ἐπετίθεα τῇ πόλις ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραρίστον τοῦ τεῖχους τὸ ἕκος, οὗτοι πολιορκοῦντες ἔντος τοῦ περίβολον ἀρέσκοντο κατάφυγα μέχρι ὑπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἐποίου, καὶ ὁ βάρδος ἐνθέντος τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου ἐγράφαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ὡς ὄψερ ἐγγώνι θάματος ἐμενεν οὐδείς ἀπέστησεν παρερχόμενα τοῦ πραγομένου. 15. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὠσπέρ ἐκ ἀσφαλεῖς ἀναβάνεις ἐν τῇ ὁ ἐγενένατο καὶ βάλλετεν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περίβολῳ διενόησαντο. τὸ δὲ ὁμόν κρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπέσαν ὁ λόφος ἕκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχέδον τὰ ἄπαντα ἔκτεινε. 16. Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παρόδοις ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρίαν ἔιδεν ἐν τῷ κηρύγμα ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐν τῇ ὑπεραίσκῳ ἐπήγαγε. 17. τότε δὲ οἱ πολιορκοῦμενοι, ἄτε τὸν κηρυγμὸν ἀφροτιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχον γέλατο ἐπὶ τοῦ περίβολον ἐπέθαναν. 18. καὶ τινὲς ἐπινάραι ἀνελκύσσατο κόσμῳ ὡδεὶν τὴν ἐσθήτα τοῦ καβάδη ἀγχητα πο λοποτ ἐδείκνυν διὰ τῶν γνωσικῶν χημάνα φανήσαταν ὑδ θέμας. 19. ὅπερ κατιδύνετε ὁι μάγοι τὸ τε μαστίλε ἐς ὅψει ἠλθοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀναχωρήσειν ἐκόλουσιν, ἀναλείπουσιν ἐμπέσαντες καὶ τὸ γεγονός ὡς ἄπαντα Καβάδη Ἀμίδηνοι τὰ τῇ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτο-

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
καθεύδοντας ὑπό τοῦ συνεργοῦσαν τοῦτον ἑνὸς εὐπορεισάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβάλλον ἐγένετο, ἀμα ἵνα ἤμερα τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδης ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὁ ἐπιγονημένη νυκτὶ κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ἐξήν ὅλιγος τισὶν ἑνταῦθα ἤλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξίᾳ ἄρην ἡ τύχῃ τρόπῳ τούτῳ.

22. τὸν πύργον, ὥς ὁ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγγελῶτα ἐπίγγοραν φυλάσσαντες οἱ Χριστιανοὶ οἱ σοφοφονέστατοι ἐλαχῶς, οὐσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς γενομίκαι. τούτους ἐτοίχα τινα τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγειν ἐναίσθησιν εἰκεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τετυγχήνει. 23. ἐπεὶ τῇ ή νῦς ἐπεγένετο, ἄπαντες, ἄτε κόπω μὲν πολλὸν διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὄμηλίσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐκθεμένου εἰσίν εἰς καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρων ἐλλόντες. ὡς ὁ τυχὼν τὸν καὶ ράγον ἐκαθεύδων καὶ ἀπα αὐτῶς ὡς ἰκεῖα τῶν ποιομένων ἠσθάνοντο. 24. Πέρσαι γοῦν τὸν ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβάλλου καὶ ὅλιγον γενομένος εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἐκεῖνον ἠσθάναν.

25. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἠγνο, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τοῦτον δὴ ἀγγίσα τοῦ πύργου προσῆγαν. 26. ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἡ ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομενῷ ἐφώτισαν, αἴσθημας τοῖς κακοῖ, κατὰ τάχους ἐβοήθουσαν ἑνταῦθα. 27. ωθυμένῳ τὸ πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλέον ἀμφοτέρως ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχροντα, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἦν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἐγνον τῶν τὸ ἀναβηθείσων πολλοῦς ἠσθάναν καὶ τούς ἀπὸ τῶν κλίμακας ἀνέστησαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἠκέφασα τὸν κίνδυνον ὃ μακρὰν ποῖ ἐγένοντο. 28. ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτῶν τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ ἤπει δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὁμόν οὐκ ἀνεία τοῖς Πέρσαις, θάνατος τε ἦν ἡ ζῆμια τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀναστρέψαν τοῦλασί. 29. διὸ δὴ πλήθησε τὸν Πέρσαις καθιπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντιῶν γενόμενοι εὐκίσθησαν ταὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὅ πολις ἦλω ὑγομονκόστῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡμέρα. 30. φόνος τοῖς Ἀμιδηνῶν πολέω ἐγένετο, έως ἐπέλαχαντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδη τῶν τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρον τοι καὶ ἀρετῇς προσέλθαν εἶπεν ὡς ὅ βασιλικόν τῷ φονεύν τὸς ἥλιος τούτῳ εἴη. 31. Καβάδης μὲν ὁν θυμό ἐτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγοντε; ὦ δὲ ὑπαλληλῶν αὐτικὰ ἔρη, 'Οτι δὴ ὁ θεός ὁ θεός ἡμετέρα γνώμη, ἀλλὰ σὴ ἀρετὴ παραδίδοναι σοι Ἀμιδᾶν ἠθέλε. 32. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἡσθεῖς κτείνειν οὐδένα τοῦ 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.
λοιπόν εἶσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τὰ χρήματα ληξίζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περίοντας ἐν ἄνδρα-πόδον ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτὸ εξελέξθαι ἀπαντᾷ αὐτόν τοὺς δοκίμως ἐπέστελλεν. 33. Ὅλῳγος δὲ ὑστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπὼν ἄρχοντα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπεστήσεις Γλώνιαν, ἀνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδήνων ἀνθρώπως τινάς ἄλογους χιλτρώς, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὴν διαίτην ὑπερτίμησεν Πέρσας ἐμελλὼν, αὐτὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἱλικότας ἔχων ἐπὶ οἴκος ἄπελανεν. 34. ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰγίμα-λῶτοις χρισιάργωπα ἐχρημάτι βασιλεί προ-πούσῃ· χρόνου γάρ ὁλίγον εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ζυμ-παντας ἁψάκην ἴδια, τὸ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, 35. ὁ τὲ Ρωμαίων βασιλείς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοῦ ἐπεδείξατο ἀρέτης ἀξία· φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἐπὶ ἐπὶ ζυμπάντας ἁψάκη ἡ πόλη καὶ αὐτοῦ κοινὴ τε καὶ ιδία ἐκατον πολλοῖς ταῖς ἄγαθας ἐδοκήσατο, ὡστε αὐτοὺς λήψῃ τῶν ἐμβεβηκότεν πόλλην γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ύστερῳ ἐγένετο.

§8

1. Τότε δὲ βασιλείς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμίαν στρατεύματα κατὰ τάχος διάρκεις ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφετέρκηκασαν τέσσαρες. Ἀρεόβινδος τε, Ὀλυβρίοις κριστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρίᾳ βεβαιολεκτός ὁλίγο πρότερον, τῆς ἡδος δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύχησαν ἄν: 2. καὶ τῶν ἐν παλαίτῃ ταγμάτων ἁρηγίος Κέλερ 'μαγιστρὸν Ῥώμαιοι τὴν ἁρχήν καλεῖν νενυκιάσαν· ἐπὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βουκαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες. Πατρικίος τέ ὁ Φρίος καὶ Ὁπάτιος ὁ βασιλείς ἀδελφοίς· οὕτω μὲν τέσσαρες στρατεύματα ἤσαν. 3. ξυνών δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ Ίουστίνος, ὃς δὲ ὑστερον Ἀναστάσιον τελευτησάντος ἐμπέσθησεν, καὶ Πατρικίως ἦν Βιταλιανὸ τῷ παίδι, ὡς ὀπλα ἐντάρας Ἀναστάσιος βασιλείς οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερὸν ἐτύραννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμῆναις Κόλχοσ μὲν γένος, διαφερόντος δὲ ἄγαθος τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδικλος τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γόθθον ἄνδρες, Γόθθοι τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θεουδέριχος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θρήκης ἴδντι, γενναίῳ τῇ ὑπερφυσίς δῷμῳ καὶ τῶν κατά τῶν πόλεμον πραγμάτον ἐμπερήμερο, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρίστοι ἐπιστόλον. 4. στράτευμα γάρ τοιούτῳ φανεν ὑστερον ὑστερον Ῥώμαιοι δίψανεν. οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο ἀπαντῆσαν οὐκ ἐς ταύτα ἀνήγγειλον εἰς ἀποτελεύμα τοιούτην ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ 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, Patrocíus 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; Patricius 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 Godisisculus 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
when all his troops as fast as he could to 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 against 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 Ephthalites, they thought themselves victorious, and relaxed their ways. They put down their arms and prepared their lunch, for it was now that time for dinner. 15. A mountain stream flowed in the place where the Romans had begun to wash the meat which was to form their meal. When Cavadh had heard what had happened to the Ephthalites, he thought 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 Ephthalites, they thought themselves victorious, and relaxed their ways. They put down their arms and prepared their lunch, for it was now that time for dinner. 15. A mountain stream flowed in the place where the Romans had begun to wash the meat which was to form their meal. When Cavadh had heard what had happened to the Ephthalites, he...
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 Arzane. 22. This river is very near Martyropolis, about three and one-half miles from Amida. But after plundering the town there they returned soon afterwards, and this attack was a short one.

§9

1. Metá de Areóbinódos méν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὦσ· βασιλέα μετάτειμπος ἤλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἀμίδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμώνος ὥρα ἐς πολυρρίκιαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βιῷ μὲν ἐλέεων τὸ χωρίον, κατέρρευσεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πολλῶν ἐχθρῶν. 2. ἀλλ’ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπεμβανοῦσιν ἀμφοτὲρ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ἁπάρῳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιῶτας τῇ προσεδρεύσει καὶ τῷ χειμώνα ἀρχηγοῦντος ἐφὼρ, ἀμία δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἀπεφημῆ ἑξείν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐκεῖνοι ὀλίγοι μινεῦσαν ἐπὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι διενοχῆσαν, τρόπῳ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπαλλάσσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶξεν. 3. οἱ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἠριθοῦντος τᾶς ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τοῖς ἀναγκασίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἐξερχότοις, ἀρχικαὶ παρέχόντος ἄναληκτος σύνωσις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκασίων ἐς τὸν ἐπάυτον ἅμα ἀναγκαίως ὑπανεῖλεν. 4. ὅτι δὲ Πέρσαι δῆτε ἡρωισμός χρυσίου χύλιας 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 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. And conditions were that the Persians would surrender to the emperor on receipt of a
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, and 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. 10. 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 wooded places, and told them to stay in ambush, and set off at a run for the town.
15. 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. 16. 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. Thus the Romans paid the money and recaptured Amida two years after their defeat 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 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 unarmed, 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 Glones 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 ambuscade, without the Persians seeing, he moved the Romans from their ambush and showed them the trap.
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. 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 beside. 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
1. Τὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐκλέγει μετὰ τοῦ Ισραήλ ἡ γῆ τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 2. Ημείς εἰσὶν τῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ. 3. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 4. Ἡμείς εἰσὶν τῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ. 5. Συνεχόμεθα εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 6. Συνεχόμεθα εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 7. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 8. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 9. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 10. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 11. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ. 12. Διὰ τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ Ορθοδόξου ἤγερσιν εἰσόδου τῆς Ἰσραήλ.
ἐν τῷ φοινικών ἕκαστῷ ἤδεινται. 9. ἦστι δὲ ὁ φοινικὼν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐκ χῶραν κατατείχεν πολλὰ, ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλα τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φοινίκες φύονται μόνοι. 10. τούτῳ τὸ φοινικών βασιλεία Ιουστινιανών Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδωρεν, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνης Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τὸν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο. 11. ἀδήμονον τε τὴν χώραν διέφυλλαζε τὸ ἁπαντα χρώνον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς τε ἀρχηγούς μαρμάρους καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσαν τοῖς πολέμιοις φοβότερος τε ἀεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδωξεν εἰναι καὶ διαφρνόντως δραστήριος. 12. τὸ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τοὺς φοινικίδας βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετείναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ταύτη χρώνον οὐδ᾽ ὀποσιωτῶν δυνατά ἐστι. 13. γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἐρήμους καὶ ἄτεχνος ἄνοδος ἐν μέσῳ οὐσίας ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν δῆκεν, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγῳ οὕτω τῶν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμὴ ἦστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνομα δόρου ὁ τοῦ Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδόκιμος μύον και βασιλεὺς εἰς εἰδῶς ἐλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄμφοτερον ὁ φοινικών ταύτη τη ἔχει. 14. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλους Ἀραβικοὺς ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὴ Μαδδηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ὀμηριτῶν κατήκουσιν ὄντες. 15. οἱ δὲ Ὀμηρίται οὕτως εἰς γῆρα τῇ ἐπέκειναι ὄψιν ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς θάλασσῆς θηέν. ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλα ἄλλα ἐν καλλάθῃ μέχρι αὐτῶν ἄνθρωποφαγῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὑπὸ ἑδύνασθαι φασι.
27. Εκ δὲ Αυξομίδος πόλεως ἐξ τὰ ἐπὶ Αιγύπτου ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίου ἀρχῆς, οὐ δή πόλεις ἡ Ἑλληνιστική καλυμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα οἴκοι ἡμέρων ἠπάντησαν ἐκείνῳ ἀνδρὶ. 28. εντάθητα ἐθνικὸν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διορύκται καὶ Βλήμενες τε καὶ Νοβάται, τὰ ὅπου καταντήθησαν γένη, ἅλλα Βλήμενες μὲν τῶν ὡς τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὄψκεται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ αἱμὴ Νεῖλον πατομῶν ἔχουσιν. πρότερον δὲ οὐ τῶν εὐγένεια τὰ ἐσχατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίου ἀρχῆς, ἅλλα ἐπίκαινα ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιπροσθέν οἴκοι ἡμέρων: 29. ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλετιανὸς ἐντάθητα γενέσουν καταντήθης τι λαυτόν ἱκτίσθη, ἡμίχρυσαν πιστοὶ ἐν τῷ κρίνοντι τῇ ἑλέπτῃ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοιοῦτοι οὐ πείσθη ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἑλέπτῃς ταύτης, καταντηθῆς τὰς ἑλέπτας μεταβατάς τοὺς ἔτοιμα ὡς παρακληθῆς τοῖς ἓλκουσι τοῖς αἱμήσις καὶ τοῖς ἑλέπταις παρακληθῆς αἱμήσις τοῖς ἐξανθηκόνται καὶ τοῖς ἑλέπταις παρακληθῆς ἑλέπτας τοῖς ἐξενθηκόνται καὶ τοῖς ἑλέπταις παρακληθῆς αἱμήσις. 30. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡ μετανάστευσις τοιαύτης τὴν χώραν ἐπιπροσθέν ἔτοιμα ἑλέπτας τοῖς αἱμήσις καὶ τοῖς ἑλέπταις παρακληθῆς αἵμησις τοῖς ἐξενθηκόνται καὶ τοῖς ἑλέπταις παρακληθῆς αἵμησις.
30. oúte γὰρ ὢντος τούτων τε οὔκετι τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὁσίαν ἐνοχλοῦσιν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίς διδομένης μεταπωμομένους, ἀτε οἰκείας οὐσίας, ἀποκρούσθησαν Βλήμωνις τοῖς, ἄς εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρως τούς ἄλλους. 31. ἐπὶ τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστεσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα πεποίητο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίς ὑπόστελλε, καὶ Ρωμαίοις τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ἐμπισάν ἓφος ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἑλεφάντινης πόλεως ἐσχον. 32. τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεύς οὗτοι τε καὶ Βλήμωνις ἐτάξε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἄγων τοὺς θρύσιον ἔφρον ὃς καὶ ἠκέτι γένη τὴν Ρωμαίου λησσονται.

33. ὁπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κοιμζομένουι οὐδέν τι ἡσον καταθεόισα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὕτως ἀρα βαρβάρως ἀπάντας οὐδείμα μηχανὴ διασώσαθα τὴν ἐς Ρωμαίους πίστιν ὃτι μὴ δέι τῶν ἁμνομένων στρατιωτῶν. 34. καίτοι καὶ νῆσον τίνα ἐν ποταμῷ Νείλο ἄρχητα πη τῆς Ἑλεφαντήνης πόλεως εὐρῶν ὁ βασιλεύς οὗτος φρούριον τα ταῦτα δειμμένως ορθοτάτον, κοινοῦς τινὰς ἐντάθηναι νεῶς τε καὶ βωμοῦς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρούρῳ τοῦτο ἠδύνατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαιῳ τὴν φύλαν αὐτοῦς ἐπέσθαι τοῖς μετέχειν τῶν ἁμνῶν σφίς οἰόμενος. 35. διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπισονόμασε τὸ χωρίον, ἀμυρὼ δέ ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνη, οῖ τε Βλέμως καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τούς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὕσπερ Ἑλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τῇ Ἡσίῳ τοῖς τῇ Ὁσιριν σέβοσι, καὶ οὐχ ἤκεστα γὰ τον Πρίασον.

36. οἱ μὲν Βλέμως καὶ ἀνθρώπως τοῦ ἡλιοθεῖν εἰσόδιος, ταῦτα δέ τὰ ἐν Φίλας ἱερὰ οὕτως δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελείν ἐγέν. 37. Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμενίσις γένος, ὁ πρόφητος ἄτε ἡμοτολόκτος ἐς Ρωμαίους ἐμνήσθη, τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἄρχον τα τῇ ἡμαῖς καθελεί, βασιλέως οἰς ἐπαγγελάτους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνεμι.
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 many 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 Aethiopians fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abrams by name. 4. Now this Abrams 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 Abrams 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 Abrams; 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 Abrams 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 Abrams. 8. After the death of Hellestheaeus, Abrams agreed to pay tribute
Aithiopon basileians paralabonti, ou to te thn arxh en ekratunato. alla taista mwn xrono ths ustethr egeneto. 9. Tote de Ioustantiandou de basileis ev men Aithiopon basileionton Ellhpse-theio, Esmquatopon de ev Ompiritan, prosebentan Ioulanoi epemwen, aixwv amfoi Romaios dia to tis doxeis omononon Perasias poluemous einvprahtai, onwos Aithiopan mwn ononumenoi te thn metazan ex Iindov apooitidomevoi te autin ex Romaios, auti mwn kuri o genontai xermatov megallon. Romaios de toito poishosi keradnav monon, oti oi oikikte anagkasthontai ta sfertera autovn chrmata ex touis poluemous metenekeiv (auti de estin he metaza ex he eidothesa thn istoria exegazwthei he palaiv mwn Ellhnes Mipikin ekallon, tainiv de seirikn onomazovn), Ompiritan de ows Kaisthn ton vynado phylar Hippodh no katasistrosn kai strato megalo auton te Ompiriton kai Sarakiniton ton Madohn exaballwv en thn Perason yhn.

10. (o de Kaisthos ouvte gevon mwn on twn vil-arxikov kai diaphronontos agathov th polymia, twn de tina Esmquatov xenogenen kteinas ex thn epreugen he dhe ermos anthropon pantapasein estin.) 11. Ekatevos men ou thn aiptaun upoeggmeno epitelh poishin thn presevthev apoepemvato, edrasa de autovn th vimoilologmena odothetov. 12. Toi te xar Aithiopi thn metazan oneinthei proi ton Iindov advntata he, exe ai o Perason epmporoi proi autous tois ormos ginominoi ou dhe th prouta ai ton Iindov vheis kateiropwv, ate chorwv prosekoountes thn omonon, apanta onteinthea th phortia eiodosei, kai tois Ompiritan xhelesion edoxen enia chorwv ameigmewnos ermin te kai chrwv pollov odon kattainousan ep anthrwpou pollov makhmterous ienai.

13. Alla kai Aibrarmos ysteron, ote de thn arxhn ois asfalestata ekratunato, polalakis men Ioustantiandou basilea vimoilologsen en thn Peridia exballean, apax de moun ths poreias arxevnous opiso euthos apexwresse. tA men ou Aithiopon te kai Ompiriton taht Romaios echorthesen.

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 Esimphaeus 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar was by birth of the captain’s rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. 11. So each kingly, 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 straightforward turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.
§17

Translated by Dr John Sheldon

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 was 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, pressing 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.


2 Var. Σερίνδην Αὐλία.

3 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 andNicephorus Callistus, Hist. Eccles. XVII,32.
NOTES

1. μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἰκόντως 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 ἰδνη ... Σηρίνδα ἀνομάζεται 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 σκωλῆκων ... 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. σκωλῆκας τινας ... ἐργάζεσθαι This is a completely accurate description of silkworms and their natural production of silk.

5. ταῦτα ... ποιοῦσι 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 sycomore 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 ‘sycomore’) describes a number of different genera. See Theophanes of Byzantium 3 (infra).
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 χώρος ‘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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Translation:

Studies:
... Où μὴν ἄλλα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ποθοῦντες πολλὰ μανθάνειν καὶ περιηγάζεσθαι, εἶπεν ἂν ὁ Περσικὸς διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἀριστερᾶς περί περὶ τῆς θέας αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραδίσου κυρνῆσθαι; Αὐτή δὲ ἡ χώρα τοῦ μεταξίου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστέρᾳ πάντων Ἰνδία, κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος εἰσόντων τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ πεδίου, περιατέρω πολύ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς καλουμένης παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοὶς, Σελενίδοι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησταῖοι, Ἰνδικάται, ἄριστον τῆς καλουμένης, κυκλωμένης πάλιν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Όκεανοῦ, ὡσπερ καὶ η Βαρβαρία κυκλοῦται ἐκ δεξιῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ φασίν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ καλουμένοι Βαρβαρίας, ὅτι ἐὰν βάλης ἀπὸ Ἰνδίτεςς σπαρτιῶν, διελθεῖν διὰ Περσίδος ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμανίας, ἀπὸ κανόνος τοῦ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν, καὶ τάχα ἀληθείους. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀριστερὰ ἐστιν, ὡς δι’ ὅλους χρόνους μασταγάς μεταξίου γίνεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐπέρθουν ἑσθον ἐν Περσίδι διὰ τῆς γῆς διὰ δὲ τῆς θάλασσῆς πάλιν παόν διαστήματα ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος. Ὡσπερ γὰρ διάστημα ἔχει ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰνδικός εἰσερχόμενος ἐν Περσίδι, τοσοῦτο διάστημα πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ περιατέρω ποιεῖ ὁ ἀριστερὰ εἰσερχόμενος τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἰνδίτες; μετὰ τὸ καὶ διαστήματα πάλιν ἰκᾶν ἔχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξοδον τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου ὅλον τῷ Ἰνδικῷ πέλαγος ἐως Περσικῆς καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Διατέμενον ὄν πολλὰ διαστήματα ὁ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ Ἰνδίτες ἐπὶ Περσίδα, ὄθεν καὶ πλῆθος μεταξίου ἀληθεύει ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα διασύνεται· περιατέρω δὲ τῇ Ἰνδίτες; ... 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 Brahmins 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

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5 Var. Τζίντα.

6 Var. Τζίνιστα.
Select Byzantine Sources on Lands and Peoples

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

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 Louia 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

ο 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 μέταξιν. 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 Παλαισιμουνδου which is almost certainly caused by failure to separate two words since variants of Σμονδου occur without παλαι- 'ancient'. Σάλκη 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 Palaeisimundum, 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, tāmraparni etc.) in the first part of this word is not wholly convincing, though it is part of the Salkan historical tradition and still appears regularly in their scholarly writings. cf. Weerakoddy 1997 p 19. Another suggested Skt. etymology is dvīpa rāvana 'Island of Rāvana', 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)

Τζινίτζα The variant Τζήνη 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 ἐλαττον for πλέον ἢ ἐλαττον. He prints πλέον forms elsewhere. εἰσιν also appears for εἰσί 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

7 Var. Ōlvnia (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 μεγάλοις ... κατανεύονται in Theophylactus Simocatta VII 9 8 (infra). See also H.H. Schaeder Iranica 1. 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. ‘Tzista’. See S.N.C. Lieu, ‘Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica’ in Exigitu 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 μεσσαϊατον 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.

Σέλεόδιβα 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.

περατέρω τῆς Τζινίτζής ... 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 northermost 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 ζώα νήθοντα μέταξον in Hesychius Lexicon.

Ἰουνία The variant Οἶννα is to be preferred. This may represent Hunnia. There are variants Hunnos etc. here and mss. of Honorius have a variety of forms including Cumī. In Winstedt p 324 in the section following Cosmas’s second excerpt we have πάσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδίκην καὶ Οὐνίαν διαίρει ὁ Φίσιον 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 Χοῦνα) 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 xwīn is used for Hun. ‘The equation of xwīn 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)

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, aloe-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 Phismon 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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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. Sizabal 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 prevaporation. 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 Sizabal 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
ποιαν τὶς ἔκεισε μετέπειτα παραουσίας, καὶ δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν πρεσβευσαμένων Τούρκων τῇ περὶ τὴν ἔδωσαν μὲ θανατικὸν φαρσάκιν τοῦ ποιῆσαι πάντων τῶν βιον κατέλησαν πλὴν τριῶν ἡ τεσσαρῶν. θηρίνος δὲ ἐφοίτησε Πέρσαις ὡς διάβαλλον τὸ πνηγρὸν τῶν Πέρσων αὐχμῷ τῶν Τούρκων οἱ πρέσβεις, ἔτει τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας θαμα νυφτεὶ παλαιόμνης, καὶ αὖδον τὸν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ κρυμώδους κάταστηματος βιωτεύνει. ταύτη τοι καὶ ἄλλος ὑποτοποίησαν, οὐ γε τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγον, οὕτω ἔμισσαν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν επανελθόντες τὰ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἐπερσαὶ καὶ οἱ διευθύρισαν ταύτα. ὅμως ὁ Σιζάβουλος (ἀγχινοῦ γὰρ τής καὶ δεινοῦ) οὐκ ἤτοι ἔρχετο ταὐτά, ἡμῆς δὲ, ἀπεκάθιν, ἀν δὴ καὶ ήν, ὡς ἐδοξολογήθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. ἔθνη τοιούθεν ἢ διαμένεια ἤρεσε περὶ περὶ τούς καὶ Τούρκον, καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ Μανιάς, ἢ τῶν Σογδάτων προειρήθη, τοιοῦτο καρυοῦ ἐμπλούτει τὸ Σιζαβουλύ θέμενον εἰνά διαβούλευσαν ἢ περὶ τούς ἢ σπάσασθαι τὰ ῥωμαίον καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀποκομίζει τὴν μεταξάς, οὐκ, γὰρ κατὰ τὸ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώποις χρωμένους, ἐπιμονή τε ἡμῶν ἔχειν ἢρη τὸν Μανιά καὶ αὐτὸς συναπαίρει τὸς πρέσβειν τῶν Τούρκων· καὶ ἢς ταύτη φίλου ἔστασιν ῥωμαίοι τε καὶ Τούρκοι. τούτοις δήποτε κατανικὰς τοῦς ῥήμασιν ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐκκείμενοι αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἐπέρρετος τινὰς ἢς βασιλέα ῥωμαίοις πρεσβευσάμενος προσφέρεις τε ἀποκομίζοντας καὶ δόρα μετάξεις οὐκ ὅλον τι θρήμα καὶ συλλαβάς τινα, [ὁπιτε ἐν το περι ἐπιστολάς.]

Τοιοῦτοι τινὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιφερομένος ὁ Μανιάς ἀπερίστητο τῆς ὁδοποίησας, καὶ δὴ ἢς τὰ μάλιστα πολλὰ διανόησα ἀτριπαν χώρους τε διελθὼν ἐστὶ πλείστος ὅρη τε μέγιστα καὶ ἀγγρυφαὶ καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας λίμνας τε καὶ ποταμοὺς, εἶτα τὸν Καύκασον τὸ δροσὶς ὑπερέλθιον, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀφίκετο ἢ Βυζάντιων. καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς βασιλείας παρελθὼν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα γενόμενοι ἀπαντὰ ἐπέρρεις τὰ ὅσα ἐπέτα τὸς τῆς φυλίας θεμιστοκλής, τὸ τε γράμμα καὶ τὰ δόρα ἐνεχείριον τοὺς ἢς τοῦτο ἀνεμίσας, καὶ ἐπέδεικτο οὐκ ἀνοίχτοις αὐτὸ γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς ὁδοποίησας ἱδρύσας. ἀτὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλέξαμεν διὰ τῶν ἐμπιπτῶν τὸ γράμμα τὸ Σκυθίων ἀσμενεστάτα προσκήπτο τὴν πρεσβείναν τοιούθεν ἢ ἰμετό τοις πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἡμερωνίας τε καὶ χώρας, ὦ δὲ γε ἐφασάν τίταρας μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἡμερωνίας, τὸ δὲ γε κράτος τοῦ ζόμπαντος ἠθανὸς ἄνεβασι πάνω τῇ Σιζαβουλῷ. πρὸς γε ἔλεγαν ἢς παρεστήσαντο καὶ Ἐρσάλητας μέχρι καὶ ἢς φόρου ἀπαγογῆς. πάνω οὖν, ἢρη ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, τὴν τῶν Ἐρσάλητων ἐπισημάζε ημέρας; πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἔλεγαν οἱ πρέσβες ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐπὶ ποὺ ἀρα κατὰ κόμας ἡμῶν οἱ

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, through Carlise, and other lands, 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.
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 legionibus Romanorum ad gentes 7, p. 192)

Ὁτὶ τοῖς Τούρκοις τῶν Σακᾶς καλομένων τὸ πάλαὶ πρεσβεῖαν ποιοσμένων πρὸς Ἰουστίνου περὶ εἰρήνης, ἐν βουλῇ ἐποίησατο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμμα τις Τούρκους καὶ δὴ Ζήμαρχος τῷ Κλίκη ἔλεγεν παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτω, ὡς τῶν πρὸς ἐπὶ πόλεως την καταστάσει ὑπήρχε στρατηγὸς. ἡπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα αὐτῷ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξηγοῦμεν ἦν, ήνικα πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἦν ζητοῦν τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τὸ τέταρτόν ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκας τετριάδος περιφορᾶς, περὶ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ παρὰ Λατίνου Αὐγούστου μηνός, ὁ μὲν Ζήμαρχος ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐξ αὐτῶ Ἰουστίνου καὶ τοῖς ἅμφοτε ἀὐτῶν.

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 Legionibus Romanorum ad gentem 8, pp. 193-95)

Ὅτι πολλὰ ἡμερῶν ὄντα διανύσαντες οἱ περὶ After Zemarchos and his entourage had travelled
Ζήμαρχον ἐπειδή παρήσαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Σογ-
δατῶν τόποις, ὑπνικὰ τῶν ἱππῶν ἀπέβησαν, τῶν Τούρκων ἦνοι ὡς ἐοίκεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνεμένοι, ὁνίων σφίσα προσέχοντο σίδηρον, οἵμαι τῷ ποιή-
asθαι ἐνδεξέθη τινα, ὡς μεταλα ἀυτοῖς ὑπάρχει σιδήρου· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς παρ’ αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐπρόσωτον τι χρῆμα ὁ σίδηρος. ταύτῃ ἔνεστι τεκμηρίσαι ὡς ὑπαινιτόμενοι ἔχειν γῆν σιδηροφόρου τῷ τούῳ ἐγχάραντα κόμπο. ἐτεροὶ δὲ τινὶς τοῦ φύλου τοῦ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἀναφανές, οὓς ἐξέλον τῶν ἀπαισίων ἑλατῆρας, ἀγχοῦ ἤλθουν τῶν περὶ Ζήμαρχον· καὶ τοίνυν ἄπαντα ὡς ἐπιφέροντο φορίτι ἀρά-
μενοι ἔκθεσαν ἐν μέσῳ. εἶτα τοῖς τοῦ ἱππῶν κλάδοις πῦρ ἀνάγαντας τῇ Σκυθικῇ φονῇ βάρβαροι· ἄτιμα ὑπεγνώθηκεν, ἐπιπα-
ταγοῦντες δὲ κώδωνι τινὶ καὶ τυμπάνῳ ύπερθεν τοῦ φόρτου περίεφορον τῷ φυλλάδες τοῦ ἱππῶν τῇ φλογὶ λακιδόμενον, καὶ ἁμμὸν γενόμενοι μανωδές καὶ ἐμπροβοῦντες τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπελά-
νειν ἐδόκουν· οὕτω γάρ ἀποτρόπαιοι τινὲς εἶναι καὶ ἀλεξίκαιοι ἐδόκουν. ἀποδοσυμπαισόμενοι δὴ οὖν, ὡς ξύνον, τὰ δυσχερὰ Ζήμαρχον τε αὐτῶν δὲ αὐτῆς παρῆγγέν της φλογὸς, ἀδὲ τε ἐδῶκαν καὶ σφᾶς ἀραφανίζειν. τούτων δὲ ταυτῇ γεγενημένων ἔπειτα ἐπορεύοντο ξύν τοῖς ἐς τὸ τοίχων τεταγμένοις, ἦν τὸ Χαγάνος αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν ὄρει τινὶ λεγομένον Ἐκτάγ, ὡς ἐν εἴσι χρυσοῦν ὄρος Ἐλλάν ἄνηρ· καὶ τοῖνα αὐτῶν ἀρισκόμενοι, ὅπῃ τηγιάκατα τῷ Σιζαβουλῷ ἦσαν αἱ διατριβά, κατὰ δὲ κολύσα τινὰ τοῦ προσεχρουμένου Χρυσοῦ ὄρους, ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἐκέες ἐφοι-
τήσαν, μετακλῆτοι γεγενομένοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ Σιζαβουλοῦ ἠλθὼν ἐς ὄνων, ἦν ἐς ἀρὰ ἐνδὸν σκινῆς, καθῆσθι δὲ ἐπὶ διτρόχου καθέδρας χρυσῆς, ἑλκομένης, ὑπηκονικί ηδεί. ὑπὸ ἱπποῦ ἐνός, προσπατοῦντες δὲ τὸν βαρβαρὸν, ὡς ὠδός αὐτοῖς, τὰ δόρα προσέκοιτο· καὶ τοῖνα οἷς γε τοῦτο ἐν φροντὶ ἦν ὑπεδέξαντο, ἀτὰρ ὁ Ζήμα-
χος· σοὶ δῆτα, ἐρή, ὁ τοσοῦτον εἴθον ἦσαν, ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀγγελουμάρθημα ἐρμήμανος ἐμοὶ ἐσήμην εἶναι ἐς οἶο τὴν τύχην ἀσίην τε καὶ ἀγαθήν, ἐν ἡδόνῃ ποιομένοι σοὶ τὰ Ρωμαίοι καὶ πρὸς γε φιλοφρονομένῳ ἡμᾶς, ἐστὼ δὲ σοὶ κρατεῖν ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀδερφοῦ καὶ λαμφ-
ρογαγῆν τὸ πολέμιον. ἀπέστει ἐς βασικάνι τις ὡς πορτοτάτῳ ἦμοι οἷα τὰ οὐσία διαρρηγνύνα τοὺς τῆς φύλιας θεσμούς. ἐπιτίθεται ἐμοιοὺς τῶν Τούρκων τὰ φῦλα καὶ ὅσα κατέκλεα πούρκευν ἐξέτει δὲ τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὠμὲς οἰκὶ ἄλλως, τοιαῦτα ἄτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Ζήμαρχος· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σιζα-
βουλός καὶ αὐτὸς προσήρασεν 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 instance, that iron is not an easy material to obtain; this suggests the proof that they used only cunningly to indicate that they had produced iron. Some of their other 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 making noise over the bagage with a bell and a drum, they carried the branches with the burning incense, which was still cracking, 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 themselves 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 Zemarchus 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,
πανημέρια εἰσοχούμενοι διετέλευσαν ἐν αὐτῇ δήπου τῇ σκηνῇ. κατεσκέψαστο δὲ αὐτῷ ἕξ υφασμάτων σηρικῶν τε καὶ διαπεπουλυμένων τοῖς χρῶμασι εὐθέχονς. οὕνεκα μὲν οὐν ἐχρήσαντο, οὐγ ὁμοίοι δὲ τὸ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐκλήσυμεν ἐκ τῆς ἀμέλους· οὐ γάρ δὴ ἀμελελοφόρος αὐτῶς ἢ γῆ οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγχαριωθὲν παρ᾽ αὐτῶς τὸ τοιοῦτο γένος: ἔτερον δὲ τῖνα βαρβαρικοῦ ἐνεπορθήσαν γλύκους, καὶ ἀνεχόρησαν ὅποιοῦ αὐτῶς ἡ κατάλυσις ἤν. εἶτα ἐς τὸ αὐριόν ἐν ἔτερα τυλίξατο διαίτης κλίνη, ἠμιμωσιμένη δὲ καὶ καταπεπουλυμένη οὐκ ἄλλως ἐξ ἱματίων σηρικῶν, ἔνθα καὶ ἀγάλματα διάφορα τῇ μορφῇ εἰσῆκε. ὁ δὲ Σιζάβουλος ἐπίζευγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ὅλης ἐκ χρυσοῦ, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἐνδιατήματος κάλπες τε χρυσαί καὶ περιφρονήσαστο, ἐπὶ τὸν πίθον χρυσοῦ. θυνησάμενοι δ᾽ οὐν καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ διὰ ἐκφόρον ἐν πότῳ εἰσόντες καὶ ἀκτικοῦτες ἀνεχώρησαν. τῇ ἐξέχειν ἐν ἔτερα ἐγένοντο διαίτης. ἔνθα χύλινοι κίονες ἴσθαν τινες ἐνδιατημένους χρυσά, χρυσήλατος τε κλίνη ομοίως, ὡστὶν γὰρ όρους καὶ ταῦτας χρυσοὶ τέταρτες ἠφόρων. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον τῆς διαίτης ἐπὶ πολύ παρέτεινατ ἄμαξα, ἐν αἰς πολύ τῇ χρήσα αργύρου ἐπίνη, δίκους τε καὶ κινόν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τετραπόδων ἱνάλαμα πλεῖστα, καὶ αὐτὰς γὰρ ἐδήλωσαν ἀργυροποίητα οὐδὲν τι ἀποδέοντο τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τῶν τῶν Τούρκων ἑγεμόνι ἕνειτε χληθε. τὸν δὲ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἦτα ἐκεῖτε ἐνδιατηροῦντων, ἐδοξέω τὸ Σιζαβούλῳ ὅστε αὐτὸν μὲν Ζήμαρχον ἁμα εἴκοσι θεραπευτας τε καὶ ὁπαδοὺς ἐπεσθαί οἱ ἐκστατευμένοι κατὰ Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ρωμαίους ἐπαναστρέφοντας κατὰ δὴ τὴν χώραν τῶν Χολαιτῶν ἀναμένετε τὴν Ζήμαρχον ἑπάνων. καὶ δὴ δὲ τοῦ προφήτη, δῶρος τε ψιλοφορούσαμεν αὐτοῦς ἄφηκε, τὸν δὲ Ζήμαρχον καὶ θεραπεύτη ἐτίμησεν δοριλώτων· ὡς δὴ θαν τοῦ λεγομένον Χέρχηρ καὶ ο Ζήμαρχος σὺν τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἐπιρέετο µαχηµενὸν Πέρσας. ἐν ταύτῃ ὅπῃ τῇ πορείᾳ γενόμενοι, ἐν χῶρο τινὶ καταλυσάντων αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουµένῳ Τάλας ὑπαντάζει αὐτῷ ἐπάνω τὸν πρεσβυτηρίας, καὶ τοιῶν ζυγικάλλας παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐπιστασίων τοὺς τε Ρωµαίους καὶ Περσῶν πρεσβεις, καὶ δὴ παραγεγοµένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς Ρωµαίους ὁ Σιζαβούλος ἐν τιµῇ πλείον ἐποίησε, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπικυκλεόντως ἀνακλινεῖν στιβάδα. πρὸς γε καὶ πλείστα ἐπιµερούμενος ἡν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἀτε δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄδικα πεποτοµώς, καὶ ὡς τούτου ἕνεκα ἔρχεται πολεµήσων, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν πρεσβευτής τοῦ Σιζαβούλου συντονωτερὸν ἐπικαλούντος προφητεύσεις τὸν νόμον τῆς σωσίας τῶν ἑσύχουντα παρ᾽ αὐτῶς ἐν ταῖς ἐκτάσεισι, 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. Sizabal 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, Sizabal 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 Cholaiate and await the return of Zemarchus. Upon leaving, he sent them away 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 Sizabal to fight the Persians. As they descended in a place of Tales, on this march, an envoy of the Persians came to Sizabal and invited both the envoys of the Romans and the Persians to dine with him. When they came to him, Sizabal was more honourable to the Romans, andallowed 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 fought him. And as Sizabal 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 Sizabal, 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 Sizabal made his preparations against the Persians. Thus, he took a back seat to the entourage of Zemarchos, and when they were in place,
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 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).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Whitby, M. 1988. The Emperor Maurice and his Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare (Oxford)
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.

VIII,6,5

Ταὶς ἐαριναῖς τοιγαροῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν νησίσειας ἐναθροϊμένος, χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς χρυσαῖς καὶ λθοκολλήτοις κλίναις τοῖς τε νήσαις Priding himself on the spring fasts of the Christians and renouncing golden and gem-encrusted beds and silk garments, the emperor

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τῶν Σηρῶν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰερέως ἐξυλίνης στιβάδα ὁ βασιλεύς κατεπανυχίζετο, θείας τινὸς ἐντεῦθεν ὅσπερ οἰόμενος μεταλήμεσθαί 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 ἡρανιαῖς ... 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.

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

VII,7,7-12

7. θέρους ἑνεστῶτος κατὰ τούτον δὴ τὸν ἐνυπνοῦν ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὁ Τούρκων Χαγάνος ὑμνούμενος πρέσβεις ἐξέστησε Μαυρικίῳ τὸ αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστολὴν τῇ συντεταχῷς ἐπινίκια ἐνεχάρατεν ἐν αὐτῇ. 8. ἢ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπιγραφὴ εἶχεν ἐπὶ λέξεις οὕτως “τὸ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ρωμαίων ὁ Χαγάνος ὁ μέγας δεσπότης ἐπὶ γενεῶν καὶ κύριως κλιμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπτά·” τὸντι γὰρ τὸν ἐθνάρχην τῶν Αβάρων (κηφί δὴ τὸν λεγομένον Ἐφθαλτοῦ) καταπολεμήσας οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Χαγάνος ἑκατέροις τῇ τε τῶν ἔθνων ἀρχὴν περιεβάλετο. 9. ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τούτῳ εἰς μέγα ἄρθεις καὶ τὸν Στεμβασχίδαν σύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῶν Αβάρων ἔθνος κατεπανωνόστατο. ἀλλὰ μὴ τὶς σιέσθω παριστορεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ κατὰ τούτοις τοὺς χρόνους Αβάρως εἶναι διανοούμενος τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Παννονίαν προσιοκούντας βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῦτον τὴν ἀρχήν πρεβοθέτουσα γενέσθαι τῶν χρόνων Μαυρικίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῇ Αβάρων ἐπετρεπτείκα ἀλλὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν Ταυγάστ τὰς ἀρχαγμάς ἑποίσωστο. 10. Ἁδέν ἃν Ταυγάστο πόλεις ἐπιφανεῖς· τὸν τε λεγομένον Τούρκων ἀπόκρισται χλιδὸς πρὸς τὸν πνευματοκοσμίος θεομοιότητος· ἀφίσσις ὁμοίως καθῆκτε τοῖς ἑνοις. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγάστο αὐξημένοι βαρβαροὶ ἔθνος ἀλκιμιστῶν καὶ πολιορκητῶν πάσην τέλος κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνεῖς διὰ τὸ μέγας ἀπαράλληλον. 11. Ἡ δέ Ταυγάστο πόλεις ἐπιφανείς· τὸν τε λεγομένον Τούρκων ἀπόκρισται χλιδὸς πρὸς τοὺς πνευματοκοσιοὺς· ἀφίσσις ὀμοίως καθῆκτε τοῖς ἑνοις. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγάστο αὐξημένοι βαρβαροὶ ἔθνος ἀλκιμιστῶν καὶ πολιορκητῶν πάσην τέλος κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνεῖς διὰ τὸ μέγας ἀπαράλληλον. 12. Ἦτεροι τῶν Αβαρός διὰ τὴν ἦτταν πρὸς ταπεινουσαν ἀποκλίναντες τῇς ἑκχαίροντα πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους.
Moukri. 9 Toûto ðè tô ðêvôs plēsiēstatai pêrûke tôv Tavûgästh, allê ðê autô prôs tôis paratâxêis pôllê ðia te tâ ðê tôv gímnasiôn òômêrà meletîmata ðia te tôî pêrî tôîs kivdûnouâ tôîs vûnhîs êgkartrêrasin. ... 

NOTES

10. Τητηθέντων ... ἐποίησαντο Αβάροι 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 Ουαρχωνιται (Ουαρχωνιται / 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 nomads 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. ἢ ἔτι Ταυγάς ... 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 τοῖς Ταυγάς in VII 9 1. See further Yule op. cit. 31-34 and Herrmann RE IV A 2 (1932) 2523-4.

12. ἔτεροι τῶν Αβάρων ... 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. Moukri here is rightly imported from Photius. The latter is quoting the definition of Moukri by Nicephorus Callistus in his Ecclesiastical History XVIII 30, where he calls them ðêvôs tôv Moukrîtôv. Moukîvn is read in Vaticanus Graec. 977, our best ms., and is a mistake. Moukî for Moukroi is a Latinism in Callistus and Photius.

VII,8,13-15

13. τοῦ Χρυσοῦ ὄρους παρακορεῖν. ðûsi ðê me génêstais tîs tâ Tôôrûkôn êðhôa megalâoucheï- ðôsai gôr ãnoðhôn auîtôn kai eî arûhîs meðéktostô lômîôn épînôich têssasastai, tôû te seîsîmôn spânn eînai kai’ êêkêînh tênh ùhôrân. tôû te Bâkâô ùpô tôôv Òûnnûnoûôrôv pâlai pôte pôli- ñêthêsan katapêthêsan tôûs seîsîmôs, tôû te Sôun- dênhn kai lômîôn kai seîsîmôn èmpêraî pêrûf- kénaî. 14. tîmôsî tôûgaroûô tôû Tôôrûkoi lîan èk- tôpôs tô pôîr, ùêrâa ðê kai ùôôwî gêraîroussin, ùmûndôsî tênh ùhêîn proskoumôsi ðê môûnsî kai thêôn Òônmôsus tôûs pêpouîôtôa tôûs Òôrârânô kai tênh ùhêîn. 15. tôûto ðûûos îpsous kai bôiîs kai proûbetaî, iêrêîs këkhîmunôi, ðûî kai tôû tôôv mëllûntôôv auîtôi dûkôðhîn èkttîrêthai pró- aghôrêusin.

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 Sogudanê (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.

9 Var. Μούκνη ; ðêvôs tôûv Mouvkrîvôûv (ap. Nicephorus Callistus). (Coedès).
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 Climarch 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.

10 Var. Τῶν εἰς ἔως Τούρχων (ap. Nicephorus).
11 Var. Χωμάδαν.
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 wrinkled and dappled skin; the barbarians assiduously practice the cultivation of these creatures.

NOTES

1. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων Ἡράκλειος 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/farrn. Cf. M Dobrovits, ‘They called themselves Avar’ – Considering the pseudo-Avar question in the work of Theophylactus’ in Ėrrän ud Anerän Webfestschrift Marshak (2003) 2-3. (http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/dobrovits.html).

πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάτας Ῥαγάς is used here as a plural i.e. ‘the men of Tagast’. Pelliot saw in Taugat (China) a description of the Turkish or Mongolian speaking Tuobawei 托跋魏 dynasty (Tuoba = T’ak-buï in Early Middle Chinese). The name appears as Taibua or Taibû 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 Orcharion inscription as well as in Uighur Turkish texts. Boodberg, op. cit. 238-241 explores a number of popular etymologies assigned to the ethonym Tuoba (T’ak-buïd) (Tagast) 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 –c 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 Taibaga 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’rknec ‘of Samarkand’ and concludes (pace Schaeder) that there is no reason to think that the form Tavagck 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 Tavagch (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 1998) 122-125.

’Ο δὲ τῆς Ταυγάτας κλωματάρχης The description of the governor of a province as a Climatarch is also attested in the Sixth Century historian Joannes Lydus. κλῆμα ‘inclination’ moved early into the language of terrestrial geography as a word for ‘region.’

Ταϊσὰν Boodberg op. cit. has solved the mystery of this word. Based on its given meaning as ‘son of god’ J. Klaproth 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, Taisan is a faithful transcription of taishang 天上帝，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

12 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 barpur is the usual translation of Chinese tianzi with this meaning ‘son of heaven’.

2. Ἡ δὲ ἅρχη τῆς Ταυγάστ ... 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 cliches 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. ἐδοξ... δὲ τούτοις ... 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 τοῖν ... 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 Ταυγάστ ... βαρβάροι 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 Chudman and Sarag. 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 Σηρική 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 ... καταευνυχίζετο’ See note on VII 4-5 ad fin.

Δόγας δὲ καὶ έτέραν ... Χουβδέν. 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. Ἦ δὲ Χουβδέν δόυς μεγάλους ... καταευνυχίζεται 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) (b) (c) (e). Chubdan (Khudan) can certainly be equated with Chang’an 長安 in geographical terms and its derivation from the latter can be explained satisfactorily. Khudan is clearly the Kândam of the Syriac Nestorian Christian inscription there. Boodberg, op. cit. p 241 tentatively suggested that it might be a transcription of Chinese Xianyang 成陽 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 Chumdan (‘xwmt n’) in lines 15 and 18. In the second occurrence cyym cyystn (‘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 (cyystn) 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 ‘n āndh ‘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 ... ἀπολεπεῖν 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.

ai δὲ τούτων ὄθεια ... καταευνυχίζεται 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 cypress to confirm this statement.

10. ‘Ελέφαντες ... περικενά The ἐδὼν 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 complexion than those in the south.

11. Oi δὲ σκόληκες ... 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:
Εὔουλοσάτο δὲ καὶ Αβάρους. Διέξεις δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ταυγάστ ἐθνῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μουκρι, ἐν οἷς οἱ Αβάροι ἠτηθήνετε διασπάρ-ησαν, ... καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυγάστ, περὶ τῶν σκολήκων τῶν τικτόνων τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν Σημι-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
kén, kai ós polli ἐστι περὶ τὴν λεγομένην Χουβδάν ἢ τῆς μετάξεως γένεσις, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν νόμιμα. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν λευκῶν τὸ σῶμα.
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.

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.
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.

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

3. ὅτι τὴν τῶν σκωλήκων γένεσιν ἀνήρ Πέρσης βασιλέως βασιλεύοντος Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐν Βυζάντιῳ ὑπέδειξεν οὕτω πρότερον ἐγνωσμένην Ἑρωϊδίαν. Όδος ἡ δὲ ἐκ Σηρῶν ὄρμησες ὁ Πέρσης, τὸ σπέρμα τῶν σκωλήκων ἐν νάρθηκι λαβὼν μέχρι Βυζαντίου διεσώσατο, καὶ τοῦ ἔαρος ἀρχάμενου ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν σκωλήκων φύλλων ἐπαφῆκε τὰ σπέρματα· τὰ δὲ τραφέντα τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπέτρεπα τὰ σφυρίζει τε καὶ τὰλλα εἰργάζειν. Ἐν τὴν τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιος ὅστορος τοῖς Τούρκοις ὑποδείξεις ἐδάμβασεν. Οἱ γὰρ Τούρκοι τότε τὰ τέ Σηρῶν ἑμπόρα ἐπὶ τοῖς λιμένες κατείχον· ταύτα δὲ πρὸς μὲν Πέρσαι κατείχον.

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.
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 νόστοις 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.
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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Studies (1) Anna Comnena:

Studies (2) The First Crusade:
1. Καὶ μικρὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀνακτησάμενος τῶν πολλῶν μοχθῶν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Τούρκους τὰ ἐντὸς Βιθυνίας κατατρέχοντας εὑρέ καὶ λημομένους ἅπαντα, τῶν δυτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ θατέρου μέρους πρὸς ἐαυτὰ ἐπιστωμένων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πλέον ἐν τούτοις ή ἐν ἑκένωσι κάμων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ κατατέθην μᾶλλον ὁ πόνος ἢ) ἐπίνοιαν ἐπινοεῖται μάλα μεγαλούργον καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς ἑκένους ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς ᾠσάλειαν Βιθυνίας ἀποταφρεῖει τὰς ἑκένους καταδρομὰς διὰ τοιαύτης κατασκευῆς ἀξίων δὲ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἑκένου διήγησατα. 2. Ο ζεύς Σαγγάριος ποταμός καὶ η παραλία ἢ μέχρι τοῦ χωρίου Χήλης ἱθυτενός καταφερμομένη καὶ ἐπὶ βορράν ἀνακάμπτουσα πολλὴν ἑνδον περικλείουσα χώραν. Ταύτην τοῖς τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ γέιτονες γεγονότες ἡμῖν ἀνέκαθεν οἰ τὸ Ἱσμαῖλ κατὰ πολλὴν ἑρήμων τῶν κολύοντων διὰ τὸ Μαρινανδόνιον καὶ τῶν πέραν Σαγγάρεως ράλλας κατελέγοντο καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν Νικομήδους ἐπέθιλθον τῶν ποταμῶν διαπερισσούμενοι. Τὴν τοιαύτην τοῖς ὑπάρχον ἀνακόπτον τὸν βαρβάρον ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῆς χώρας καταδρομὴν καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν Νικομήδους ἀσφαλιζόμενος κατωτέρῳ τῆς Βασιλικῆς λίμνης μικρότατον ὄργυμα κατιόν καὶ παρακόλουθης αὐτῷ μέχρι πέρατος κατενοί απὸ τὸ τῆς θέσεως καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς ἀρα τὸ τόπος οὐκ ἐκ ταὐτόμοιον διαβεβόθρωται οὐδὲ συσσεπηθῆναι φυσικῶς, ἀλλὰ χειρῶς τινος ὑπήρχε μηχανήμα. Πολυπραγμονήσας οὖν τὸ τοῦ τόπου μανδάνει παρὰ τινος, ὡς ἀρα τῆς τοιαύτης διώρυχος Αναστάσιος ὁ Δικουρὸς ἐπιστάτης. Τί μὲν βούλομενος, οὐκ ἔχων λέγειν ἐφαίνετο δ’ οὖν τὸ βασιλεῖ Ἀλέξιο, ὡς δ’ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος ἐβουλεύτο απὸ τῆς λίμνης ὁδὸν μετοχεῖεν ἐξ τοιαύτη τὴν χειροποίητην χαράδραν. Πρὸς τοιαύτην τοῖς ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἀναχθεῖς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξιος τὴν τε τάφρον εἰς βάθος ἱκανότατον διορύσσαν ἐκείευε. 3. Δεδοκιός δὲ μή ποτε καὶ πορεύσαμα γένοιτο τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.
κατὰ τὰς συναφὰς τῶν ρευμάτων, ἀνιστὰ φρούριοι ἐρυμνύτατον, πανταχόθεν τὸ ἄσφαλές καὶ τὸ ἀνεπεχείρητον ἔχον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἔνσωμος τοῦ χρόνου τις ἔγινε καὶ τὴν σιδηράντη ἀπηγκατάθηκεν. Καὶ ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὸ ζῷον πολὺς πρὸς πόλεος καὶ τείχους προτειχίσμα. Αὕτως δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφίστατο τῇ τοῦ πολιορκίας ὁ πρωίς γῆς ἡπείρους, κατά τὸ πόλης τῆς ἀλλὰς οὕτως τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν τοῦ ἡλίου διαπορευομένου, καὶ καίσανος ἡνεχέτο καὶ κοινάς. Καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δαπάνην κατεβάλλετο ὡς ἐνθέθη ἐρυμ
νύτατον γενονέναι τὸ τείχος καὶ ἀπρόσμορον, τοὺς σύροντας ἐκαστὸν τῶν λίθων, εἰ ἑτοίμων εἶναι πεντήκοντα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, δαχυλῶς ἐπιφύλα
τιμομένοις. Ἐνθέθη δὲ οὖ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεργαστῆς ὡς καὶ ὑποτῆς αὐτοῦ τοὺς τάξεις τοῦ τοιοῦτον λίθων ὀλίγῃ ἐκεῖκιντο συμφυλιτές ὀρόντες τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθάπερ ἀθλητὴν τινὰ εἰσφάθησον. Τέχνη γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἑνακόλητον συρρεόντων ὑπὸ ὁλίγης τῶν παρευρέοντας ἐκείνων λίθων γίνοντο. Οὕτως ἦν ἐκείνος καὶ ἐνποιηθῆς βαθύτατος καὶ καταμαρώζει μεγαλουργότατος.

4. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μέχρι τῆς ... ἐπεινεμὴσως τοῦ ... ἔτους κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον προβεβήκεν ὥστε μερῶν εἰσὶ τῶν ἀναπαύσεως λογοποιομὲνη ἡμερῶς ἂπιέρους Φραγγίκων στρατευμάτων ἐπελέθησαν. Ἐξεδέχετο μὲν οὖν τὴν τούτων ἐφορὰν γνωρίσας αὐτὸν τὸ ἀκατάχετον τῆς ὀρμῆς, τῆς τῆς γνώμης ἄστατον καὶ εὐθυγογον καὶ τᾶλα ὅποσα ἤ τῶν Κελτῶν φόβοι οὐδὲ Παρακολουθηταὶ τινα ἔχει δια πάντος καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ χρήσης κεχύντος ἀτὶ διὰ τὴν τυχόνας αἰτίαν τὰς σφῶν συνθήκας εὐκόλως ἄνατρέσσους φαινόταν. Εἴη γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀνόμουν καὶ πᾶν ἐπιληθεῖσθαι. Καὶ οὐκ ἄνα
πετούκει, ἀλλὰ παντοίς παρακατατοῦμετο, ὡστε καρπὸς καλοῦντος ἐτοιμὸν πρὸς τὰς μάχας εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πλεῖο καὶ φθειρωτέρα τῶν ψηφιζομένων λόγων ἦσαν τὰ πράγματα. Πάσα γὰρ ἡ ἐσπέρα καὶ ὅποσον γένος βαρβάρων τὴν περάθηκεν Ἀρδίου μέχρις Ἡρακλείων σηπέλος κατάκει ψῆφον ἀπὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖ ἀνακατασκευάζοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγίν διὰ τῆς ἐξῆς Ἑλληνίστης ἐβαθύτατα πανοκεὶ τὴν πολείαν ποιομένων. Ἐσθα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τοιοῦτην συγ
κινήσιν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐνθέθεν πολέν.
5. The Eunuch of the Ptolemaic kingdom, stating this to the barbarian Ishmaelites who were under the sway of Dionysus and Eros, put forward a plan by which he proposed to take on himself the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, and to endeavor wholeheartedly with hand and mind to deliver Jerusalem from the hand of the Hagarines. He declared that he had been sent by God to announce 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 advance wholeheartedly with hand and mind to deliver Jerusalem from the hand of the Hagarines.’ 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 Ashtharoth 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
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

its wineless and very nutritive qualities; in this manner the divinities 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.
Πέτρος μετά τὸ ταῦτα διακηρύξειδι πάντων προηγημένον τὸν τῆς Λογγίαρδος διεπέρασε πορθμὸν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν χιλιάδων ώγοικοντα, ἵππων δὲ χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ἐκατόν καὶ δία τῶν μερῶν τῆς Οὐγγίας τὴν βασιλεύσουσαν κατέλαβεν. ΄Εστὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν γένος, ὡς εἰκάσατο τινά, καὶ ἄλλως λίαν θερμάτατον καὶ ὅξυ, ἐπάν δὲ καὶ ἄφορῆς δράσειτο, ἀκάθεκτον.

§6

1. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀπερ ὁ Πέτρος προσεπάνθη κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων γινόσκοντος καὶ συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κομίτων κατεργάσει ἔλευσεν, Parms πρὸς ἥραον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ διαπέρασε ἐπέτατο τὸν χάρακα εἰς τὰ πολλάχια Ἐλενούσολιν ὀνόματόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Νορμάνοι τούτοι συνείποντο εἰς δέκα χιλιάδας ποσὸμενοι, ἀποκριθέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν ἔλησον πάσιν ὀμίτος χρῆσαμενοί. Τὸν τὲ γὰρ βρέφων τὰ μὲν ἐμελλόν, τὰ δὲ ἠξιῶς περιπετευόντος ὁπτίων ἐν πυρί, πρὸς δὲ τούς τὸ χρόνῳ προῆκοντας πάντ᾽ εἰδὸς ποιήσει ἐπεδείκτυσι. 2. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν γινομένων ἐν αἰσθήσεις γεγονότες ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πόλεις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔξησαν. Κατεργάζει δὲ τηνίκατα συγγραγόντος πολέμων παλιννορίοι εἴσω τοῦ κάστρου γεγόνασι εὐθὺς τῶν Νορμάνων ἀγονισμένοι. Καὶ ὃς τὴν λειαν ἄπασαν ἀναλαμβόμενοι κατέλαβον αὐτῆς τὴν Ἐλενούσαλιν. Λόγου δὲ ἀναμεταξὶ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπελθόντων κινηθέντος, ὅποια φιλεὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίνεσθαι, τὸν φόνον τῶν θυμῶν ἀναφελόγοντος τὸν ἀπολειφθέντων κάντεθεν ἀνήμασας ἁμοῦ γεγομένης οἱ τολμήτα Νορμάνοι ἀποκριθέντες αὐτῆς τὴν Χεριγόρδουν καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἑρόδου κατέσχον. 3. Μεθὸν δὲ τὸ γεγονός ὁ σουλιὰταν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀποχώρησις δυνάμεως ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἐλαχάνην. Ὅς δὲ καταλαβὼν αἰρεῖ μὲν τὴν Χεριγόρδουν, τὸν δὲ γε Νορμάνων τοὺς μὲν ἐφόσον παρανάλωμα ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζωρίαν ἤγε μελετήσας ἀμα κατὰ τῶν συναπολειφθέντων τὸ Κουκουπέτρο. Καὶ λόγους μὲν ἐν ἑπίκαιρῳ καταστήσεις τόπος, ὡς ἄν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς Νικαίας ἀπείρων τούτων ἀπορρύου ἐμπίπτοντες ἀναρρόνθηται, γινόσκον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐραστηρίματον δύο τινις δραστηρίως τὴν γνώμην μεταπεμφάμενον ἐνεπείληται ἀπελθέν πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Κουκουπέτρο διακηρυκεύοντας ὡς οἱ Νορμάνοι, 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.
κατασχόντες τὴν Νίκαιαν, δασμόν τῶν ένοντων ἐν αὐτῇ ποιοῦνται.

4. Αὕτη ἡ φήμη τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου συνόντας καταλαβοῦσα δεινός συνετάραξε. Δασμόν γὰρ καὶ χρήματα ἀκηρυκότες παραρρήμα τῆς πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν φεροῦσις ὁδὸν ἀσυντάκτως ἴδιαν ἐπι-

5. Drákon... 14 ὁ βάνον καὶ σαντες τικ τοσί λόγ και κατα σκόντας τῶν ἑαυτὲ ἐνον τῶτα ἐπειδὴ τοσί λόγον ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁνὶν ὧν ὢντος ὑπηλόν καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἀξιολόγητον ἀπολαμ-

6. Ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τῶν ἀποσφαγέων ἄνδρων ἔμειναι τὸν οὐκ ἑκατέρω τῷ ἐν σχῆμα πόλεως οἰκοδομήσαντες τέχος μεσεμβιά τίνα καθαπερ κάλχηλα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπολαλοῦσιν ἐνέθεντο τρόπον τίνος τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐποιήμενοι. Ἡτὶς καὶ εἰς τὴν τίμερον ἱστασται τετείχαιμεν ὁμοὶ τὸ λίθος καὶ ὅστοις ἀναμεῖ ἐχοῦσα τῶν περίβολον.

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,
§7

1. One Ubos, brother of the King of France, and as proud as Novatus of his nobility, riches and power, when on 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 Mavrocatacalon, a Duke of the Fleet, had anchored the ships at intervals round the coasts 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 Ubos 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 Ubos had arrived safely at the seashore 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 τουσάτα ἐλεγον: ὁ γνωστὸν ἐστω σοι, δοῦξ, ὅτι ο κύριος ἡμῶν Οὐρίος ὅσον ἦν καταλαμβάνει ἀναλαμβάνον άπο Ρώμης τὴν χρυσὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου σημαίαν. Ἀρχηγόν δὲ τοῦτον ἐπίστασε τοῦ Φραγγικοῦ στρατεύματος ἄπαντος. Ἡτοι
μάσθησιν15 γοῦν πρὸς τὴν τούτον καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως δοχῆς ἄξιαν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπαντὴν ποιησόμενος.’’

4. Τούτων τουσάτα πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα λεγόντων ο Οὐρίος διὰ τῆς Ρώμης εἰς Λογγιαρδίαν, ὡς ἐρήτητα, κατελθὼν καὶ διὰ τῆς Βάρρας ως πρὸς τὸ Ἡλληρίκον τὸν ἀπόπλους ποιησόμενος κλώνον μεγάλτερο περιπέτειον ἀπολέσει τὰ πλεῖο τῶν αὐτοῦ πλοίων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἑρέταις καὶ ἐπιβαίταις, ἕνος μόνον σκώρους. ἐν ὁ αὐτοῦ ἑτερο, κατὰ τὴν μεσαιχίμον παραλίαν τοῦ τε Δυρραχίου καὶ τόπου τινός καλομένους Πέλαγος ἀποπονθέντος οὗον παρὰ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἠμβραυστόν. Παραδόξως δὲ τούτῳ σοβῆται περιτοχγόντες δύο τινές τῶν περισκοποῦντον τῆς τοῦτον ἔλευσιν μετακαλούντων αὐτὸν λεγόντες ὡς “Ὁ δοῦξ ἀπεκδεχεται σοι τὴν ἀφεῖν ἐπιποθόν σε θάρασσαθαί.” ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἤπειν ἐξῆκε. Ἀτερος δὲ τούτων ἀποβής του ἤπει τούτον αὐτῷ μᾶλα προθυμίως διδόσει. 5. Όθου γοῦν τούτον ὁ δοῦξ σοβήτατα θεασάμενος καὶ προςγρήγορας αξίωσας, ὅση τε καὶ θεὸν ἐπεροτῆσας καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ δια- πλεξόμενον τὰ δεινὰ ἥμβεβηκε μαθῶν καὶ ἐπαν- ακτησόμενοι χρηστεῖς υποσχέσθη τράπεζαν αὐτῷ δαιγήλ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρατίθησαν. Μεταδὲ τὴν ἐυωχίαν ἄνετον μὲν, οὐκ ἐλεύθερον δὲ παντελῶς εἰχῃ. Ταχυ δὲ τὸ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν δηλώσας εκατέρει τὸ ποιητέον ἐκεῖθεν δέξασθαι, Ἀπαντα δὲ μεμονθήκος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὄδεξε τὸν Βουτουμίτην πείρησε πρὸς τὴν Ἕπιδειγμον, ἐν πολλάκις Δυρραχίων κατονομά- σαμεν, ἐφ’ ο’ τὸν Οὐρίον ἀναλαμβάναται καί μὴ τὴν εὐθύνη βαδίσατε, ἀλλ’ παρεκκλίναται καὶ διὰ τῆς Φιλιππουκόλλους αὐτῶν ἀγαγε οἰς τὴν μεγαλο- πολιν. Ἐξεδείξη γὰρ τὰ ὅπισθεν ἐργάμενα Κελτίκα πλῆθη καὶ στρατεύματα. Δεξάμενος δὲ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑντίμως καὶ παντοῖας φιλοφροσύνης αξίωσας χρήματα τα ἢκανα ἐπίδοις πείθει παραχρήμα ανθρώποιν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τὸν τῶν Λατίνως συνήθη δρόκον ἐπομοσάμενων.

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 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 supervisio, 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.

15 Ἡτοιμάσθητι (Leib) – ἐτοιμάσθητι (CFHB).
1. Άλλα ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οὐβὸν ἐκ προ-
ομίων· ὁ δὲ γε Βαβυλόντης, οὐ ἀνωθὲν ὁ λόγος πολλάκις ἐμφήσθη, πεντεκαῖδεκα ἡμέραν ὅπως δύσλογον διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Καβαλίωνος μετὰ κοιμήσεως διαφόρων καὶ στρατεύματος ἁριθμόν ὑπερβαίνοντος ἀπάντα. Τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἄγγος τῆς Βοώνης· ὀνομάτα δὲ
tαῦτα τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι ἑκείνους τόπων. Καὶ μεμοράθη μυθεῖς ἡμῖν τοὐτοὺς χρωμένους ὀνόμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καὶ ἀρ’ ἄν ἔστι τὸ ὄρος τῆς ἱστορίας καταμινέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ Ὄμηρος ἀπημόησε Βοοῦτος ὀνόμαζεν καὶ τινὰς βαρ-
βαρόδες νῆσους διὰ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκρίβειαν. 2. Κατὰ πόδας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κύριος Πρεβέντζας
ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ Λογγιβαρδίας προ-
σπάλασα, ἐπεὶ διαπεράν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, μυροφόρων ναῦν λατρικήν μεθυσάμενος τριάρμιον ἐξακεχείλων χρυσίνων στατήρων, ἐν δὲ ἄρετα μὲν διακόσιον, ἐφόλκα δὲ τὰ συνεφεδ-
μενα ταῦτη τρία. Τὸν ἀπόλουν οὐρὰ τὰ μέρη τοῦ Ἀσόλονος ἐπεποίησεν καθὼς τὰ λυσά τῶν Λατίνων στρατεύματα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ρωμαϊκὸν υψοφόρων στόλον λύσας τὰ πρωμηθία μικρὸν παρεκκλίνας κατεύθυ Χιμάρας τὸν ἀπόλουν ἐποίετο οὐρίον τυχὸν πνεύματος. 3. Φεύγων δὲ τὸν κατακόρυχον εἰς πόρ ἐπεπέτωκε. Καὶ
γὰρ ὁχὴ τοῖς σποράδιν ἐνδορεύουσι τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας πορθμὸν ναυτικὸς περιέχετην, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τῷ δοκεῖ τοῦ ὀλοκλήρου ρωμαϊκὸν στόλον Νικόλαω τῷ Μαυροκατακόλῳ. Ὅς πάρα ἑκάτοι περὶ τῆς λατρικῆς ἐκείνης νῆσος μεμαθηκός, τὰς τοῦ ὀλοκλήρου στόλου δήρες καὶ τριήρεις καὶ τινὰς ὀρμώδας ἀναλαμβάνεις ναύς ἀπέλθῃν ἑστάτο εἰς Καβαλίωνα ἀντίκροι τῆς Ἀσονοῦ, ἐξ οὗτο 
ἐξελικτίθη τὸν μέγαν ἐκείς στόλον καταλιθλ. Καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὸν καλουμένον δεσπότην κόμητα μετὰ τοῦ Ἰδίου κατέγρων ἐξοικεσάτον παρὰ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς καλουμένης ἐπισκέπτης αὐτῷ, ἵν’ ὁπικαὶ τὰ πρωμηθία τῆς ἱδίη βρεθείσης νῆσος οἱ ἐρέται λόγαν εἰς κύμα ψυχάσσεσι ἐμβάλοντο, μακρὰν ἀνάφη. Ὅ δὲ ἀπέλθην παραχρῆμα τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐποίηε. 4. Ὁ δὲ δοῦς Νικόλαος τοῦτο θεαμάμενος τὰς τῶν νησίων τοῖς ἑστάτως παραχρήματι ἐπέτρεψε, τὰς δὲ καὶ οἶον πολλάκις ταῖς κόμησις ἀπαγωγάμενος κατὰ τὸ διαπεράντος χωρὶς κόμητος. Οὗτος δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου διαπλασάμενον κατα-
λαμβάνει τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν περαιάν Ἐπιδάμου σπεύδοντα, ἐνύπως μὲν στρατιώτας έχοντα χαλίῳ πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἰπποὺς δὲ τῶν

§ 8

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 Boïsa; 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-master 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 Mavrocatacalon 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 polyponds, 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-
5. Kαὶ δὲ μέσος χειμών ἦν, ὅποτε ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχῃς μεγίστῳ Νικολάου τελείται, ἄλλῳ ὀμοί νηνείμα ἔτυχε παντελῆς καὶ ἡ νός πανσέληνος φαίνουσα τότε μάλλον ἢ ἐν ἑαρί. Πεπαυμένον δὲ παντάπας τῶν ἄνεμον οὔκετε ἡ λῃστικὴ ναῦς κινεῖται πρὸς ἵππους εἴχε καὶ συνέβαιται ταῦτῃ ἀτρεμεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὀδασιν. ἄλλῳ ἐνταυθοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενομένη βουλήσυν ἢ τὴν γιλττάνην ἐπαφείναι τοῖς τοῦ Μαριανοῦ καταρθώμαισην. Ὁς παραγράμμα <παρά⟩ τοῦ δουκοῦ τοῦ στόλου καὶ ἱδίου πατρὸς τὰ κουφότερα τῶν πλοίων αἰτίσας κατευθύ τῆς νεῶς ἐκτίνης ἦταν καὶ τῇ πρώῳ συνεπεσεόν ταύτῃ ἀπεπιράτῳ. Συνέρρεον δὲ παραγράμμα ἐκείσε οἱ ἐνοπλοὶ καρπάριξι τοῦτον ἐξειλοσμένον πρὸς μάχην θεασώμενον. Ο ὁ δὲ Μαριανὸς τοῖς Λατίνοις τῇ ἐκείνης ἀποχομένους διαλέκτῳ παρεκκέλευσε μὴ δεδέναι μηδὲ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀμισθής. Βᾶλλε δὲ τις τοῦτον τῶν Λατινῶν διὰ τὴν πάγγας κατὰ τῆς κόρυθος.

6. Η δὲ τὰγγάρα τόξον μὲν ἐστὶ βαρβαρίκων καὶ Ἑλλῆσ παντελῶς ἀγνοοῦμενον. Τείνεται δὲ οὐχὶ τῆς ἡς δεξιας ἐλκυσίς τὴν νεφάν, τῆς δὲ λαίας ἀνθελκούσης τὸ τόξον, ἄλλα δὲ τοῦ διατείνωντα ὁ ὄργανον τοῦτο τὸ πολεμικόν καὶ ἐκπολούσατον, ως ἂν τὸς εὐςός, ὅπως τῶν ἐκτός ἐκάθετον μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἑνερέσεται τοῖς ἡμικολάσιος τοῦ τόξου, ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν νεφάν μάλι πλακιαῖος ἀνθελκός. Ἡς κατὰ τὸ μέσον σοιλῆ ἐστὶ κυλινδρικῷ ἡμῖοις ἐξημένου αὐτῆς τῆς νεφάς καὶ ὡςπερ τί βέλος ἀξίλογον μέγεθος ἀπολαμβάνον δίημε ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς νεφάς εἰς τὸ τόξο μεσαίνον ἄρ φο βάλῃ παντοδαπὰ διεκκόπτουσιν. Ἐν τούτῳ τοινῦ τὰ βέλη τιθέμενα βραχύτατα μὲν τὴν μῆκη, παρὰται δὲ καὶ πρὸσθεν ἀξιόμαχον βάρος σιδήρως λαμβάνοντα. Καὶ τῇ ἀφέσει τῆς νεφάς πέραν φοροῦσκός καὶ ρόμης ἀπάσης ἀφώσις τὰ βέλεμα ὡς ἂν τόχη ἐπειπεσοῦσαν οὐκ εἰς τοῦτον ἀποστίνεται, ἄλλα καὶ ἀπόσιδα διέτρεσε καὶ θώρακις μερισθῶν διατείνωσαν εἰκεῖθεν διὰ θατέρῳ μέρους ἐξεπετάθη. Οὕτως ἐστὶ σφονδρὰ καὶ ἀκατάσχετος ἢ ἀφεσὶς τῶν τοιούτων βελῶν. Ἡδὲ τούτῳ τὸ βέλος καὶ ἀνάρινα διεπερόνησε χαλκοὺς καὶ τείχει ἐμπετοκικῆς μεγίστης πόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ τάνδον dammus, 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.

6. This cross-bow is a 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 semicircle 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 ship 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 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
7. To meun ou anp tis xagurrais belezos empeuson to akro tis korhous dhlaseun authn apopon ouo c hris trigo tos Marianou eragymenon pronia xarxapirin. O de yorgos allyon kata to komhous emapeveis ostiton plhte toiton kata to braxhoun: ois tis astpia diatirhas tos te pholidotou dielplhido thouraka kai autheis gepe autois plhgeis.


9. Alla tis mazh es esepara autheis mechi mesis tis evrapinostis hemara karteras xgenoias upexikou vs kah me boilontos oi Latinoi to Marianou logon apateias es autou aiyssameno kai tuxontes. O de ge mazhmatatos iereus ekoinos 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, 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
οὔδὲ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν σπονδῶν τελομένουν τῆς μάχης ἐπέσταυ, ἀλλὰ τῶν γορυτῶν βελῶν ἐκκεν-ώσας χερμᾶς ἀναλαμβάνων λίθων πέμπει κατὰ τοῦ Μαριανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος περιφράσατον πλήξει τὴν ἀσπίδα διελε τετραγχαῖ καὶ τὴν κόρυθα κατεπράσατο. Ὁ δὲ Μαριανὸς τῇ τοῦ λίθου βολὴν συγχείς ἀπολο- λεκὼς τὸ φρονόν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναφόρησε παραρθήμα ὡρ’ ἵκανον ἐκεῖτο, ὡσπέρ ὁ Ἐκτωρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λίθου βολῆς τοῦ Αἰαντοῦ μικροῦ δείλην ἐφυγορράγη. Μόλις δ’ ἀνεγεῖκον καὶ εἀυτὸν συναγαγὼν τρισάκις τῶν παῖκαντα ἐπλῆξε βέλεμα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἑπάφει. Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ἡ ἱερεῖς μηδέποτε μάχης κορεν-νύμενος, ἔπει καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀπαντας ἀπεπέμ-ψατο τὸν χειρὸν καὶ ἀπάλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ λίθων κενὸς καὶ βελῶν, οὐκ ἔχον δ’ τι καὶ δράσευν οὔδε δ’ ἦν ἀμύνεται τὸν ἀντίπαλον, ἔσπραξε μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξορίζετο καθαρὸν λίθου εἰς εἀυτὸν συστρεφόμενος. Τοῖς γονῖς παρατυποῦσιν αὐτικὰ καὶ ἀποχρώμενος ἦν.

Σάκκον οὖν μάζης μεστὸν ἐφυράμονος ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σάκκου κυθάπερ χερμᾶς τὰς μᾶς ξέλλαν, ὡσπέρ ἱερατέων καὶ τελείτην τίνα πουσίμεσιν καὶ ἱερολεπίστιν τῶν πόλεμον. Μάζαν γονίς τινα μίαν ἀναλαμβάνον τὸν ἀρχή πιθῆς ἐπαφῆς ταύτην τὰν τῆς τοῦ Μαριανοῦ ὑψηλοῦς καὶ πλῆττε τούτον κατὰ τῆς παραίας. 10. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ιερὰ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν νοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὃ δὲ κόμης Μερέντας πιστεύσας εἀυτὸν σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ νητί καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν προθύμως τοῦ Μαριανοῦ ἐπέτοι τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ἐπεί δὲ κατὰ τὴν χέρσον γενόμενον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νησίδος, πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ὁ ἱερεῖς ἐκεῖνος ἔχθετε τὸν Μαριανὸν τὴν κλήσει μὲν αὐτοῦ μὴ γινόσκων, ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τῶν ἁμών τούτων ἀνακαλύμεσιν. Προσελθόν δὲ τούτῳ προπονήσας κατεπτάσετο ἐγκαυχόμενος ἀμά σα “Εἰ μοι κατὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐντετυγχάτη, πολλοὶ ἃν ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερέσι ἀνήρι-θητε”. Ἐκβάλων δ’ ἐπιδίωσε τούτῳ ἀργυρῶν θηρίκλειον τιμῆς στατήρων ἐκατον πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Ταῦτα δὲ ὀμηλῶν καὶ διδοὺς ἐξεπεινοκεί. 1. Αλλὰ καὶ ὁ κόμης Γοντοφρέ τοῦ τότε καρυὸς διαπεράσας μεθ’ ἐτέρων κομήτων καὶ στρατεύματος ἑπέστραυμαν μὲν χυλίδον δέκα, πεξίον δὲ χυλίδων ἐβδομηχύνοντας, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τὴν μεγα-λόσπολε περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς προποντίδος κατα-τῆθην αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατεύμα, διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς 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 unarmored 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.
The Byzantines, who were utterly cowardly and unused to war, that wailed and howled when they saw the Latin troops, and beat their breasts, not 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 revenge 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 Philae (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...
ϕέροντας το, ἐ, µ τπρ τπ ςάτινα σύχν προσήκον τπάντων ἐπάντας οο Πάντες ὑ ακρίτων φύλιον ἱ ὑδ άπαντες µεν σφαγέντα µερον, ἐς θείνας ταλάντων, τ δ και τν ἐμφύλιον παρεκκλίνων φόνων. Πολλάκις οον μεταπεμφάμενος συνέβηλε τοιούτοι ἀπέχεσθαι ἔργον: “Αἰδέσθητε” λέον τν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμων τν σήμερον σφαγήν Θεον µηδε σταυρόν ι ἄνω τα κακούργους προσήκοντα τς ἡμῶν ἐνκα παραιτησάμενον σιστηρίας. Ει δε µάχης µην ἔρεις ἐκε, µετὰ την ἀναστάσιμον τν Σοτῆρος ἡμών και ἡμῶς ἐτοιμοι παρασώμεθα.” 6. Οι δε οο µονον ουχ ὑπεικοντο, ἀλλα κατεπίκουν µᾶλλον τας φαλάγγας συνάς τας βολὰς πέμποντες, ως και τινα των ἀγωνι του βασιλικου θρόνου ισταμένου κατα τό στέρνον πλήξει. Όπερ οι πλεινες τν έρ’ ἐκατέρα παραιτησάμενον του βασιλευκον θεα- σάμενον ανεχόρουν: δε άτρέμαις ἐκαίθετο άνακ- τομένος τούτωσ και πρῶς πως νεμεσον: δ και θάμβος παίσαι παρείχεν. Ἐπει δ ανασχίνστος τους Λατίνους τσ τέχεσα πελάζοντας ἐώρα και τσ σύμφερον βουλομαικα µὴ ὑπεικοντας, τα µὲν πρώτη μεταπεμφάμενον τν γαμβρόν αὐτοῦ Νικη- φόρον τν ἐμύν Καισαρα παρεκκλεσάτο στάνδαρ- πολημικοπάττους ἀναλαμβόμενου και τοεις εἰδή- µονας του τεχεος δνουσὶ καταστίθη παρεγγη- σάμενος συνεργος µὲν ισός κατα τους Λατίνους πέμπειν, µη κατα σκοπο δε, αλλα διαμαρτάνει τα πλείο, ως µόνον ἐκεβελθεν ἡ πυκνότητη τν βελών, ἀναρεθε µὴ μοθανως. Ἐνδεδε γαρ, ως ἄνοιξεν ἔρμη, τος της ἡμερας σεβασμον και τν ἐμφύλιον φόνων ύκ ἰθέλει. 7. Έτερους δε τν εκκρίτουν [ψημίνου] τους πλειος µὲν τὸμα φέροντας, τους δ ἔγχεα μακρα ἕνεκαλισαμένους 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 delibera-ting 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 to throw
τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἤγιον Ρομανὸν πόλην ἀναπτασαντα σφοδράν ἐνδείξασθαι κατ’ αὐτὸν τὴν ὀρμήν ἐκλέλευ τουαίην καταστησαμένους τὴν παρατάξαν, ... ἔκαστον τὸ τὰ δόρατα φερόντον ἐξ ἐκάτεροι μέρους ὑπὸ δύο φιλάττεσθαι πελατασσων. Οὕτω δὲ ἐαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βραδεὶς ποδὶ στείχειν, ἀλλήνοι δὲ τινας τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας κατὰ τὸν Κέλτων προ- εκπέμπειν πόρρωθεν μὲν τοὺς ὀστεῖος βάλλοντας καὶ ἑρ’ ἐκάτερα πυκνὰ περιτρικεφαλάριαν, ἐπαν δὲ τὸ μεσαίμιον ἀποστειωθένθαντα, τηνικαυτὰ τοῖς συνεφοινοῦν εἰτὸς τοῖς παρακλεισαμένους πυκνοὺς ἐκπέμψαι τοὺς ὀστεῖος κατὰ τῶν ἱππων, οὐ τῶν ἐπαχυμένων, διὰς ἡνίας κατὰ τὸν Λατίνων λύσαι, τὸ μὲν ἣν τὸν ἱππον πλητετοῦνειν ἀποσυνάπτεται τὸ πόλο τῆς ὀρμής τῶν Κέλτων καὶ μὴ ῥόδιος κατὰ τὸν Ρομαίων ἵππασώντα, τὸ δὲ τὶ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἣν μὴ χριστανοὶ κατείναι. Εὐθώμως τοῖον τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπελπάρσῃ τοῦτο πρόστιμα καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπτάσαντες καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς ρυθμοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐνδεδόντες, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀνασειράζοντες κείνουσι μὲν πολλοὺς, ὅλιγα δ’ εἰς αὐτῶν κατὰ ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπρόκειτο. 8. Οὕτω μὲν ὁν ἐρρέσθαιν’ ὅ δ’ ἐξύς δεσπότης ὁ Καίσαρ ἀναλαβόμενος, ὡς εἰρήτα, τοὺς τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἵστατο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελζόμενος. Καὶ πάντες μὲν εἰρήν τόξα καὶ εἰστόμα καὶ εὐθύβολα: νεανία γὰρ ἦσαν σύμπαντες σῶ ἦτος τοῦ ὁμήρου Τεῦκρον εἰς τοξικὴν ἐμπεριάν. Τὸ δὲ τὸξον τοῦ Καίσαρος Λάύλλονος ἣν ἁρα τὸξον αὐτοχρήμα ὅδε γὰρ κατ’ ἐκέννους τοῦ ὁμήρους Ἁλένθας νευρὴν μὲν μαζώτ, τὸξον δὲ σίδηρον ἤγε τε καὶ ἐφιστήσετε κυνηγετῶν ἁρετὴν ενδεικνύμενος κατ’ ἐκέννους, ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ τῇς Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ ἀθανάτων τὸξον χανασίμους ἀπέλοιμαι ὀστεῖος καὶ ὀσπερ αν στηγαστατο τοιτους ἤν, εἰ μόνον ἤκάθισε. Καὶ γάρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλους καιροὺς, ὕσπικα καιροὺς ἁγῶν καὶ μάχης παρῆν, ὅνταν καὶ σκοπον ἐθέτε, εὐθῶς σῶκ ἄστοχον ἐβάλε, καὶ ὃ αν μέρει ἐπετοξάσατο, κατ’ ἐκέννου τό τέμπο τῆς ἕλθες εὐθὺς ἐπίστρεψεν ἀεί. Ὅστως ἰσχυρὸν ἔτεινε τὸξον ἐκέννους καὶ βέλους ἰμείτο δέχατον, κἂν τῇ τοξείᾳ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Τεῦκρον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς Αἰαντας φαινόμενοις. Ἀλλὰ καίσαρ τοιοῦτος ὄν δεδώδι τὸ τῆς ἁυτῆς ἠμέρας αἰδέσιμον καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτους παραγγελιὰν ἐγκαρδίων ἔτεινε μὲν τὸξον ἱμαίως τοῦτος καὶ ἅλλος τοὺς τείχους πελαξάντας ὄρον καί ἀσπίσει καὶ κυνή ἐαυτοὺς περιφράσαντας καὶ τὸ βέλος ἐδήθε τῇ νεφρῇ, ἀλλ’ ὁμος ἄστοχο θέλειν ἐβάλε, ὅπως μὲν εἰςο

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 spearbearers 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 them like 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 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
Master and swore the oath which was required.

He went to the Emperor and swore the oath which was required.

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 above, but also seemed to be shooting 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 Ubos 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 Ubos 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. As the imperial troops fought even to compel, Godfrey to yield to the Emperor he only pretended to aim properly at the Latins, yet if a reckless and impudent Latin not only aimed several arrows at them above, but also seemed to be shooting 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 Ubos 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 Ubos 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.
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. 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,
4. This is 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
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, saying, “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

6. Πάντων οὖν συνελθόντων καὶ αὐτοῦ δή τοῦ Γοντοφρέ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ὄρκος ὑδὲ τετελέστο ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κομήτων, τολμήσας τις εὐγενῆς εἰς τὸν σκίμπον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκάθεσε. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἤνεγκε τοῦτο μηδὲν τι φθεγχέμενος, πάλαι τὴν ἀγέρροχον τῶν Λατίνων φύσιν εἵδος. Προσέλθον ὃς ὁ κόμης Βαλδούνιος καὶ ἀγάμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολλὰ πατημαμφάμενος ἔρις: “Οὐκ ἔξεσθι σοι τοιοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ποιῆσαι δουλείαν τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὑποσχομένου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔδωκαν τοῖς βασιλεύσι Ρωμαίοις συνεδρίοις ἔχειν τὸν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ δούλους δὲ ὁμότας τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας γεγονότας χρὴ καὶ τὰ ἐδέ τῆς χώρας τηρένω. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν Βαλδούνιον ἐφθέγξατο οὐδέν, ὕμωσεν ὡς ἐναπεκλίνει τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῇ οἰκείᾳ διαλέκτῳ λόγους τινὰς ἀποσφέγξατο λέγων· ‘Ἰδὲ, ποιὸς χωρίτης κάθηται μόνος παρισταμέονος αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον ἡγεμόνων.’

7. Οὔτ’ ἡ κήρυς τῶν χειλέων τοῦ Λατίνου τὸν βασιλέα διέλαθα· καλέσας δ’ ἐνα τῶν τὴν λατινικὴν διάλεκτον μεθερμηνεύοντος ἱρώτα περὶ τῶν λεγάντων. Ἀκούσας δὲ τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ρηθέντα οὐδὲν μὲν τέως πρὸς τὸν Λατίνων εἰρήκει, ἔτηρε δ’ ὅμος τοῦ λόγου παρ’ ἑαυτό. Συντασσομένων δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντων μετεκάλεσε τὸν υψηλόφρονα Λατίνων ἐκείνον καὶ ἀναίδη καὶ ἐπισήνεσε τὶς τῆς ἐστὶ καὶ διδὲν ὁρμηταὶ καὶ ἑκα τοὺς γένους. Ὁ δὲ· ‘Φράγγος μὲν εἰμί καθαρὸς’ ἔρις· τὸν εὐγενῶν· ἐν δὲ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι εἰς τρίῳ τῆς χώρας διδὲν αὐτὸς ὁρμητα, τέμνον ἐστὶ πάλαι οἰκοδομηθήν, ἐν ὁ πάς ὁ προβατώμονος μόνος πρὸς μόνον μὴν ἀναδήσασθαι εἰς μονομάχον τάξιν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσας προσφέργοντος βοήθειαν μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνου αἰτεῖται, βραδοῦνες δὲ τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντα ἀπεκδεχόμενος. Καθ’ ὁ τρίῳ δοδὼν ἑρώνισα καὶ αὐτός σχόλαζός καὶ ζητῶν τὸν μὲ ἑμὸν μαχησόμενον· ὅ δέ τοῦτο τολμήσον οὐδάμαβον.” Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκρικοὶ έμει. “Εἴ πολέμων τότε ζητῶν οὐκ εὑρέτη, παράστησιν καρφὸς ὁ πολλὸν σε πολέμων ἐμπλήρων· παρεγγύσια δὲ σοι, μῆτε πρὸς οὐραγίῃ μῆτε πρὸς λογικαῖς ἢπαθεῖρα φαλάγγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἐξειν τῶν ἡμιοχθητῶν· εἰπήμων γὰρ τῆς μεθόδου τῶν πολέμων τῶν Τούρκων ἐκ μακροῦ ἐσχήκα.” Οὔτ’ αὐτὸ δὲ μόνο ταῦτα συνεβοῦ-
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.
kath' ge boûlei". Oúto wàr pára tòu autothrátoros kataskeuasítei te kai eipên étetelaménon autoîs òhn. Kài wàra ópiouc ekénov deînov òhous kataschoásasthai àndrous, deînov eis kairídas òwas kai logismouc ò-hashástai antrôpouc, to to òndrous epistámouc dýssonov kai kakohíthes èpistóháste to ònhtos. 'I tên òhn ùYOUngían tìa kàt' autoûc schòhe, kai tò òhous kàre in tântî pro-

senevbíthína autoûc prosofázei diàlîdon tàxh tìn òyoungían. Oûk èstókhe de tòu skopóu. 4. O wàr deînov Basîmuonístos tôn mén òhous ou mónon àpocynúsasíthe òlous, òll' ouûd' ákroûs daktúloûs prosofáshtai ònghástet, òll' ápòstasîtâ eî thûs kai mehènì tì tìs ùpòdramousíaû tòu autoûc òyoungióc èmpíhínas toûs paréstôsí pànta dìânemîne, tò mép fainomênou filófroenèsthai toûtoûs ùpo-
kíronouc, tì d' alhítheia, eî tìs kàlîdos skópôi, ûhàntouc kàmnîa kérásasû tòu tòu ùp' autoûc dîkeiteî. Tì méntoû òhous kràsta katà to òhôs tàs èenykaménètas toûs ïdòious òyoungous kataskeuásastai èpektàste. Tì meîc autoûc de tòuûs tà òhous èkeîna èidthdokástas èpísûnânto òhous autoûs dîleínto. Tòw de "Kai ëkam kàlûs" èmýrîkotó kai òws mìhè tìs túyoushí ñiðethsaî bôlýas, èpokalàývouc autoûs tò ùpòrríhnto èrho òws "Èngouc, meîntûmenouc tòw met' autoûc ësmallîmen kai tìs màxhès èkeînc, èdéllioû ùtì òn òhmîn ìsos èxartôsê bûnantou, ûhànasmîn tì fàrmakakon toûs òyouc èpembaîlon". Tòuastà mén tò Basîmuoní-

tóu ègô d' òyópeîn ðeînêrhoî ëthestámen ùtì tò òhmîn òròsê thò pòrroû poî òn pàsî lògoc kai práktocew thêcata: òpînykìa gàr tìs tìs mêsótîtoù èkstait, pròs ðpòteron ùtì tòn ùkrôn neîsîs, pòrróthên òtìs ðrêcîs ëstíkhe. 5. Metâpem-

pâseuvasiouc òhn tò Basîmuonístos ò basîleus tòs ñìnîthì tòs Lántsonc kai eîx autoûc èxîthi èrckô. Oò tò òhàntouc èpistámouc òhîc òhn òwtes èk pro-

gônos perifarwon ègyphoîne òwtes òrmyàtouc èuðorînà èxîc kai ðia tòu òwtes òdîe ðinamîcs òllâs, òllâ méîrîcîs ðàì cûs ñûmenôn autoûc ðèltoûc, òllâc òwtes ðì fûsthe épîorkous ðnh, ùlìa pròthìmos tòtò tò autothrátoros ùpîcicæ bêlîmati. Kàth' òwtes ò basîleus perì tò basîleia oîkîstòc tìnà ìfàrîsas eîc òdðafos kàntéstrusè pàntotôn ìcèa òrmyàtouc, ... kai ìmîfîon ñàrahìmatos te ñàoushí kai ârhýrouc kai tìs kàntatóterô ùlûc toûtôn ùpòforas òtò èkthma, òwes mìhè bêdizên ðûnasthai tìn tò ðlêîhe toûtôn smûpûdîzêmenouc. Tò òde mêlloûnti ùpodeî-

zai tânta tò Basîmuonînto èpéstáthc thôron tòs òllàs ðàntetásta. Oò òde èpî toûtôn òhà èk-

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 alay 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 forms a 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 limitedumber 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 open the doors suddenly. Bohe-
plagieis φησιν: “Εἰ τοσοτάτα μοι προσήν χρήματα, πολλῶν ἄν χωρὸν κύριος πάλαι ἐγένοιτο αὐτὸς.” Καὶ δὲ: “Ταυτάτου τὴν σήμερον ἀποχαρίζεται ἀπάντα ὁ βασιλεὺς”.

6. Ὁ δὲ περιχαρῶς ταῦτα δεξάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἀπείρε ἀναπαυθησόμενος οὐ κατέλησεν. Ἀποκομισθέντων δὲ τοιτών αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν τεῦθωμακίως ἤφη: “Οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην ἀτέμμι ἔσπευσα μιᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡλισα- λαβόντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπαγάγετε τῷ πέμψατε”. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ φύσει παλιμβουλὸν τῶν Λατίνων γνώσκον τὸν δημώδη λόγον ἀνέφησε: “Κακὸν πράγμα πρὸς τὸν ἱδίον ἐπανεργέσθω αὐθεντήν”. Τούτῳ ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ἀκούσας καὶ τοῖς ἀποκομισάντας ἐπιμελός ἀναζητοῦντας αὐθέν αὐτῷ ὅρνες μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν ἀποπεμπόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἀχύμενος ἐπί τοιτῶν ὧτον βλέμμα τοῖς ἀποκομισάσιας ἐδείκνυν καθάπερ τις πολύτοις μετασχηματίζομενος εἰς βραχεῖ. Φόρουν μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ πονηρός καὶ ἀδελφός πρὸς τὰ συμπέπτοντα, πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦτον ὑπερέχον ἀπάντων τῶν τότε διερχόμενων Λατίνων, ὅποιον δυνάμει τε καὶ χρήματιν ἠττητο- ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πάντων ἔκρατε κακοπεριούσα περιουσία, τὸ δὲ παλιμβουλόν ὡς φυσικὸν τι τῶν Λατίνων παρακολουθεῖ σαφῶς καὶ αὐτῷ. Τὰ γὰρ χρήματα ὁ ἀποθωμοῦσις περιχαρῶς τηνικαῦτα ἐλάμβανε.

7. Δύσνους γὰρ ὅπως τὴν γνώμην, ἐπει μηδὲ χώραν ὅλους κεκτημένος τῆς ἐνέγκαιμην ἐξής τοῦ μὲν φαινομένου χάριν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου προσκυνήσεως, τῇ δ᾽ ἀλλήλεια ἁρχὴν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσασθαί προμηθευόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον, εἰ γένοιτο οἱ, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἐπι- ὀρασάζεται χρωμένη ταῖς τῶν πατρὸς ὑποθη- μοσύναις καὶ πάντων κάλλω τὸ τοῦ λόγου κινοῦντο, πολλὰς ἐδίδει χρημάτων. Ο δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δύσνους καὶ κακόπης αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενος ἔσπευσε τὰ συναιρόμενα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτυπωμένους αὐτῶν λογομυχίαν εὐφώς περι- σαρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τὸ δομεστικάτων αἰτούμενος τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐκ ἐτυχε τῆς αἰτίσεως πρὸς Κρήτη κριτίζετο. Διεδώσα γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, μὴ ἐξουσίας ὀρασάμενος καὶ δὴ αὐτῆς δουλαγογῆς τοὺς κόμητας ἀπαντᾶς ῥάδως περάγετα τοῦ λοιπόν, ὡς μη βουληθήναι αὐτὸ ἐστὶ, μὴ θέλον τε τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ἑπονοήσας ὥσις ὅτι ἢπει περιόρισθαι, ἔλαβε χρηστάς αὐτῶν ὑποσαίνειν ἐφ᾽- “Τούτου μὲν καρῦς ὦτοι πάρεστι, διά δὲ τῆς σῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ πίστεως με τοῦ πολὺ καὶ τοῦτο mwend 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 polyppus that changes its form in an instant. For by nature the man was a rogue and ready for any eventuations; in rougery 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
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 befal 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
πολλάκις ἔπρολετακτής καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξεδοχοῦσα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑντὸς Νικαίας κατασταθήσεται ἐν δὲ ἐνὶ γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ μὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῦν ἐὰν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ αὐτοῦ κατορθίων καὶ διασκοπεῖτο, ἵνα εἰ ἐπιτίθεται τὰ πράγματα εὐρήσησι, αὐτὸς τὴν Νικαίαν ἄνελῃ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν αὐτὴν σχοινὶ κατὰ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνουν ὑμωμοσμένα. Ἐξε ὑπὸ τὴν βουλὴν ταύτην ὑποφέρησαν καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀν δὴ ἦν γίνεται αὐτῶς καὶ μόνος ἦστατο μόνο τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ τοῦτο ἐμπεπετυκός καὶ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας ὡρ’ ὑποποιεθῆται τοὺς ἑντὸς Νικαίας βαρβάρους διὰ παντοῦ ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ἀπαθείας τελείας, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ἀπελούηδος τόσα καὶ τάσα πείσεσθαι καὶ παρανάλωμα ξίφους καὶ ἐρείπωσις τοῦτοι τὸν Βουτουμίτην γινώσκοντες καὶ παρέθετο τῷ τοιοῦτῳ δραστήριον. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔργος τοῦτον ἐπικολουθήκει 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. Ὅ δὲ γε Βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ κόμητες ἐνωθέντες, οὐ διαπλώσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Κιβότον ἐμελλόντος, μετὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ τὴν τοῦ Ἱσαγγέλην προσέμενον ἀφίζων. Πλῆθος δὲ ὡς ἄναρίθμητον ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦδυναν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν βοσκημάτων, εἰ καὶ τὴν τὸν βασιλέας μετὰ τοῦ Ἱσαγγέλην ἀνέμενον αἱρίζων, ἵνα κεῖθε συνταξάμενοι αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Νικαίαν φρονίμης ἠπόλυται, διήκεθα διαφερέντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας πρὸς Νικαίαν ἠλαυνοῦσα, οἱ δὲ τῆς Κιβότος διανηξάμενοι παρήγγειλον ἐκ τῶν συνεληφθέντων. Καὶ οὕτως τῇ Νικαίᾳ προσπελάσαντες τοὺς πόρους καὶ τὰς μεταξὸς κορτίνας σφίγναν αὐτοῖς διενείμαντο, κατὰ τάξεις τινὰς τὴν τείχομαινα ποιεῖν βουλεύσάμενον, ἵνα ἐνείηθαν ἐπιρός πρὸς ἑπετὸν ἐρίζων κατεργοῦσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν ποιοῦντο τὸ δὲ λόγῳ τοῦ Ἱσαγγέλη Κελτῶν παρῆσαντες, τὴν ἐκείνου προσέμενον ἀφίζων. Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτοκράτορ τὸν Πελεκάνον κατέλησε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων τὴν Νικαίαν, ως ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐξελήλυσεν.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἑντὸς Νικαίας βαρβάροι τὸν σουλτάνον πολλάκις εἰς τὴν σφόν αὐτῶν ἄρωγην

[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 appportioned 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. The barbarians inside Nicaea had already frequently implored the Sultan to come to their
4. However the Sultan was not at all displeased 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 no army was wasted.

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 and be afraid. 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 pursu ed them till the evening.

2. The Turks heard this and were routed and night decided the battle. Many fell on either side and yet no army was wasted.

1. The Franks were not at all displeased by this but armed themselves at break of day and with their 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 no army was wasted.

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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
bárbaroi and that the ék prótis, had by then
desolating many parts of the
countryside. The Latin bishops had arrived,
and the Turks were beginning to
attack. The Emperor had sent a
message to the Sultan, who
responded promptly, and
honored the Sultan, giving
him the honor of the
Emperor.
6. When Isangeles continued
working on the tower, he had
begun, had a large circular wooden
tower built, which he
covered on either side with hides and
with plaited wickerwork around the middle of it, and
made very strong all round and then moved it up to the
side of the tower called Gontases. 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
affected 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 Gontases.
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 Gontases to lean
forward still more so that it did not lose its name.
The remaining part of the walls they
encountered with battering-rams and ‘tortoises’;
the deep trench outside the walls they filled with
μίαν ἑπιφάνειαν συναφθῆναι ταῖς ἑρ’ ἐκάτερα παρακείμεναις πεδίσταιν, ως ἐνὸν τῆς πολυρχίας εἴχοντο.

§2

1. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς, πολλὰ πολλάκις ἀκριβελογησάμενος καὶ διαγνωσθεῖς ἀμήχανον εἶναι τὴν Νίκαιαν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλώνια, κἂν πάντα ὑπερβαλλόν ἀριθµῶν, ἐν µέρει µὲν παντοίᾳ εἰδή ἐλεπάληξαν κατασκευάσας καὶ τὰ πλεῖον τούτων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν µηχανικῶν τρόπους, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἑτέρους τίνας λόγους αὐτῷ δοκοῦντας, ὦ καὶ θαῦµα πάσι παρεῖχε, τοῖς κἂµην ἐκκένωσαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ µὲ τὰς παρατυχόντων διαπεράσας, ὡς ἥδη φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσε, κατὰ τὸν Πελεκάνον διέτριβεν ἃχρον τῶν Μεσαµπέλων, οὐ καὶ τέµνονς ἐπ’ ὀνόµατι τοῦ µεγαλοµάρτυρος Γεωργίου πᾶλαι ἴκνοδόµηται. 2. Ἡθελε µὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ µετὰ τῶν Λατίνων κατὰ τῶν ἁθέων συναπελθεῖν Τούρκον· ταλαντεύον δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπειροπληθὺς τὸ φραγκοῦ φοσσάτον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ρωµαϊκὸν στρατεύµα κατανόου ἄνυπερβλητὸν καὶ τὴν παλύβουλον τῶν Λατίνων γνώµην ἐκ µακροῦ ἐπιστάµενος ἀπέστη τοῦ ἐγχευρήµατος. Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ µόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀβέβαιον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀπίστων προεἰδὸς Εὔρηκον δίκην µεταφερµένον ἐς τάναντα πολλάκις τὰς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐτέµιος ἐχόντων ὅβελον ἐνὸς ἀπεµπολεῖ διὰ φωνητῶν γνώµην, τούτως µὲν οὖν τὸς λογισµὸς ἐστίν δὲ τὸ ἰπτεµέν οὐκ ἐγχευρήµατος τοῦ ἐγχευρήµατος. Δεῖν δὲ ἔγγο µὴ συµπαρεῖναι µὲν τὸς Κέλτους, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῖς διδόναι ῥοπῆν ὁπόσην ἁν καὶ παρόν.

3. Τὸ γοῦν ἐρµονότοταν τὸς τῆς Νικαίας τείχων γινόσκοιν ἀδύνατον τὴν ταύτης κατάσχεσιν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἡπίστατο· µανθάνον δὲ ὅτι ῥηός διὰ τῆς παρακείµενης λάµης δυνάµεις ἰκανάς καὶ τὰ ἤωρακ πάντα ὁ σουλτάνος εἰς Νίκαιαν εἰσῆγε, τὴν τῆς λάµης ἐµελείτα κατάσχεσιν. Κατασκευάσας τούτων ἀκάτα ὅποια τὸ ὅδορ ἐκεῖνο ἀνέχειν ἢδονα, διὰ τὸν µέρους τῆς Κίου ταύτη ἐν ἀµάξις ἐπισάζας εἰς τὴν λάµης εἰσῆλθαι, στρατιώταις ἐµβαλὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀπλοφόρους, ἦγεµόνα τούτων Μανουήλ τὸν Βουτουµίτην καταστρεπµένους καὶ σηµάται τούτως πλείους τῆς χρείας ἐπίδοσις, ὡς ἐνετῆθην πολλαπλασίους δοκεῖν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βιώνεται τε καὶ τύπανα.

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.

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 Mesambela, 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 characteristics 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 necessaries 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. 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 them; 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.
to the Butoumites and laid that the mercenaries paraded with the autocrators during the procession. Apolonios, who was the Bishop, had ordered them to parade in front of the Butoumites in a manner befitting their rank. With this he sent his men, one of the Butoumites, and the pagans gathered there and were held by the other pagans. For as many as had escaped later during the night, they were sent on to the Emperor quickly, they (Monastras, who were staying near the fort named Toron, the Emperor). For only one had been used as an 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 needed to add to 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. 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
Εἰτά δὴ τὴν ἀκρολογίαν τοῦ Ἀξαλά κατεξηπότεις (τόπος δὲ οὗτος σταδίους ... τῶν τεχνῶν Νικαίας ἀπέχουν), κεῖτι γοῦν, ως λόγος, παραγενόμενοι τῶν ἰππῶν ἀποβάντες τούτους ἀνέψυχον.

9. Ἐπεί δ’ ὁ μὲν Μοναστρᾶς μειοβάρβαρος ἦν καὶ τῆς τουρκικῆς εἰδήμοις διαλέκτου, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥόδομηρος, πᾶλαι πρὸς τῶν Τουρκῶν κατασχεθεὶς καὶ χρόνων συχνῶς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδιάτριψας, οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀδικής τῆς τυακήτης ἦν διάλεκτου, πιθανῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγγός ἀνείκηνοι λόγους: "Ἰνα τι, λέγοντες, ἡμῖν μὲν θανάτου ποτήριον κυρνάτε οὐδὲ μικρὰν τινα τὴν ἁνάσαν ἐαυτοῦ ἐντέθην πραγματόσωμοι ... Ὑμεῖς δὲ, τῶν ἀλλών πάντων μεγάλοι δορισμάτων παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπολαυοῦντες καὶ ἐπηρέησαν χρήματος λήγων τυπωθέντων, ἐαυτοῦ τούτων ἀποστερεῖτε. Μὴ τοῖνος οὗτο περὶ ἐαυτῶν φρονεῖτε καὶ ἐξὸν ἀκινδύνος σώζεσθαι καὶ πλούτῳ κομῶντες εἰς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαναστρέφειν καὶ χρονῶν ἕγκρατεῖς ἰσως γενέας εἰς προεκτὸν ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιρίππετε κινδύνον. Ἡσύς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ που Ῥομαίοις ἐντυχόντες", ρώσκας ταῦτα ἐχρήσετε ἐπιδείξαντες καὶ ἐλώδεις τόπως, "ἀναρεθήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ κενοῖς τὴν σφῶν ἀπολύσετε ἐξήν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνεδρεύοντες ύμαις μᾶλα γε πλείστοι οὗ Κελτοῖ καὶ βάρβαροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ρομαίοις πλῆθος οὗ μετρητόν. Εἰ γοῦν ἡμῖν πείθεσθε, στρέψαντες τὰς ἴδιας ὤμοι φοιτήσαντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιμονήσατε μυρίων ἀπολάσσας τὸν εἰς αὐτοῦ δορισμάτων· κάπετα, ὅτα βουλητῆς ὑμῖν, ἀπελεύσετε ἀνέτως ὡς ἐλεύθεροι".

10. Πείθονται τοῖς τούτων λόγοις οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ πίσταις πρὸς ἀλλόμοις δόντες ἁμα καὶ λαβόντες τῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα φερούσης εἴχοντο. Καταλαβόντων δὲ τὸν Πελεκάνον, ὡς τούτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐθέαστο, μεθ’ ὑπερὶ πᾶσιν ἐνατενίσιας βλέμματος, καίτοι πολλά τὸν Ῥοδομήρον καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν παρ’ ἐαυτῶ τεμένος, τὸ μὲν παρὸν ἀναπαυθήσομένους τούτοις ἐξαπέστειλε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, ὅποι μὲν τῶν Τοῦρκων αὐτὸ ἤθελεν προτεθύμην, μυρίων τῶν εὐεργεσίων ἀπῆλλασαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ σφέτερα ἀναζητοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ὥληκεν δορισμάτων τετυχηκότες παρεξωρίζησαν τῇ σφῶν γνώμη ἡξεχορησάσθαι. Εἶπ’ ἀκεφαλά τοῦ ἄρουλιας τὸν Ῥοδομῆρον καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν κατεμφετο-
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 concealed speech, and turned 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.
commanded eighty thousand armed men, met

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

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τε Τανισμάν οι σωλτάν οι ο Ασάν, ης μόνος ἦρε χιλιάδοις ἀνδρῶν ὀπλωτῶν ὁμοίωμαντα. Μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης, ἵκ πολλῶν χειρῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ μηδε θατέρου μέρους τα νότα θατέρῳ διδόντος, ἐπει θυραδελφόντες οι Τούρκοι τοις ἐναντίοις ἐμάχοντο, τοῦτο θατάτημενος ο Βασιλιώντος τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρας ἐξάρχων, τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος διαρθείς κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλεισοθελῶν σωλταν ισαίμος ἐξόρισε, λέον ὡς ἀλλι πεποιθός κατά τον ποιητήν. Τοῦτο τοὺς Τούρκους ἐκδειμάτωσαν τα νότα τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δούναι ἐπισήν. 6. Οι δὲ οὐκ ἐπι πολὺ πολύς οἰκικὸς, τὸν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μεμήνεον λόγον ποιομενῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταφρεῖν τοὺς Τούρκους καταλαβόντες κάκεις μικρὸν ἐκεῖ τοὺς διαμαθοῦντες, τοὺς Τούρκους κατὰ τὴν Ἀχγουστόπολην αὐθίς καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ προσβιβαλόντες τρέψουσι κατὰ κράτος. Καντεῦθεν πίνει τὸ βάρβαρον, οἱ δὲ γε σωθάντες ἀλλοτε ἄλλης διεσπαρόσαν τάς τε γυναίκας καὶ τοὺς παιδας καταλαβόντες, ὡς τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲ ἀντοπίσας τοῖς Λατίνοις ἐχύσαιντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ τὴν οἰκίαν πραγματεύομοι σωτηρίαν.

§4

1. Τὸ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν... Καταλαμβάνουσιν οι Λατίνοι μετά τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιάς τὴν ἀντιστάχειν διὰ τοῦ καλουμένου Οξέως Δρόμου, τῶν ἐπὶ ἐκάτηρα μηδενά λόγον ποιομενῆς. ὁ γὰρ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τάφρον ποιῆσανἰ, τὰς σκεῦας ἐναπέθεντο καὶ ἐπολυκροῦν τευόσαν τὴν πόλιν σεληνιακὰς τρισὶ περίοδοι. Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι, πεποιθέντες περὶ τῆς καταλαμβανόσας αὐτοὺς ἀνάκης, τὸ τοῦ Χαρασίου σωλτάνου μιχύνουσαν ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις ἀποστείλα πρὸς βοήθειαν ἐξαπομεμοῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν Αντιστάρχων ἐπαρξιέσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξαχθέν πολυρροκότας Λατίνους ἀποδούσα. 2. Ἕτοι δὲ τῆς ἀνασκέπης τοῦ πύργου Αρμένιος τηρῶν τὸ κληροθέν τὸ Βασιλιώτην τοῦ τεῆς. Τοῦτον ἀνέβησα πολλὰς προκύπτοντα ο Βασιλιώτης ἐκμελισσοῦμον καὶ ὑποσχέσεις πολλὰς ὑποσανίνοις ἀνέπεσε πρὸς δοθοὺν οἱ τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ δὲ Αρμένιος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁποικία ἄν μον ἐπελεύχη καὶ σημεῖον τα ἐξαχθέν αὐτῶς ὑποδέχεσας μοι, παραρχήμασι τοῦτο τοῦ παραδόσα τὸ πυργίου μοῦνον ἠτομος ὑπερὶ, σὺ το καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ κατάρησα ἀπὸς λαδίς, νῦτριπισμένας ἔχων ἄμα καὶ κλίμακας. Οὐ σὲ δὲ μόνον ἠτομον εἶναι ρήτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ το στρέπτωμα θυρῆθεσα, ἵνα ἐφεδρὸς ἀνελβόντες ὑμᾶς οι Τούρκοι θεασάμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐννόιον ἀλλασώντος ἐκδικασθέντες εἰς φυγήν ἀπονεώθε-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 that they had overthrown 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 went over from above Bohemund plied him with honest 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 you only yourself must be ready but the whole army must be under arms so that directly the Turks see you after you had hear
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, he did not wish to eede 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 do 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 κατωρθώκοτι ἢ τῆς πόλεως ταυτηρὶ φιλακῆ, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μέλλων ταυτὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναλαλῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐλέεσται. Ἡσυς μὲν οὖν οὗτο κατωρθοκέναι τι χρηστὸν δυνησόμεθα.” 5. Ταῦτα ὁ δεινὸς Βα baikos, φιλάρχος ὁν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦτον ὁπο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἕαντος τιμῆς, καὶ σκοπῆσας καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπατήσας οὐ δήμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ, ὡς ὁ λόγος κατὼν παραστήσει. Πρὸς τοῦτο τοῖν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ κόμητες κατανεῦσαντες ἔργου ἦγαντο. Καὶ αὐγαζοῦσας ἡμέρας ὁ μὲν Βα baikos αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸν πύργον ἀπῆκε· ὁ δὲ Ὁρμίνιος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πόλεως ὑπανοίγησεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀλλεῖτα ἐνεύθυς μετὰ τῶν κατασκομμέαντος αὐτῷ ἀναθάνα κάτων ἡ λόγος καὶ περὶ τὰ κρήξειμα τοῦ πύργου ὁπάς ὁς ἔντος τε καὶ καὶ ἑσταμένως καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάλλεν ἤθελν ἐγκεκριμένοι σάλαγη. Καὶ ἢ ἐγεί τοῖς καὶ τὸν γενόμενον, τοὺς μὲν Τοῦρκους ἐκείνου ἐκείνους ἐνεύθυς διά τῆς ἀπενείνει πῦρς στηγνὸς καὶ μόνους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐναπολείφθησαν ὑγίους καὶ γενναίους ἄνδρας διὰ τὴν τοῦ κούλα φρουρᾶν· τοὺς δὲ Κελτίους ἐξεβίων κατὰ πόδας τοῦ πολιού τοῦ πυρόν. Καὶ μὲν Ταγγηρῇ ἐνεύθυς Κελτίους ἐκανοῦς ἀναλαβόμενος ὁπισθεῖ τῶν σφαγιόντων ἐδίωκε: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεινόντα, πολλοὶ δὲ τιτρόσκονται. 6. Ὁ δὲ Κουρπαγαῖος μετὰ ἀναφημήμην χιλιάδων καταλαβὼν εἰς ἐργοντἶς τῆς Αἰγαίας πόλεως, προκατασκεύασα τῶτεν εὐρἐκας, χαράκα τε ἐπήλτε καὶ τάφρον πεποιηκὸς καὶ τὰς σκεψιὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καταθέμενος ἐβουλεύετο πολλοκῆς τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐνεύθυς ἐκακαλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξεβίωσαν οἱ Κελτίς καὶ τοῖς καὶ τοῖς καὶ ἐνεμάδαξο ἐναρρήνταν πῶς καταλαβὼς. Εῖχεν δὲ τὴν κακάν οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ οἱ Λατίνοι εἰσῆν πὸ τὸν πυλῶν τοὺς ἐνεκελέσαντο, τὸν μόνον ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξεβίωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ κούλα φρουρῶν (ἐτε γὰρ τοῦτο κατείχον οἱ βάρβαροι) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξεβίωσαν παρακαθήθηκεν Τοῦρκοι. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνήρ ὁ Βα baikos καὶ τὸς τῆς Αἰγαίας ἐργοντῆς ἐφετερίσασθαν θέλων ἐν σχήμαι συμβούλως ἀθάντες· “Οὐ χρῆ, ὤστε πρὸς τοὺς κόμητας, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθ᾽ ἐκατέρωθεν μέρος ἐν ταυτί κατείχον τοῦ τοῦ ἐντος καὶ ἑκτὸς μάχεσθαί, ἀλλὰ διχῆ διαφεράθησαν καὶ τῶν ἐντος καὶ ἑκτὸς μάχεσθαί, ἐξεβίωσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς χαμόμον χθῆνε, οὕτω τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκάθεσαν μάχσθαι. Εἰμι δὲ μὲν ὅσον ἕξεσται μετὰ τῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τηροῦντον μάχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ ὅμων 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 beheld, 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 straightforwardly 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 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 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 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
τούτου συνδέεσθε: τοὺς δὲ γε λοιποὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐξεσθεῖν μελέτησαν καρτερῶς συμπλέκεσθαι.” 7. Συντίθενται ἄπαντες τῇ τοῦ Βαβυλώνιον γνώμῃ. ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἔργῳ ἤματι καὶ παραχρήμα τείχων ἀντίθετον ἐγκάρσιον ἀποδώρησιν τῆς ὅλης Αντιοχείας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐδέιματο, ἔργῳ καρτερώτατον πολέμου ἀποχέντος. Καθ’ οὕτως ἁνόστατος φόλας τοῦ τοιούτου τείχους καθίστατο διά παντὸς ἀπομαχόμενος, ὁπωρικὰ καιρὸς ἐδίδον, πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς γενναίοτάτα. Οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι κόμμητες πολλὴν τοῦ λάχως αὐτῶν ἐπεποίητο τῆν φροντίδα, φρονουντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ παντός, κατασκοποῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὰ κρήδημα τῶν τείχων, μὴ ποιοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξεσθείν νυκτὸς διὰ κλιμάκιον ἀναλήθοντες τὴν πόλιν κατάσχοντες, μὴ λάθος τίς τὸν ἐντὸς ἀνισθεὶν τοῦ τείχους γενόμεθα καθ’ οὗτος ὑμέρισας τοῖς βαρβάροις προδόσιας πέρι προδοθείν τῇ πόλιν.

§5

1. Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν [Επι]. ο δὲ γε αὐτοκράτωρ πολλὴν μὲν εἰς τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτός εἰς ἄρογῇ τῶν Κελτῶν παραγεννάθη, ὑπείρηγε δ’ αὐτόν καίπερ σφοδράζοντα ἢ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν διακειμένων πολέμων τε καὶ χρόνῳ λεπταια καὶ παντελῆς ἐρείπωσις. Ο μὲν γὰρ Τσαχάς τὴν Σμύρνην ὅσπερ ἴδιον τι λάχῳ κατέφθη, ὁ δὲ γε Ταγγιπερμής καλομέμενος πολίν τίνα ἔρεσιν ἄρχον τῆς θαλαττίς διακειμένην, ἐν ἢ πάλιν τέμνεον ἐπ’ ἀνόματι Ἰεαννοῦ ἀποστόλου τοῦ πατέρας ἤρθε. Καὶ ἄλλος ἀλλὸ φρουρία τῶν σπασάτων κατέχοντες ὡς ἀργυρωνιτῶς τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐκχειρην ἄπαντα λήζομεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ δὴ τὰς νήσους Χιον τε καὶ Ρόδον καὶ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους πάσας κατέχοντον ληστρικὰς ἐκείθεν κατασκευασάντες ναοὺς. Διὰ τοῦ ταῦτα δὲν ἐλογίσατο πρότερον τὸν κατὰ θάλαταν καὶ τὸν Τσαχάν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δυνάμεις διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀρκούσας καὶ στόλων ἵκανόν καταλιπένες, εἴτε δ’ αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναχαίτιζεν ὄρμας καὶ ἀντικαθίστασιν αὐτοῖς, καθ’ οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιοχείαν ἐρείπωσις ἀγαθηθείος μετὰ τῶν ἀναμεταξύ βαρβάρων ὡς εἶναι μουχόμενος. 2. Μεταπεμφόμενος τοῖς Ἰοαννὶ τῶν Δαυικῶν καὶ γυναικάδελφον αὐτοῦ, παραδίδωσι δυνάμεις ἐκ διαφόρων συνελεγμένων χωρῶν καὶ στόλων ἀποχέντος πρὸς τὴν τῶν παραλίων πόλεων πολιορκια, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τήν τοῦ Τσαχά θυγατέρα κατασκεύασαν 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 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,
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 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 Smyrniate 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
διέντο. ἐταυτὴς διετέθησαν Κτείνονται βολῆς Ὁ πεδιάδα οἰστείχη ἐστὶν ἐπί τοῦ Ἱσραηλίτου μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπιστρέφουσαν κατὰ βραχίων τούτων ἰμάτια κατανέμοντες τὸν κατά χημεία ρουκων τὸν σρυξατός τούτων νεολιθική ἐνωτός ἀρειμάνιος. 5. Καταληκτών δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἤπειρον εἰς ψυλακὴ τῆς Σμύρνης, αὐτὸς τὰς ὄρθρυνον κατὰ τοὺς ἐμένους, ὀπλισμένους καὶ σχῆμα πολέμου περὶ τὴν ἔξω τοῦ κάστρου πεδίαδα διατυπώσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας ἐστήσαν. Ο ὀς δὲ ὑπὲρ μηδὲν τηλείας σὺν εὔταξια στρατιωτικὴ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐξορμήσας. Τῆς χούν συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου γεγονός τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας παροχήρικτο: μαχομένων δ’ ἄμφως ἔδιπτον καὶ τοὺς μερῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης οὐς ἀμφιπολοῦσι οἱ Τούρκοι τὰ νέατα ὑποσχέντες τρέπονται κατὰ κράτος. Κτείνονται δὲ τηγακία τοιοῦτο, ἀλλοκοτοὶ δὲ οὕς τῶν τυχαιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιῶν τοὺς πελάγους, ὡς συμποσίαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐπολεκτικῶς εἰς χιλιάδας δύο. Περὶ ὁ μειοθέτως ὁ βασιλεὺς διασαράκη τοῦτος εἰς τὰς νήσους προσέπεσεν. Οἱ δὲ καταλειμφέροντες τῶν Τούρκων, διὰ τοῦ τόπου Μαιάνδρον πρὸς τὸ πολύβοτον ἀπερχόμενοι, καταφρονητικῶς διετέθησαν τὸν Μαιάνδρον τελέους ἀπελπισάντες. Τὸ δὲ ὠργάκιον εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τερμαίους δοῦκας τευτείσει τῆς πόλεως καταλληλῶν, αὐτὸς τὸ ὀπλισμὸν ἄνοι ἀλλὰ ἀλλὰ ἀριστάτους ὡς ἀρίστην ἐμπεριόλοι πολεμίσατο κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἴδια, ἔμπρακτα κατὰ τὰς ὑποθημοσύνας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. 6. Οἱ μέντοι Τούρκοι, καθὰ γε ἑρίττησαν, διὰ τὸ Μαιάνδρον καὶ τὼν παρακείμενων αὐτῷ πόλεων ὀδείσαντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ πολύβοτον. Οἱ δὲ δοῦς οὐ κατὰ πόδας τούτους ἔδιωκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτέραν ὀδέσας τὰς τὰς Σάρδες καὶ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ἄπτοιρος κατέλαβε, τὴν τούτου φρουρὰν Μιχαήλ τῇ Κεκαμένῳ πιστεύσας. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, καὶ πάντων παραυτικά προσεληκυθῶν centuries 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, Tanguirpermes 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 skillfully 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 Ceaunomenos. When he reached Laodicea, all the inhabitants immediately came out to him, consequently he treated them kindly as they had joined
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, Geliumus Grantemanes, Stephen, Count of France, and Peter, son of Aliphas; 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 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

§6

1. To return, the Franks, whose king, having captured Lampe and built up his town of Coma, had become bold, after driving the Franks out of it and taking possession of it, had sent the Turks, particularly the chief of the army, Curpagan, who had taken it, to him. And the Emperor, hearing of the terrible news, sent Curpagan to the comarca of Coma and the Franks, but Curpagan, with his followers, went to the aid of the Franks at the very moment when they were depositing their baggage, and conquered them completely after a short encounter, and killed many, the amount of booty he took was in proportion to their numbers.
And 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 Philomelion [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 διέρχοντο παντελῶς ἐρειπώσας, πολλὰς τὰ λείαν καὶ δορυφόρους ἀναλαμβάνοντος ἐπαναξίωσιν πρὸς τὴν βουλεύσαισαν μὴν ἔργον αὐτῷ καταλείποντος. ὃς τῆς ἁγίας ἀπέγνυ, ἐν ἀμήνανοις καθήτατο, καὶ ἐφ’ ἔτερον τραπέζων τὸ π’ ἐπέστη πολιορκΗθῆ ἐπέγνυ, ἄπερ πρὸ μικρῷ κατασκονόν ἔχειν ὁ περίκλωτος ἐκδίκων Γαβρᾶς Θεόδωρος, καὶ καταλαβῆν τῶν ἁγιῶν τοῦτού Ῥεόντα ζητῶν ἄμελεν ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέθεσε. Τούτῳ μεμβηκὼς ὁ Γαβρᾶς διεσκόπετο νυκτὸς ἐπεισδημένον αὐτῷ. Αὐτῷ ὁμοίων μὲν πέρας τὰ κατά τὸν Γαβρᾶν ἔσχηκεν καὶ οὗτος ὁμότομος ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦτος ὁ ἱεροσαλημ. καταλαβῆτο, παρέβησε, οἷον, τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Διὰ τοῦτον ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπηρεήσε ὡς τὸ πρότερον ὁ Θεός. Δεῖ ὑμῖν ἐπετραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὰς σφόν ἀποκλείονται ἀμαρτίαις ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σπόδῳ, καὶ δάκρυσιν θερμωτές τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐνταξιασμοῦ καὶ πανοχύριος δήσησε. Τότε δὴ σχολάσας καὶ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ μέν τὸ Θεῖον ἐξελουόμενον,” πείθοντα ταῖς τοῦ ἄρχηρεος παρανεσθεί. Καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας τινὸς ἐκ θείας ὁμήρης κινηθῆς ὁ ἄρχηρεος μετατεμφαίμιευμένος τοὺς μεγιστάνας τῶν κομὴμον παρηγαματο δεξιόθεν διορίζεται τὸ θυσιαστήριον κάκησε τῶν ἁγίων εὐρηκέναι ἱλιον. Τὸ ἐπιστηβόρ οὖν πεποιηκότες, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἐυρίσκον, ἐπαναστρέψαντες τοῖς ἄθυμης τῆς τὸν ἄταμουμον διαμαρτύρια ἀπῆγγελλον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκτενεστέρον τῆς δέησιν πουῆρος ἐπιμελεστήρια τῆς τὸν ἄταμουμον ἀνανηψάθην τοῦς κατέστησεν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθίνες ἐπιληφθον τὸ κελευθήναι καὶ τῶν ἄταμουμον εὐρηκότες, δρομῷ τὸ πέτρῳ πρόσεφερον χαρὰ καὶ φρίκη συνεκινείον. 8. Κάκτωτε δὲ ἄνυθρως τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Ἰσαγηγῆς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῶν σεπτῶν καὶ θείων ἐνεχείριμων ἱλιον. Τῇ γούν μετ’ αὐτὴν εἰς ἀνυπάκοτο πῦλης κατὰ τῶν Τυρώκων ἐξόρισάντον. Τότε δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Φλάντηρας ἠγίαστο τοὺς λοχοὺς μίαν ταὐτὶν ἀτίπον παραχωρηθῆναι οἱ, μετὰ τρὶῶν μιᾶς κατὰ τῶν Τυρώκων τῶν ἄλλων πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐξεπάσασθαι. Διεθύτω δὲ τούτω τὸ αἰτηθὲν καὶ ὅπινα καὶ φάλαιγες ἐκατάρθουν ἱλιον ἐστήσαν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σύντροφος 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. But the result f 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 show 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 all returned 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 Isaneles 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
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 was so much wanted 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 besieges [286] the town and within one lunar month they took it and killed many of the Saracen 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’.

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 Hagarites and dispatched them to oppose the Franks. Godfrey

§7

1. Διαμηνυθέσεις δὲ τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν ἐφόδου τοῦ ἐξουσιαστῆς Βαβυλώνος Λεμερίμη, καὶ ὅπας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἢ τε Ἴδοςελήμη ἐκλεὶκτο, καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ Ἀντῖόχου καὶ ἄλλο πολλαὶ πόλεις αἱ ταῦτα παρακείμενα παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν κατεσχέθησαν, την κατὰ πολὺ πλῆθος συναγηγόχος ἔχε τοῖς Αρμενίων καὶ Αράβων Σαρακηνῶν τα καὶ Ἀγαρ-
ηνόν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐξαπέστειλε. Τούτου διαμηνυθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ τοῖς Κελτοῖς, την κινάτα ὄπλασαν κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ κατελθόντες εἰς τὸ Ἱάφα τὴν ἐκείνην περιμένον ἔροσον· ἔτι ἐκέθεν κατέλαβον τὸ Ῥάμελ, ἐν ὧν καὶ ὁ μεγαλόμαρτος Γεώργιος μεμαρτύρηκε, καὶ ἐνοθεύτες τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐρχομένον στρατεύματι τοῦ Ἀμερίμμης συνήθησαν πόλεμον μετ’ αὐτῶν. Καὶ τὴν νικήσαν εἶχον εὐθὺς οἱ Κελτοί. 2. Τῇ δὲ μετ’ αὐτήν καταλαβόντος ἐξ ὑπόσιθιαν τοῦ προμετόσπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἠττήθησαν οἱ Λατῖνοι μέχρι τοῦ Ῥάμελ περισσοθέντες. Μόνος δὲ ὁ Βαλδοῦνος κόμης ἀπῆν φυγαδεύς χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡς ἀνανδρός, ἀλλ’ ὡς το κρείττον προμηθευτόμενοι περὶ τῆς ἕαυτον συστηρίας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατευμάτος. Καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Βαβυλωνίοι καὶ κυκλοτρείς τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ῥάμελ ποιοῦμενοι θάττον τοῦτο κατέσχον. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων την κιναταὶ κεῦντον, πλείους δὲ καὶ χορία πρὸς Βαβυλώνα ἐστάλησαν. Ἐκείθεν δὲ ὑποστρέφον τὸ ὅπλικον ἅπαν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ἱάφα ἠρείγετο· τοὐτὸν γὰρ τὸ βαξαρὼν ἀεὶ. Ὅ δὲ γε ἀνώτεροι ῥῆμες Βαλδοῦνος, τὰς παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων ἑλακτικὰς κοιμοπόλεις ἀπάσας περιῶν οὐκ ἐλίγους τὸ συναναγχῆς ὑπὲρ καὶ πεζώξ, αἰξίζωμον στρατεύμα συνεντήσατο καντέθέν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ἐπέλευσεν ἦτησα κατὰ κράτος. 3. Ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ῥάμελ τῶν Λατίνων ἦταν μεμαθείκως, περιαγήσας ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν κομίτων ἀγιαλωσία, ἄτε γινόσκον αὐτοῦς κατὰ τὰ ὅραν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ περιφάνειαν γένους τῶν πάλα ὑμνομένων, οὐκ ἐδρέφη ἐπὶ πλέον τούτους δορυλαλότους ἐπὶ ἐξεύθεν εἶναι. Ἐνθ' τοῦ μετατειμωμένος τινας Βαρδαλίλην καλομέμενον χρήματα τε ἰκάνα ἐπίδοος πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάφησαν πρὸς Βαβυλώνα ἐκπέμψαν, ἐγχείρεσις αὐτός καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀμερίμμην γράμματα περὶ τῶν κομίτων διαλαμβάνοντα. Ὅ δὲ, τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνέλιξα γραφάς, ἀτέρ τιμῆς τοὺς κόμιτας ἀπεδίδου μετὰ περιχαρείας πλὴν τοῦ Γοντοφρ. Ἐκείθεν γὰρ προφθάσας πρὸς τὸν αὐτοδέλφον αὐτοῦ Βαλσίδου τιμῆς ἀπέδοσο. Καταλαβόντας δὲ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν τοὺς κόμιτας ὁ βασιλεῦς ἐντίμων ἐδέξατο χρήματα τε ἰκάνα ἐπίδοος καὶ ἐρ’ ἰκανὸν τούτους διαναπαύοντας χαίροντας ἐξεπέστειλεν ὑιώδε. Ὅ δὲ Γοντοφρέ ἰῃ Ἰεροσολύμων αὐτὸς ἀποκαταστάτες τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ Βαλδοῦνον εἰς Ἐδέσσαν ἐκπέπομε. 4. Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ Ἰσαγγελῇ ἐπέσκηνη τὴν μὲν Λαοδίκειαν Ἀνδρονίκο τῷ Τζιντζιλούκη άναθέσθαι, τὸ δὲ γε Μαρακέως 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 Amerimmes 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 Amerimmes. After reading the Emperor’s letter, Amerimmes 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 Isangela to hand over Laodicea to Andronicus Tzintziluces and the forts of Maraceus and Balaneus to the soldiers of
καὶ τὸ Βαλανίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν Εὐμάθιον δοῦκα Κύπρου τὸ τότε ύπάρχοντα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ προσο-
ωτέρῳ βαδίσαντι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λουπῶν κάστρων κατασχέσεως ὡς ἕνων διαγωνίσεθαι· ὧπερ δὲ καὶ πεποίηκε τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεῖς. Μετὰ γοῦν τὰ παραδούναι τὰ κάστρα τοῖς ἀνωτέρῳ διηλεθεῖν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἀνταράδον καὶ ταύτην ἠμαχητί ἐχειρόσατο. Τοῦτο ἐνοπτοθεῖς οἱ Ἀταπάκας τῆς Δαμασκοῦ δυνάμεως συναθροίσας ἰκανῶς κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατεύσατο. Επεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης ἀποχώρουσα δυνάμεις πρὸς τοῦτον πλήθος ὅπως εἶχε, βουλήν ἐβουλεύσατο οὐ τοῦτον ἀνδρεύειν ὑπὸσον συνετήν. Θαρρήσας γὰρ τοῖς ἐνοπτικοῖς ἔρθος ὡς· "Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κάστρον παμμεγέθως ὅντος ἐν τινὶ τῶπῳ κρυβήσομαι· ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀταπάκας καταλάβῃ, τὸ μὲν ἀλλήλης μὴ ὀμολογηθῆτε, ποπηθέτα δὲ μὲ φυγάδα γενέσθαι διαβεβαιώσατε". 5. Καταλαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀταπάκας καὶ ἐροτήσας τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη, ἐπεὶ ἀποδεδεκάνει τοῦτον ἐπίστευσε, κεκυμηκός ἀπὸ τῆς ὀδοὶπορίας ἁγχὸν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπήξητο. Τὸν δὲ ἐνοπτικὸν πᾶσαν φιλοφροσύνην εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυμεν, ταχαροδότως οἱ Τούρκοι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντίῳ ὑποτάσσεσά τους ἰδίως ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἐλυσαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγγέλης μέσης ἡμέρας τοῦ ἥλιου κατὰ κορυφὴν τῶν ἀκτικῶν βάλλοντος καρπετῶς ὀψλι-
σάμενος μετὰ τὸν ὸν ἀυτῶν (εἰς τετρακοσίως δὲ περιστατό) ἀφνίσας τὰς πόλιας ἀνοίξας διά μέσης τῆς αὐτῶν παρεμβαλής ὄρμησαν. Ὀποὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκθύμων ἐισώθας μάχεσθαι, τῆς ἐαυτῶν ζωῆς ἀφεδόμας τὸν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἱστάμενον ἀνέδεξα-
αντο πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φυγαδεύετο τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπεπεφρόν ἐπαγματεύεσθαι σωτηρίαν. Αλλὰ τὸ τῆς πεδιάδος εἰρήν καὶ τὸ μὴ τι ἔλασμα παρακεῖσθαι ἡ βουνον ἢ φάραγγα τὰς τῶν Λατῖνων χειρὶ ἀπαντάντο παραδέωκεν. Ἐγένετο τοις καὶ παρανάλομα ἐξῆλθαν πάντες γεγόνας-
ἀλλοι δὲ καὶ κατεσχέθησαν. Οὔτω γοῦν τῶν Τούρκων καταστρατηγήσας κατὰ τῆς Τριπόλεως χωρεῖ. 6. Ἀνεισὶ γοῦν κατατυποὺ καὶ προκατα-
lαμβάνει τὴν ἀκρολογίαν τοῦ ἀντικρι Τριπόλεως διακεκαίμενον βουνοῦ, μέρους ὄντος τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἐφ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ὡς ὁχήματο τοῦτον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λιβάνου καταρρέσσας ὕδωρ εἰς Τριπόλιν διὰ τοῦ πρανοῦ τοῦ τοιούτου βουνοῦ ἐπισέχειν. Την-
κατά δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὰ συμβάντα δηλώ-
sαις ἢττετό ἐρμοῦντο τὶ ὁχήματα γενέσθαι πρὸ τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χροστῆν δυνάμεις πλείονας καὶ καταγονισθῆσας αὐτοῦς. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ δουκὶ Κύπρου τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου πολεμικοῦ κτισίν ἀνέθετο, ἐπισκήψας ἤνα διὰ τοῦ Ευμαθίου, 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
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 declined 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.

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 declined 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.

1. 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 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 Bohemund 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
not listen when he gave them sensible advice, was

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
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 lands and do what is just and right, and do not provoke more wars 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 laboured 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.
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 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 ἡ σπουδὴ τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ γένεται καὶ ἀπρακτὸς τῆς Κύλλικάς ἀποπεφθείη, παρα-
χρῆμα τὰ περὶ τούτων ἡλικία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορι τήν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν συνδιατριβὴν παρατούμενος. Ὅ δέ, τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἰσοδοθεὶς γίνεσθαι βλάβες γινόσκον, γοργὸς ὑπὲρ ἐτέραν ὑπόθεσιν τούτων τε καὶ ὑπόσως ὑπόπτους εἶχε διὰ γραμμάτων προοῦρέπετο, ἵνα τὴν Κύπρον τάχιον κατα-
λαβόντες τῷ Ἑὐφορμῆνῳ Κωνσταντῖνῳ, τὴν δουκικὴν ἀρχὴν τηνκαλὰ τῆς νόσου Κυρίου ἀναδεξαμένον, συνόντες ἐν πάσιν ὑπείκεσον. Οἱ δὲ ἀσμένοι τὰ γράμματα δεξαμένοι βάθτον πρὸς τὴν Κύπρον διαπλοῦσθαι: μικρὸν ὡς θρόνων μετὰ τοῦ δουκός Κυρίου ἐνδιατριβάντες τῇ
συνήθει ἀνασυνηθίσα τῇ δὲ ὁ δύο ἐκέχρηντο. Ἑνδὲν τοι καὶ λογον αὐτῶς ὑπεβλέπετο. Οἱ δὲ
εναίνει, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ αὐτοῦς κηδε-
μονίας μεμνημένοι, διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γραμμάτων τοῦ δουκοῦ πολλά κατέχεθην τῆς Κωνσταντῖνου ἀνακολούθου. Αναπότερος δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν γραφὰς ἡ αὐτοκράτορ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τινάς τῶν τῆς μείζονος τύχης, ὅσοις ὑπόπτους ὁ αὐτο-
κράτορ εἶχε, σὺν αὐτῶς ἐξ Κυρίου ἀπέστησεν, πτοιχεῖς μη καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ λύσης ἴσως συναπα-
θάσθησι εἰκεῖνοι, εὐθὺς τὸν Καντακουζήν ἐπέσκη-
νον ἀναλαβέσθαι τοῦτοις μὲν ἐαυτό. Ὁ ὦς
θάσας εἰς Κυρίον καὶ μετακαλοῦμενοι τοῦτοις μὲν ἐαυτὸν ἀναλάβητο. 4. Αλλὰ τάοιτα
μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτων, τοῦ Βάρθα ἕμη καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Μιχαῖλ—ὁ δὲ γε Βουτουμίτῃς μετὰ τοῦ
Μοναστρὰ καὶ τῶν συν αὐτῶ καταλιπθέντων λογιάδων ἡγεμόνων τῆς Κυλλίκιαν ἑρω-
κός, ὡς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους εὑρείς σειαμαίνοντες μετὰ τοῦ Ταγγρέ, παραδομὰς τούτως καὶ τὸ
Μαρασίν καταλαβὸν κατέσχεν αὐτῷ, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακείμενας ἀπάσις κοιμόπολες καὶ τὰ
πόλεμα. Καὶ ἀποχώρωσιν δυνάμες εἰς φρούριαν τῆς χώρας ἀπάσις καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν 
Μιχαέλον κατάληψιν ἐπανέστησαν, περὶ οὗ ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἐμέμνητο, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπαν-
έστησεν.

§10

1. Επεὶ δὲ ἐξερχομένοι οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα πρὸς κατάσχεσιν τῶν πόλεων Συρίας ὑπέστησον τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ πίστες Ιωάννη, εἰ τούτοις συνάρθησεν πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον αὐτοῦς σκοπόν, ὁ δὲ καταπελθῆς τοῖς λόγοις τούτων γεγονός καὶ ἐπέρας δύο τῶν παρὰ θάλαττας οἰκονόμων ἐς αὐτὸ τότο ἐξερχόμενος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἀλλ’ ἐξοπλίσας δὴ τε καὶ τριτρήσεις καὶ δρόμονας

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 ἔνακκοσα
περιστάμενα ἐξεσῖν ὡς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεχρύ-
μένον. Ἰκανὰ δὲ τούτων ἀποτελομένως εἰς προ-
νομὴν τῆς Κορυφᾶς, τῆς Λευκάδος, τῆς
Κεφαλήνιας καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου ἀπόστειλε.

2. Ταῦτα μανθάνουν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἄσσαν τῶν
ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἄρχην χωρὸν προσάταξε
γενέσθαι πλοία. Καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βασιλευ-
ουσαν ικανὰ κατασκευάζον, ἐκ διαλειμμάτων εἰς
μνήρες εἰσερχόμενον ἐπεσκέπτη τοῖς κατα-
σκευάζοντος ὅπως χρή ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Γινώσκον-
δὲ τοὺς πισσαίους τοῦ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν
πολέμου επιστήμονας καὶ δεδίως τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν
μάχην, ἐν ἐκάστη πρώρα τῶν πλοίων διὰ χαλκῶν
καὶ σιδήρων λέοντων καὶ ἄλλων χερσαίων
ζῴων κεφάλις μετά στομάτων ἀνεμογένες κατα-
σκευάσας, χρυσό τε περιστείλας αὕτη ὡς ἕκ
μόνης θέας φοβερόν φαινεσθαι, τὸ διὰ τῶν
στερετῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων μέλλων ἀφίεσθαι
πῦρ διὰ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν παρασκεύασε
διένει, ὡστε δοκεῖν τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τάλλα τῶν
τοιοῦτον ζῴων τούτο ἐξερεύγεσθαι. Οὕτω γοῦν
ταῦτα κατασκευάζον, μετακαλεσάμενον τῶν
Τατικίου ἐκ Ἀντωνίους κοσμεῖν παραγενόμενον,
αὕτη μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα πλοῖα παραδεδοκικὸς
περιφανεστάτην κεφαλήν ἄνωμα: τὸ δὲ γε
Λαοῦλφο τὸν ἄπαντα στόλον ἀναθέμενον,
μέγαν δοῦκα προϊῆλετο ὡς τῆς ναυμαχίας εἰδή-
μονα δριστὸν. 3. Ἐξελθόντες οὖν τῆς μεγαλο-
πόλεως μηνὸς παραπεπίεσαντος Ἀπρίλιου μετὰ τοῦ
ρωμαϊκοῦ στόλου τὴν Σάμον κατέλαβον καὶ τὰ
πλοία τῇ χέρσῳ προσορμισάντες ἔξηλθον πρὸς
tὴν ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἐπὶ πλέον
ἄσφαλσαμένου κατατροφῆς αὐτὰ. Μεμιθη-
κότες δὲ τὴν τοῦ πισσαίου στόλου διέλυσαν τὰ
πρωμαχία λύσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπίσθεν αὐτῶν
ἔδεν ως πρὸς τὴν Κό. Πρόοις δὲ τῶν πισσαίων
ἐκεῖστε καταλαβόντος ἐπάργυρος ὅστις ταῦτα κατ-
έλαβον. Μὴ ἐντετυχηκότες δὲ τοῖς πισσαίοις
ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν Κύνδου πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τῆς
ἀνατολῆς διακεκλεμένην. Κεῖτο δὲ παραγενόμενοι,
ὡς τῆς άγρας ἡστόχουν, ὄλγως τινάς ἐρευνη-
κότες τῶν πισσαίων αὐτὸν που καταλειφθέντας ἐπισυνάνθοντο ὅπου ὁ πισσαίου ἐξόρμησε στό-
λος· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ρόδον ἐφικαν. Καὶ παρα-
χρῆμα λύσαντες τὰ πρωμαχία θάττον τούτως
κατέλαβον μεταξύ πατάρων καὶ Ρόδου. Τούτους
δ᾽ οἱ πισσαίοι θεασάμενοι μόδον παρακατικὰ
σχῆμα διατιμώσαντες πρὸς μάχην ὡς τὰ ἐξή
μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς καρδίας ἔθηγον. Ἑπικαταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ στόλου κόμης τις πελοποννήσιος περιχύτης καλούμενος

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 monomere
and instruct the shipwrights how to make them.
As he knew that the Pisans were skilled in sea-
warfare and dared 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
loosened their cables and soon overtook them
between Pataras and Rhodes. When the
Pisans were likely to sight some 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
hundred and sailed forth to meet them. He de-
tached a number of the ships and sent them to
pillage Corfu, Leucas, Cephallenia and Zacynthus.
ναυλοχεῖν ἀριστα ἐπιστάμενος, ὡς τοῦτος ἐθέασατο, ταῖς κόπαις τὸ ὅδιον πετρώσας μονήρες ὡς εἰς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἔτεσα. Καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦτον ὡς πῦρ διελθὼς εἰς τὸν ρωμαίκον αὐθής ἐπανέστρεψε στόλον. 4. Ο οὗτος ρωμαίκος στόλος οὐκ ἐκτάκτως τῆς μετὰ τῶν πισσαίων μάχης ἀπειράτῳ, ἀλλ’ ὅδε καὶ ἀσυνήθιστος τοῦτος προσέβαλε. Καὶ αὐτός δὲ ὁ Λαντούλρος, πρῶτος προσπελάσας ταῖς πισσαίικαις ναυσίν, τὸ πῦρ ἔβαλε καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον εἰρήγαστο τοῦ πυρὸς σκεδασθέντος. Ο δὲ λεγόμενος Ἑλείμων κόμης, ἀνασύνδετος μεγίστο πλοῖο κατὰ πρώμαν προσβάλον, τοὺς πειραίες τοῦτον περισσοῦς καὶ μή εὐχέρειας ἔχον ἐκέθεν διαπλώσασθαι, κατασχέθη ἐν ἡ μή γοργοῦ πρὸς τὴν σκευὴν ἀπέδει καὶ πῦρ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφεῖς οὐκ ἄστοχα ἔβαλεν. Εἶτα τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ θάτερα γοργοὶ μεταφέροντες καὶ ἔτερα παραγχήμα τρεῖς μεγίστας ἐπιτράπελον τὸν βαρβάρων ναός. Ἡπεί δ’ ἁμα καὶ συστροφή ἄνεμον τὴν θάλασσαν ἄθροιν ἐπεισοδίαν διείστατε τὰς τοὺς ναῦς συνετρίβει καὶ μονονοῦν βοθύκειν ἤπειλε (ἐρρόχεθι γὰρ τὸ κύμα, ἐπετρίγεισαν αἱ κεραία τὰ θ’ ἱσταί διερήκασιν), ἐκδείματοθήκτινοι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν δία τὸ περιπόμενον πῦρ ὅπου ἐγείρας ἦσαν τοιούτων σκευῶν ἢ πυρὸς ἀνὸ τὴν φοῖνικα ἐγοῦντος, πεπομένου ἢ ἐφ’ αὐτὸ ἐβούλεται οἱ πέμπον κατὰ τὸ προανέ πολλάκις καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ θαλασσί τοῦ κλίδους υψηλότατας τοῦ ναοῦ φυγαδεύσας ἡμῖν ὑπέστρεψεν. 5. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ δὲ τοῦ ρωμαίκου στόλου νησίωδῳ τοῖς προσώκεισθαι οὕτως ποιούμενοι ναύσι ποιοῦμενόν Σεῦτλο. Αὐγάζοις δὲ τῆς ἥμερας ἐκείνης ἀπάντησας τῇ ῥόδῳ προσφόρασι. Τῶν πλοίων οὖν ἀποβάντων καὶ ἐξαιρεῖτων ὅσος ἐρραθαν κατασχεῖν καὶ αὐτόν δὴ τὸν Ταυμώντον ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐξεδεμάτων αὐτούς ὡς μέλλοντες τῆς πυρὸς ἀπεμπλῆσαν καὶ ἐκατασφάσαν. Ὁμιλήσω δ’ ἀκατα- πλήκτους πρὸς τοῦτο ἐκείνους αὐτούς καὶ τῆς ἀπεμπλῆσθαι ἐν οὐδεὶς τεθεμένους, εὔθες ἐξίσους παρανάλοις πεισθήσατο. 6. Οἱ δὲ γε περίλειψθέντες τοῦ πισσαίου στόλου πρὸς τὸ τὰς παρατυχούσας νῆσους καὶ τὴν Κύκρον λήξεσθαι ἀπέπλεψαν ἐνδα τοὺς Ὁλοκήλης Εὐγήμονας κατ’ αὐτῶν ἔτεσα. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ναύς δειλὰ συστρεφόντες μιᾶς τοῦ ἔξιντος προνομής χρίσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αὐτοῦ λαοῦ περιφρυκτικότες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείων τῆς νῆσος ἐσάντως, αὐστυνήτως οὕτως ἐησάντως τὰ προμνήθα πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ἀπέπλεον τὸν Βασιλίον ἐπὶ ναοῦ ἐχόντες. Καὶ δὴ καὶ καταλαβόντες προσελθό- λυθεσάν τι αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν μετ’ αὐτῶν 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 actually did 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 a ship 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; Philocles Euma- thius 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
Στράβον
Κούρικον ἐμπέλλοντας τὰ ἀπεροῦν ἔβουλεύοντα. Πάντων οὖν ὁμογονομοσπάντων πρὸς τοῦτο, στέλλεται οὐτοὺς τοῦ Βαυμόντος. Τότεν οὖν θεασάμενος καὶ παρακατασχέτοι ἐπὶ ὅλας πέντε καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἔπει τῇ Λαοδίκειᾳ καὶ λίμες καταλήφη καὶ ὁ Βαυμόντος αὐτὸς Βαυμόντος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἦλθοιο σύνι μην εἰρήνησαν ἐμεμβάθηκε, μεταπεμφάμενος ἀυτὸν φήσην ὡς διὰ φύλας ἐπὶ ἀυτοῦ ἐνταὐθὸ παραγέγονα, ἀλλ’ ἐρ’ ὡς ὅ τας ἐμέμβησα ναῦς. Ἀπει πολίν: ἀρχεὶ γάρ σεαυτὸ τότε τὸ ἀνακροτηριστὸν τῶν ἐνταὐθὰ ἀπολυθήναι.

8. Ἀπάρας οὖν ἔκειθεν καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαντας περὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆς Κύπρου. Καὶ τὴν Βαυμόντον πονηρὰν γνώμην ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐκ τῶν ἔκειθεν μηνιμάτων διαγόντες καὶ ὡς ἀδύνατον σπείρασθαι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντας, ὅλος ἠστικὸς τὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ύπέφερε πέλεα ἔρευν. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικήν τρικυμίας μεγάλης καὶ κλόνων διεγερθέντος σφόδρων πάλαι τῇ χέρσῳ προσ- περανὰ θηρόσωστα πάντα γεγόνασα πλὴν τῶν νησῶν ἐν ἔχειρι οὗτος τὸ Τατικίος. 9. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν πισανίκου στόλον ὅδε πι προκεχο- ρήκε: ὁ δὲ Βαυμόντος φοίνικας ποινότατος ἄν ἔδεικε, μὴ τὸ Κύπριον ὁ βασιλεὺς προκατασχέται καὶ στόλον Ῥωμαίων τὸ λιμένι προσορμίσας φυλάττῃ μὲν τὴν Κύπρον, ἀπείρῃ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄπο τὰς Ἀγγείας διὰ τῆς παραλῆς τῆς ἀνταλής μέλλοντας ἤνας πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμάχω. Τάτα τοῦ οὐν λογιζόμενος αὐτὸ τῷτο ἀνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ τῶν λιμένα κατασχεῖν ἐβολεύετο. Πόλεις γὰρ πρότερον οὗτος ἐν ἕπετρει ἔτρωσεν ἐρισθήθηνα χρόνος. ὁ δὲ γε αὐτοκράτωρ, τάτα προμηθευσάμενος καὶ τὰς ἐπινοιας αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόν, πέμπει τοῦτον ἐκισόμενον Ἐστάδον, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κανικελίου αἰξίας μέγαν δρουγγάριον τοῦ στόλου προχειριζό- μενον, ἐπισκέψαις αὐτὸ προεισάχτει τὸ Κύπριον καὶ διὰ τάχος ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τα αὐτῶ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Σελεύκειαν στάδια ζ ἐν τούτῳ ἀρι- σταμένην καὶ δύναμιν ἀποχρόσαν καταλείπειν ἐν αὐτῶί δοῦλα δι προχειρισάθη Στρατήγοις τοῦ Στραβόν, ἀνδρὰ μικρὸν μὲν τὸ σώματι, ταῖς δὲ

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 sail 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 and advance as far as possible toward the fortress. 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 Strabos Duke over them, a man of small body, but of long and varied military experience. He was moreover to have a
πολεμικάς ἐμπειρίας πολῶν τε καὶ μέγιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν λυμένα στόλον ἰκανῶν προσορμίσαι καὶ παραγγέλει ἐγγυηγοῦναι καὶ ἐνδέχεται τοὺς ἀπὸ Λογγύφαρδας εἰς ἁρμῆν τοῦ Βαυμῶντον ἐρχομένους, ἐπαρηγημένοι δὲ καὶ τῇ Κύπρῳ. 10. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ ῾Ρηγίς δραυγήγαρος τοῦ στόλου καὶ προκαταλαβὼν τά τοῦ Βαυμῶντον διανομήματα ἀνέγειρε καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἀποκαθιστάτα κατάστασιν. Παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Σελευκείαν ἀνοικοδομήμας καὶ καταχρώσιας διὰ τάφρων γυρόθεν δυνάμεις τοὺς ἱκανὰς ἐν ἀμφότεροις καταλύσας τοῦ δούκως Στρατηγῶν εξελθὼν εἰς τὸν λυμένα καὶ στόλον ἀποχῦντος ἐν αὐτῷ καταλύσας κατὰ τάς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰσήγησις ἐπαναξέγυναν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, καὶ μεγάλου παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπαινεθῆκε δαυίλως περιόπτημα.

§11

1. Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸ Κούρικον· μετὰ δὲ παραδομὴν ἑναυτοῦ, ἀναμαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὦτι καὶ γενοῦσιος στόλος εἰς συμμαχίαν τῶν Φράγγων ἐξελθὼν ἐτοιμάζεται, στοχασάμενος ὦτι οὐ μικρὰς βλάβης παρατίθημεν καὶ αὐτῷ τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἁρχῇ ἔσονται, τὸν μὲν Καντακούζην διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου μετὰ ἀποχρώσης δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ Λαντούλοφο γοργός ἐξελθῶν μετὰ στόλου διὰ θαλάσσης ἀπείπετε παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸ τάχος καταλαβεῖν τὰ κατωτικὰ ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸν μετὰ τῶν Γενούσιων ἐκκύκτει διερχομένων ἀναδείκτεθαὶ πόλεμοι. Τούτων ὁνὸν ἀπελθὸντον ἐναθα καὶ προσετάχθηνε, χειμὼν βαρὸς ἐπηγέγονε καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὦτὶ οὐ καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νηῶν συνέβη διαμυσσηθήναι. Ἀσπερ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν χέρσων ἐξελκυσάντες ἐπιμέλεις τὴν διὰ τῆς ύγρᾶς πύσης ἐπηχθαὶ ταῦτα εἴπερφοι. 2. Τηγναίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Καντακούζης, τὸν τῶν Γενούσιων στόλον περὶ τὰ κατωτικὰ διαπέλευτοι ἐγγὺς που εἶναι μεμβρηκός, ὑποθέτεται τὸ Λαντούλοφ ὀκτωκαί- δεκα ναὸς ἀναλαβέθαι: (τοσάτας γὰρ μόνας συνεβή τὸ τότε ἀποκλείειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελκυσάθαι τὴς θαλάσσης) καὶ ἀπελθόντα κατὰ τὸ ἀκροτήριον τοῦ Μαλέως προσοκεῖλαι αὐτὰς κατὰ τῶν αὐτοκράτορος ὑποθήκας, καὶ διερχομένων τῶν Γενούσιων, εἰ μὲν τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθαρρητὸν πόλεμον, εἰςδὲ τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀναδείκτεθα μάχην, εἰ δ᾽ οὖν, τὴν συστη- ρίαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταξὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν νησίς σὺν αὐτῶς πλωτήσαν τοῖς Κορινθίοις προσοκεῖλαν περιοπή- σαθαι. Ὅ δ᾽ ἀπελθὼν καὶ τὸν πολῶν στόλον τῶν

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.

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 Cantacusenus 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 Cantacusenus 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.
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 own; but the citadel, which 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 obtained 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
§12

1. Pròs dé tòv òuvtòròtòpòs ápéllàs ò Vaiòmòntos órròdóshas kai ìì òrìônh dì kai òrròsíasu prós ììônv (òustè gàp kàtì òrìéjron eîçe stàrátìmpa òustè kàthà thállassa stòlòv-

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 menacing him from both
When another such ever e seen in our lifetime.

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 an 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 all the more; I for myself am astonished that he being alive could bear such a siege of his nostrils, and 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 e 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
γὰρ διὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὴν Ἀντιόχου κατέλαβον καὶ Συρίαν ὅλην ἡνδραποδιασάμην τὸ ἐμὸν δόρατι, πολλῆς παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς στρατιάς πικρίας ἐνεφόρησα, ἐλπίσας ἐξ ἐλπίδων παραπεμφόμενος, καὶ εἰς μυρίας συμφορᾶς καὶ πολέμους βαρβαρικοῦ ἐμβαλλόμενος. 6. Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἵσθι με, κἂν ἀπέθανον, πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναβεβαιωτάκατοι καὶ τὰς σὰς διαδεδρακότα χείρας. Πάντα γὰρ ὅσολον καὶ πάσαν χείρα καὶ γνώμην διαλαβόν ἐκ σχήματι ἀποτεθηκότος, νῦν καὶ ὅσον καὶ κινομένους καὶ τὸν ἄρα πνεὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κορυφοῦ διατείματος πάντα μεμεμέμενα ἀγχελλάς τῇ σῇ βασίλειᾳ, ὡς καὶ ἀναμαθὼν οὐκ ἂν περὶ χαράς ἀποδέξασθοι, ἄσω τῷ μὲν Ταγγρὲ καὶ ἐμῶ ἄνευροι τῷ Ἀντιόχου πόλιν παρακατεθέμην, πρὸς τοὺς σοῦς στρατηγοὺς ἀντίμαχον ἀξιομαθόν καταλείψας αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἴδιαν ἀπετιμοῦ σοι, μὲν νεκρὸς φημιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτῷ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δεινὰ βουλευόμενος. Ἐφ᾽ ὃ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ Ρωμαιῶν κλονήσεις, καὶ ζῶν ἀποθετηκάν καὶ ἀποθανόν ἐξῆς. Εἰ γὰρ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἤπειρον καταλάβοιμι καὶ Λογγιάρδους καὶ πάντας Λατίνους καὶ Λεσπερίους καὶ τοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς Φράγχους ὑσαίμας· ἀνδράς Ἀρεος μηνίνονας, πολλῶν φόνων καὶ πολλῶν σιμάτων τὰς σὰς ἐμπλήσατο πόλεις καὶ χώρας, ἐκεὶ ἅπας ἀυτὸ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τὸ δόρυ πέρασμα. Εἰς τούτον ἀρὰ ὁ βαρβαρὸς ἀλαζονείας ἐπήρτη. 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 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.
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 odorous 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 confessing 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
Counts lavish presents and sent them off home; he had received great attention from the Emperor and had been well remembered by the Emperor. After taking leave of us, and in addition being well treated, the emperors and empresses would have received great attention from the Emperor and his former foes and opponents, who had broken their promises and oaths to him, and they appreciated his forbearance towards them. 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 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 ἀπεινάει χώρας, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐλεγχον τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Βασιλείου διακρισενομένων, διαφέλετε τῆς διορίας ἐπιτροπηγήσεις αὐτοῦ οἰκάθε εξαπέστειλεν. 6. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη πόλιν σιουδάκως ἐξῆλε, ἀμα μέν καὶ τοὺς νεὰδες τὰ στρατιωτικὰ παίδευεν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βασιλείου ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμης ἀπείγοντκα τῆς ἀπὸ Λογγιβδρίας πρὸς τὴν ἡμείας αὐτοπεραίστεος. ἀπελθόντες τοῖς οἱ κόμιτες ἐκείνοι ἐλεγχοι τοῦ Βασιλείου γεγονόσειν ἀντικαθίστατοι, ἀπατεώναν ἀποκαλούντες αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ τυχόντον ἐπαληθίουντα, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἐλέγχοντες καὶ κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἀποκρύπτοντες, μάρτυρας αὐτοπιστοῖς ἐστι παριστάντες.

§2

1. ἔπει δ’ ὁ τοῦ Βασιλείου διαπεραιώσις ἀπανταχεὶ διαδόθο ὁ πολλῶν ἐδέτο ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δυνάμεων καὶ ἀναλογοῦν στρατευτικῶν ἀντικαθισταμένων πρὸς τὰ κελτικά πλῆθη, οὐκ εἴμελλον οὐδ’ ἀνεύστα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν μετέπεμπτον, τὸν Κατακκυζηον Φιλί καὶ τὸν Μοναστράνην. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Αλοδίκειαν ἐφρούρει, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ταρσίν, τούτων οὖν ἐκεῖθεν μετατεμφοίμουσαν ὡς ἐρήμους τὰς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φρουρομένας χώρας καὶ πόλεις κατέληπτεν ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὴν Αλοδίκειαν τὸν Πετζέαν μὲν ἐπέρκετον ἐκπέμπει δυνάμεως, ἐς δὲ γε Ταρσόν καὶ ἀπάσας τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν Μοναστράνην πόλεις καὶ χώρας τὸν Ἀσπιετῆν. ἀνήρ δὲ οὗτος εὐγενῆς ἐς Αρμενίαν ὀρίμων καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία διαβεβημένων, ὡς ἡ φήμη τὸ πηνευτην ἔκρυσα, κἂν ὁ τότε καιρὸς οὐ πάνω τοιούτων ὡντα ἐξήλεγξαν δοῖ γα τὰς ἐς στρατηγικὴν δόναμας. 2. ο οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτροποφεῖν Ταγγρῆ, ὅν ὁ λόγος φθάσας καταλέλουτεν ἐν Συρίᾳ, φήμης τὸ ὑπερπέμπομεν πυκνᾶς, ὡς θαν ταχοῖς καταλάβοι τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐφ’ οἱ πολυρρήων αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν τὸ θαλάσσιον ἀφέλάθαι χειριῶν ἀτε Ἰδίων οὐκαὶ καὶ τὸ δόρατο τοῦτον τῶν Τούρκου ἀφαρεθήσασθαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον φήμας τοιοῦτας πανταχεῖς κατέτημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἔστελε τὰ χείρα τούτων, ἀ καὶ τὸ Ασπιετῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκατόντι τὰς ἐνεχειρίτεος καὶ οὐκ ἔστελε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπείδων ἐπομένας τινα καὶ ἐποικών καὶ καθοπικενείον ποιεῖν, δυνάμεις τὲ συναγοράς ἀπανταχόθεν ἐς Αρμενίαν τὲ καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ τούτως καθ’ ἐκατόντι ἦμεραν γυμναζόν καὶ πρὸς παρατάξεις καὶ μάχαις ἐξομαλύζων τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἐστιν οὐ καὶ εἰς προνομάς ἀπεστέλλων καὶ τὸν κατόπιν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρεμβαίνον τὰ τε πολυρρητικὰ δρόμανα κατασκευάζομεν καὶ παντοτερόποσος πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἑαυτῶν ἀνιστῶν. 3. ἀλλὰ

1. As Bobemund’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 Cantacuzenos and Monasras; 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 Petzes with other troops to Laodicea, whilst to Tarsus and all the towns and provinces under Monasras 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
tauta mên ekeínoi· o de Arménios Aspietís, õðe
per miðëncos aútò epitkuzéméno miðë fóboðntos
miðë tosooutón épkremémvnon tís kívnón, éká-
hto rìthìmwn báraptáous pòtous nóktos eautò
suvntón, kai poi anórdikoçatos te ën ã Æreos
úsappistís génnvntos, èpán de Kukíka
prosùkêle, pórrio dëstótoùkh chêrós gegovó
kai einaivnthēsas toi prágamìa trírwos eautòv
ekidvndhpi pantoías, õútos o Arménios ekéínoi
ékthelúnémonos kai diarrew dìnhneko, õpeidh
katalabbi o tis políkríthi kairóu, ánape-
tocos ñørh pòs proiktwv ferepovntont
 tôn Tággvne, kai ouè pró tòs vroníaç ekéínoi
 tôn ñálepluk káttrophi tì õakoù õútè
kairunfróforo tóutò õleíhóthos ñía tòv kata
Kukíkían poròthèsn pró tòs ástropas
éntptes. 4. o ðe mèn gar Tággvne õðhrón õ
Antiquikia stratoúsias stratoù wumíanóndro kai,
dychi tóutòs diolómênoi, tòus mèn diá tìs
ìxepévò pèipte tìs Móou póleii, tòus ðe
nauai trîmèsn emvallon ñía tìs òlatalìs õgè
 tô pòtamo Sáronì. rèi ðe õanòbhn õútòs ñpò tòv
 tôn Tággvne õrdòv kai diá méstòv paraðarón tòv
èvnèn pòleoi Móou, tìs te katalélmìnei kai
ìs tìstaìnei, ès tì Súrrakón ékdivósi Pélagoç.
òp oí õi õiðes õanàplvnsai tòv Tággvne kai tò
stòmatì pèllassai tòutòv tòpòtov pròs tòs
gevfròv anèçhsan, õi tìs àmofòtêras pòleis
ëvníntpsai. perìrrheîto tòvnon õ pòles ekatè-
òsth tò stratoúsmi bâlvmènì· ènhèn tòi kai
rðdiðèi èxhòn diànâmvmexèn pròs tìs pòlin õuòi,
kai peòmabèan õk õatèrò oì õa èètìs õiðès
ëplèblvntes. 5. o ðe, õðper miðëmiàs kai
vno-
tòmaià õpòûsèi miðë tòsouýou smûnuì stratì-
toùv õeribouvntos kýkloð tìs pòlin, õlìga
tòutòv èfrôntièen õúk oî õ oî õi tì páthòi kai
ànàxwos tòtè tìs àtotòv génnvntos tìstheîèi-
tòtv èmuìntopàstov tòv õándra tì basilikì
stratoúsmi pèlloìkhe. ti õûn èdèi õaðèn tòs
kúlkàs pòleis õpoû tìlmikòoutov katástropti-
ûnìas õándros; tì te õár õlá tì Tággvne
romaleitòstov tòv kàt' àtàv õeghèi kai èès
ìstratìghikì èmepèrían tòv sófròv õthamázo-
ûnì, polòrkìsei ðe pòleis àfrukòtostov
ìstratìghov. 6. kai õthamàseì tìs èntwthi
gevòvò, ðè tòv àotokratòra dièlèthe tò tòv
Aspiétov õpèirópolèmòv, éggì ð' õan õèpèrpo-
lògìsmìaì tòumîkì patòsò, õtì tò tòv õénov
èpèsìstov tòv àotokratòra pèpèkhen, õò õ te
òv gégvóno lâmrìstis kai tò tòv õnòmatoù õep-
bòstov pòlla õeneiçegénèv õèhò tì tì
Aspiétov árìeh, õì õár tôn Aðrakídòv tò práto
fèron õekèinò kai êè basilikò õatágywnó
òmàtov· ènè̀nh tòi kai stratoòðárrhìv àtàvò
hêìwkei pàsòs õatòlìhì kai èè õèpèrporàvou
bàvmìdòs õènìgevnì õllòvò te kai õeiràv tìs
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 aban-
donned 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 emptied 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 Arscacidae 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,
ancilla in his majesty. 7. and 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. This is sufficient about these men. To the various generals engaged in the West he sent other letters enjoining them to march to Stilianitzta 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 and [306] written. 

1.  ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων· πρὸς δὲ γε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν ἐνδιατήροντας ἡγεμόνας ἑτέρας ἐκπείπτει γραφάς κατανίκησε Στιλιανίτζης τὴν πορείαν ἐνταλμέομενος παιδιέσθαι. τὶ δὲ; τοὺς μὲν προμάχους μετεκλείσετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνάπαστοκεὶ ρήστονς ἀπολαίον καὶ βασιλείους χρῶμενος, ὥστε εἰσίθαισιν οἱ τὸν βοσκήματος βίον προσέλομεν βασιλεῖς; οὕμοιον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα δῶς ἐνδιατῆρει ἐτὶ ἤγειτο ἐξελελυθῇς ἐπὶ τὸν Βυζαντίον, ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῶν ἐπισπέρων ἐληλύθη χορὸν τὴν Ἐπιτολοῦ πῶλιν καταλαβόν τε ἑκατὸν Σεπτεμβρίου ἐπεμβάλεσθες τεσσαρακοκικάκις εἰκοστοῦ <πέμπτου> ἔτους ὕστερα, ἐξ οὗ τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἡγίας περιεξόμεθα. 2. καὶ τὴν αἰχμάλωταν δὲ παρεβιάσατο συνεξελελυθῆναι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτος τῇ ἡν· οὗ πάνω τι δημοσίευσθαι ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πόλλα μὲν οἰκουροῦσαν ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης ἔργα ἐποίησεν, λέγον δὲ βιβλίον τὰ ἀνελεῖξε τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδόρον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ εὐποιεῖς καὶ χάριτας εἰς ἀνθρώπους, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους οὓς οἴδε τὸ τοῦ σχῆματος ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου ἑρμαίνει Θεόν καὶ προσευχή προσανέχειν καὶ καταληκτικὰς ὁδοίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μέλλοι δημοσιεύσαιν εαυτὴν κατὰ τίνα ἔχειν ἀναγκαστάτην ὡς ;
Who had more right to be by the Emperor’s side — loose their slanderous tongue and malicious talk. 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 early times 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. 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 it was 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?
summed the mobilization of the emperor, devised schemes, to the end that they might, finally, to resist, to keep an eye on every detail, and to see to it that nothing was left undone, to ensure that in this, as in all other respects, the emperor was prepared for whatever was necessary.

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-poison 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 Massagetae 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,
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 necessary 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 corroborated of my words.
εξηρήτησαν τὰ τοιαῦτα αἵτις δοξάζων, ὅμως ἠρώτα τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινοὺς, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν τὴν τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀξίων πρὸν ἐφθάσει Basiliou (ἀνήρ δὲ οὕτως πολλὰν τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἴνοικαν ἐνδεικνυόμενος) περὶ τοῦ φανέρου ἀστέρος ἐπυνθάνετο. ὁ δὲ ἐς νέωτα φυλάξει ἐπηγείρεσκε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ ἀπέλθων οὐ κατέλευ (τέμενος δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ ὁνόματι τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὐαγγελίστου Ἰοᾶννου πάλαι ἄνωκοδομηθείς), ἔπει πρὸς δυσμᾶς ὁ ἡλικίας ἦν, περισσοκέπτε τὸν ἀστέρα. διαπορευόμενοι δὲ καὶ καμάτι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἱπνόσει ξυμβέβηκαν καὶ τρικαύτα τὸν ἄγιον θεάσατο ἱεράτικοι ἐσταλμένοι. ὁ δὲ περιγράφετε γεγονός οὐκέτι ὃνπερ ἕδοκεν, ἀλλὰ ὣς ὁρᾶν ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ γνωρίσας τὸν ἄγιον, ἐμφάνεος γεγονός, μεθὲ υποστολῆς ἤτειτο τῶν ἀγγέλλικως ὁ ἀστήρ ἦστι γνωρίσασι οὐ. ὃ δὲ Κελτὸν κύνησι προσημαίνει τούτων ἐφή: „τὸ δὲ σφέννυθε τὴν τοῦτον αὐτοῦ που κατάλυσην ὁδηγήσει.“ 3. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὸν φανερὸν ἀστέρος τοιαύτα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην καταλαβὼν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσε, ἤτοι μᾶζευσε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Βαυὴρού παραχρόνους ἐκπέμπειν μὲν τοὺς νεολέκτους τῶν τε ἐτεινεὶ καὶ βίβλια κατὰ σκοποῦ πέμπεις καὶ περιφράττεσθαι θυρεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξικελκύσας ἐς ἄλλου ἀξίας διὰ γραμμῶν παρασκευάζων δυνάμεις, ἵνα, ὀπισθία καρδοὺς καλίσθη, βάττον παραγένεται πολλὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ ἐπαίποτο πρόκειν τὴν τε πόλιν τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀσφαλείασθαι, ἤτοι ἔμενεν τᾶς τῶν δευτέρων ὁν Ἰασικοῦ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτους Ἀλέξιον καταστεσάμενος, ἀμα δὲ κάκτος τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς θάλασσας τῆς Ἀθήνης πόλεως καὶ αὐτὴς Ἑλληνίκης στόλου παρεκκλείσκετο ἀπάρτισαι πολλὸν δὲ παρεμποδιζόντων τὴν τοῦ στόλου κτίταν διὰ τὸ μήπος τὴν τοῦ Βαυὴρού κατεπειγέν διαπεραίωσιν, δὲ δ’ ὅμως οὐκ ἑπείτετο λέγον δεν εἶναι τὸν στρατιώταν ἄναστακτον φώλακα καὶ μὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐν ποιήμαν παρασκευαίσθαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πόρρω ὁρᾶν μήτε μὴν χειροδοτόν καρυὸν καλόντων ἄνετουν φαινεται καὶ μᾶλλον ὁπισθῖα ἐρυθόν ἐξήρθην ἀείτηται. 4. ταῦτα τοῖνος δεξιώτατα διαθέμενως, ἐκέθενεν μεταναστείς καταλαβάνει τὴν Ἀρχαίαν, κάκτεθεν ἐθισὶ ἄχρι τοῦ Σκληρίου, μεμαθηκός δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰοᾶννον τοῦ υἱὸ τοῦ σεβαστακράτους ἦτταν κατὰ τῶν Δαλματῶν προάσπιστον δυνάμεις ἀποφράσας ἐκέμπεις ἐς ἀρογήν, ὁ μὲν οὖν Βολκάνος εὐθὺς προηρύτατος ὅση ἐφῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὰ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοὺς ζητηθέντας ὁμήρους ἐκέμπειεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐγκαρτερήθησι ἐπὶ ἐναυῶν ἐνα καὶ μῆνας δύο, ὡς τὸν Βαυὴρον ἐτο τῆς Λαγιμαρίδας μέρεσι διατρήβοντα ἐπεπληροφόρητο, τὸν χειμώνος ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντος ἰδὶ, 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 quick when required. He also showed great care for Illyria, strengthened the city of Dyrachium and appointed Alexius, the Sebastocrator's second son, prefect of it. At the same time he ordered the Cyclades, and all the maritime towns of Asia and 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 Strubitsa and went on from there to Slopinus. 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
And now a fresh potion of ills had been mixed again for the Emperor; this one was not prepared by ordinary people, but certain very proud of their courage and [310] brilliant descent, who breathed murder, plotted against the imperial power. 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 group from which agitations did not arise against him. At home disaffection was nothing and rounded by such a crowd of dangers. For there how it came about that the Emperor was sur setting in, he dismissed all the soldiers to their homes and himself returned to Thessalonica. While 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. 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 Antelius, 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 Anelius or Anelthis. 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 wishes; 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 Phidias 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. kikein de kata tou autokratopoos allous asotis kakeon exzeugyerto, de oyu’ upo tous tuchonontes exertiseto hoi andreis gar tines, ev andreia kai genous eikleia megala aghontes, kata tou b Basilikou emelisentos symatosis phonon peneontes. Kai thamado, enteuda tiis istories geynoria, pouthen tosoooron plithos kakeon ton baziela periostrispeni oueden gar, oueden hnu ouid’ otopothevoun, o mi kat’ autou ekkeintio. Ta te gar enon apoastasiai isein mesta kai ta exothen epanastaseos egume, kai mepo proo ta enon tou autokratopoos antikatastastano taktos pantata
periespapame, barbareus amia kai touz evdou touz turaunous tis tisy tis autheis oustei tina zachantas autophwes aniblastanovs, kaitoi tou basileous apanta prou to meermoterou kai filanvropoterou epiterpeuvontos kai dioikovnomoumenon tis pragmatas, kai ouz estin ontina uzi tozes agathous katakklozontos. 2. touz men gar kai ezwoamaton timias katektidiane kai doressais megallias katasqliouvizein au ouk onhike, touz de ouvoudhpoete barbareus, afrosmas uzi didous pollemov uzi anagkhn epagwnon autou, anassoubontas omios anastedelein, ouz esti kakwn stratignwn, ton pragmaton hgyagwonton, autous ezepites anerezhizein toun periz eis pollemov. eirhine men gar telos esta pollemu panto, to de anthlasei au autwthe to enexa tou kai tou agathou telous au amelien, touto anoitasa esti stratignwn kai dmyagwgon kai ollebthon pragmateneoumenon tis polews. all ouz basuleus Alieos touvantron upan epoiei kai tou eirhnevein ektopous epiemelito kai parousasan au pantaqhtein sunixe kai apousias epighunives polallas, ouzes epapandeloi, kai ouz ton autou kata phines men eirhnikos, anagwagwonton de ton pragmaton pollemikotatou, kai eugwe au phain ton tharwnotou peri to thandros ekxinos, ouz ara tou basuleikos charaktiros, polloou chrionou kataleloupoton to to Roumianon basileia, ouzei au autou kai monoou epanelaithori trpouda tin tite protw tis tis Roumianon hgemonia epizouvewnoumen.

3. all ouz eper elenon tou logou arhymen, ouz thewamezen eugwe ton tonos gia ton pragmaton ton polleumon epignivein, tis to gar egw kai tainon panta ouz iden kinamounve pantaqhtein. all ouz ge basuleikos Alieos kai ton arfani ton egwrou kai krefa kai prosthentei te kai pantodapos mekhnemias purrow tis blavas apilea, kai proz touz evdhen turaunous kai proz touz ezeugan barbrous antaghvnonodemou au prosthwoan oxyziti nou tis ton epiboulouwnton epiboulas kai anikownton ton touton orumamase. kai eugwe stochozoume apo ton pragmaton auton ton tisy tis basileias, ouz pantaqhtein synervosein ton deinata kai epetarpako autou te to sumia tis politeias kai pan allouteron emeumhe kata tis basileias Roumianon, ouz eti tis oudeis eugw kakeis, ois kai upo ton alloudasov pollemelousai kai upo ton oikeiou katasperhseis tis sarkas diamasswmenon, touvnon de anegrouphe ton pronooun, lana proz tais pantaqhtein kaka antimagnwpto, ouzper de kai to thnikota synedhe eudei ouz tis gar Baivounntos o barbaramos o polallas emewn ezeugwton kataba ton skpnteron Roumianon barvaton stratemei epagwmonov kai to turvanikon touvo plibhos eiterwthei antepetigeireto, kathaper dwotho tou
And the Anemades themselves, imagined he headed dispositio; 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 Hylaees, the boldest men in battle that ever were, and besides them Nicetas Castamonites and a certain Curticius and George Basilicius. These were all leaders in the military party, and of the Senate was John Solomon. Because of the latter's superfluous 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. 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 floundering 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 wax. 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.

Now, as said above, Solomon was of a light-headed disposition and as he understood nothing of what was mediated by Exazenes and Hylaees and the Anemades themselves, imagined he
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 στρατιώται, τοὺς Ἀνεμάδας φησὶ καὶ Ἀντίχοις καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον συνωμότας, κατὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν τὴν σκαιωτὰν ἐποιοῦτον σῶματος, ἴνα ὡσπερκαὶ καρπὸν ἑυθέτου τύχουν, παρευρέθη τὸν μελετομένον κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορος φῶνον εἰς ἑρών προάξωσιν. ὡς δὲ παρὰ τῆς προνοίας ἀδεία συμπαίστησαν τούτοις ἑδίδοτο καὶ ὁ καρπὸς παρευρήσετο, τυποθέτητες μὴ καταφοροὶ γένοντα, ὧν ἐπεζήτησιν καρπὸν ἐδόξαν εὐρηκήναι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετὰ τὸ δυσπιστήθη κατὰ δείλην ἔφαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν φροντιδῶν ἐγκυμονημένην ἥμισυν καταγλυκαίνειν ἐθέλουν ἐνίοτε συμπαίστησις εἶχε τῶν συγκεκεχερούσων τινάς παῖζον τὸν ζατρίκον (παυδιὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων τριφυλίης ἐξευρημένου καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκείθεν ἐξερρήθος), οὓς τὴν τυραννικὴν ἐξεπιλαντεῖς χείρα διὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτινικοῦ ἐμπότιον ὡς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα χαραῖσαι τὸν φῶνον ὁδόντες. 2. ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτινικοῦ ὁυτός, ὡσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτυχον εὐναξιμένου, κατὰ τὴν εὐώνυμον κεῖται πλευράν τοῦ ἐπὶ ἄνωμα τῆς Θεομεροῦς ἀνεγγερμένου τεμένος κατὰ τὰ ἀνάκτορα, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπέγραφον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀθικὴν ἐδάφους ἐκ τῶν μορμαρίων κατεστρωμένων, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τούτο ἐξάγουσα πύλη τοῦ τεμένους ἄνετος πάσι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκείθεν οὖν ἐκέχειν εἰσελθέντες εἰσὶ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτινικῶν ἀποκλειόσας καταέξει πῶς καθ’ οὐς ἐισέλθοντες ἀνελεύν διὰ ξύρους τῶν αὐτοκράτορα. 3. ἀλλὰ τῦτα μὲν οἱ μιαφόνοι ἐκέννων ἄνδρας κατὰ τὰ μηδὲν ἡμικρόκτος διεσκοποῦσιν· ἔσφυλε δὲ τῆς τούτων βουλῆς ὁ Θεός, δηλολόγησε δὲ τοῦ δράματος διὰ τὸς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα παραχομὴ μετεπέμψαντο ἄπαντες, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννην τὸν Σαλομώντα καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν Βασιλάκιον εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα εἰσαγάγησαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέτρεψεν ἐγγυεῖν γενο-
ἐντὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν συγγενεῖας, ἵνα διὰ τίνων ἐξερευνήσῃ αὐτοῖς. ἀποκλείσατο φρονήματος τοῦτος πάλαι γινόσκουν τὰ τούτου µᾶς τὰ βεβολεύµενα μεµαθηκέναι οἶµον. ὡς δὲ πολλάκις ἐρωτῶµεν ἔξαρµοι ἦσαν, ἔχεισιν ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ Ἰσαίακι καὶ τοῦ Σολοµόντα ἀποφεύγας ἔφη ὁ, ὅποσ τάντος, Σολοµών, τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδέλφου καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθότητα. εἰµὲν τὰ βεβολεύµενα πάντα ἀπαγγέλεις, συμπαθεῖάς παραχρῆµα ἀξιώθηση, εἰ δὲ οὐν ἀνήκεστος βασάνος παραδοθήσης. ὁ δὲ ἐναπετίς καὶ τοὺς περικυκλώντας τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐφηβόμενον, ἐξίην ὁ ὤν ὡς τὸν µόνον εἰδεῖν διεγεύµενον, εἰτα παραδοθήσεται τοῖς τῆς φυλακῆς τούτων ἐµπεπιστευόµενοι τὸν ανακτόρον καὶ ναιπαράγοντας ἐµφυροὺς γεγόνας. 4. τοὺς δὲ τῆς ὅλους αὐθίνης ἤρωτι τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ δράµατος ὡµολογήσαντες δὲ ἀπαντά καὶ µήδε τὸν φόνον ἐπικρίνασαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατίται τούτων μεµελεθέντες ἐγνώµηνσαν καὶ µᾶλλον ὁ Ἀνέµας Μιχαήλ, ὁ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς κορυφαῖος, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κυρίου φόνον τοῦς, ἀπαντάς περιορίσας καὶ τὰς σφόδρα ἐδηµεύσης περιουσίας, ὁ µέντοι οἰκὸς τοῦ Σολοµόντος περιφράσεως ὅν ἐδόθη πρὸς τὴν αὐχοῦσαν, ἐκείνην δὲ, ὅποια περὶ τὰ ταὐτὰ, οἶκτον λαβόντα τῆς τοῦ Σολοµόντος ὑµενεύντος, ἀπεχαρισταὶ τούτων αὐτὴ µῆδε τὸ τυχὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφελοµένη. 5. τὸν µέντοι Σολοµόντα ἐµφυροὺς εἶχεν ἡ Σωζόπολις, τὸν δὲ Ἀνέµαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς προτατίσσων καὶ τὴν ἐν χρόνῳ κυρίες τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάγων ψυλλόσας διὰ µέσης ποιμαίνεται τῆς ἄγορᾶς παρακελεύσατο, εἶτα ἐκορυχθῆναι τοὺς ὀρθαλµίσας, παραλαβόντες σὺν τοῦτος οἱ σκηνοὶ καὶ σάκκους περιβαλόντες, τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς ἄνθοσθεῖσας βοῦν καὶ φροβάτων ταινίας δίκην δοµήµατες, ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἀναγαγώντες καὶ ἐγκαθιστάντες οὐ περιβάλλουσαν, αὐτὰ κατὰ περὶ ταῖς τούτων διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἡγον αὐλίδος. ῥαβδούχοι ἐμπροθέσοντος τούτων ἀρκαλύµων καὶ ἀσματίων τὶ γελοῦν καὶ κατάλληλον τῇ ποιήµα προσδέχεσθαι ἀνέβουσι, λέξει µὲν ἰδιωτοῦ δηµιουργοῦσαν, νοµοὶ δὲ ἔχον τοιοῦτον ἐβουλεύοντο γάρ τὸ ἃµα πανόµωµον πάσῃ παρακελεύεσθαι ὡς τῇ δεῖ τοὺς τοῖς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐδήµεν. 6. ἀπάστα µὲν οὖν ἧλια καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ θέσει συνετέρχον, ὡς καὶ ἥµας, τὰς τῆς βασιλείας χοεῖς, ἐξελθοῦσας λαθραίαν τὴν θέαν ποιήσασθαι, ὡς δὲ τὸν Μιχαήλ ὁς πρὸς τὰς ἀνάκτορα ἐβεβαίων ἐναπετίζοντα καὶ χειρὰς ἰκτίζοντας ἐς ὁµανόν met with the court of the palace. and decorated their heads with the entrails of their 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 they had 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
 Hercula the man from the gouging out of his eyes. This fate of men under punishment is therefore in the power of God, and it is right, therefore, to implore His mercy for in them he would be deprived of such good 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 comes to them short of the Hands and the wretches, 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...
ἀγγελος σπείδας ἔθνη τῆς ᾿Αὐξίδος, ἐν ᾗ ἀι χαλκάι χεῖρες ἦσαν ἐμπεπηγμέναι, τὸ τῆς συμπαθείας γραμμάτων ἐπιδόσος τοῖς τὸν Μιχαήλ ἄγουσι εκέθεν τοῦτον λαβὸν ὑπεστρέφε, καὶ καταλαβότυν τὸν ᾿Αγγοῦ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ὕκοδομομένοι πύργον κείθη τοῦτον καθεῖρξε: τοῦτο γὰρ ποίησα κεκέλευστο.

1. oúto d’ oútoς τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἥλευθεροῦτο καὶ τὸν Γρηγόριον αὐθής ἦ τοῦ Ἀνεμᾶ εἶχεν εἰρκήτ. πύργος d’ ἦν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Βλαχερναῖς ἀνακτόρων διακειμένων τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὁ τοῦ Ἀνεμᾶ καλομένειος, ἔσπερ τι λάγος τῆς ἐπονομίαν ταυτήν κληροσάμενος διὰ τὸ πρῶτος τὸν Ἀνεμᾶν σιδηροδότει δέξασθαι ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐν αὐτῶ χρυσοτριβήσαντα χρόνον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμείησες παρπαπενευομένη διὰ προβληθεὶς Τραπεζούντος ὁ ἡμὶ Ῥηθής Γρηγόριος ἀποσταινά πάλαι ὠδίνων ἐν τῷ πρῶς Τραπεζούντα ἀπέχχασθαι εἰς φῶς ἐξῆγε τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ἐπανοίη γὰρ πρὸ τὴν τοῦ Κωνσταντινούπολον τὸ Δαβατικὸν τῆς δουκικῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν Ταραντίτην μετατεθεῖσας συναντήσας, δεσμώτην εὐθὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμφυρῶν οἰς Τῇβενναν εἶχεν, οὗ τῶν Δαβατικῶν δὲ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Τραπεζούντων ἱκανοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τοῦ τὸν Βακχηνὸν ἀδελφίδουν. οὗτος τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ὁμολογῶν ὕπον ἐλώνων, ὑμορφωνναστές ἀπαντῆς τοὺς μὲν φρουροῦντας αὐτῶς τοῦ ἀποστάτου αἰκίας καθοπομπαλόντες ἐξο τῶν τειχῶν ἐξαγαγόντες πάρῳ που ἀπῆλπαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν Τῇβενναν σφετερισάμενοι κατείχον. 2. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκισι διὰ γραφῶν ποτὲ μὲν μετεπέμπετο αὐτῶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ξυνεβούλευς τῆς κακίστης ἀποστῆτιν πράξεως, εἰ βουλεῖτο συμπαθείας τυχεῖν καὶ εὶς τὴν προτέραν ἀναχθῆναι κατάστασιν, ἐνιοτε καὶ ἥπειλε, εἰ μὴ πείθητο,

§7

1. Michael had not yet been liberated from prison before Anemans’ prison received Gregory again. Forthistower was one of those in the city-walls near the palace of Blachernae, and was called the 'Tower of Anemans' just as if it had got this name by fate as Anemans 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 Tranzpezus, disclosed his secret on his journey to Tranzpezus. For he met Dabatenus (who was returning to Constantinople 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 Tranzpuztines, 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.
πειραχθήνει οπως τοις πολλάς συνεπαγόμενων δυνάμεις. 3. μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τούτου ἐλευσιν ὁ Ταρονίτης Γρηγόριος ἐξελέθην ὡς πρὸς Κολώνειαν ἁπει (πολύγον δὲ τούτῳ ἐρμώνταν καὶ ἀνάλοτον) ὡς ὑπεκαλέσασθαι τὸν Ταυσμάνην εἰς ἀρογην. τοῦτο ἔν τι ἀπίπα τεμαθηκώς ὁ Ιοαννῆς, τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοῦ ἱδίου στρατεύματος ἄποδειλομένους καὶ λογαθάς Ὄρημαίους κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξεπέμψαν, οἱ καὶ προκαταλαβόντες καρτερᾶν τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄνεδρισαντο μέχριν. δύο δὲ γενναίοι εντυχόντες αὐτῷ κατέσχον διὰ τῶν δοράτων καταβαλόντες τοῦ ἱπποσ, καθ' οὗτος ἀναλαβόμενοι αὐτὸν ὁ Ιοαννῆς ζυγίζαν ἅγει τὸ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπιμοσάμενος μὴς θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸ παράπαν μὲτε ὡμλίας ἄξιοστα κατὰ τὴν ὄνν: πολλὰ δὲ ὅμως ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκείνου ὑποκρίνομενου τῶν ὑμάτων αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι ἀποστρατεύσατα. 4. μοιὸς οὖν ὁ αὐτοκράτορ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεχαρώσας κατανείς δὴθεν ταῖς αὐτῶν παρακλήσεις, πολλὰ παρεγγυθέναι τῷ ἱπποσ, μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τὴν ἐν χρῶ ἑωραῖαν κεφάλην τοῦ ἀναστραφήναι τὸν πόρον ὀψίαν. δὴ οὗτος εἰς τὸν ὃδε ῥηθέντα πυργὸν τῶν Ἀνεμᾶ ἐσαχθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμφουρσὸς ὃν αὐτὸς τὸν ἀπονοοίᾳ τῶν ὑμάτων ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας ὁσιμέρα ἀπορρυφάζον, πολλῆς παρὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιμελείας διὰ μακρὸν ἡμιοῦχο χειρόν, ὡστε μεταβαλεῖν καὶ μετανοεῖν ἐνδείξασθαι τρόπον. ὃ δὲ ὁ αὐτός καὶ αὐθήκης ἦν, μετακαλεῖ δὲ υἱὸς τὸν ἐμὸν καίσαρα πάλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς φίλιος ἔχων, καὶ παρεχόρει τοῦτο τηγακία καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἑφ' ὡς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς αὐτῶν ἀνακάθαρθαι ἁθυμίαις καὶ συμβουλήσεσθαι τὰ λόγον. ὃ δὲ βραδὺς πρὸς τὴν ἑπὶ τὸ κρέετρον μεταβολὴν ἐφαινέτο εὐθυνὸς τι καὶ ἐπὶ πλειονά καρυὸν ἐμφουροῦ ἡν. εἰτα συμπάθειας ἀξιοθείς τοσαύτης φιλοσοφικοῦς ἀπήλαν καὶ δώρον καὶ τιμῆς ὀπόσις ὀυδὲ προτόποι, ὁποῖος ὁ ἐμὸς βασίλευς 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 exhortcd him repeatedly not to let their conversation be divulged. Three days later, he had Gregory's hair and beard shaved off close to the skin and led in that condition through the middle of the Agora and then imprisoned in the tower of Anemus 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. ὁτὲ μὲν ὁτὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιβαίλους καὶ τὸν ἀποστασίν τὴν Ἰρμυρίου οἰκονομῆς τοῦτό οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Βαυβυοῦντον ἑλάθετο, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Κοντστέρπανον Ἰσαϊκίων μέγαν δοῦκα τοῦ στόλου προβαίλετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐξεπέμψαν ἐπαπειλήσαμεν τὴν τῶν ὀρθολόγιαν αὐτοῦ ἐκποίησιν. Εἰ μὴ ψήδας προκαταλαβῇ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλικόν τοῦ Βαυβυυοῦντου διαπεραίστων. πέμπει δὲ καὶ συνεχή 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 Dyrrchium 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
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.

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-couns, 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...
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.
έβαλε το διαπόνιον πόρρωθεν κα μν στρογγύλας στόλου συνεχέσιν κατάκροτον ολουσό ενοι μν έτρων τινων ένην ονήρους, παρηγγυσσάν πολλρίαν {τούτου ών το εσκοπο αφυλακ Δυρράχιον κα εωσιν, στοχασά αφυ Ανήσια μλαβάνειν. 

1. τούτων ούτω διατεθέντων οι μὲν ἀπήσασιν ή λουσόμενοι ή κατά σχήμα λουσόμενοι· ὁ δὲ Βαϊμούντος δώδεκα μὲν ληστρικὰς νής τάξας ἀμφι· αὐτῶν δήμης ἀπάσας οὐσάς καὶ εἰρήσας πολλὴν κεκτημένην, ως καὶ ἤθηκικὸν τι καὶ κατάκροτον ἑπικτοποῦσαν τὰς τοῦ κοπῶν συνεχέσις ἐπεμβολάς, κύκλο δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτον στόλου συντάξας στρογγύλας νής έξ εκατέρω μέρους καθάπερ περίβολον έντος τοῦ πολεμικὸν συνέκλεις στόλων. καὶ εἴτε ἦν ἰδιό καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀπὸ σκοπᾶς θεσάμενος πόλιν εἶναι διαπάντων τὴν πλέουσαν ναυστολίαν. συνεπέβαλε γάρ τι κα τὰς τῆς τύχης αὐτῆς· κα γάρ ἢ τε 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.
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 w1-die 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 Contostephani, the Landulps and other such folk.

2. Indeed, when Landulph saw Bohemund crossing the sea with this dread array and with transports carrying mysriads 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 Dyrachium; 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 Dyrachium; 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 Dyrachium itself. 4. But before speaking of the tyrant Bohemund’s fight for Dyrachium 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
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 t at name, I cannot say which it was. Now Elissus is a fort built on a hill and quite impregnable, and looks down upon Dryrrachium in the plains, as the saying is ; and it is so secure that both by land and sea it can afford great assistance to Dryrrachium. 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 Basilius 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 διαιραίωσιν ἑδήλου. δὲ ἐπανίόντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ κυνηγεσιού καταλαβὼν, ὅρμαιός εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσηδίσας τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντος διαιραίωσιν τρανῶς ἔβδο. ἄπαντες μὲν οὐν οἱ τότε παρόντες ἐπάγησαν, οὔπερ ἐκαστὸς ἐπιχεῖ, καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντος κλήσιν ἀποναρκήσαντες: ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, πλήρης θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ὁν, λύον τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὕποδήματος „πρὸς ἄριστον“, ἐφη, „τὸ παρὸν τραπώμεθα· τὰ δὲ γε κατὰ τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον αὕθις κατασκεψόμεθα“. 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.”
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’ 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 of 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 29th 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 Michaēle et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantini (Bonn, 1835)

**Edition and translation:**

**Translation:**

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

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 Sultan Azatinës 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 sultan, who lived in indolence and private licentiousness. These nobles were the Basilikoi, men of Rhodian origin who passed from the theatrical profession into the sultan’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...

τὰ πιστὰ ἐλαβόντες δὶα γραμμάτων ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ βασιλικῶν καὶ τὰ καθ’ αὐτοὺς εὐ διαθέμενοι, ὅπως ῥυτίρη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα χωροῦν ἐν αὐτοῦς Ὀ γεθέται τι ἀσμένους καὶ τιμὴ τοῖς προσήκουσι, τὸν μὲν παρακομοῦντον τοῦ κοίτινος καταστημανέον τὸν βασιλέα, βάρον ἔστω βασιλικὸν μέγαν ἑπαρεφάρην ἀποδείξει· καὶ ἐξήγαγο τούτων, δεξίος ἐς ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς τὰ πράγματα φαινομένους, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτούς φιλία τοῦ βασιλέως προσήην. Οἱ δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοθέν ἐξοντες, οὐκ ὁλίγα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς οἰκονομιάς λαβόντες, πιστῶς μάλα καὶ εὔνοικος, κατὰ Ρωμαίους μετασχηματισθέντες, ὑπηρετοῦντο τῷ βασιλείῳ ὡς κἀκεῖνος γὰρ οὕτως ὑπενθησάται τὰς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εὐνοίας ὡς ἡ κατ’ ἁξίαν χάρις τοῖς ἁξίους οἰσομένοις ἀπὸ τούτων προσεποιημένη.

Τὸτε καὶ ὁ σουλτάν, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν κραδανομένων, ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὸ φανὲν τῶν Τοχαρών ἡθῶς, ἀμα καὶ διὸς πραγμάτων ἔνεκα, (B131) καὶ μεθὲν ἤξον ὡς καὶ δράςεις, τῶν ἀπάντων διεγχαμενών, ἦξον ἀμα γυναῖκι καὶ τέκνοις, πρὸς καὶ καὶ γηραια μητρι, κριτικὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐσία, καὶ ἰδελθῇ, καταφεύγειν εἰς βασιλέα, ὡς εκείθεν καὶ κύκλως ἐξον βοήθειαν καὶ κατὰ καὶ καὶ ἐπανέλθουσα ἀνὴς ἐς ὑπερτέρας χαρὸς καὶ ἰδίως· μεθὲ γὰρ πιστεύειν ἦξον ἐπέρω τὴν σοφηματα, επεὶ καὶ ὁ προφητείας Μελημής, πρὸ χρόνων αὐτομολίσας, παρὰ βασιλέως κατείχετο, ὡς καὶ καταμένειν ὑπό τις ἀνυστάτους ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἁπαντάς τὰς εἰς τὰς ἀρχης κράτους ἐνθέεται ἕνοικο. Επείσοδε δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐς βασιλέα παλαιας ἐκείναις (F185) φυλοφορήθησε καὶ ἐθάρρησε φανεῖς ἀνύσαι τὰ πρὸς θυμοὶ. Συμφορήθησας τοιαύτῳ πλῆθος ἄρσιν ὡς πρὸς ἄρχης ἐρυμυτόν καὶ τὸν Περσῶν πλουτὸν περιβαλλόμενον, ἁμα γυναῖκι καὶ τέκνοις, τοῦ Πισοδίας προσαγογοῦντος, ὡς βασιλέα χωρεί. Ο δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς ἀσμένους δεξαμενος, οὐκ εἶχεν δ’ ὁ χήρως τοῦτοι πλὴν Μάλα φυλοφορήσαμεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνας καὶ ταρρεῖν διδοὺς ὡς κατὰ καὶ ἐπανάληξις καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ἀναλάβοτο, αὐτοῦ εὐσεβηκότος, ἐρήκε διέγαν ὡς οἱ σύνηθες ἄντι τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴκου τῆς Περσῶν ἄργουν. Ὁδὲ καὶ σέλμασι βασιλικὸς τῷ βασιλέα παρηθαρίας καὶ φοβηρός περὶ αὐτῶν εἶχε (B132) συμμαφύλακας καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς σωμβολῶς ἐρυμυτό, ἔρυθροβαφεῖς πέπλου υποδούμενος. Τὰ πιστὰ δὲ καὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὕ πράξεν εἶχε διὰ τὴν εὐ πολεοῦ χάριν ἄν κατὰ καὶ δίδαξι ἰδακτος παρὰ τοῦ εὐρύκτος τὸ κρείστω τὸ δὲ ἄρα ὅτι σταθήρα τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς νουκῆς βαθύτερον. Αλλὰ τότε, τὸν καὶ ἄριστον θεραπεύον, 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 parakoimomenos tou koitinos and naming the other Basilikos megas hetairarchês; 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 Tocharoi and because of the state of their own affairs, and since there was nothing that he could do in this general panic, the sultan 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 where 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 Melêk previously mentioned, who had deserted him some years previously, was in the custody of the basileus, and every day the sultan 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 sultan 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 sultan sat beside the basileus on the imperial dais, accompanied by his fearsome bodyguards and using the insignia of
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 Hülegū (Gr. Chalalou), the chief of the Tocharioi, to give Hülegū 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 submission; these occupied some of our fortresses, but since they suspected that it would be dangerous to attack openly, they bound themselves as a group and in general to the basileus, but individually they engaged in nocturnal ambuscades 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 abd 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

25. In the past Êanâns 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 supply brought in from elsewhere; and he also provided all necessary things to the holders, 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 Theodôros 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 that 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 explicitly instructed them to take them by a difficult route and, if anyone weakly 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 brought in from elsewhere; and he also provided forbidden arms, even to the point that they were believed to be cannibals.

Theodôros âi the árhoûn ãvastiwstnntos, ëpli ëleplînto diâi Péraiôdôs pròs èkeînou prên-bwvîasthâi — kai ëi ò ëoîg o alîthînôs —, fòboi kai târâghos ën. Êenî diâî, òmws ò basileîs, to fôbharón plasámînos, èkeînous kataasofrîsthsai. 32 Kâi prôstwv mèn prôsasttllv oûs ëdhvèn ânggulouvntas ëpî Péraiôdôs (B135) ùs ëpî avútoûs ëuterpízioto, kai oûs tachîdromôusntes èpêmupontos- miðhô diî ën tôis ânggulovnta taûta, ëi kînîndunîsouv ënniâmînou kai tôn tôv Ómmiakîn árhoûn anûpôstaton pâsn ëmoloûghûntes ëthnês, dêvulh tâkowos sferêtos kai givnàxi stîtrêsia. Ëtta ëi toûs prêbêsi prôsastlânûntos pérmûs tòus 33 ùpantôsthontas, òhs ëdhvèn kai sfrîs tòs ëoûos dêghhsa, diî òti dûshchîron (F189) ëzeplî- tôrîs tôpouk èkeînous diabîlâven prôsasttate, kân tôs ñpoknîsian èpôsths tîn ìshghîrîan, oûtû pâsan ëghan tôn tôv Ómmiakîs ãhîn âpokrînîsthsa, òhs ètoîmws èghntôn tô mè èdêna pístêvon. Ëpî ñi kai prôs basîléa pòlla ponântas paraghynînto, tînikà kai àllâ' âtà fôbera 34 ùpêndi, òhs ûntika kai èk tîs òtheas fôbîsou. Ëpêstate ìh tâs dînâmîes èn taûtô suñefèthnêi kai, ñpalîthdantas katà ñphîtarsa kai ìlîâ kai tâözês, èn pòsoiç tîs tôv ñdôn dîasthîsîn istamênuos, katâfprâuktous sîdhîrâ, fôbôn katà padîas èmposoî: tô ìh ge tôs ãfrousias kai ðson h tôn (B136) èn têli kai tô basîlé prôs àmámato, pântas prôs tô megaleústeron èskoumâ- mînous 35 kai stoloîs kai ñvnnàxì tîs ñjgîçs parastîmata, òhs ûntika kai katà pôdâs lêkazontas, pòllâkis diîntas èx èfaran, ès
tautō ἔμμπιτεν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτούς μὲν εἶναι τάς ἀλήθειας, δοκεῖν δ᾽ ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους καὶ μηδέποτε τοὺς αὐτούς, τρόπον δακτυλίους σφυνόντων μὴ ἔχοντο, ἢν τις βουλοῖτο ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὑστερὸν θεορεῖν, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν πολλάκις | 15 λαμβάνομεν εἶναι, δοκεῖν δ᾽ ἐτερὸν τῇ μεταλλαγῇ αὐτὸν δὲ βασιλικὸς ἐσταλμένον, μηδὲν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐλλείποντα, ἢν ποὺ καθήσθατι, σπάθην φέροντα ταῖς χερσὶ, βῆλος τε πολυτελεία περικεκλεισμένον, ἄλλως καὶ αὐτῶν φοβερῶν περισταμένων, ἰκανόν ὄντων καὶ τοῦτον καταπλῆξι τὸν ὅρωντα καθ᾽ ἐαυτούς ὦτοις ποιεῖν χρηματίζειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μικρὰν μὲν ἑταμένας, | 20 ὅσον εἰκάζειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὤραν τὰ δρόμων, ἐξαίφνης δ᾽ ἐξ ἀδήλου τὸν παραπασασμόν διανοιγθέντος, ὦτος ἐγγενεύθη σφίσθα δέξειν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μᾶλα σοβαρεμόμενον, ὁλίγα τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, μετεξουλογοῦντων τίνων, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα δικοῦντα, ὡς μόνον λεγόμενα καταπλῆξαι· καὶ ὦτος ἐπ᾽ ὅλον ἀφροσισθέντος τὸν χρηματισμόν, ἀποπέμπειν | 25 διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν δυσχωρῶν τοὺς ὀδηγοὺς ἐπαναγομένους.

Τὰ γοῦν πρότερα ταῦτ᾽ ἦσαν, (Β137) καὶ ὦτο δεδιδότας ἐννέβαινεν ἀντιφρεῖν ἐκ συνέσεως. Τότε δ᾽ ὦμαλῶς καὶ ἡμῶς πάντα ἐπεχείρουσι προσβείνεσθαι μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους, εκέθεν δὲ πρέσβεις δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτῖκα καὶ κατὰ κήθη σπεάδεσθαι μελετᾶν. Ὁπῶς δὲ τῶν τῆς ἁπαστολῆς μερῶν κρατούμενόν καὶ | 30 κατ᾽ ἐξίδες ἑγαθᾶς ὄντων, τὰ κατὰ δύσιν καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκύμαινον.

Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

Tic cent 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.
5. Taüz yar synexhê metakomixisei ton boraebênen meirakiskôn plêthos en kairóy soustán stratiwtikôn plêthos te tin ton Aithiôs orêmyn kai uper tà eskammina épìthos, ós pollikês, (B179) to kata sôras ñpsarale ñparroûntas, ùtpoûntas ekferein polêmous kai kata xristianôn anðrízexthai. Tôn yar Iatalon tin ti Ïoúria àpàsia paralían kateîron kai Fonikìsís arçhônton |10 kai autìs Anitsièes òto ñkratos èxonton, diamevbhetoûnton ð' èx úpereîras ñstikhos kai ton tis Palaiastînìs tônven, ós agûntitos doxan èxonton, kai màla eikôtops ðia tás ñkeîte to Ïostîros diatirbhis kai tás pàthi kai tás tis oikonomias ñrastikà, autoi ge, ñtharsinatai taì ek ton Skûthon sunstâssas dynàmës, ëxeîlhtontes pàssan èkaleîn tìn òni Musûd, to legàmenon, |15 leian èppoiwos, ðos ou kat' òlígon — odôs yar òn ton Iatalos pròs autòus spêndësthai, ñthôrrouges ñe òntas kai legomênous toû nûmou stauropô —, kai autòn ð' tôn megáston pòleos èxosantètes, autàs òias ðos èdos katîrjewos. Kai òn keîtei ñen ñ èperifaniòn Anitsièa, keîtei de ò Apâmèia, katèskpeita |20 te Tûroç kai Ïhrêtos, kai Ïidôn tà ðómià pàssie. Êterofwos ðen ñrhyni Laoðikia, Trîpôlis te kai Ïtôlemaís, tà megàla tôn Iatalon ñstaea, òois ðos ñen logjìwos. Kai ñ Ïiðamiskòs ò kalìsthi, tà pòte tis 'Româdòs òria kath' èzona, ñrânistatai pantelpèlos kai ðòlos plênik tôn eis Arînëios thëloûnton ðiûden ði sunûstatai. Ó de ñpamplhèès èkeiûnon ñlads |25 pantachoc ñhès ñûstàpà ìnueîn tôn pèsántnon, (B180) tôn muîn ðoleîmou nòmò, tôn de òkìs ðòllos nòmò ñmàrturok, ñh katadekhmoûn tìn ñrînsh. Kai

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. |18 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; |19 there is absolutely nothing left outside of the regions that belonged to the

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17 English translation of Pachymeres from this point onwards is by Camilla Ferard and Samuel N.C. Lieu (unpubl., revision pending).
18 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)
19 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 Αἰθιόπων τὸ χριστιανικὸν ἀπώναντο ταῖς ἕμετέραις ἅβουλίαις ἢ κακονοίαις ἢ αὐτονόμοις ὅρμαις καὶ ὀρέξεσι.

Τοχάρων δὲ τοῦ θράσους καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνέχομεν, οὐ δυνάμεσιν οὕμνον θαρσαλέαις, ἀλλὰ φιλικαῖς εἰτ’ οὗν δουλικαῖς ὑπελεύσεσι, κηδὴ προούντες καὶ ἄφωροφοροῦντες συχνάκες τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ μέγιστα, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἄλλο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ χρόνον ὑστέροις συνέστη πρὸς τοὺς δυτικοὺς Τοχάρους, ἕκπο-θεν ἄφαντον ἐπιστάντας καὶ τὰ βόρεια κατασχόντας, συνάλλαγμα τῷ ἀρχοντῷ τούτῳ Νογάι, ἐκδόντος τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἀπανῆς ἑτέραν παῖδα τοῦ ἐκ σκοτίων σπέρματος γεγεννημένην, Εὐφροσύνην τοῦναμα, εὖ ἂν συνέβαινε μετὰ φιλίας ἐκείνους ἐκτῶν ἂν ἐκτῶν ἄντοντο.

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.

20 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)
3. How Mary, the daughter of Eulogy, was given in marriage to Constantine, the Emperor of the Bulgarians.

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 Mesembreia 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 a serious obstacle, namely the birth of a male child. When an heir of the Roman race appeared for him, 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 Mesembreia 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.

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abbreviated version) are Scandinavians. After the death of Nogai, a troop of Alans came to swell the army of Circassians and the Goths were respectively of Iranian, Sarmatian and Germanic origin. The Rhôs (Rhôsoi in the Caspian Sea. (Cf. F444, fn. 1)

Euphrosyne, see p. 242 No. 1 and 2 (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 1270:21. This marriage is also reported by Gregoras (I, 149.17-19 CSBH), 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)

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 mingled with them, learned their habits and over time changed

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.22 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 mingled with them, learned their habits and over time changed

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, 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.
The Mongols crossed the Caspian Gates (defile of the Taurus) in 1206 and died. (Cf. F446, fn. 15)
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 ἄλλα ἄττα φρούρια, ἀπερ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπισκευασάμενοι προσεκτῶντο τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ λίαν ἐν χεροῖν (B349) ἔχε, μηδὲ φρουρίου σκιών προϊέμενος. Μεσέμβρειαν γάρ καὶ ἐκ δικαίου πάλαι ποτ’ ἔχε, λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Μυτζῆ.

fortresses firmly in his hands, 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.

26 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)
27 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.

28 The Almugavars 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 Almugavar 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 ‘Almugavar’ is of Spanish Arabic origin and can mean either ‘Corredor, algarro, 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 Crónica des Ramon Muntaner, Eine Studie zum spätmittelalterlichen Kriegswesen aufgrund katallischer Quellen, Geist und Werk der Zeiten No. 31 (Bern and Frankfurt, 1971) 57-61 and 105-09.

29 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.

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

31 Ptolemais was the Hellenistic name for the port of Acre. It fell to the Mamelukes on 18 May 1291.
at his pleurédos ἢν, πολλοὺς τ’ ἔχον αἰρετιστάς νεοτέρων πραγμάτων ἀντειχέον. Πλούτω δὲ καὶ τρυφηῦ σὺν τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτῶν ὑπηρηφανῶν ἐκ τῶν σκολευμάτων τῶν κατὰ Ἑλλάδαν, τάξιν ἐκείνην τῶν φρερίων καὶ σχήμα χαίρειν εἴς καὶ, ἐπὶ ναυσὶ κραταυσθεὶς πλείον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Μαφρέ ἀνέκαθεν Θεοδερίχῳ Σκεκλίαν κατέχοντα, κατὰ τίνα γυνικήν ἀποστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστατοῦντι καὶ τί ὀϋ τοῦτο εἰς πολέμου καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Κάρουλον καταστάνει, πρόσεσι, ὡσεις τακταῖς ὑποθήσεως σὺν οὐκεὶ ράθω, καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ κατὰ γε συμμάχιαν ἔπαθεν Θεοδερίχῳ, μετὰ τῶν ἱδρου ἐπροσβίασε. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ πόλεμος (F433) παύλαν ἔσχε καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐπιγείως οὐ τέσσεροι πολεμοῦντες εἰρήνευν — τὴν γὰρ Λακατερίναν ὁ τὸν ἔγορον ἀδελφόν εἰς γάμον λαμβάνειν, ὑπὸ καὶ εἰς βασιλέας στέψεις τὸ πάτας, καὶ διὰ τέρας, εἰτ’ ὄν γῆς, ἐπικηρύξεις κράτορα, περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνήρτα διὰ τὴν νύμφην ὁδύσαν τὸν Ἡλιοδούνον εκγόνην —, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λεγομένης πέμψας ὁ πάτας ἔρισε τὸν Ροντζέριον. Ὁ μέντοι Θεοδερίχος, οὗ πρέπον γ νοὺς ὀὐδ’ ἀλλ’ δίκαιον προδόναι τὸν ἐπὶ καρυσίς ἀναγκαίοις φανέρα χρήσιμον — ἔφθασε γὰρ αὐτῶθαν οἱ καὶ τὰ δεῖν ὡς τὸ σχήμα καταπατήσαντι, ἵκηναν αὐτῷ μὲν φιλοφροσύνην, τὸ πάτα ὑπὸ πόλεμον ὑπέθετον ὁδεγείς (B395) ἔγερθαι καὶ μῆ κατέχέον μὴν μὴν περίπετας ἐν ἄνθρωπον, ἐκπολεῖν ἐπήγγελε γινεσθαι καὶ ζητιέν ὅπου σωθήσεται.

Despite the ōλοις ἀπορηθείς, ἐκεῖνος πέμπει πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ ἱκετεύει δεξίανει· ἥχει γὰρ καὶ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ σομαχοῖν, ὅπου βούλιον βασιλεῖς. Ἦν γὰρ ταῖς ἀμφίθεσις, ὡς ἐδόξει, καὶ λήμα ἔχον γεννιόν καὶ πλέον ἀρείκου φρονήματος, πολλὸς δὲ μάλλον καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης σπουδαῖοι καὶ βαθυσκέπτω λαὸν δουλεραγόν ἄπαθελον καὶ τοῦτο κατορθοῦν τὰ μέγιστα φημιζόμενον. O Agarensians (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 weight 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) 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 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 aterna) 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 Constantinople) 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,
Σαν τους άλλους, διὰ τὴν ἄναγκην ἄρξαμενος ἡδεὶς ἐξετροφεύων, ὡς ἔρμανον ἀρπάζει τὸ σύμβαμα καὶ, πέμπον πίστεις ἐκ χρυσοβουλλῶν, αὐτὸν ἀνέδεχε καὶ λαὸν προσεδέχετο, ὡς’ ἐκένων μὲν τὸ τοῦ ἑος μεγάλου δουκὸς τιμῶν ἀξίωματι καὶ γε καὶ γαμήρων ἐπ’ ἀδελφῇ Μαρίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Ἀσίν θυγατρί καθίσταν, τοὺς δὲ γε γε περὶ αὐτοῦ ρόγας ταῖς προσημοκούσας ἐξικανοῦν, ὑπηρετοῦντάς τα κατὰ πόλεμον. Τὸ γὰρ Ῥωμαίκον, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐξηθηνικός καὶ κατὰ δύον διασπαρέω, παρερχόμενο, ἕτοι τοῦτον Ὀκτώβρεν (B396) ὅπου δουλεύει καὶ τραφήσαιτο.

13. About Michael the Despot and how he was arrested on suspicion

(F435) Ἰγ’. Περὶ Μιχαήλ τοῦ δεσπότου, ὡς ὑποστεινεῖς ἐπεσεῖθη.

13. Παρ’ ἂν αἰτίαν καὶ Μιχαὴλ, ὁ δεσπός, αἰτίας υποβλήθεις, κεκινώνευκεν. Ἐπει δ’ ἄρ’ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἤπειρον τοῦτον εἰς Νικαίαν συνάμα τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν λαῷ στρατηγήσοντα, ἐκένων δὲ πολλάκις γράφας μετακάλετο τὸν ἱδίων κάκενοι κατερρημόνας, διὰ ταῦτα ἐδόξει χρήσηθαν τοῖς βασιλέως ὡς ὑπηρετὰς, ἡδεὶς ἄπτομος ἐκ τῆς ἄναγκης για γεγενημένους, καὶ πέμπων συνήγη, πλὴν οὔτε βασιλέως εἰδότος, καὶ ὄρκους ἀπαίτησον ἐκεῖνους, ὡς περὶ ἐκατὸν ὄντας, καὶ κρυφῇν λαμβάνον καὶ μέρει δίδοει πρὸς ἐκεῖνους. Ἡν δ’ ὁ ὄρκος βασιλεύό τις πρὸς, οἵματι, καὶ μόνον· εἶναι γὰρ τῶν ἐξήρων ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων φίλοι τοῦ τέσσερις δεσπότου ἐπώμονον. Ὅ, τὸ προσαγγελθὲν, βασιλεύει καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα συνήροικοις, συνοικίοντας καὶ τῇ τοῦ Τερτερὴ θυγατρί, λιπαρῶς ὑπώπτευε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπαίτιας μελέτημα καὶ τὸ γεγονός εἰς κρίσιν ἔπειθα καὶ τὸν προσαγγέλλομεν κατεδίκασέν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μικρὸν ὥστερον καὶ ῥηθήσαιτα·

15 Τότε δὲ βασιλεύει τοιαύτα ἐδίδον τὰς πίστεις τῷ Ροντζέρῳ. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα, ὡς ἄν καὶ (Β397) μέγας τις δόξοι, οἵον δέσσων αὖ χεῖρας καὶ μόνως εἰρή, τοσοῦτοις καὶ ἄγιον ἠρουθέτο, ἀλλὰ προσφερομοιόμενος καὶ ἄλλους συνήγη, ταῖς ἀπὸ βασιλεύως ἐλίσσων ἀναπτεροῖς, ὅστε μὴ ἐχείν αὐτάρκεια νὰς συνεκορεῖν τὸ στρατολόγημα, μὴ ἐν χρήματα τόσα ὅστε καὶ προκαταρκτικά διόνυσεν ἐπὶ βασιλεύ ἐχεγγύος τὰ πλείστα παρέχοντα. Διὰ τοῦτα καὶ Γεννυϊτας προσηγότον, ἐπὶ πίστειν ἐκχείρητο ταῖς ἐκ βασιλεύουν ὅστις χλιδάξας εἰκοσι νομισμάτων, τὰ μὲν καὶ λαμβάνον, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν νην ὥστεν 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.
χρείαν ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ διαπλώσιν προσδεχόμενος.

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

14. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξηρτύοντο καὶ ἴδιον πρὸς ἔξοδοις ἔσαν, ἐπισυνιστάτηκε Γεννουῖτος οἱ δικαίως πολεμῆσαι τὸν χρέως: ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀνατίλαθος κατελάνων ἡμεῖς ἐπιτίθηκαν σὺν ἴδιοις τοῖς οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖν τὸ, κατὰ ἦσαν Γεννουῖται κεκλεισάνοις ἀρχαίοις ῥογῶν καὶ δασάκεις ἐπισχεθέντων, ἀνεπίτακτοι καὶ πάντας ἀνεπίτακτοι καὶ ἀναθαρρῶν λογισταὶ τοὺς ἐλπιδίας χρήσι, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν αὐτοὶ ἀνακόψαντο καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἀνακόπτοντες τοὺς καταστελοῦντα τοσοῦτον δὲ Ὅμοιον μὲν ἐπιτίθηκαν ἀργαὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ῥογῶν καὶ πρὸς προσδοκίαν τοὺς ἐν ἀνακύκλώσει δουλεύοντα, ἄδικος δὲ Ὅμοιος μὲν ἐπιτίθηκεν ἀργαὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ῥογῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνακύκλώσει τοὺς ἐν ἀνακύκλώσει δουλεύοντα, ἄδικος δὲ Ὅμοιος εἴς ἀργαίον (F437) εἰς μιθήσεως ἐπίθους ἀναγκαίους τοὺς ὑπερτεροῦντος, ἄδικος δὲ Ὅμοιος τὸν μὲν Ῥοντζέριον εἰς μέγαν τιμήσεως δούκα καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰδίους μεγαλόν τῶν ὑποτεθέν τοῦ ἱστορίου ἀποδεδομένου φανον ὑποτεθέν τοῦ ἱστορίου ἀποδεδομένου. Ἀλλὰ τὸν πᾶν Ῥοντζέριον εἰς μέγαν τιμήσεως δούκα καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰδίους μεγαλόν τῶν ὑποτεθέν τοῦ ἱστορίου ἀποδεδομένου φανον ὑποτεθέν τοῦ ἱστορίου ἀποδεδομένου. Ἁρμακηθέντων κατὰ τὰς ὑμολογίας καθῆσθαι. Ἡν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστάσαι, ποιλῶν φιλοτιμημένον ἀπολαµµασας (B398) δεικνύει τὴν χρήσιν, ὡς ἄν μὴ ἐν κανοίς ἐπιστήνη τὸ δώσαιν. Ἐτάχθησαν οὖν εἰς Κύκκον ἀπελείθειτε, πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔρημον ἐρεπειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, ὡς οὖν τὸν ἑχόντας κακό πολύ τι συναχθὲν πλῆθος, καὶ χρήσας καὶ σῶμασιν ἰκανούμενος, ἐφέλκει τοὺς Πέρας ἀνάγκη, οἷς καὶ δεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κατα-κεκλεισάνοις συμμαχίας φοντο.

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 Kosmi, which they used as a base from which to fight, while the Genoese finally fortified themselves around the shore with barrels, baskets, and planks, and from there, as a rampart,
térōthēn. Mólis tòn thòrūbôn basilelōw kata-
stορέπαντος, épi Kūzíkoù eis paraχειρισά-
ναι ἀπέλευν. Ἐκείσε δ’ ἐπιστάντες πόλ’, ἀττά tòw
χαλέπιων κατεπράττεν, ἐνότ’ τοῦ τείχους
cαθῆμενοι, χρήματα ἐκλέγοντες, βίους ἀρπα-
ζοντες, γυναῖξιν ἀνδρόπον ἐπιχειροῦντες καὶ τῶν
ἐποίκων ὅσαι καὶ ὄντον κατακυρεύοντος
dούλων.

(F439) Τέως ο μέν Φαρέντα Τζμή, αἰσχυνθεὶς οἰον
tὰ δρόμια καὶ πολλαῖς ἐλέγξας οἰον μὲν
ἀπήλλασσαν βασιλέως, οία δ’ πράττοντο καὶ, μὴ
πείς βαρβάρους ὄντας, καὶ αὐτὸν κατεξαν-
ισταμένον τοῦ ἀγοντός, ἀπαίρει ἔγχον. Ὁθεν καὶ
συσκευασάμενος συνάμα ναυσὶν ἰδίας καὶ οἰκεῖς
λαῷ, ἐπ’ οἶκου πορεύεται. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, καὶ ἔτι
tὸ κατ’ Κῦζίκου προσκαθήμενοι τείχει καὶ ταῖς
σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐντερφόντες ἀνταθαλάς, ὅσῃ καὶ
λήξαν τουτὰ πράττοντες, (B400) ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνδραγαθῆν τὰ δεῖνα
πείσας ἀπῆλ.

ἐποίκων ζοντες
ἐνοι
χαλεπῶν κατ
ἀπέπλεον
tέρωθεν. 15 Ἡν μὲν οὖν τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν δεινά,
tῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς πόλεως οὐδὲν ὑποστάντων τῆν τῶν
Περσῶν ἀνυπόστατον ρύμην, καὶ διὰ τούτο τῶν
μὲν φονευκόμων, τῶν δ’ ἀπαντασμένων, τῶν
μὲν εἰς πόλεις καὶ φρουρία, τῶν δ’ εἰς ἱστοῦ, ἄλλων
de καὶ εἰς τὰ κατ’ ἀντιπεραιαν ἀσφαλῆ, ὅπου ἢν καὶ
σωθεῖσιν βλεπόντων τε καὶ ὄρμοντο, τῶν δ’ ἐντὸς καὶ λίαν ἐνδεξές
ἐχόντων τῶν ἀναγκαιοῦν διὰ τῆν τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν
exapóleías. Βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ὡς οὖν
t’ ἡ ἀντιπαλαμομένας πρὸς τὰς τῶν δεινῶν
ἐπιρροίας, Ἀλανὸν μὲν ἐκεῖνων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων
ἀπεγνωκώς, ἐπὶ σαθροὶς καὶ σαλεύων τοῖς
ξενοίς, πέμπει καὶ πρὸς Καζάνην, τῶν τῶν
ἀνατολικῶν Τοχάρων, ὡς αὐτοὶ φαίνει ἃν, κάνει,
καὶ γαμήκας ἐπίμισις προτείνει καὶ ἐπαμένιν
προσαζόμενοι τοῖς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐκχέοντο ἐχους
πράγματις. Ο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἁμένου δέχεται, καὶ τὸ
κήδος – ἐπὶ γὰρ φυσικῆς θυγατρὶ, ἣ αὐτὸς βασι-
λεὼς πατὴρ ἐνομίζετο, συνεφόνει – προο-
apedéχετο, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις ἀσφαλείς ἐδίδου
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 as-
hamed 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. About the skilful feat accomplished by our people in Sardis.

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

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
run and obtain food. Some went to the towns and
fortresses, others to the islands, and others to the
safe regions on the other shore.34 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

34 I.e., in Europe, and more precisely in Thrace. (Cf. f.440, fn. 19)
metelëstheias tōn ἄλλος τοῖς ἀλάστοροις. (B403) Τούτο φημιζεῖν, ὡς εἰκός, τοῖς μὲν λοιποῖς ἄλλος ἄκρονομείτο ἢ περὶ τὰς συστολὰς σουδῆ, καὶ ἠρροτιστῶν τὸ τέλος· ἐν δὲ 35 τούτοις, τῷ Αλαδί, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λυδιὰν καταδραμόντι, ὡστε καὶ λείαν (F443) Μυσῶν, οὐ τούτῳ φαινήσει τάκει, καταστειθήσετο τῇ φιμή τοῦ λογίσμως, ἐδοξεὶ προνοεῖν ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τῶς ἰδίως τῶν ἐκ φιλακῆς συμφερόντων. Λιμελεῖ τι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ τῶν Σάρδεων φρούρίων, ὅμορφον ἄλλος ὡς παλαιὰς ἀκρόπολιν πόλεως, καθ’ ἐν ἄβατοι σέρως καὶ τὸ λουπὸν ἀπόκρυμον, διὰ τ’ τὴν παρ’ ἐκεῖνοι γεγεκλεισμένωι ἐπίθεσιν πέμπον ἐπί ῥήταις ὕμωλας συνεπράττειν, ἐφ’ ὦ, τοῦ φρούριον διαμεμερισμένον μικρῷ τίνι τείχει καὶ ἀσφαλεί, ἠμιμοῦ μὲν ἑκένως, ἠμιμὸ δ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, κανένεν δεσμοί ὑμοῦνα συνάδεσθαι καὶ, ἀνάδει ἐξίναι, ἐκείνους μὲν τῶν ἰδίως ἐργοῦς προσανέχειν ἢ ὅν τραφήνεται, αὐτοὶς δὲ τὸ τικεῖα πάντος ποιεῖν, αὐτῶν μὲν, 10 ὡς εἰκός, ἀπέχοντας, ἄλλος δ’ ἐπιθεμένους ἢ ὅν καθιστάναι τοῖς τοῦ πρότερον καὶ λῃστρικόν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ’ ἠξίων, (B404) καὶ λιπαρός ἀντιέγνυ τοῦ φρούριον· τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνθίστασθαι μάταιον ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ δ’ εὐείσεθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ σφίσει αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείς διὰ τὴν τῶν ἔχθρων γειτνίασιν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡν ἁρνειος καὶ λύκος κοινὰ ταμεῖσθα τὰ ὄρκια 15, ὁμος διὰ τὴν ἐρεμότησαν ἀνήγκη καὶ τὸ ὑδρευσθαι τοῖς καταστείριεν ἐνεκα ἀνεκτὸν ἑξίκε, καὶ συγκατέβαινον.

Καὶ δὴ πολλοίς τινας τῶν Περσῶν ὑποδέχονται σφροὺς δὲ χρηματῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰκός, σὺν αὐτοὶς εἰδὲ τις ἃν –, παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐ συνικούντες τοῖς ἐσπαθαῖσι παρ’ ῥον τῷ τείχος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄλληλον διείργῃ. 20 Κατὰ τινα δὲ πυλίδα καὶ συμμετείχον ἄλληλος ἐνοι, ὡς ἐλέγχοτα. Ταῦτα γοῦν ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον, καὶ ἀνακοψὸν τῶν κακῶν κατὰ τὸ φρούριον εἰχόν. Ἔπει δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς φῆμος τῶν Τούγαρν κατ’ ἄλγον ἠθέλευσαν καὶ ἧδη θάρρος εἰχόν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῶν φόβων έκατος ἀνελάβαν, οἱ τεῖς ἐκεῖτα έκατον γίνονται καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀναμιμησκοῦνται καὶ ἐπιχείρειν τοῖς 25 γειτονικοῖς...

35 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)
17. About the return of the Emperor Michael to the City. (F445) 17. Οἱ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαήλ ἡγησάμενοι κατὰ τὴν νόσον ἐπὶ μὲν παρὰ τὰς Πηγὰς ἤτροφοι τὸν, καὶ τὸ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ προσεδόθη ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κύζικον τῶν ἄμφω, αὐτὸν κώδωνοι, ἐφ’ ὧν κατὰ τὰ Βουλαργαῖαν κατὰ τὰ εἰκόνα ἕκατερα, μὴν τὴν τῇ προσέλθεις, ἀπολαύσῃς δὲ γε τῆς θέας δεσποτῶν δοῦλος, ἄρα τὸν ἡ πόλις τὸ παράπαν εἰς ἐπιτάγματα· τὸ γὰρ ἐς υπογός πραγμένα παρ’ Ἰσαύλος κατὰ Κύζικον καὶ λίκων ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνάπτυστα ὑγείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκέλευον ὑμῖν ἀπέστραφαν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τελείας ἐπιβάς ὑγείας, συνάντησε τῇ Ἀγούστῃ τῇ ἐσχατῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῇ 17 παρὰς ἔκειν ἑκατά τὰς Πηγὰς ἀπαντήσας, διαπεραυσίας κατὰ ἄτικον καὶ ἐφ’ ἤμερας τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν χωρίοις ἐναυσίλανοιν, ἐπεὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐπανήκειν ἐς πόλιν καὶ ἀνατρίχει καὶ ἀνασπασμένοις ἤσεις τὴν ἐπίδομα, ἐμφάνε σὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὰς Πηγὰς ἀπαντήσας, διαπεραυσίας κατὰ δύσιν καὶ ἐφ’ ἤμερας τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν χωρίοις ἐναυσίλανοιν, ἐπεὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐπανήκειν ἐς πόλιν καὶ ἀνατρίχει καὶ ἀνασπασμένοις ἤσεις τὴν ἐπίδομα, ἐμφάνε σὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὰς Πηγὰς ἀπαντήσας, διαπεραυσίας κατὰ δύσιν καὶ ἔφημεν τὰς ἐκπελέσθης πεῖρας ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἐσερέχθηται.

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. 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.

36 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) 20. Περὶ τῶν καταλαβόντων τὴν περαιάν δεινῶν, καὶ ἐτί τῶν ὀπηθήπτω ἐξαγγελία.

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 immediately for those who crossed the Bosporus 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 inconvenience by those
pantachōi 20 keimένους εἰκή τε καὶ ύπαιθρίας, πανθεύ καὶ μόνη πετευομένους λιμός γὰρ ἐντεθηκεν καὶ γε λοιμὸς τοὺς ἀθλίους διεμερ-ζῆτην. Καὶ οἱ ἀστικοὶ τοῦ κακοῦ παραπῆλαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δαινοῖς συνείχοντο καὶ ἄποροι δῆλοι καὶ ἀμώχανοι, οἱ δὲ ὅσον ὄσπο τὰ τοῖς πλήσιος συμβάντα καὶ ἐναυτοῖς ἐπ’ ἴσης ᾦλπιζον.

Οἱ δὲ μὴ μόνον Χηλῆ τε καὶ Ἀστραβήτη, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰεροῦ φρούρῳ προσβάλλοντες, τὰ πάντενα διεπράττοντο, ὅσπερ ὑπνότοντος βασιλέως ἢ μὴ ζόντος. Νικομήδεια δὲ ἐξεθείνει λιμῷ τε καὶ ἔνθεα ὑδάτος πρὸς τὸ ἀμιχανότερον μετεβάλλετο. Η δὲ γέγονεν τῆς ἑπόκεκλειστο καὶ, τὰς πέρις χώρας (B413) ἀποκεραμεῖτο, ἔνθεα καὶ αὐτὴ ἐστενοχώρητο. 20 Ἔννοια Βηλάκωμις, ἐν δὲ Αγγελάκωμις, ἐν δὲ Ἀναγούρδως καὶ (F455) Πλατανέα καὶ τὰ Μελάγγεια καὶ τὰ πέρις πάντα, τῶν ἐνυκοῖοτόν ἔρημα γεγονότα, θρήνους ἐφελίκκοτο τῶν εἰδῶν. Τάδα Κρούλλα καὶ Κατοίκια πεπόθθει καὶ χείριστο. Ὡς γὰρ ἀποκεκλεῖστο μὲν ἢ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Νεαγκώμος πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς καὶ συνήθεις ἑ ἐνδούς εἰς δεινὴν ὑπονίαν καὶ πείραν ἦσαν, πολλὰς κινδυνεύσαντον, ἢ δὲ κατὰ Κιόν κατάσκης καὶ συνήμπορος, εἰκαίς πως πολιοθέτει, διεκδρομὴ πρὸς Νίκαιαν ἡνοικοῦτο, ὅτε καὶ τότε ἐν φόβῳ μεγίστη

37 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 Bosporus, it faces Pharsos (see F ii, 538 fn. 1), on the European side. The two fortresses controlled the entrance to the Bosporus where the strait narrows. (Cf. F452, fn. 60)

38 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)

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

40 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)

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

42 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)
The ambush set at Katoikia by the Turks, more precisely by Osman according to the rest of the account, and of the region of Chalcedon (on the Asian shore opposite Constantinople) and the Halizônes (ethnic synonym of Mesothynites. (Cf. F455, fn. 69)

Since Pylaí (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)

44 According to Pachymeres, the Bebrykes (ancient name of the people who inhabited this region of Bithynia, or, more precisely, the shore of the Proponitis 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)

45 The ambush set at Katoikia by the Turks, more precisely by Osman according to the rest of the account, and the mission of Sgouroi 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 in order to force them back towards the fortress, where the first contingent snatched them up. (Cf. F456, fn. 72)
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

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 suffer what had happened to the inhabitants of Cyzicus.46 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 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 returning with his people and as the inhabitants of Belokòmis had also allied themselves with the Romans and he had taken them prisoner, he attacked Belokòmis, 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.

46 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.
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 Maroulês, and he was honoured with the dignity of grand archon. 47 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, Maroulês, 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 fell to 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 alliances, who conducted themselves with our men not as if they

47 Maroulês (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 (38th rank according to the Appendix to the Hexabiblos of Harmenopoulos: Verpeaux, p. 30028). It is likely that this Maroulês is identical to Phocas Maroulês (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)
and fight again within the Catalan Company (XIII, πρὸς µµ ἐνικάνου ἀσιόνς ’ἕκαστο τριούγκια χρυσοῦ.

τὴν πεῖραν ταῦτα ἐν δι Τεσσαρακοστῆς τοῖ ὡς ὑπέστρεψεν µνήσων πιστεύοντι θέλων ἀνενέγκας ισθῶν µτὰ ταχυναυτεῖ οἷον τὸ αὐτῶν πρὸς βασιλέως ῥόγας οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Κύζικον τῆς πρόφασις, οὗτος δὲ δεῖς δὲ, µπροστάς ἵν ἀντιπάλους τὸρκτουροῦ τῷ ἤδε ἐἴκει ἡδὲ ἐ.Ordinal 0

οὐκ ὀλίγη τις µοῖρα τῶν ὅλων, οὐκ ἔχοντες πλέον ἐκέλ ποιεῖν ὁν πρὶν ἐπράξασεν, τῶν αὐτοχθόνων (B419) φυγὴ χρησμαζόμενον διὰ τὴν εἰκόνες καιρικῆς ἄδειαν, ἰκανὸν ναυσί φόρτον νηθάντες, καὶ µᾶλλον εἰς σῖτο καὶ τῶν εἰς τροφὴν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ πώδας τῶν περὶ Τζικµην καὶ οὕτω εξόρμων, ὄλγα τῶν τὸν µέγαν δοῦκα συνήθειαν φροντίσαντες. Τῶν δ ἄλλων ἀργούντων διὰ παντὸς χειμῶνος περὶ τὴν Κύκκον, πρόφασις ἵν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀργίας τὸ, τοῦ τριμήνου πληροθέντος ἐφ’ ὑπὲρ έλαβον τοὺς µισθοὺς, µὴ καὶ αὐτός εἰς οἰκοί πέμπεσθαι ρόγας τῆς εὔνωτα ἱμμαχίας κατὰ τὰ σφίσει συμφωνήθηντα πρὸς βασιλέως. Διὰ τοῦ τοῦ ἐρθόν ὀνία ὧν τὸ σφρὸν ἀπακτον, αὐτῶν εὐγενόμενος πρὸς βασιλέα ταχυνοιτε. Καὶ τὰ µὲν ἐκείνων ὡς οὕνε ἐπεπλύνων, µόνα δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν µυθῶν ανενένας καὶ δημής, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ Αλανοὶς ἰκανοῦσθαι θέλων ὡς ἀρετίκος τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων – ἔοικε γὰρ ἐκένος τὸ µηδὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις πιστεύοντι, τὰ µὲν ἐκείνης ἀλλα, καὶ µὲν ὡς ὑπέστρεψον ὡς ἐτοίµος δεξιόμενος καὶ πτοὺς σταλέντας τοῖς Αλανοῖς, ὡς εξήτητο. Γέγονε τὰ ταῦτα. Καὶ ο µὲν δ’ ἄλλης τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς πείθην δίδυκς καὶ λαμβάνων ἔπι τὸ παραμένειν καὶ προθυμεῖθαν τὸν τὴν ρόγαν (B420) λαβόντα, οὕτω διένεμε τὸ τοῦ µιθόν χρήματα. Καὶ τοῖς µέν Τηλίκαις διούγκαι χρυσοῦ καὶ τριώγκια µισθοῦς ἐκάστου ἐπέληψεν, Αλανοὶς δ’ ἐκατόν τρισὶς καὶ µὴν δ’ ἐκκόπον νομίζατε, πρὸς τῷ

where they 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,48 caring little for the agreements they had with the Grand Duke. If truth be said, now that the indigenous inhabitants had fled after 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 those who had found them and having received the order to extract the other provisions 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

48 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.).
και ίππους τισί δοθήναι, ώς ἀπεξεδέχετο 30 κατὰ τὰ συνήθημα: ὁ δὲ καὶ μέγαν μεταξὺ τούτων ἀνήγερε κυδούμον, ἐκ φυλασίας ἀναρριψαθέντα, ώς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ῥηθήσεται. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἔξαρχον τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν καταστάσεας νεόν, οὐσὸν ὡσεὶ δώδεκα, ὃν ἀμηραλὴν ἢ ἐκείνοι διάλεκτος ἐξανεμεῖ. ὅρισμῷ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸν κρατόντας, στόλον ἐξαρτήσεις ἐξ Ίταλον, ἀμα παλακαῖς αὐτὸν καὶ παντοδυοποίς (F463) πραγμάτων εἶδεςν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὃν ἔκαστος ἑγκατησθήν ἢ καὶ ὃν ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβεῖν ἡμόρρησεν, ἀνὰ τὰς νήσους ἐκεῖμες, σύνθημα διὸς ἐκείνως τῆς σφητάρον αὐτόν κατὰ τὴν Ἁσιὰν ἁφίζειν, τοῦ καὶ σφᾶς ἀμα προσσείς Αναία καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μέρες συμμαχήσοντας. Τὸν δ᾽ ὑπολειφθέντον 5 ἀπεπειράτο ἐς δ καὶ κινήσεις ἐκ Κυζίκου τέως, ὅσον παλακάκτως διὰ τῆς ἐκεί βλακείαν τῆς χώρας ἠχοντας. Καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα.

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 address, 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 49 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

49 '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)
Paròtrune ἵππος ἃ ὦλλος καὶ Ἀλανοῖς, ὥστε ἐκέεινοι τριουχίκιας καὶ διουχίκιας μηνός ἐκάστου ἱκανομένους, αὐτῷ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τινὶ ἐμισθοῦντο (F465) καὶ τὸν ἀπερριμμένον παρ’ ἐκέεινοις εὐδόκουν. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαφοράς τις καὶ ἀπεχθείσας τὰς γνώμας ἐκέεινων ἠλλοτριώντο. Μᾶς γονὺς ἐτυχόν μὲν τινὲς τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἀλήθεινς κατὰ μύλονα, ἐτυχόν δὲ κάτι τῶν Ἀλογάβρων ἐξ ἀλαιστορίας οὐτὶ ῥητῆς τῇ ἀλετρίδι, ἐπέβαλον δὲ τὰς 15 χεῖρας καὶ τοῖς ἄλοιροις, ἐρῶς ἐνετείθηναι καὶ φλονεκία διὰ λόγου τέως συνιστατα, καὶ Ἀλανός τις, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ἀπεχθεῖσας ἡμῖν διαφοράς, ἐρῶς ἐντείθηναι, ἐχώρουν ἀκαίρους τῆς καθίστως πολλῆς τὸν φυλίους ἐκ, μὲν ἐκθέλοντες, Ἰταλοὶ, ἔπραττεν ἐξόρας καὶ (B423) ἐπειροῦντες ῥητῆς ὕλων ἀλετρίδι, ἐπιχειροῦντες ῥητῆς ὑλῶν Αλανῶν τῶν ἐξ ἐπέβαλον τινες ὡς ἁλλοτριοῦντο ἀπεχθείσαις ἀνῆς ταῦτα. Καὶ καὶ ἔτους Ἀλανοὺς εἰς ἐχώρουν. ἀκαίρους τῆς καθίστως πολλῆς τὸν φυλίους ἐκ, μὲν ἐκθέλοντες, Ἰταλοὶ, ἔπραττεν ἐξόρας καὶ (B423) ἐπειροῦντες ῥητῆς ὑλῶν Αλανῶν τῶν ἐξ ἐπέβαλον τινες ὡς ἁλλοτριοῦντο ἀπεχθείσαις ἀνῆς ταῦτα. Καὶ καὶ ἔτους Ἀλανοὺς εἰς ἐχώρουν.

50 The shekel is a currency often cited in the Old Testament (sequel), 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)

51 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)
24. About Attaleiotes, the inhabitants of Magnesia and Nostongos Doukas.

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 Hermos53, 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 wishes.

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52 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)

53 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)
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

54 Nostongos Doukas, already mentioned above in the person of the primicer 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)
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.
between the valleys of the Meander and the Hermos. (Cf. F474, fn. 37) The historian already indicated above (XI, 23) that the fortress was in the hands of the Turks. Located on the verb ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι is a hapax; it seems formed on the model of ἀποπροσπαθεῖν in no position to punish him in any way that was useful whether to the master or the servant. The event whose story will follow is probably recent, but there is nothing that can be added to what has already been said. The historian also said that the fortress was in the hands of the Turks. Located on the verb ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι is a hapax; it seems formed on the model of ἀποπροσπαθεῖν.

25. Events that occurred in Tripolis of the Macedon.

25. It is perhaps a good idea to recount the episode of Tripolis, 58 which was among the fortresses located in the region of the East. Using a fortuitous and insignificant pretext and thanks to purifications than punishments, must concern their servants alone. 56

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 th of June, 57 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.

56 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 ἄρχοντον 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 ἀποπροσπαθεῖν. (Cf. F474, fn. 33)

57 Sunday, June 14, 1304. (Cf. F474, fn. 34)

58 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)
Emperor Doukas59 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 enemies, and 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

59 John III Batatzēs (1222-1254), whom the historian constantly designates by his surname of Doukas.
26. Περί τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἑτὶ δοκοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀτταλειώτην.

26. Ο’d τῶν ἀφιγνούμενον στρατηγός, ἀκίνητα γνών διώκων, ὑποστρέφω, προσβάλλει τὸ τοῦ Κουλᾶ φρουρίῳ, ἐνδὴ καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν ἐφήσι πλείστους, αἵτια περιβάλλον, τοῦτο (B436) δὲ φρουρίῳ τοῖς Φούρνοις. ᾧ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ χῆς καὶ πρὸ τρίτης προσχωρήσαντας κατ’ ἀνάγκην Πέρσας ταῖς πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι ὁμολογίαις καὶ ἐπὶ ἐμμένειν, φανεῖον τῶν δυνάμεων – ὑπήκοα δέχονται ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ θερμαίας μεταχειρίσεων ἐμφανεῖς ἦσαν, τὴν ἀνάγκασαν διασχισαι, μοίραν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐξήρθον δραστήριον· ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τῷ δοκεῖν ἀνείπε τὰ πατίσματα, τοὺς δὲ δόξας τῶν λοιπῶν προέχειν βαρέως εἶχεν. Ὡθεὶ καὶ τὸν μὲν φύλακα τοῦ πολέμου ἀφαίρεσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλος δ’ ἄλλος τιμωρηθέντων, ποιῆν ἀγχόνης καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξάρχου καταψηφίζεται· ὃς δ’ ὥσιν ἂν αἱρομένων ὁι ἀπερωγεῖσθαι ἀναγκαίας αὐτίκας καὶ τὴν πνω, τῶν τις ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπίτευγμένοι, θείαν ἐνδειξὶν ἔτη ἐπιθετόμενον τὸ τελούμενον ἐπὶ προστασίαν ἐπὶ καὶ μή, κατὰ τέμνει τὸν βρόχον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν καθάδικον ἐξαρετήταται.

Εἶτα Φιλαδέλφεια προσβάλλει, καὶ χιλιάδοις συνήρεται ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλέγει χρυσίων, ἀδυνάτητον ἐπὶ πάση φέρον τὸ φρόντισμα. Εἶτα τὰ ὅμοια δρα Πυργίων καὶ Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως φυγαύος, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ κασέως τῆς περισσεύων· καὶ ὁ διδύμος πλείστα μετὰ πολλὰς βασινὰς μόλις ἐσώζετο. Τάτα καὶ ταῖς νῆσοις Χίῳ καὶ Λήμνῳ καὶ Μιτυλήνῃ ἐπράττοντο. Καὶ (B437) ὅπου ῥοῖς χρυσίων, πόλισμα ὑποδύσ, ὀλὸς ἐν ἀφοβίας ἤν καὶ ὑπερηφάνει τὸ ἐσόμαι.

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. 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 penalties 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.

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. 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.

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60 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)

61 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 Saiittai, about twenty kilometres north of Koula). (Cf. F478, fn. 42)

62 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)
κάν μοναχός ὄν κάν τάξεως ἱερᾶς κάν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ γνωστῶν βασιλεί, δειναίς αἰώραις (F481) ἡτάζετο, καὶ ὁ μακελλακτὸς φιτρῷ καὶ κοπίδι πρὸ ὀφθαλμοῖν ἀπελπισμένους θάνατος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς γῆς κρυπτόμενα ἐκ τοῦ παρασχεδόν ἀνώρυντες ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς μυρωδιάς ἐστὶ, οὗ δὲ ἦν πρόστιμον εἴχε τὸν θάνατον.

5 Ὅ δέ καὶ τὸ ταλαπώρων Μαχρίμη κατὰ τὴν Μυτιλήνην γεγόνει: οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μᾶλλιστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἐκαὶ τῇ ὁικείοιτι κλείσμενος, τὰς οἰκήσεις ἀνέπεσαν ἐκ τῶν Σκαμανδρῶν τὰς οἰκήσεις κατετέθη. Οὐς δὲ πάσαιν τὴν γνῶμαν ἐκεῖ, προκαταλάβατον τὴν Ἰόνην Περεᾶν, ἐργαζόμενος τῶν οἰκητῶν ἕκτενοι, φθάνει καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τῆς Ἀσοῦ φρούριον ὑπεισόδησεν | 10 ὧ δὲ καὶ ὡς αὔξομεροί οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν δικοῖν, ἐπιεῖ καὶ τοῦ εἵμορφου ὡς εἰκός ἐν τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς περίστασες ἐχρησάτωσαν, αὐτοῖς τῶν καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἐγραφόμενοι. Ὅ δὲ υἱόστατα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, διδόντων ἐκεῖνον, ἀνεπεισμένος αὐτόν ἐν τοῦ κρατήσεως. Ὁμοίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἦν ὡς ἐγραφῆθη τῆς ἐρ' ἐκάστῳ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἐρ' ἱκανὸν ἀμφιμενεῖτο καὶ συνείχε τοὺς τήδε πυρηνησιμένους. Ἐπει δὲ, δημομένου τῶν ἐξοιτέρω, τέλος αὐτοῖς ἐμέλλε περιστήνῃ τὰ χαλεπὰ, τὸ ὄραστο τὶ γενναῖον ὡς ἔχοντες, εἰ προσενέειν, πρὸς φυγήν ὤρμην καὶ προαναπάνταστον, ἀργάτηρον (Β438) σφίζαν ὡς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐτέρως ἐξ ἐγγύονος προτεινόσθη τῆς Μυτιλήνης, καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτόν σκοπόν ἐκάστος ἤλογεν τὸν ἄγοντας καὶ τῆς ἐκκουσίων ἀνέπι ὑποταγῆς· ἐρ' οἷς μηδέν | 20 ἦσαν ἀντιπάτειν, τοῦ πλῆθος ὡς εἰκός δυναστεύσαντος, συναγάγειν ἐννοοῦ ἥκενε, καὶ κανόν τεντέθειν τὸ φρούριον κατάλειπεν.

Ἀλλά μεθ' ἡμέρας ὁ μέγας δοῦξ προσίσχει τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ ἐδεῖ πάντως αἰτίας τῶν πορισμῶν τὰς μὲν εὐφῆςκες, τὰς δὲ πλάτευσεν. Καὶ δὴ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ οὕτως τὸ τροχός συλλαμβάνεται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες | 25 μὲν τῶν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν, εἰ προτεινοῦν ἄβρον τὸ χρυσόν. Καὶ τις δὲ ἄλλος, ὡς προενεργὴς δημοσία ἀπητεῖτο τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου κερδῆ, ἐν χιλιάδι καὶ

63 Roger de Flor probably embarked at Anaia and ransomed the islands off Asia Minor: Chios, Lemnos and Mytilene. (Cf. F479, fn. 45)
64 The fortress of Asos (Behramkale) is on the gulf of Atramyon, about sixty kilometres west of this city, facing Mytilene. Mount Ida (Kaz Dag) rises between the Gulf of Atramyon to the south and the Skamandros Valley (Menderes Nehri) to the north. The area belonged to the Emir of Karasi. (F480, fn. 47)
65 The island of Mytilene is only a dozen kilometres from the mainland. (F480, fn. 48)
μάλιστα εἰσεπράττετο. Τῷ δὲ προσετματο θανάτου διά τῆν τῶν φρουρίων καταλείψεων. Εἰ δ’ ἐνοίησα ὑπολογίσα τῆς ζωῆς, εἰς χρυσοῦ χιλιοστάσιον πέντε ἢ ἐκτιστήσεις ἤξεστ’ ἡτανόπηκτη δὲ καὶ ποιή ἡμέρα καὶ 108 ἐκατοστήσεις μίας τῶν Μαχράμην, καὶ ὁ μακελλικὸς φιλός παρευθύς καὶ τὸ ἔξοφος (F843) ἐτούμον εἰς ἀναφέρεσιν τὰς γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἰμάσι δεξείς, εἰτὰ δ’ ἐκταθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ φιλρου καὶ καρπερῶς πεσοῦσίς, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς χιλιοστάδος τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκλυθήκα (B439) τῆς φυσικῆς ἀρμογῆς, ὡστε ἀθλίῳ καὶ τὴν τοινί δέχεται. Καὶ τὸ συμβαν θατέρως θεανΰμενόν Γοργώ τις ἄν ἀπολονθήθηκα 11 τῶν δελαιού, καὶ πικρὸν κλαίειν, καὶ ποτίναται πρὸς Γεννυώτας, καὶ τὴν ζωῆν χιλιοστοῦ χρυσοῦν παρ’ ἑκείνων περισεϊσεται.

Ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἢ ταῦτα γενέσθαι πρότερον, Μαχρηστῆτικας ἢκέναι τιμικ τιμαίοι Κυκλώπην, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅμια δράσιν, κὰ ὕπερημέρει τὴν ἐκτισιν, τοῦ πιστεύουν ἢκέναις πλέων τῶν ἄλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀποτείμενεν 111 καὶ ἰπούς τῆς καὶ χρήματα, ἆ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τόσης ἀλαςτορίας συνελήγει, φθάνει σφάλμαν προνο σῶν ὑπόπτων. Τὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους συμβαλλόντως καὶ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίον δείπνεις, καὶ μάλιστα προπαθόντες καὶ ὡς ἐκ γείματος τὸ πᾶν προμαθόντες, πρὸς ἀποστατιὰν ἀφιέγομεν. Τὸ δ’ ἐν ἑυρίσκεται ἐννομίστη, ὡς καὶ τοῦ καὶ τὸ πρῶς ἢκι 112 αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ διοικεί εἰς, πιστεύοντες τὸ πολίστρα, ἐρμαν δὲ εἶναι τοῦτοις υ ὀ θεαστροτρόχων καὶ μόνον ἢκέναις καὶ ἰπούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος μάρμαρο εἰσελθόν καὶ μοῦραν υ ὀ λίγην τῶν ἄλλων καὶ στόνως πλήρες, υ ὀς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀρκέσαν ὑπελαμβάνουν. Ταῦτα καὶ τὸ Ἀτταλειώτη συνέλευκε, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μᾶλλα δείδεις. Καὶ πίστες δέντες καὶ λαβόντες (B440) ἢ ἀλλόλης καὶ παρ’ ἀλλόλης, τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἀτταλειώτος τοὺς μὲν ἄρχον μαχαίρας ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλὸς καθηνυγήσουν. Ἐαυτοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐνὶ τὰ μᾶλλα συγκροτήσαντες ὡς θεαστροτρόξους αὐτοὺς ἐκ καθηφείν — οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐξείδειν ἄλλο, εἰ ὧς χείρας τὸ μεγάλο δοκή γένοντο —, τὰς πύλας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενοι, δῆλοι ἤσαν ἀποστατοῦντες.

125 Ως γοῦν ἄναπτυσσα γεγονεῖ τάκεινων, 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 large 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 Alans 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
Diá ταῦτα καὶ χρόνος μὲν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἐτρήβετο, ἡμελοῦντο δὲ τάλλα, (καὶ ὃς μὴ ἄν ἤσαν οἱ χεῖρα σφῶν ὑπὲρέχοντες). Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι πάλιν κατὰ λόγχους καὶ οὐλομοῦς ἀνέδην τοὺς ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἐπέτεσαν, ἄν τι ποὺ τῶν ὑπολειμματῶν ὄναν. Οὐδὲς οὖν ἐν γόρας ὑπελείπετο, ἀλλ’ ὅλιγα μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι πάλευσαν, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ παρείκοντος οἱ πλείους δὲ, σοφότερον τι ποιοῦντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς νῆσους, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀντιπεραίαν ὄρμων, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν μακροθέν ἐδώρων, καὶ προσπέλαξαν οὐκοτοῦ ὑπερεύθυντος· ὰλλ’ ὅτι τὸ πολλάκις πᾶσανος καὶ τὰ ἀνέδην κατατείχους· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀπεπεισαν πάσαντας τὰ δεινὰ κατεμάθανεν, καὶ προμηθεῖς τοῦ ζην ἐποίουν τοὺς (Β442) ἄλλους αὐτῶν πάντοτε· οὐ γὰρ ἄν πολεμίους σφᾶς οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς κλάδως ὄν αὐτοὶ διὰ σπάθης ἐκτήσαντο, ἀνὰ χεῖρας πεσόντας ἐτίμωροθύντο καὶ ἀνηλέος ἐφιάλτην.

λα’. Απόδρασις Ἀλανῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέγαλου δουκοῦ καὶ ἀνδραγαθία περὶ τὰς Πηγὰς

31. (F497) Βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἀναγκαῖος ἐν ὑπερθέσει ἢ πρὸς ὅπερ καὶ ἱμέοδο διὰ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ σφετέρῳ κλήρῳ, πολλῆς καὶ μεγάλης τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔχῃ, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἤπαν, ὡς μὲν Ἰταλοὶ, ὡς δ’ Ἀλανοὶ, ταῖς γνώμαις ἠλλοτριώτῳ, δισχερεῖς ὄντες πείθεν καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπεσταλμένα καθυσκόπησαν. Τῷ μὲν οὖν μεγά- λῳ δουκῷ, τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ Μαγνησίαν, τοῦτό δὲ κατὰ Μιτυλήνην διάγοντι, αἱ συγχαὶ προστάξεως τοῦ ὑπερθέσατι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Μαγνησίωτας πόλεμον καὶ περὶν συνάμα τῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἀναγκαίον ἔστιν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρια- ντοῦν τοὺς· οὐδὲν θάνατον εἰς ἐννεακοσίους, ἐποσοῦντο ὡς Περσῶν ἀνδραγαθῆσαι. φανέντων γὰρ, μετασφαγόντων τούτοις τοὺς Μαγνησίωτας, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄναστατοι τοῦτοῖς, οὐδὲ ζήν θέλοντι.

|5| Αλάνοις δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὰ συμβάντα κατὰ Κυζικὸν οὐκ ἦν ἄρειτά τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ πανδημεὶπ υπέρ πεντακοσίους ἡμῶν. Καπεδῆ ἀπείρητο τοῦτοι μὴ περαιοῦσθαι κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου ἐπὶ τὰ σφετερία, ἀλλὰ τῶν τόσον ἂμεβόντες, ἐξεὶ ποιοῦν γεννὶσκοντες· ὡς βασιλεῖς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν παροινίας εὐθύναν εἰς καρον ὑποχεῖν δυναμένους - οὐδὲν ἦσαν, καὶ λόγοι πηγάδων λεγόμενοι Ἀραμαίοις ἀνδραγαθοῦντι, (B452) καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ Μαγνησίας, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀναστατοῖς τοῦτοῖς, οὐδὲ ζήν θέλοντι.

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 Kalliyopolis (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

I. About the Khan of the Eastern Tatars, Ghazan.

1. 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.67 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

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66 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).

67 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.)
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 the Iberians, due to the living tomb.

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 whatever 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.

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. And I have not mentioned his personal works which he happily practised, notwithstanding the fact that it 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, Sceythian, Sarматian 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.
Odytos (B459) autanévon ἔχων Τουκτάιν, ὃς δὴ προσήκεν ἕκ γένους καὶ ἅ ἁρχή, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἤν καὶ οὗ τοῖς ἱδίοις τρόποις τοὺς ἤκεινους συμβαίνοντας (F507) ἐπέτεσσα, παριδῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐφεδρὸν εἰς ἁρχήν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου δνα, πάμεις μετακαλείται τὸν αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν, περί ποῦ τὰ τῆς Ἰνδίας μέρη σὺν ἱδίῳ στρατεύματι διατρίβοντα, ὃς δὴ Χαρμαντᾶς τούνουμα· ὁρεωκόμοι εἰπό τοὺς ἄν ἤκεινον, οὗτο συμβᾶν ἐπί τῇ γεννήσει, φανέντος εὐθὺς τοῦτοῦ, ὡς εἴθιστο σφά τον γεννομένοις ποιέων κατὰ τί νομίμου. Καὶ τοῦτον εἰς ἁρχήν καταστήσας, ἐπὶ τρίσιν ἐτει αὐτὸν συνθήματα καὶ νομίμα ἀπαρεγχείρητα μένειν ἐντολάς ἐδού. Τὸ ἐπίταδε, εἶ τι ἄρα καὶ δόξει, γίνεσθαι παρηγγ. 

Τοῦτ’ ἀνάπτυσεν γεγονός, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἁκρὰς αἱ γραφαὶ διεδόθησαν 10 καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἐβεζίνον ἁρχὸν Χοτλουχάμ ἢκουε τὸ συμπεσόν, διαδέχεται τὴν φήμην ὁ Σολυμάμπαξ Πέρσης, ὡς καὶ γαμβρός ἦν ἐπὶ τηγματὶ τοῦ Κούτζιμπαξ. Καὶ οὗτο διαιμιμηθέντος τοῦ συμβαντὸς τὸ βασιλεῖ, ὁ τοῦ Καζάνου θάνατος τοῖς ἤκεινοι πρόβειε κατὰ πόλιν (B460) δήλος γίνεται, καὶ τὸ πάνθος σφάσεν αἴρεται μέγα. Ὄμοις δὲ καὶ παρακολούθην, 15 βασιλέως πέμυγαντος. Πλὴν ἄλλον Ἀμούριοι καὶ οὕτως καθοπεστέλλετο, οὐκ οἶδα ἐπί τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαρμαντᾶ φόβον – τὰς γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνθείας ἔκεινος ἥτελεν ἢθελεν – ὡς εἰκός ύψορέμουνος, εἶτε τὴν ἀπὸ βασιλέως εὐμελεῖα προσπευμονόμενος, καὶ πέμυγας ἤτε βασιλέα τὸν ποταμὸν μεσάγαιον ἀνὰ Σάγγαρην, Μεσοπήνην ἐτύμως ὀνομασμένον. 20 ὕπο ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις οἰκηθησόμενοι τοῖς ἐντὸς οἰκίσθης εἰς φυλακὴν κέουσι. Ἀλλα τῶν τοιούτων τεῶν ἄνθρωπον, τινές τῶν ἤκειν, καὶ ὁδύλαμος διεκδέκαντες, κακὸν ἀπάντημα Ρωμαίοις, εἰς τροφήν τοῦ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἀπεμελημένων

He had a cousin Toqtai,70 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, and one might say “muleeter”, 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, Solyammpax, who was the son-in-law of Koutzimpaxis, also found out about the news.71 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.72 They were, however, comforted by an embassy from the Emperor. But, despite these conditions, Amourios drew back. As 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 Mesonession 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.73 But, while these proposals remained in

70 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) 71 The two intermediaries through which the news of Ghazan’s death passed were Choutlouchaim and Solyammpax, 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. Solyammpax 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) 72 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) 73 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 Sipylos. He advanced
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 thereafter. 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. Passage of the grand duke to the West with the Catalans.

τῇ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπιβάτῳ, ἐντὸς (B461) δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατριαρχὸν τῶν πολλῶν ὑπονόμους, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀπληστία, καταπληκτικῶς καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὄνια· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πλείστα καὶ κεχυδαίως αἰσχροκερδείας ἠπείρωμεν, καὶ πάντα χρημάτων καταπληκτικῶς· δέκα μάλα κός διετίθη, καὶ τὰς τῆς πολιτείας δεινοὺς ἐκμαίνων. Αλλ’ ἡ μὲν καπηλεία καὶ λίαν ὀδύνα, ὡς φαινεσθαι, τὸν πατριάρχην, δημοχαιρισοῦντα τὰ πλείστα καὶ κατὰ τὸν δυνάμεων ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐδοκεὶ, τούτων ἱσταμένων, δύσκολον πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα παρθησιασθῆναι, καὶ δροκοῦ ἰσχυρίζεσθαι ἡ μή, ἢ μὴ γ’ ἡ καπηλεία τοῦ σῖτον ἐόστο, ἀραὶ περιβαλλέν ἐκ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς καταπληκτικὰς, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκ μέσου γίνεσθαι. Καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπόμην, κάν σουδον ήγνοτο παράπαν, ὡς μέρος καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν γίνεσθαι, ἐπὶ ἕπει ματαίῳ τὸν εὐστόχουν πλεῖστα ἐνοικεῖν τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο, θάμλεσθαι.
occupied the houses of the inhabitants, they raped the occupants, the houses of the inhabitants, they occupied the entire Lampsakos. There they gathered all their forces, and notwithstanding whether they were in truce or war, 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 two cities, and totally reckless since bereft of caution themselves, they raped...
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), 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.
16. Mission sent by the emperor to the former grand duke and promise to give him the dignity of Caesar.

16. Καὶ γὰρ ἀμα μὲν βασιλέως δοκιμαζόν ἐκείνων ἀμα δὲ καὶ ύποποιοῦμενος, τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα πέμπουν, ὡς ἦν ὁ Μαρουλῆς, ὡς μὲν ἐκεῖνων ὡς δὲ τὴν (Β506) αὐταδέλφην μετ-εκαλέτο, τὴν κατὰ τὰ Φῶτα προτείνων προέλευσιν. Ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐκείνων νόσον καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ προφανῶς ἀπέλεγε καὶ ἠφροντιστεὶ πρὸς τὴν μετάκλησιν, τὰ τῶν Κατελάνων δὲ προύτεινε καὶ τὰς μισθοφορίας ἀφῆτι, μήπως ἐπάυρομαι καὶ αὐτοῦ, λέγον, τὸν ἄπεικον κακὸν. Ταῦτ’ ἦκουσ βασιλέως, καὶ αὕθες ἀντέλεσεν ἄξιον, λαβόντα ὡς δοσὺν ἔκειστε, ἄλλὰ τὸ ἱκανὸν, ἐκεῖνον καὶ’ ανατολῆν. Μὴ δὲ καὶ αὐθίς προφάσεις κύκλῳ περιβάλλετο, καὶ ὡς διαχειμερινὸν κατὰ δύον βελώλοτο, εὐποροῦν αὐτὸ τῶν ἐπιτιθειοῖν, ἐντεύκησεν βασιλεῖς, τὴν ἐκείνους ἐπίστασαν ἡν ὑπώπτευεν ἐκτρεμομένος, τοῦ μὲν καλεῖν καὶ αὐθίς ἀπέσεχτο – ἤδει γὰρ ὡς πείσον –, αὐτὸν τὸ ἔκ τὸν εἰκότων εἰγοσμένον | τὴν τῶν ἴδιων θεραπείαν τῶν βασιλείων ἐντολον, ἐπὶ πείστου ποιοῦμεν, συγχως πέμπουν, προσποιοῦν ἐαυτὸ ἐπείποτο, προτεινομένοι μὲν βασιλείων ἠξίωμα τὸ κατὰ σαρκας, παραβαθοῦσ’ δὲ καὶ πάσαν χώραν ἀνατολῆς, πλὴν τῶν περιφερεῖον πολισμάτων, καὶ αὐτοκράτορι (F555) καθιστᾶν ὑποχυνομένος. Ἀλλά καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν λαῷ τὸ εἰκότα ἔλεγε πολυφαίνει καὶ χρῆσαι καὶ δαπαναίς, εἰ μόνον τὰ πιστὰ σχοινεὶ ὡς εὐνοικείν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας πράγμασιν. Αὐτίκα δὲ διαπεραιομένους (Β507) ἐπ’ ἀνατολῆς ἔκκοσι χιλιάδας χρυσίου καὶ τριακοσίας χιλίῳ ἰδιώς τοπικὸς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μὲνδὸν ἀνείναι καὶ αὕθες τὰ εἰκότα πολυφαίνειν.

Ταῦτα συχον περιπόμενοι παραδῆλουν καὶ τούτων προσανεθίσθην τὰ πλείστα τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆ, ἐκείσαι καὶ ἐτί παρασύρῃ, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ αἱ περὶ Φιλαδέλφειας πίστεις μέχρι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔξ ἐνδείας καὶ τοῦ πολυφαίνειδαι ἀπετείθαι κατηγγέλλοντο. Οὐδὲν 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. In fact, in order to test him and win him over, the emperor sent the Grand Archon, Marouls, 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.

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...
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 inflight 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 emperors 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 Brachialion when a message full of bad suspicions was communicated to him. The Italian would perhaps not accept the dignitary due...
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 Tzyme. 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. Harangue of Roger, the Italian, who soon after became Caesar, to the men gathered there.

18. Εἶτα λαὸν ἀθρόισας τοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστης χώρας ἐμφανεστέρας καὶ σταθεὶς προφανῶς ἐξε ὑπὸ τοῦ Φούρτου Καλλιουπόλεως, πάλι ἅττα καὶ τομηρὰ μὲ ἐμβριθοῦς ἐδημηγόρει τὸν σχήματος, ἀρχῆς ἀπ’ ἀκρής τὰ καθ’ αὐτῶν συνιστῶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν δυσχερῶν σφίσιν ἐπέπεμψε τῷ βασιλεί, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίκου ἡμέρας ἡμῖν ἐνέπεμψε τὰ πρὸς ἀποστασίαν, καὶ ἅρμα ἀνακινεῖται καὶ ἀνέτρεπται, ὡς μὲν συμπαθῶς ἐπισταίη, ὤς μὲν συμμαχῆσαι μέλλωσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, ὑπὸ τῶν τάχιστην ἐπιφέροντας, καὶ ὡς πολλοῖς διαγέγονε, (F559) τοὺς μὲν συμμαχῆσαι, τοὺς δ’ αὐτῶν πολέμοι, καὶ ὄπλων τῆς ῥηθῆς καὶ δυνηκεῖ ἀσχολία, ὡς μὲν συμπαθῶς ἐπισταίῃ, οὐ σφίσιν αὐτῶν παρείχε τῆς μετακλήσεως μέμψασθαι, ὡς δ’ ἀποσταίῃ, μοῦραν οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βοηθείας ἑδόκη προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. Διεξῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σκύρον, καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ μεταρρυθμίσας μέμψασθαι, ὡς δ’ ἀποσταίῃ, μοῦραν οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βοηθείας ἑδόκη προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. Διεξῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σκύρον, καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ μεταρρυθμίσας μέμψασθαι, ὡς δ’ ἀποσταίῃ, μοῦραν οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βοηθείας ἑδόκη προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. Διεξῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σκύρον, καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ μεταρρυθμίσας μέμψασθαι, ὡς δ’ ἀποσταίῃ, μοῦραν οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βοηθείας ἑδόκη προσαφαιρεῖσθαι.
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

ολίγους ἢ ὀσίους μετεκαλεῖτο γράφον ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πολλά μὲν πάθοι κατ᾽ ἀνατολὴν, εἰ καὶ μὴ Πέρσαις. συσταλεῖσθαι ἐκ δέους, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν τῷ Ἀτταλεῖοτῷ μαχητῷ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβάλει γενναίους ἄνδρας, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀντιπάλος ἑπέχειν ὀρμή, καὶ ὡς ἐν ύπηκοοῖς βασιλεύσας λογιζομένου τὸ πάλαι καὶ ἀφηγόμενον ἥδε, τῶν πρὸς ἐκείνον μὴ ἀφειδούμενον, ἔτη καὶ τέλος ἐλθὼν τὸ πόλισμα παραστήρεσθαι, βασιλικὰς ἐξεπιτίδεις διακολύουσιν τὴν παράστασιν δέξατο συλλαβᾶς, ἐπισευδοῦσας τὴν τὴν ἐξ Ἐλλησπόντου διαπεριόσον, ὡς αὐτίκα ἑτοίμων ὤντον καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ πάσης διαπάνης καὶ μισθωμάτων, ἔρ′ ὡς ἐπὶ Μυσίας πρὸς βασιλέα Μιγαθῆ παραγένοιτο μηδὲν προσαρριγήσαντες, ὑμέν καὶ περαιοθεῖς ἐπιστάντες καὶ, τὸν 15  μισθωμάτων ὑπερτηθεμένον τά καὶ τά πράξειαν.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγον ὁ βαρβαρὸς προσήπτε τὰς αἰτίὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἐκείνον τὸ πάν παθόντων ἐκείνων, σοβαρευόμενος ἐπὶ τούτως καὶ σεμνοποιούμενος, εἴ τι που καὶ γέγονεν δυσχερές, εἰς αἰτίαν ἀνάγκας εὐσέβημα, καὶ ὅν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐιλήφαν Παρθαλάγα μὲν ἀλαστορίας συνήθους, εἰς τὴν ἀντιπάλοις βασιλεύσας | 25 πρόσφασιν μεταφέρον, καὶ δικαιά τούς εἰργασμένους ἀπολύουν μέβιετο. Τέλος προστεθήκη καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ ἀδικοῦν, ἀποστεροῦμενοι δὲ τῶν μισθῶν ἄφρατους κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην τὴν χώραν κακοῦντες, τὸν μὲν τῶν βασιλέα Μιχαήλ δυνάμεις περί αὐτὸν ἔρχοντα Ρωμαίων ἀκούει τούτοις γεγονέν, καὶ οὗτος ὁ ὄντως ἀδικῶντος βούλευσαν ὣς ὅδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅρκους ὃς πρὸς | 30 τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπόμοιος ἦν, ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ γόνων χωρίσαντες μέχρι ἔτης τοιούτου ἐν αὐτῷ διεβεβαιών ἔτη καὶ ἀνωτέρων τῆς στοιχίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ αὐτοῦ πίπτο, πεσεῖται, καὶ ἐκείνος, τὸ μόρφωμα δέξαται καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ χρήσιν σφάζεται καὶ ὁμονοιείται τῷ ἀνατολον κατά τας αἰτίας την εὐσεβίαν καὶ τοῦ καθοφακικοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ | 35 τῆς στοιχίας σπουδῆς νασαγενὲς ἐν λιμένι. Ταῦτα καὶ τουρθέ ἔτερα (F561) κορύζησι τοῦ (B513) Ἐλλησπόντου, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἔλλεων κακά παρατεθέντας καὶ εἰς αἰτίας μεταφέροντας εὐλόγους, ὡς ἐπελάμβανεν, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ὑποκορίζομενος ἀνασειγονός, μᾶλλον ἔκαψεν καὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις πιθανοίς ἢ τοῖς ἀκουούσιν ἐδοξεῖν.

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 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
19. Νέα προσβολή των Καταλανών και του νέου ηγέτη του Αντρονίκου

19. New deputation of the Catalans and their leader to the Emperor.

19. After a delay of fifteen days, the Catalans dispatched three envoys 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. In March, he gathered his people, also in the presence of important citizens, and published their action from the very beginning, offering, in my view, nothing less than

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 for this year, and pay them, with the sole exception of this withholding, the remaining thousands of nomisma 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.
ἀρρήθην τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας τοῦ ἁγοντος σφάς ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοίτος νεόσιν καὶ (F563) πρόσκλησιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τόσον μετακαλεῖτο ὅσον ἦν ἁγαγόν εκεῖνος, κἂν ἁγαγόν ἁζιόν πρὸς καιρὸν δέχεσθαι, ὅτι τε διαχειριζότοις κατὰ Κύκικον καὶ ἐς ἐαρ, οὐχ ὅπως ἐνήργουσιν κατὰ τὸν πολεμίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ ἄτα τὴν χώραν εἰργάσαντο δουλειῆς, εἰτὲ ἐπισυνῆτε (B515) καὶ τὰ κατ’ ἀνατολήν, ἢ καὶ ὡς πόλλ.’ ἄτα ται καὶ δεινὰ οὐ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ρωμαίους διατεθέκηκας, καὶ νῦν δὲ διαπεραιωθέντες, ἐλεγε, πόλλ.’ ἄτα καὶ ἀπάθεια κατὰ θύσιν πράξατε, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰκότου αὐτὸ ὑπὸ ἀμώσιον εἶναι, ἢ ἦν ἱκανὸς ἢξεν τὸν μισθωμάτου, ἢν τις λογίζοτο, σφάς: ἀπερ ἤξεν δεινῶς μετελεῖθεν οὐ μετηλθῆθεν ὅμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα προσφοροτίμηται καὶ ἀργὸ τὸ ἀνατολὴν πέμπει, χάριν ἱκανὸς ἢξουσιαν σφάς τρέμειν. Ἔκεινοι δὲ ἄλλα σοβαρώδεμοι ἀπειθεῖοι, καὶ προσέταξε προσπελεύσατε, μηδὲν ἄκριβος εἴδθετε τὴν βασιλείαν Ρωμαίων ὁπόσον ἰσχύει καὶ ὡς εὐπόρος ἦν καὶ τρήμασιν ναυπηγήσασθαι καὶ μαρατηθῆς εἰσαρτίσασθαι, μηδὲν δεομένη συμμάχων ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τοὐσοῦν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀποχρώσατε ἢς εὐμαρίς ἢς ἔχειν φάβον καὶ τοὺς μακρὰν ἐμβαθεῖν, κἂν τὸ τέος αἱ τῶν πόλεων προστασιᾶται ἀμαρτία, εἰ τοῖνοι ἀγα-πὸν λαμβάνοντες τὰ διδόμενα: εἰ δ’ οὖν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀμυνεύσαετε ἀλητερώδεσις φαινόμενος ἀντὶ συμμάχων, ἢ ποιο τοὺς καθεστῶς (B516) παρεγχεῖν: μηδὲ γὰρ ἄγνοεν ὅλως ὁπόσον ἐκ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἄλγουν ἐνικανοθήκησαν χρόνου, καὶ ταῦτ ἐφ’ ἱκανὸν ἐς Θεοδερίκου |20| πολέμους συνέχεις ταλαιπωρούμενοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀποκρατείς τῶν δα δεικνύου τὸν ἐνοίκον εἶπορον: σημεῖον δ’ εἶναι τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλάττοντας, μηδὲν ἐς νέοτα ἐπιφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅσπορ ἐν ἔρημας διάγοντας, οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν φανήναι γνωσιν τινας καὶ ἀνάπλους καὶ μηδὲν τοὐς καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐς τροφὴν εὐπορούντας. Νῦν δ’ ἀλλ’ ἀργοὶ κάθηται καὶ ὑπερηφάνους |25| τὰς μισθωμορίας ἀπαιτούσας, τί καὶ πράξαντες ἀγαθὸν καὶ μαρτυρὶ ἐργὸν γενναίας, τοὺς ἐθροῦς καὶ ταῦτ ἐργὸς ὀρνόντες, οἱ πολέμιως συντραφέντες καὶ μάχας, ὡς λέγοντω: ὃν χάριν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι δέον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι κατατρέχειν τὴν χώραν, ὅπερ ἄν ἐρημος προὔκειτο τοῦ πολυκρόνου, καὶ ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ὡς κατα νότος τοῦτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ αἱ |30| περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεις, ὅν μὴ ὃτι γε τὴν προσβολήν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν φήμην προσ-πελαιζόντων ἐνέγκαιν.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ οἱ μὲν φανέντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦμαν ἀπελογοῦσιν, ὡς ἄλλῳ οὐκ ὅν εἰ μὴ τῶν παλλόν μὲν ἀλάστορα, αὐτῶν δὲ βασιλέων ἀποστάτην τὴν γνώμην, ἀνήλεος κατασφάττοντες ἀλλοῦ δὲ, καὶ μειζοσιν 20 ὡρίως (B527) ἀλλή-λους παρακροτήσατο ταῖς οὕτως ἐπρότερον τοῖς ὑποκόην, εξεθείνην πανταχοῦ ὅπως ἦν καὶ καταλήγανον Κατελάνους. Ἀλλ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς, μᾶλλος πρὸ τοῦκ τῶν ἐπειδή χαιρόν, ἤρέων περὶ τῆς αὐγούστης, εἰ περί-νός γὰρ τὸ περὶ τοῦ κυνδύνου παρεπιστέγαι φόβος. Ὑς γοῦν ἐμαθεὶ τὰ τραχταὶ περὶ τῆς αὐγούστης, ἐμαθεὶ δὲ καὶ (F577) τὴν ἐκδομὴν δεινὴν τῶν στρα-τευμάτων, δεῖσας περὶ ἐκείνους μήπως, ἀσυν-τάκτως διώκοντες, ἠττήθασι καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἢ ὀρμή περιστή, πέιψας τὸν δελευτοῦ Ἀλανοῦς συγάμος καὶ ἀλλὸς ὑποστρέφειν ἐπείρα. Οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ ἴνα τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς εξεθήνην <καί> 5 τόπος τᾶς ἐρεπτίδεον, Ἰταλοὶς μὲν – οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπιστά ποι σφίξα τῶν καίσαρος ἠπαίν – φόνον ἔπηγον, άπποι δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ ὕπαλα καὶ χρήματα τοὺς μὲν ἐπῆλον 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 Emperor 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
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. How the agitated Catalans devastated the western regions.

κε’. ὅτι Κατελάνοι υποκινηθέντες τὰ κατὰ δύσιν ἠρήμουν.

25. Allá μὴν σοῦ ὁ βασιλεύς Μικαήλ ἤμελε τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν Βουλχαρῶν ἐν ἀνάκωχαῖς θέμενος, τοὺς ἀμφί τῶν μέγαν προμηκήριον ἐξορίαμα, δὲ καὶ περικαθήσας τὸ φρούριον πολιορκικόν ὡς εἰχέν ἐμάχετο, ἔτη δ’ οὐ καὶ κατετροποῦσε. Πληθυσμένον δ’ ἐκεῖνων καὶ ὁρατὴ θαρροῦσα τὰς ἐκδρομὰς διὰ τὴν κενὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεων ἀσγολίαι – 25 ὁ γὰρ Μπερενγέριος περιβουκόλει τὰς ἐπιλίδας τοῦ βασιλεία, καὶ πέμπτον παρ’ αὐτὸν τὴν δουλείαν καὶ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἑπίκρισε, ὡς ἐν κενοῖς καὶ τῶν φόνων γενομένων, ὡς ἔληεν, ἀνακωχάς σκαιρωρῶν ἐνετέθην – κατοχυρώσα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ αὐθές ἐπὶ πλέον τὸ φρούριον, μακρὰς δ’ ἐπάνα ναυσὶ (F579) καὶ ἄλλαις ἐννέα μικρὰς μέχριν ἐμβαλόντες λαον εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν παραγωγῶν σκυλευμόνα ἐκάθενσιν. Ἐπεὶ δ’, προσβαλόντες μὲν Ἁρτοκῆ, ἐπινεέε Κουζίκου, προσβαλόντες δὲ Προυκόνησο, οὐδὲν ἤγιον, ὑποστάτων στερρότας τῶν ἐποικῶν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πυραυλοῦς μηνός, ὥς ἐκκαθητὴ ὑγίον Πειρίνθῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ ἠβηδὸν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατασφάδισαν. Χόροις δ’ ἠρέμους τὰς παρ’ ἐκάτερα, τῶν μὲν απαντεπάθεντος, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἔκτηνος, τοὺς δ’ ἐλαφυροπόλους. Διὰ ταῦτα νυκτὸς ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πυλῶν, παντοῖον ποταμίων ὀδατῶν ἐρήμων ἐμφύουμενον, εἰσεχέετο, ὅληγον, καὶ

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 subscription 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
ταύτα ἐκ τοῦ τυχαίου, ἐξ ὧν εἶχον ἐπιφερόμενοι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξοι αὐθῆμεροι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐντὸς ἡμείρου μέχρι καὶ ἐς πολὺ ἀνέδην, τῶν νεών ἀποβαίνοντες, ἐπιρρέοντον τὰς χώρας καὶ τὰ πάντενα κατειργάζοντο, πλείστων όσον πυρὸς καὶ μαχαίρας ἔρχον γιγνομένοι· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς σαφρὸς ἔνα τὸ Ἐμπέδοκες: οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν περαίαν πάσαν ἐσκευαγώγουν καὶ ὅσιον νησίδος προσφέκομεν ἀποδράντες Πέρσας, μίαν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν ἐξ εἰκαίων ἐφοδιών καταφυγήν.

26. About the action taken due to the admiral.

26. Ἐφθασε δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἕνα τῶν Κατελλάνων, προσφυγόντα μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εἰς ἀμηραλήν τιμήσας καὶ ως πιστό, (B530) ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἐδίδομι 20 δοκεῖ, χρώμενος, ὅτι γε καὶ εἰς Ἑλλήνης καὶ γνώμη καὶ στολή μετετάτητο. Πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ φιλοτησίαι πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐκουδροῦτο ταῖς ἐυεργεσίαις· πρὸς τοῦτος καὶ εὐγενεῖ κόρη τῇ τοῦ Παχέου Ραουλ, εἰς γάμον νόμον συνοικιζομένη. Τοῦτο βασιλεύς ἐκτόπιος πιστεύοντος, εἰς Ιταλῶν ἄρτυσάμενος ναῦν καὶ ρόγαις ἐξικανώσας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν ἔνα τοῦ τοῦτος· Ἐμελλὲ δὲ ἅρα καὶ ἄλλα κατὰπεντὰ ἐκπέμπειν, συναινοοῦντοι τοὺς ἐπίνταντος. Με γαῖς συνεντάτητο ἄδειατε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἔνα, ἀγγέλλεται οἱ παρὰ τοῦ κόμητος τῆς νεώς ὡς Αμογαθάρους ἐντὸς ἐνόπλους καὶ υπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα, ἐκάσιος, κρυφδόν ξει τῶν καταστροφῶν ἐντὸς· δὴ δὲ καὶ φορωθὲν εὐθέος τὴν ἀπαίσιαν παράδονα τοῦ τριπάρχου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκέκλειστο, (F581) οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ — οὕτω γάρ τελέσας ἢγγέλλοντο τὰ δεινὰ — ἐν πρόσφησιν ἱκανον, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστάτων ἐκείθεν. Ἀλλ’ εὐθέως οἱ πικρὰ φήμα κατελάβανεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἄλλοις· αὐτοῖς ἀφήμενοι οἱ πάθυντες· καὶ θρόος (B531) ἤγειρεν σαμπλῆμα, καὶ ξύρφος ἐκ πάντων διὰ τὸ φιλοκτονό ἱστατο, καὶ 197 τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων νεών κατηγοροῦν κατάλυσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν πάθους τοισιστα, εἰ ὁ συνήθης στόλος περίφημον ἐξηρτύσετο, καὶ πολλά καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός διελάλουν.

74 Αριστερή αναφορά στα πρόσωπα των του Κατελλάνων προς την Τουρκοκρατία. (Cf. F578, fn. 14)
75 I.e., the refugees who were forced to flee the Catalans due to the continual defeats of the Byzantine armies.
Τούτο γνώς πατριάρχης, ἀπάρας ὡς εἴχε τῆς κατοικίας ἃ ποιεῖτο, ἐγγὺς ἦσαν τὸ σπουδαίστατον περὶ τὸν δήμον σπουδαιοτέρων καὶ γε τὰ ἐπολλὰ δημοχριστεῖν, κατὰ τὴν μέσην τῆς ἄγορας μεσημβρίας ἑστάται, καὶ ἐγκάλει τοὺς ἐγκλεόντας καὶ ὃς συνήθης ὁ θόρυβος· καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκεί ναὸν καταστάσας, μακρὰν κατέτειν τὴν διαλαλίαν καὶ καταστέλλειν θυροβούντας ἴνα εἴγετο, τὰ πολλὰ συνανίδον ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν δυναμένον, οἷος ἐν πολλῷ ὁ σύ, καταπατώμενος· Τέλος ἔπει τοῦ πολλὸν γογγυσμόν περὶ τῶν νεῶν κατεμάνθανεν, ὡς μὴ ὁ διὸ τ’ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς διαζῆτο, εἰ μὴ γέ νῆς κατὰ τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις συνήθες ἐξαιροῦντο, γνώμας ἀγριωμένας ἐξομαλλίζον θέλων ἀμηχανία καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑποσέχεσα, τινὰς ἐκείνων καὶ τοὺς ἐνδηλοτέρους παραλαμβὸν, ἀναφέρειν (Β532) καθυπεγνεῖτο, ἐτ ὁ καὶ τὴν ταχύτητα ἐξορίζειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιστὰν ἄρνησαν πρόθυμον ἐαυτῶν ἐδίδου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ ἦν δημαγωγοῦν καὶ δημοχριστοῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἀμαθεῖτην ἦν, βασιλεὺς δὲ Γεννουίταις ἡμῖν καὶ χρημάτων χυλιστεῖν ἐδίδου εἰς ὅπερ ἐς αὐτῶν ἐσβήσασι πολεμιακῶν εἰπθήσαντο.

Ὁ ἐγκλεσις δ’ ὁχλος εἰς ταύτῳ γεγονότες, ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω δεινὰ κατηγέλλοντο, μὲν αὐτοῖς δ’ οὖν ἦν εἰκὲ γεγονόσις ἀμόνουσθαι, ἐγνωσαν τοὺς ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως Καταλάνων εὑχερεῖν· οἷος μὲν ἦν συνδάγειν κατὰ τὴν παρείαν τῶν Γεννούτας, οὖν εἶχον κατὰ τὴν παραλαμβούν, μαθόντες δὲ τηροῦμένοις τινὰς ὡς ὁ ἀμφότερος ἐπιστάμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παχέος Ῥαούλ ὑμίκα, παμπληθεὶς συνερχόμενος, ἐμμηνθότως ἀπῆταν εἰκένιον. Οὐ δέ οὖν ἦν ἔκεινος ἐκ τοῦ ῥάττα προδοθέντας ἀναφέρειν, πτώ ἐναι διὰ αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκον πυρολοῦν εἰκένιν, καὶ πάντα τὸ τακείνη διαιροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἄλτα δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν τομιώμοντος ἐγκέτο. Καταλάνως δὲ μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ θουάτος στερρός αντεχομένος σῖν πολλῷ τὸ πόνῳ ἁμα (F581) μὲν σοδήμον, (B533) ἁμα δὲ καὶ πυρὶ καθαροῦσα, μηδὲνος οὖν τ’ ὄντος τὴν ὀρμήν ἐπέχειν τοῦ πλήθους. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατριαρχεύων ἐπιστὰς λόγως μελικτηρίου ἐπιφανεῖ τὴν ὀρμήν ἀναστέλλειν, δὲ καὶ τὴν παρακυνθοῦσιν ὑποτοπάσας, ἄλλος φανεὶς
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 them 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 nearly went 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
27. On the appearance of sixteen long boats from Genoa.

27. Kάν τὸ κακὸν προέβη, εἰ μὴ γε κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα ἐκ Γεννούας μακρὰ γῆς ἐκκαίδεκα, ἐμπορικῶν ἐπίφορτοι προσδοκόμεναι, νότου πεσόντος μετρίου καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς προσδοκίας καιρὸν ἐφιστάτον. Ἡν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Κατελάνοις καὶ Αμιγαβάρδοις ναυλισθημένοις κατὰ τὸ Ῥῆγον ὁπράττομεν τὰ δείνα, καὶ ὡς φοβηροὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς δοκοῦν, νῆστα μὲν εἰς ἀφεδρόνοις ἑς στόμα τοῖς ἰδίοις πάλτοις ἐμπείρουσιν, ἀνδρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν (Β534) πυρπολεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὡς διαγωγεῖσθαι χρῶμεν τῶν ἰδίων πλοίων, ἐσύστερον κατακτεῖνομενι, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦσι τὰ χαλεπώτατα. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἦσαν ταύτα, καὶ ἐντρέφοντο τὰς συμφορας· δείλης δ᾿ ὀνείς αἱ τριήρεις, τὸ πέλαγος διεκθέουσαν κατ᾿ εὑρήσαντον· ἣς εἰ ὅτι πλεῖστον τὸν ἀποστῆματος μόλις ἀποσκοπέοντες, ὡς ἰδίως αὐτῶν φανείσατο καὶ γὰρ ἔλαβον ἄρτοι· τίμαντα πῆμα ἢ Ἡλείας σύνισιν ἐξεδέχοντο—χορείαν εἰλιττόμενοι ἐπεκίρτουσι, καὶ ἔτοιμοι παρευθέθηκαν, ὅτι καὶ ἐκ προφητείας σφίγνη τῆς, συμβάλλειν τῇ Κωνσταντίνῳ. Αἱ ἦσαν ἤγηγηκαν καὶ τὰ σήματα καταφέραντο καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν Γεννούαις συμπλέοντες, τοῦ θάρρους μὲν καθωρήκαν, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τελέος ἀπεγνώκεισαν τὰ χρηστάτα. Ἡπισχὼν γὰρ ὡς ἐπιμείζοντο προτενύοντες τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς οὐκ ἀν πάντοτε τὰς καθ᾿ ἐκατέστην διαπλωισμένας νῆες τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀνέτοις τε καὶ ἀσκόλους ἔχον, εἰ μὴ γε σφίγνεν ἐπεκπονοῦοι ἦσαν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾿ ὀλίγοι εἰς οἱ αὐτῶν τυχόντες κατὰ πόλιν παρὰ τοῖς Γεννούαῖσι, διεφυλάσσοντο, διότι καὶ νῦς τῶν ἱερω- δῶν ἐπιφορτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρ᾿ (Β535) ἐκείνους ἀπολυθήσεις, (F585) ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ 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, because supposedly the Catalans were hiding in these houses. They also attacked those they had a complaint about for whatever reason.

76 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).

77 Situated on the Thracian coast of the Propontis [sea of Marmara] and a mere 20 kilometres from Constantinople.
κατὰ Γεννουίτας, βεβαίως κατὰ τοὺς, µὲν ἵα Καὶ µὲν τριήρης αὐτοῖς θέλη ἐστὶ τοῦ µοἰκείων πυθέσθαι, πᾶν αὐτῆς πέ, τήν πουσι ἐξ σοφώτερόν Ἀλλὰ ετ᾽ µῷ περὶ ἐκεῖνοι, γνώ περιᾶσθαι µας αλάττειν τὸν Μτὰς φοροῦντα πυριγέριον, και ἄμφιτριπλῶν κατ᾽ ἄλληλοι, εἰ δ’ οὐν, ἄλλα ζηµιοῦσθαι τὰ μέγιστα, ὡς καταφρονητάς τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων.

|10| Τούτοις θαρροῦντες Ἀµογάβαροι ἔξεδέχοντο Γεννουίτας καταφροντάς. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, διερχόμενοι καὶ τὰς πυρπόλεις καταγόντες, ἐν θαυµατί ἦσαν καὶ µαθὴν ἠµοῦλοντο τὰ πραγµάτητα. Οὐ δὲ προσέσχετο τὸ λίµνη, ὁ προρρηθηκός Μυριγέριος, ὃς ἀνακηρύξατας τὸν Γεννουίταν στόλον, παρὰ τοὺς ἐξηγούµενος τῶν Γεννουίτων ἐκεῖνων νεόν γίνεται καὶ, ἄρχης ἀπ’ ἅκρης τὰ καθ’ αὑτοὺς διελθόν, τέλος προσετίθεται καὶ τό αὑτοῦ µὲν ταῦτα πράττειν ἐκδικήσεως ἕνεκα, (Β536) εἶναι δὲ καὶ Γεννουίτας ἐνσπορόνους σφίσαι, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἐστὶ µαθάναιν, εἰ βουλούµενος ἐκέινος δὲ καὶ βασιλέα χολάν καὶ δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχειν µεγίστας καὶ ἄλλων µὲν πλείστων ἕνεκα, ἄλλα καὶ φρενίςς βοηθοῦντας ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καθέδρας αὐτῶν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἀρχῆς γενόνται πολίτης, καὶ ἀπηρτηµένους εἶναι τὸ παράπαν τὸ βασιλεί, ὅστε καὶ ἀποκεκλείσθαι σφίσι τὰς πόλεις τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα συνήθη πρόσοδον ἀφήρησαι. Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ἐξηγοῦµεν, τὸν Μυριγέριον τὰς τῶν Γεννουίτων γνώµας µαλάττην πεισθάνα, ἐφ’ ἵππει καὶ µετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπαλαγείς. Ἀλλ’ ἐκέινοι, σοφοτέροι τὶ 25 ποιοῦσίς καὶ τὰ καθ’ αὑτοὺς ἀπαρτώντες, νυκτὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς πέµποντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸν πᾶν παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τὸ µετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς θέληµα. Καὶ µία µὲν τριµής τοχυνναυτοῦσα εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως ἔπλευ, κατὰ πίστιν βεβαιάν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν Γεννουίτας.

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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 Emperor Michael and the Genoese were therefore definitely 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 City78 to obtain a secure confirmation from the Genoese of the City.

78 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'. Περί τῶν διὰ τούς φρερίους τούς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμβάντων.

Πλην δ’ οὐχ οὐκ οὐκ οὖν πρὸς βασιλικὰς ἀντέχειν διαταγὰς, πρὸς μόνον τῷ εὐλαβέος περὶ τὰ θεία τοῦ προστάσσοντος αἰφέρων. Καὶ ιερὰ μὲν ἑκεῖνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιμασίαν ἀμεταβέτων εἰσακότες, οὐδὲν δ’ ἦττον καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὕτω διατεθέντως ὡς μηδὲν ἐκεῖθεν τῶν τοιαύτη ἡμαςεάν, ἡμέλουν, ὡς μηὶ ἀν μεταβη- σομένως, ὡς ἡ σφίς σεσαβή. Ἐπει δὲ καὶ αὐθής ὁ κρατῶν ἤνωξελίτο καὶ ἀπαραιτήτων κατενεύετ şi τὴν βίαιν, 20 πέμψας τῶν τοῖς Πισαίων ἐξάρχου προσ- τάσσει, ἐγχειτόν δὲν ὅντο, συμπαραλάβοσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καθ’ αὐτῶν ἰερῶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἱερεῖς, ἔπιστην τὸ τόπον, καὶ γε τούς μὲν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀξιοπίστως τετάχθη κράτησαν ὁ δ’ εἰρήναν καὶ ἐμπλήθος τὸ παράπαν ἐσκελευμένον, τοὺς δ’ ἱερεῖς, ἐνδῆλις ἀνα- λαβόντας τάκετι κείμενα, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κορυφαίου 25

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 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’Aunès, 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 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
tōn ἀποστόλων μεταθείναι ναῦ. Ὡς δὲ γέγονεν ταῦτα καὶ ἐπάρχῃ ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετάθεσις, οἱ φρέριοι, μηδὲν ἔχοντες ὁ τι τῶν ἄλλως (Β539) χρῆσαιν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπισάτταν τὸ πᾶν τῆς ὀργῆς ἐξεκένων, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν πρὸς Γεννουῆτας κατὰ τὴν περαίαν καὶ ήξιόν τῶν καταφρονηθῆναι ἀμύνασθαι. Καὶ ὁ ἐξουσιασθης ἐκεῖνων, τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν άμυναν τῶν καλῶν ἔγερμαν, ἐξέπεμπε κρύφρα τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐγγὺς βασιλείων ποιήσσαντας· κατενεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἐδικαίως, ἀλλὰ σπάθες στίζον ἐσχάτης.

Ἐνδορύσαντες (F589) τούς, ἐξεπλήρουν τὰ τοῦ βουλευματος, καὶ ποιλάς τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἐπειπεσοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ αἱρητῆναι, ἢκίσατο, ὡς φοράδιν οἷκοι, μόλις πιστεύουμενον, ἀπὸ ἀπαγόρευσιν. Τοῦτο βασιλεὺς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναφέρεται, ἀπὸ προσῳδίας τ᾽ ἐποίησαν τῶν Γεννουῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ σφίν ἐπὶ ἠμέρας ἐξελθόντας τὰς τῆς πόλεως πύλας προσπέπεται, ἀναρτῶν τὸ πραξῆν εἰς κρίσιν τοῦ κοιμοῦντος, μέλλουντος ἐτέρου κατὰ πόλιν δεσον οὐκ ἢδη τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι.

Ταῦτα Μπυριγέριος τότε ὡς λαβὴν προύτεινε σκανδάλων καὶ ἀλλιώτρων τὸν ἄριστον καὶ ἐκείνων γνωᾶν ἐπέμα, μὴ εἰδὼς, ἢ καὶ ἐκῶν παραλείπον, ὥς βασιλεὺς φθάσας σφίσας ἐξημνεύετο (Β540) καὶ ζημίαν προσπέλαμβας, ἀγγελθέντων τῶν διήκονων ὡς καὶ ἐπείρα ἢν, ἡ ἀγοράς ἐπείρας ἢν γνώτισσαν, ἡς ἐπάνως ἠξίων καὶ τὸν ἀρχήν τοῦ σφίν προσθείεντα, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτάγματο προσεῖσεν ὡς εὐθὺς ὑποστερεγόντων καὶ κομισσόντων τὰς ἀγγελίας, εὐθὺς ἐκείνοι, παρὰ βασιλεία ὑπὸ λαμπῆρας ἀργίμενον, τὰς ἐκείθεν ἐγκωρήσις ἐλάμβανον, ὡς εἰ μὲν ὑποκλίθησαν ἀντιμιμοῦσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀνθίσταντο, εὐθὺς πολεμεῖν, καὶ πλῆθος συνοι προὶς Ρωμικὸς τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς στησομένων πρὸς ἄμυναν, τὸ δὲ ἀλάσι διαποικίων γενησόμενον ὡς γάρ ἄρτεβλεθην, ὡς εὐτέρας μὲν ὑποίσθησαν, πρὸς ἐκείνους δὲ τὸ πᾶν πρᾶξαντας. Σφίσα μὲν οὖν τὸ δῶς ἡν ἐν χέρι, καὶ ὑπεστρέφειν.

preventing any looting. The priests thus piously took what was there and transported it to the church of the Coryphaeus of the Apostles, 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.

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 Rheim).
29. How the Almogavars and the Catalans were defeated.

The Emperor Andronicus sent out a thousand armed men, and this strait was filled with boats, which were to sail towards Rhigion. 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.82

The same day, which was 31st of May 1305, as midday approached, the tiremes 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 tiremes 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.83 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

82 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.

83 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 Bosporus and landed on the European shore at Saint Phocas, probably present-day Ortakoy.
the Emperor Andronikos to receive the good
treatment that befitted them. The Emperor re-
placed 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, 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.85

30. How the Romans failed in battle.

(F593) (30) Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἄλλʼ οὐδὲ ὁ νέος ἄναξ
Μιχαήλ ἠμέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀφεῖς τὴν
Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Παμφύλια γενόμενος, τοὺς
ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαιρεῖαρχὴν τὸν Δοῦκαν καὶ τὸν
μέγαν Τταούσιον τὸν Ὅμυπατοτεύτου καὶ τὸν
τρίτον τὸν Βοσσίλιον, ἰκανοὺς εἰς πολέμιον
ἐξάρτησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου Ἀμογα-
βάρος ἐκέμπησε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Βραγχιαλίου
ἐκτραπεδευμένους ἔτοιμους προσβαλεῖν ἤσαν, ἢν
ποιον φανεῖν. Οἱ δὲ, τὸν ἐντὸς ἀπαλλαγόντες
φόβον — οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοὺς περνοῦντες τὸν
σκυλονύτερον ἐντὸς τοῦ φρουρίου εἶχον, ἀλλὰ ἐν
τὸ κατ’ αὐτοὺς καράβῳ ἐλεύθερα φορτὶ 10
συνάμα τὸ σφετέρον νησίστραμι πλοῖο
εὐφυλάκτως εἶχον, — τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦν σοφί-
ζονται, καὶ πλείστην λείαν ἐξελάσαντες ἥζον,
ὡς ἄν μηδὲν ὑπειδίωμοι τῶν κακῶν, ἄντον
εἶχον. Τὸ δ’ ἤν ἀπάτη· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἱππεῖς τι
καὶ πεζοί, ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τῶν (B544) ὀπλῶν ἐξίν καὶ

84 I.e. Trebizond, where the Genoese went for trading purposes.
85 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)
86 Probably located around present-day Uzunköprü, on the Ergene River, a tributary of the Marica, about
twenty kilometres from Didymoteicho. (cf. F592, fn. 59)
87 Branchialion (Plagiarion ?) is located between Kallioupolis and Hexamilion. (cf. F592, fn. 61)
free. However, this was a ruse, since cavalrymen 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 Monokastanōn, 88 murdering on their way. Rumours set the slaughter at two hundred men, and even leaders were killed. 89

The Emperor Andronicus was informed of the event via a message sent from outside the City by the Emperor Michael, 90 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 nomisma to go all together to fight as quickly as possible, while Berenger and his family had already been taken. 91 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

88 An unknown location but the furthest point that the Catalans reached from Kallioupolis. (F593, fn. 64). Cf. TIB 12, 537-38.

89 According to Muntaner the battle took place on Saturday, twenty-two days before St. Peter’s Day on 29th June, but this date contradicts other sources, the battle probably taking place on Saturday 5th June. (Cf. F593, fn. 64)

90 I. e. in the days following the battle, between 5th and 11th of June 1305. (Cf. F593, fn. 65)

91 The negotiations between the Emperor Andronicus and the Genoese took place in the first days of June, after the Genoese had seized Berenger in Rhoegen on 31st May, but when the Emperor was informed of the defeat of Branchialion, the Genoese fleet had already left for Trebizond. (Cf. F594, fn. 66)
Patroclus (Hom., Il. 19.302). 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 indifference 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.

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 through its entirety, priori
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Meanwhile the Emperor Michael was not resting idle, but, as the saying goes, he left no 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 dignified as possible, place matters between his own hands and those of his own men and, if the malcontents 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 necessities 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 concerning 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 disturbances. 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 those 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. On the battle fought by the Emperor Michael against the Almogavars.

10 32. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἤρμιον ἦν τὴν μάχην, ἄλλα πάντα λίθον κινῶν, τὸ τοῦ
loγου, ὅπως τὴν ἤτειν ἄνακαλέστηκαί· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμενε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένει καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἀκούειν τε καὶ ὀριν τὰ δεινὰ ἀπεσχοῦν οἱ ἑλεινοὶ Ρωμαῖοι ὑπὸ τῶν αμιχρῶν Κατελάνων. Όθεν καὶ πάντα λόγον ἀφεὶς ἐπισυνάγει τὸ στράτευμα καὶ, κατατέλων τὴν Ὀρεστιάδα, περὶ τὴν Ἀπρο πλησίον κατασκεύασαν, ὡς ἁμα ἐφ προσερχόμενοι τοῖς Παλαιοὶ· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ πλῆσιν καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκύλωσαν. Τῇ γονὶ υπεραρια, συνταξάμενος κατὰ τὸν Ἡμέρη λεγόμενον τόπον, Αλανοὺς μὲν καὶ Τούρκοπολοὺς ἐν ἴημου κατανέμασαν ἰστα, περὶ τὸν Βασιλιᾶν τούτους ποιούμενος, ἐπομένως δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν μέγαν πριμυκήριον Μακεδόνα διέτατε καὶ μετὰ τούτους περὶ τὸν θείαν αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρον τοὺς ἀντολήθην ἀπώρετας, τὸ Βλαχικόν δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἄλλα ἐκ θεληματαρίαν συγκροτοῦμεν ἢ, καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ τρόπον, περὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐπαύριαρχης συνταξάμενος οὐραγοῦν, αὐτὸς συνάμα τὸ ἀδέλφω καὶ Κωνσταντίνω καὶ δεσποτὴ καὶ τῷ πυκνότητι Σεναχρείµ (F601) τῷ Αγγέλῳ οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος ἀτραλ οὗτος ἂν ἑρείτο, ἄλλα ἀμφίπον εἰσθαν περὶ τὸν ἄνακα καὶ οἱ πολυβενής τὴν ἀσπάλαιον ἠθέλεν. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τῷ συντάξεις δυστάξες, τὸ οἰκείον ἄτομ καὶ μαχημάτων προσβάλβοι, (B550) τὸν ἅστατον ἀνεπλήρη σύλλογον. Καὶ αἰ μὲν Ρωμαίοι δυνάμεις εἰς ὁ πέντε που τέλη τὰ μείζον συνεκποιοῦντο, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἰς τέσσαρα, ὅν ἐν ἤ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν

Καὶ δὴ καρτερᾶς γενομένης τῆς μάχης καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς, ἐνθεὶ μὲν Αλανοῖ, ἐκείθεν δὲ Τούρκοπολοὶ συνεκθέοντο καὶ τῇ προηγομένῃ συντάξει τῶν Κατελάνων προσβάλβουσι. Καὶ εὐθὺς πύρρος ἤσαν ἐκείνοι, μηδὲν ἡ μηδὲν καθ αὐτούς ἐναπά οὐ ωπλίσκενοι καὶ τοῖς παρ’ ἐκάτερα βάλουσι πίσυνοι, καρτερᾶς ἀντέχον. Οὐ μὴν δ’ εἰσβάλλοντος οἱ προσκρά

94 About 30 kilometres from Rhaidestos on the Via Egnatia. (Cf. F598, fn. 78)
95 Said to be near “Kastamon” [Apros?] in the brief version. This new confrontation is called the Battle of Hemera and took place on 20th June 1305. (Cf. F598, fn. 78)
96 The latter had already led the Alans and the Tourkopolou the day before Roger de Flor was assassinated in Adrianople. (Cf. F598, fn. 79)
97 Constantine Palaiologos, married to the daughter of Theodore Mouzalon and mentioned earlier. (Cf. F600, fn. 83)
98 Not to be confused with John Senachreim Angelos who was Grand Domestic with a superior dignity - the Pinkernes occupied 15th place in the hierarchy. (Cf. F600, fn. 83)
99 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)
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)
Ο μέντοι γε βασιλεύς καταλαμβάνει μύλος τὸ Πάμφυλον. Καὶ δὴ τῆς φύσεως διαδοθείσης, οὐκ ἦν ὅστως τῶν γεωργῶν, ἐν ἀκήμῃ καὶ ταὐτὰ τοῦ θέρους, ἐξὸς τῆς Κονσταντίνου ἐναπόλεξεστο, ἀλλ’ ἀμα τάνταθεν μυρμηκάνια μιμούμενοι ἐθερμανοῦσι εἰς ἀμαξῶν ταῖς ἀμαξῶν, θέρη καὶ δράγματα καὶ |20 συρόνως χαίρειν ἑδνυτές. Ταῖς µέν ὅσις ἑναντίος, καὶ ἕτον πάντως σενίτα καίν ἕνανδρον ὑπονήμων, ἀλλ’ ὅν σύν (B553) ἀλίγα τῶν ἀνηκέστων πράξεως καὶ τὰ προστυγόντα ληστα-μένοις, ἠπείρῃ τῇ Ἀπρῳ περικαθήσατο τῶν εισδεδυκάκων ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπειρώντο πολιορκεί-ως δ’ οὐκ ἦνον τὸ παράταν, ἐγνυσαν ὑπο-στρέψειν. Αλανὸς δ’ ἄπα τάρκοις τῆς πρὸς τῶν βασιλευόντων |25 ἐνοικον, σκυλεύσαν τὰ ἕν ποσί τούθα ἑδοξε, καὶ φύλων μὲν ἐσίστατο, ἐξηροὶ δ’ ἐπανίστατο. Τάττα μαθοῦν ο βασιλεύς, καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπαλίγησε τῇ συμφορᾷ, τὸν µέν εἰς τῇ καὶ βασιλεύς τοὺς παρακλητηρίους ὡς εἰση ἐνεδίδοχε, τὸν δὲ Κουτζίµπασς ἀπολοίει πρὸς Αλανοὺς, ἀμα µέν εἰκόνως ἐγκαταστήσετο, ἀμά δὲ καὶ Τουρ- κοπούλους δουλειαγήσετο τὸ γὰρ ἑοὶς ἐμφανίζεται τε καὶ ὑμμύρωσσα, καὶ ὅτι συνήητος ἦν Αλανοὺς ἐν Νογα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Τουκτάιν προσβείσειν αὐτὸς ἐπουριέτε οἰς αὐτὸ ἐπέρεσαν ἐποιεύεται ἑναντίος Βασιλεὺς (F605) ὑπαγαγόται σφαῖς ἐπιστεύετο. Αὐτὸς δ’ ἔξ αὐτῆς στρατολογεῖ οἱ καὶ ἑφορόντες ἕβουλεστε µέν, ἐπείχετο δὲ ἐξ ἀναγκαίων πολλῶν ἀντι-σπώνυμος. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς µὲν δυνάμεις ἀπογόνους προστεθοῦσα, ὡς ἥρωες οι πρόσχοροι φιλός ἔργαζον ἀν τοῦ θέρους. Αμεγαράποις δ’ ἐδὲ τῶς ἀνακοίμησας δύσες, ὡς αὐτῶς καταδραμοῦμενος (B554) συναχεθεῖσαν τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπείτα ἐν τρίῳ καὶ δέκα ναοί Γεννυῶται ἐκ τῶν Λαζῶν ὑποστρέψασαν συμ- μαχεῖσαι ἐπείχεσαι. Αλλὰ τούτων τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐδέσισαν ὡς τι καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς δύνα- νος τὰς καλλίστας ἐκπλέσαι, 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.101 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,102 but they had no success and decided to return. Meanwhile the Alans definitively renounced all their good will towards the Emperor Andronicus103 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 Tourkopoulos 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 fortress of Apros, mentioned above. (Cf. F602, fn. 87)

101 For about a week, from 7th to 15th 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)

102 They had offered their services to the Emperor soon after the death of Nogai in 1299. (Cf. F602, fn. 89)

103 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.
while the others were put in prison (XII, 24). (Cf. F604, fn. 94) Nine others had to content themselves with giving a warning shot to the Almogavars by passing in front of their ranks, but six thousand nomismata, while the Emperor Andronicus provided a service of two months for a sum of six thousand nomismata, and 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, 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. After obtaining this, the Emperor Andronicus deliberated and considered how he could then prevail over his enemies.

33. Almogavars imprisoned in Adrianople.

33. Où mēn dé kai oi án òn tòv τòv τòv τòv tòv τòv Ἀδριανούπολει ἐγκεκλεισμένοι Αμογαβάρων.

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 after having taken an oath of submission, did not in the least remain inactive once they found out what had happened to the Emperor. When the rumour was spread that our allies 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

105 After the victory over the Catalans and the capture of Berenguer d’Entenca in Rhegion on 31st 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)

106 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’Entenca. 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 others had to content themselves with giving a warning shot to the Almogavars by passing in front of their entrenched camp of Kallionopolis. Nothing is said of the fate of the two missing boats. (Cf. F604, fn. 93)

107 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)

108 I.e., the defeat of Michael IX near Apros (XII, 32). (Cf. F605, fn. 95)
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 ἐκείνου πεπραγμένων.

34. Andréas de Mouriškos, ὃν καὶ βεστιάριον πρὸς βασιλεὺς κατασφάλισε ἐν τοῖς πρόθεσιν λόγω ἐλέγομεν – οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς διαπάνης χορηγός τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν νησιῶν ὀνομαζέτατο, ὑπαρχος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πάλαι λεγομένος –, ἐν διεστημοῦ Ἀγορᾶς Πενελόπης καταρρίφθη τὸ ἐκείνη φρούριον. Καὶ ἦν δὴ μεν εἰς ὀποῖον ἔποδος ὡς ἄλωσον ὑπὸ τούτοις, Γεννοῦται δὲ, τυχόντες ἐκ παρόδου, σφίζοντες τὸ ἐκοινωνοῦντο, καὶ τὸν ἄκαστον λόγον ἐν τούτοις ἤστον, ὡς, εἰ μέν κατασφάλιζε τὸ φρούριον θέλουν, αὐτῶν μεσολαβοῦσιν, ἀκονίτισσα λήμψαντ’ ἀν, εἰ δὲ γέ τῶν ἐντός ἐς ἄπαν περιγενέσθαι, οὗτοι ἐν ἀναμετροῖ τὸ σύνολον ἀπαλλάξειαν. Καὶ ὅπη

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109 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)
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. (F609) Oudèn de τέως ἐνεώχωςε καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐγοῦστης φιμυσθὲν Εἰρήνης, ἢτις, ἐπὶ δυσίν ἤδη χρόνοις Θεσσαλονίκη παραμένασα, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν παῖδων διώκει, εἰς ἐπίγομας ὀρμότας συμβαῖν, Τὸ δὲ ἦν, τῶν εἰς τὰ ἱδὲ ἀπομεῖνω, συμμαχικῶν ἐπέγεθε εἰκ τῷ λεγάραιῳ Ρωμαίων κατήκοον καὶ πλείστων ἄλλο Τριβαλλικῶν ξενοκρίνων.

Alll' οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐξατάτων πάλιν οἱ ἐναντίον. Τέως δὲ ἐκεχείρια ἦν τῶν πόλεμον, ἐξ ἑγγού τῶν κατ᾽ Ἀβδόν στενῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν τρήμερον πλεούσων κατὰ κολύμνην τῆς ἔσσαν τῶν Περσῶν παραισχοσ. ὡς οὐδον αὐτοὶ προσεποιοῦντο, ὡς ἐλέγετο, Ἀμογάβαροι, ἵνα γοῦν δινάτα σφίσιν ἐπίγομας καὶ φέρειν οὐς φθάσαντες διεπέρασαν, κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἄρέσκον, τῇ καὶ τῆς πλὴν δουλαγονομένου, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τὴν περαιάν διακατέχοντες, οἱς τιτυσκόμενοι, τῆς ἡμός ἄπήρτων τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἢ τὶ ποῦ (B558) καὶ ἐγχερισμὸν ὡς παρατίχε νομίζει οὐ καὶ ἐπεστρέφεσθαν. Πάσαν γὰρ ἡμῶν διηνέκες ἐξερίσαντες συμβαῖνει κατέχεσθαν, πλὴν τῶν δῶν κατ᾽ Ἀτραμίτων καὶ Φοκαίων ἤν, ὡς δὲ τῆς Μανουήλ Ζαχαρίας κατέχοτο, εἰ ὁ τῶν ὄψων ἴσης ἴσως ὁ ποὺ τῶν περὶ ἐκέλον Ἰταλῶν ὄντων εἰς πόλεμον θράσει περιολημένον. Τῷ τοι καὶ ἀσμελημέναις τὰς ὧκταν τῆς ὄρθων ὑπόνοις ἐπικαθίσταται καὶ

110 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.

111 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)

112 The fortress of Bellagrado (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)

113 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).

114 That is to say, the shore opposite Thrace. (Cf. F608, fn. 4)
μένας τοὺς τολμησέωσι ξυμβαλέιν – οὖν γὰρ
σφῖσιν ἀπόδραστα ἢν τὰ ἐς κίνδυνον, σφόν ἁλω-
μένων –, πέμψαντες βασιλέα ἡζίουν ὡ ἀυτὸν ταῖς
νήσοις τὸ ἐδήμοιν προνοεῖν, ὡς αὐτοῖς
ἐπαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἐς φυλακῆν, ἀνέντα καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν
eἰσπράξεις, αἰς εἴῃ ἃν χρῆσθαι ναῦς ἔξοδο-
μένος εἰς τὴν τὸν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἀνταγόνισιν
ἐκεῖνοις γάρ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον ὁ πάλαι βασιλεύς
Μιχαὴλ τὸν τόπον ἐδίδου, πρὸς ἐργασίαν στυπ-
τηρίας ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα· οὐ δὴ καὶ τὴν πόλιν
καταλαβόντες βασιλέως εὐμενοῦς ἐπιτυχανὸν ἐς ὁ
πρᾶξαι σφῖσι τὸ κατὰ[b] βούλησιν, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα
ἐν ἀναβολαῖς ἢν 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 reque-
sted 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.\footnote{115} They reached the City
and found the Emperor willing to satisfy their
wishes, but things still remained pending.

\footnote{115} 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)
1. Peace negotiations between the Emperor and the Almogavars. (F615) a’. Metaxáiriosis eirhnikí prós Akmagárrous tou basileous.

1. Ἡδή μὲν οὖν τῶν βασιλέων ἅμφων, τὸ μὲν εἰκοστὸν καὶ τρίτον, τὸ δὲ διδακτάν, αὐτὸ-κρατοροῦσι ξινεβιζηθεὶς εξάνυσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἀνατολήν ἐκατογέλοντα ἐκ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιθέσεως ὡστε καὶ, ἀνηκέστως ἔχειν δοκοῦντα, παρεώθη τοῦ ξύμας, καὶ (Β 562) ἀποκροσσούσθαι τὰ περὶ ἑκείνων λεγόμενα οἷς σίος τ’ ἦν ἀκούοντας ἂν εξάνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ δῦσιν, ἔνθεν μὲν Ὁσσιντσέλλαβος τὰ Ἐλτιμηρῆ κατήκοα, οὐδὲν ἐπευλογοῦμενος ὦτι μὴ τὴν ἐς βασιλέα ὁ ἄκηλος ἀιτώμενος, άγον καὶ φέρον ἃ τὰ πάντα ἐξελήξετο, μηδ’ αὐτῶν τῶν Ρωμαϊκῶν ἐπισχόμενοι, ἐκαθέν δὲ Ἀμογάβαροι, τὸ καθ’ αὐτοὺς κρατινόμενοι θράσσει, ἐξ ὑπογούν κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὑμερήσαντες, οὐδὲν δ’ τι τῶν ἐντός ποταμοῦ Μαριτής, οὕτω πας ἐπηρώθη λεγόμενον, οὐδές εἶσαν καὶ ἐν καταστάσει. Ἐνδόρρος δὲ καὶ ὁ κατὰ Θράκην ἐκείτο τόπος, καὶ τῶν προσοικοῦσιν, ὡσά δ’ ἐκ καὶ τὸν περὶ ἆσβη ὕποψιν τὸν κατασκεύασαι, καὶ πάντ’ ἐργα ήσαν τῶν ἐνοικίαστιν, πλὴν οἷς ἀφροντιστώτις κινδύνου, σκυλεύουσι καὶ φωρίς ἀποζην ἐξ ἀλαστορίας εἴσθε. Ο’ μένετο γε βασιλεύς Μιχαήλ, τὸ Διδυμότειχον ὑπειράζεις – οἵτι εὑρίσκοις ὃ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν ἄλογός πρὸς ἧδονήν

1. It so happened that the two Emperors were already respectively completing their twenty-third and twelfth year of autocratic rule.116 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.117 In the West, Svetoslav, who had no reason to complain, except that he disapproved of Elimir’s inclination for the Emperor, ravaged the territories subject to him,118 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.119 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

116 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: 23rd year of the reign of Andronicus II and 12th year of the reign of Michael IX. The reign of Andronicus II is thus counted from 11th December 1282, the date of the death of Michael VIII (VI, 36), and the 23rd year of reign begins on 11th December 1304. The reign of Michael IX is counted from his coronation on 21st May 1294 (IX, 1), and the twelfth year of his reign begins on 21 May 1305. The story is thus situated, chronologically, between 21st May and 11th December 1305. On these dates, on the counting of the years of reign which they imply, on the meaning of the words κράτος and βασιλείας as already indicated above (XII, 2), see A. Failler, ‘La proclamation impériale de Michael VIII et 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 6th July 1305 (XII, 32) and 17th September 1305 (XIII, 10). (Cf. F614, fn. 1) 117 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) 118 The situation in Bulgaria and the relations between Svetoslav and his uncle Elimir 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) 119 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 Hbez (the Marica), which they were not to cross until 1307 (XIII, 32-33). (Cf. F615, fn. 4)
to their stratagems, his evidence, their kind, and their words, which were of the following sentence. (Cf. F615, fn. 5)

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 follow him. And he treated the wounds received in combat. 120

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 ships, 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. 121 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. 122 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 was 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. 123

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)

2. Harangue that the Emperor had with the Catalans.

(F619) β’. Αµηµορία πεµφθείσα Κατελάνοις πρός βασιλέως.

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 fulfill 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 position the Catalans from having the opportunity to find out something about them in advance by asking discreet questions.

124 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)

125 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)

126 That is to say in Kallíoupolis. Münster 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 Kallíoupolis. 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)
niece, orphan of his father, calling her "our child," Andronicus II wanted to refer to the role of guardian that he exercised with regard to his...

Τί ἤμιν ἐγκαλεῖν ἐχοντες; Ὄτι καίσαρ ἄπολετο, καὶ τοῦθ’ ὠμοὶ τοῦ πράκτορας τοσοῦτον γενέσθαι κακῶν αἴτιων; Καίσαρ ἄπολετο. ἄλλ’ οὐχ ἠμῶν γε θελόντων, οὐδὲν ὁ πάνθ’ οὐρὸν ὁρθαλίως· ἄλλ’ οὖς ἑντέρφος (F621) μίας τῷ κατ’ ἐκέλον ἐκ τινων παλαιῶν μηχανῶν, τούτω καὶ μόνως αὐτοῦ ὑποδουλεύσα τίς ἐγκαλεῖσθαι τῷ πραξάμενοι. Τοῦτο ἐνανθρώπου τινος ἐντέρφος, ὃς ἤμιν μετὰ τῶν ὁλῶν εἰς ἡμίας δόκησιν, σφίζαι αὐτῶς εἰς ἐκδίκησιν περιγράφητε. Καὶ μὴν παῖς ἤν ἡμίν ἤ ἐκέλον συνοικίσασθαι, ὡστ’ ἄν καὶ συγγυνεῖται β’ ἐδόκει, ἢ ποῦ τι ὡς καὶ πεπλημμέλτο- καὶ τὸ σῶτα τὰ πεπλημμελμένα μετέχεσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθεσιν ἕκκακα κατηγο- τέα. Καὶ τοῦτ’ ἦν ἱσος εἰ προύπην ἤν τὸ ἀδίκημα. ἦν δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐγκαλεῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶς ἤμιν βουλομένους εἰνάδεν ἐν ἐπί, πάς ἤν (B568) ἀφετέρα ἤμιν τὰ μὴ ἐνοικίσασθα ἄν-

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127 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)

128 Marie Asamina, 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)
would have to choose such an ineffective measure? \(^{129}\) 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.\(^{130}\) 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.\(^{131}\) 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,
The question of the salaries is constantly raised, since the arrival of the Catalans (XI, 12). That is to say the impression of betrayal that the Catalans gave. The speaker is used four times in the discourse, consistently with the same nuance.
prisoners and the purchase of spoils. (Cf. F624, fn. 25)

15, 18, 21, 27) and accompanied on occasion by the two other conditions of lesser importance (the release of salary arrears, which will later be evaluated at 300,000 n

3. How the Persians (i.e. Turks) were prevented from crossing into the East.

3. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ιταλοὺς οὖν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα ἔπασαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, τοὺς λόγους ἐνδεξάμενοι, οὐδὲν δὲ τοὺς ἐφημέρους ἐδόκει σπονδὰς ἑπεκρίνοντο, ἀλλὰ πληρέως κορώρις Ἰταλικῆς λόγους ἐξέβεβον. Καὶ τέλος: "Ἡν βουλημένως βασιλεί εἰπης ἑφει,

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

135 This is a complicated way of saying that instead of salaries the Catalans deserved fines and punishments. (Cf. F623, fn. 23)

136 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)

137 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 are 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)

138 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)
A Genoese pirate in the service of the Emperor, Andrea Morisco received the dignity of vestiary (XII, 10). 4. Où μήν δέ καὶ Ἀλανός ἔτερωθεν, ἐτὶ δέ καὶ τοῖς ἔξ ὑπογούχοις χριστιάνοις 141 τοῦτον Ἀλανόν καὶ τῶν Τουρκοπούλων. 4. But, on the other hand, there were also the Alans, as well as the Tourkopoulos, who had recently become Christians. They had arrived from the north to join the Emperor a short time

139 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)

140 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)

141 From bestiariou (64th rank according to the Appendix to the Hexabiblos of Harmenopoulos), Andrea Morisco was promoted to admiral (48th 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)
could also propose δὲ). (Cf. F627, fn. 35)

Οἱ mountain summit rather than a fortress, if one refers to the identical Tatar Kou

Andronicus II instructed Koutzimpaxis to bring them back i

Catalans and brought about the defeat of Michael IX, As they had thus appeared to denounce their alliance,

ενος ἀπολογοῦ ὡς Ῥωβασιέ ἐπὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνος περὶ φή ὅλως οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπεικόνισε.

ενος αἴους οὖν δὲ ὠσεως ἐξορµήθην. (περὶ πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ δὴ. Ῥωβασιέ ὅλως, ὡς δὲ ἔκβατο τὸν παντοίως ενοῖ, ὑποποιοῦνται καὶ ἀποδέξάκαι καὶ γεγοναυτοῦ πρὸς τοῦ παρὰ ἄλλον πρὸς ἑτέροις καὶ προσήκοντες, ἀρχῇ Τοχάρων καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ ζήτηκαὶ τῆς ἡ πρὸς εὔεσθαι βασιλέα καὶ βασιλέως ἀποστραφῆναι πιστὸς δὴ Ἀλανοῖς τὸ ὡς τῷ Ἕρξεν, ὡς τῶν ὧν, καὶ παρεῖχε. ἀπέσταλτο δόξαν, ἁιων ὡς, ἐπιστὰς, ἢ πρότερα, καθὼς Ἀλανοῖς Κουτζί ἐρρέθη Ῥω ἐφεισίν αὐτοῖσι τῇ ἁμελετεῖται αὐτὸναὐτοῦτῆς ἱδρύ ὡς βεβαίῳ.

It is not known where Neas in Thrace was located. By this name the historian is no doubt indicating a

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)

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 Tourkopoulosi described below. The gap in manuscript B, which alone preserves this passage, is filled in the simplest way by [Oi ὅλε; one could also propose [Εἰτα ὅλε]]. (Cf. F627, fn. 35) TIB 12, 544 places Neas at Işıklar Dağı near Ganos.
6. Capture of Madytos by the Almogavars.

6.* Brought back from Trebizond on a Genoese tireme, Berenguer was then sent to Genoa.

7. Sending of Berenguer to Genoa.

7.* Brought back from Trebizond on a Genoese tireme, Berenguer was then sent to Genoa.

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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, through combat, causing immense desolation.

7.* Brought back from Trebizond on a Genoese tireme, Berenguer was then sent to Genoa.

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146 Attaleiates 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)

147 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)

148 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)
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 arose and general misfortune reigns, not only on the Romans, but everywhere, in my opinion.

9. The disaster that occurred at Kouboukleia.¹⁵⁰  Τὰ συμπεσότα δεινώ Kouboukleiων.

The disaster that occurred at Kouboukleia.¹⁵₀

An irreparable event then occurred in a place in Olympic (i.e. Asian) Mycia, where a fortress, Kouboukleia¹⁵¹ 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.

When Atares attacked the army of Persia,¹⁵² 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

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¹⁴⁹ The Telchine is cited elsewhere in the history (IV, 1; X, 10). (Cf. F630, fn. 46)

¹⁵⁰ This is only episode is given in summary form in the Bonn edition of Pachymeres.

¹⁵¹ The Mysia of Asia (Hellespont) or of the Olympus is opposite the Mysia of Europe (Bulgaria). The fortress of Kouboukleia (Gubekler) 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 Kotokia. (F634, fn. 58)

¹⁵² 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)
phássas ὁ καίσαρ ἀπέστειλεν εἴπε φυλακὴ τῶν ἑκεί, ἵδιας τῆς χώρας λογιζομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐκ βασιλέας προῶσιν, ἐν φαύλῳ τῷ πόνῳ καθεπτοπάσαν καὶ πέμψαντες βοηθεῖν ἤντιβάλουν, τὰν ταχύτινα ἱόντας, καὶ γ’ ἐμποδόν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἱστασθαι. Ἁλλ’ ἐκείνος, ἔκατον πρὸς τοῖς εἶκοσι ὄντος τοῦ ξενικοῦ, ὁ δὴ καὶ ἀκραυγεῖς Ἀμογύραροι συνεπλήρουν, ἡμίσεις μὲν ἐκείνων φθάσας κατὰ τὶν υπονικὰν ἀποστασία ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἀσφαλίσατο, ἡμίσεις δὲ, ἐπ’ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις λογιζομένους, ἀγον ὡς μάλα πιστοῦσς, ἔκπεμψει τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν. οὲ δὲ καὶ παραγεγονότες, πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τὸ λελήθος κοινολογησάμενοι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες τε καὶ λαβώντες ἡ μὴν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπ’ ἁγαθὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ συμπράξαι, ἐκείνοις δ’ αὐθεὶς αὐτοὺς εὐθύρως πρὸς Λάμψακον ὡς περαιοθεῖν διασώσασθαι, εἰσπλήθωνε τὸ φρούριον καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους (F637) προσ-ποιησάμενοι, οὔδεν ἦν δ’ ὁ σῶκος εἰς καλὸ τῷ ἐκείνων (B581) ἐπραττόν. Καὶ τέλος ἐξελά-σαντες, προδόθησιν πάντας ἐπ’ ἀπωλεία τοῖς Πέρσαις, τοὺς δ’ ἐντὸς αὐτοὶ κατασφάξαντες, παραδόθησιν μὲν Πέρσαις τὸ φρούριον, αὐτοὶ δὲ, σῶν ἐκείνων ἁγάμουν τῇ ἐπὶ Λάμψακον, οὐλομοὶ Ρωμαίων ἀπαιροῦσι πανοκεί τύχῃ τινὶ ἐντευχητές, ἐξηνυδραποδίσσαν, ὡς ὁ ἄγρᾳ πλειότητι καὶ μεγίστῳ ἔρμαϊῳ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον περαιοθεῖται. 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.\(^{153}\) 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.\(^{154}\) 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.

\(^{153}\) By affirming that the country belonged to Roger de Flor, who called himself Prince of Anatolia\(^{1}\), 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)

\(^{154}\) 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 Kouboukleia to Lampsakos is nearly 200 km. (Cf. F635, fn. 61)
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 (Rhomäische Geschichte) 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:**

**Study:**

(B). Ηὴ ἢ δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς Ὀιανύς ἐπί μέγα δυνάμεως ἦρξε τὰ Ῥωμαίον πράγματα, δεξίος οἰκονόμος φανεὶς καὶ κυβερνητὴς ἀριστος τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁλίγος, ναυτὶς τὰ γὰρ μικρὰς κατατεκνικός οὐκ ἀλγὲς, ναιστολιν πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαῖον νήσους, καὶ πάσας (B29) ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ λαμβάνει, Λέσβου καὶ Χίου, Σάμου τε καὶ Κικαρίων καὶ Κόω καὶ ὅσι ταύταις εἰσὶ προσεμβαίνει· οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγας καὶ ἐς Ρόδον, ἔγκρατας καὶ αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν βασιλικὸς στόλος οὐτω θαλαττοκρατῶν ἢ, ἐν δὲ Λασία τὰ Περσικά στρατεύματα ἐμενεν ἀτερμείοντα, τὰ δὲ Λατινῶν καταβραχύ τοὺς ὑπέρθει καὶ ἀσθενεῖς εἶχεν, ἐγὼ διαβιβάζει ήδη τὰς τῆς Λασίας αὐλα καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρωπήν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐκείθερος τὰς ἐκεί τοιαύτας πόλεις τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς καὶ Ἰταλικῆς χειρός, καὶ δῆ διὰ τὰς ἐκείνους ἐμενεν ἀμα ἤρι, ἐγὼ διαβιβάζει πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνικήν, καταβραχύ τὴν ὄμορον ἐπορθίη καὶ ἐκεί χρόνον, ἐπὶ ἐκπληγῶν ἐν τὸν τῆς ὁροφούν ἄκροπολείς Λατινῶν. εἶλε δὲ καὶ πελείστας τῶν παραλλήλων πόλεων, Καλλιουπολίν τε καὶ Σηρτῶν 3.1. At that time the Bulgarians were ruled by the son of Asen I, Johanes [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 Icaria 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, Callioupolis
4. Description of the Scythians (i.e. Mongols)

4. δ’. 1. Ἐνταυθοὶ δὲ γεγονόμενα τῆς ἱστορίας, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν μοι ἔδοξεν εἶναι συγῆ παρελθεῖν τὰ περὶ Σκυθῶν, ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς ἑκοντί προσχωροῦσας, καὶ τὰς Σκυθικὰς τις και Μακεδονικὰς περίσσια πόλεις, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπέν, τῶν Βυζαντίων πολέων, καὶ ἐπελάσασαν ἄκρα Στρυμόνος, καὶ οἰκεῖοι τὰς πόλεις, ὅταν περὶ οὗ οὖσα ἁκολούθησαν, αὐτός τε εἰς Νίκαιαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφῆκεν ἐκτὸς τὸν οἰκουμενικότατον, ὧν ἦν καθόσον, ἄκραν λόγον εἰς τὰ προϊόν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν οὗτος, ὡς ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλένην, οὗτος δὲ τὸν τελῶν ἐπελάσας καὶ Στρυμόνα ἄχρι τὴν ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἑκχρόνους οἷον ἠγγέλετο τῷ Ἰβασίλεῳ ὁδοιπορικός, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἔθνον Θρᾳκικὸν, τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχαίαν διὰ ὑπὸ τέως ἐπίσκοπος βάνει." 2. The Scythians are made up of a great mass of

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 future. 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.

2. The Scythians are made up of a great mass of...
pássan τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην, οὐδαμοί μὲν ἐς ἀκρίβειαν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν πόλον, παρὰ τούς ἀρκτικοτάτους δ’ οὖν ὅως ἐνδιαπώμενον παραλλήλων ἀπάντων, ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄπασαν περιγράφουσιν, ὡς ὁ ἡ ταῖς παλαιὰς τε ἱστορίας συνθέντες παρέδοσι σὺν ἐπιγενομένοις ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡμῖν, καθὸν ἔχαν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου ξυνήκαμεν πείρας, τούτους γαλακτοφόρους μὲν καὶ αἵμους καὶ δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπουν Ὁμήρος ἔφησεν ἐκ τούτως γάρ οὐ μαγείρων μαγανανία, οὐδὲ τραπεῖς ἐπινοήθην πολυτέλεα. φυτικομαι  

dε καὶ ἀρόσεις γῆς, οὐδ’ ἐν ὑνέφοις, ὅ τι ποτὲ εἶσην, ἐφαντάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ τροφὴ μὲν αὐτῶς ἡ τῆς γῆς αὐτοφορίας ποια, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκομάτων αἵματα τε καὶ σῶματα. καὶ εἰ τὶ δὲ τῶν ἄγριων ζώων καὶ πετεινῶν ἄλων αὐτοὺς γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο δ’ αὐτῶς αὐτοσχέδιος ἔστι τροφή. ἐν 15 ἐνδύμα δ’ ἀποητῶν, τὰ τῶν ζώων δέρματα, ἀργυρὸς δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ μάργαρος καὶ λίθος λυχνίτης, ἵσα καὶ κόνις ἐκένους ἐστίν. οὐ πανηγυρέας ἐκεί καὶ φιλοτιμίας θέατα, οὐδὲ βουλευτηρία περὶ νοσοτάθμων καὶ τριπαρχιῶν καὶ ἀγορανόμων ἀλλ’ εἰρήνη πάντα τὸ ἄπο τούτων, καὶ βίος πάμπυσιν ἀστασίαστος. ὁ δ’ ὅσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώμασιν ἐπισυμβαίνοντες πυρετοί τὰς ἁρομάς ἐκ τῆς ὅλης ἑρόου, καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον φλεγμαίνουσιν, παρὰ δεν καὶ τῆς ὅλης πέρφυκε χορηγία μετείληθαν τίσι αὐτίς μακράς, καὶ ἰατρῶν φαρμακομαία παραλαβόθησα τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ὅλην πάσαν ἐξαναλώσουσιν, αὐτίκα πέπαιναι μὲν ὁ (Β32) πυρετός, ἤσθενε ὁ δ’ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἄσθενεν: ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ἐκείνοις, τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐξ ὅνων ἀνευρίσκει καὶ ἐρίδες φύονται καὶ κατ’ ἄλλησις ἐπιβουλαί καὶ χόσεις αἵματος ἐπινοούσια, οὐδὲ δικαστήρια συγκροτοῦνται λοιπὸν, οὐδὲ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀναγνώσια νομίμων, οὐδὲ πιθανὸ γλώσσας, καὶ λόγων διαστροφαὶ, καὶ ἐννοιῶν λαβυρίνθοι: ἀλλὰ δικαιοφύνθη τις αὐτοφης ἐπιεύμετο τούτως καὶ ἀνέφηθον αὐτοῦναια. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπουν καὶ Ὁμήρος τούτους ὀνόμασε.

(Γ.) Τὴν γε μὴν προσηγοριαίν αὐτῶν διαφόροις ἡμῖν οὶ πᾶλαι σοφοὶ διεπάθησαν, Ὁμήρος μὲν γὰρ Κυμερίους αὐτῶς καλεῖ, Ὅροδοτος δὲ ὁ τὰ Περσικά συγγραμμένος Σκόπος πολυειδεῖς, ὁ δὲ Χαριονεύς Πλούταρχος Κυμήρους καὶ Τεύτονας, οὐκ οἶκοθεν μὲν, ὄνομάζει δ’ οὐν, ὡσπερ ἀμφιβάλλει καὶ ἀπεστῶν αὐτὸς ἐντούτου. τὴν μὲν γὰρ κυρίαν αὐτῶν τοῦτος ἀνθρώποι ἔφησε ἐν κατὰ τὴν σφάλαν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν διάλεκτον, ὁ δ’ Ἑλληνίκος ὀνόμασεν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν χρόμενοι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ὡς ἔκαστο βουλοῦντο, τούτους προσαγορεύοντον, ὡσοι ἐκείθεν χειμάρρου δικην ἐς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ἐπηρεάσετε,

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 Cimbrians 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
the Melanchlainoi (black skirts). According to Herodotus IV 110 with the Daai when these latter invaded their area in the 3rd century BCE. Gregoras also equates the Massagetae decide whether the Massagetae formed part of the Scythians. These were an Iranian Steppe people who were reality, the Sauromates subdued the Scythians living east of the Volga. Herodotus (I,201) did not venture to Don at the time of Darius the Great, as a non

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. 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 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 beliefs, 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].

155 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 6th to the 3rd century BCE, and who mostly merged with the Daai when these latter invaded their area in the 3rd 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)
Vandals. (Cf. VD222, fn. 50) 

eastern Iberians in the Caucasus (cf. p. 39). The “Scythians” who advanced as far as Libya (=Africa) are the Scythian conquerors. Regarding the mention of the annihilation of the Cimbrians and Teutons, he evidently refers to the Sarmatians and Germans, Celts and Galatians as the original inhabitants, whose names were taken over by the Scythians. 

άχας θηρῶν ἀπαντᾷν ἀγρίων τὸ κατὰ µεῖζον ἀφειδεῖν καὶ ἑαυτῶν ὃ, κινήσεως καὶ εὔστροφον τῆς ὁν τε ὑπερβαῖν, κράτιστα ὅσα ἔχοντες τὸ νικᾷν οὖν πρὸς ῥµ ἐπαγό, καταλαβάντες αὔτων τρέχουσι ἀκουσ ἐξ δίκην αἰθερίων περι πολλάκις µιᾶς καὶ τριῶν, ἀσκεύο χορηγοὶεν ἀνενδεῶς τὰ αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀγορᾶς καὶ τε, καὶ δέονται πολλῆς τῆς παντοδαπῆς πεδεύσειαν καὶ τῶν αχί ἐπάγονται ὅπη πολέ πολε ἀλα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ οἵ ια Σκύθαις. καθεστήκασι ἐθάσιν τῆς ὣν δεύουσιν οἱ ἐνῆς οἰκου, οὔτε σπορί τῶν, ἄλλων ὀν οὐκ οὕτωσιν ἐφεγέρθησαν πόσποτε, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σπορίων ἐκτι δεύεσθαι, ἄν οἱ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας οἰκουμένης καθεστήκασι τρόριμοι, οἱ τοῖς καὶ Σκύθαις ἔδασαν οὔσιν (B35) ἱδία καὶ ήκτα ἐπαρχὴ, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίως καὶ μᾶλα πολέμια, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα πλεῖο τῶν μαχίμων ἑπάγονται, καὶ ὡς στρατοπεδεύσειαν, πολλὺς καὶ παντοδαπῆς δέοντα τῆς ἁγοράς, ἐν αὐτῶς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐποιεύσεις ἄνενδεως χρησίμοι τὰ χρήσιμα. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄσκεισι καὶ κυθοὶ σκούπτουσι βίον ἄρει, ραδίος τὰς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦνται, καὶ τρίων διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας πολλὰς δίκτυν πετυχων αἰθέριων φερί τρέχουσι γῆν, ἄλλην ἀλληλες πρὸς ἀκουσθῆναι καταλαμβανόντες, µηδὲν µὲν ἐπαγόµενοι, πάντα δὲ οὖν ἔχοντες, δεσ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ράδιος ῥόδιν ράδιστα. εἶναι ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῖς κατὰ πλῆθος ἐξελέναι μικρῶν καὶ ἀρθῶν ὑπερβαίνοντο, το τῆς κινήσεως εὐστροφον καὶ οὔστου, καὶ τοῦτον µείζον, τὸ τελείος ἀρείειν ἔστωσέ καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον δίκτυν ἄγριον θηρῶν ἀπαντάν 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 Cimbrians 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.156 They almost always subjugated whomever 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

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156 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 Cimbrian 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. e’. 1. All’ epainiton, oth o proteron hynos to loygou katelolipimen. 155 hhe gav kai Ioannou to Douka ta Romaiow skiptro diapontos, miera Skudon paumplhkei kai eis poleis anafereousa toyn arthmwn mwalladas, anowhen ex Xyterovroevn apostasethasia kateise mwn arhwa meri kai Kassias thalattis. En touzous de to w hynomoumen Sitzichax teletetinnitus-kotos, diytllono 20 tou hgraymwnion ton stratevmatwn amfro aitou to wive, o te Xaladou kai o Telepougax, kai o mn Xaladou pros arkon afias tin te Kassiai kai Iaazhdon potamw, ze ek ton Skudikon rhygnmenon oron, plati to kai baithrrois dia tis ton Sogdianwn xora kawtos, ez tin Kassiai pweita tais ekbolwos. (36) kathtis dia tis kawto Ausias. All’ o mn perioi touzous logos anaimenon anTHEVEKEI gav hmias ekthein o teis Euvorwteis, o gav etereco twn utwein ton Sitzichax, o Telepougax, orous tis oikeias arhris poismenon prwto mesempiaris mwn tis tov Kavvaskos 1 uperbolwos kai efevezei tis te Kassias thalassissis pelagia, eperveuteo dia tis ton Miosagwton kai Sauriwmwton yhes, pastan upoioismenovn autin te kai osa Mauoitida te kai Tanaiai ton ethwn paroikoisan. eita uperbolwos tais hnyas tov Tanadous, polw ehrpia kawto dia twn EUroipaion ethwn. plastea de twnta 10 pevfrakasi kai pantodapetai an tis mwn ex meougion teumwia te kai leiwana hisan ton palai Skudon, osa ex nomiades kai arhtereias eimwionoto: tis de ommowinti te Mauoitida kai tis ton Ponton plrwwnta parawl, Zyxoi t’ Abasgi te hisan, Gntdoi te kai Amazoboi, Tauroskthia te kai Vorhsedneita. 15 kai pros touzous osi tis par tais ekbolwos tou 1Strou Mysian enemonton.

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 Sitzichax [Genghis Khan] died, and then his two sons Chalau [Hullagü] and Telepugas [Telegoba] shared the command of the armies. 157 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. 158 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. 159 Then he went through the land of the Massagetae 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 Zhioci and Abasgoi, the Goths and Hamaxoboi, the Tauroskhy and Borysthenites [Borysthenes = Dniepr], and also those who lived at the mouth of the Danube in Mysia.

157 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), Oğädei (Great Khan 1229-1241), Caghatai or Tolui. The names are apparently those of the grandson of Genghis Khan and the son of Tolui, Hullagü, and the fifth-generation descendant of Genghis Khan, Teleboga. (Cf. VD222, fn. 53)

158 The conquest of Asia Minor began in the winter of 1242/3 with the capture of Erzurum (Karim, 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, Hullagü 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 (Syrdarya) 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)

159 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)
conquered Baghdad on 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. Some Mongol soldiers then made tributary. Whether the three years that Gregoras is talking about are the years 1242-1245 or 1255-1258. In this last period, Hulagu took over the protectorate over the Seljuks, subduing the Assassins in Mesopotamia, and conquered Baghdad on 10 February 1258. (Cf. VD223-24, fn. 60)

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)

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, Hulagu took over the protectorate over the Seljuks, subduing the Assassins in Mesopotamia, and conquered Baghdad on 10 February 1258. (Cf. VD223-24, fn. 60)

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. 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.
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

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 metals, 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. Nowadays first teaches the importance of necessity. When there is no longer a shortage of this and fate provides it in abundance, 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 were soon submitted, they also reached the Chaldians 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.
6. Negotiation with Turks concerning the Mongols

(B41) 6. ζ’. 1. Επὶ τούτων οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἑυφράτου Ασίαν ἔχοντες Τούρκοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην Ἀραβῶν θέρμων εἶχον ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ οὐκ ῥυγμόν, ποιηθέν τις Σκύθων ὠριστεὶ γεγονόμενα. πρέσβεις οὖν αὐτοκράτορας ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἔγεμος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπει Ἰωάννην περὶ βεβαίων σπονδῶν. ἔδειξε γὰρ, μὴ περισσόμενος ἐς τὰς τῶν Ἑσθῆσιν μόνοις ἐπειδὴ εἶχεν ἐπιτελεῖν ὡς 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 unspoken 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 animal 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.
2. He therefore willingly and enthusiastically entered into the treaty with the Turks.\(^{162}\) This proved to be of great benefit to the Roman State at the time. The liberation from fear and the common danger enabled 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.

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\(^{162}\) 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 Kâvus I towards the end of 1220. The contract was negotiated personally by the two rulers in Tripoli in 1244 (?) on the Maeander. (Cf. WD224, fn. 64)
1. Expansion of the Mongol Empire in the Near East

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 treasures 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, 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 themself 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
Ῥωµίνας σὺν πολλάκις τοῖς στρατεύμασι διεπορεύτω έις Θρᾴκην ἐπιδίνος ὑπὸν ἐσβηλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς Κωνσταντινουπόλεις προεύλα πείρας εἶνεκα πολεμικῆς. καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέ διατρήμην παρελάμβανσα προστὸν τὸ κατὰ τὴν περαιάν τοῦ Γαλάτου ἐπικεκλημένον φρούριον, ὡς ῥαδίως (B81) εὐθέως ἀλογομένης αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινοῦ, εἰ αὐτὸ παραστήσατο πρότερον. ἀλλ’ ἦσαν ἁρὰ τὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπίθυον αὐτῷ γηγοροῦντον ἐνόπλιον πλείστα γὰρ τῶν λιθοβολῶν μικρανίων ἀντιπεριστήσας αὐτὸ καὶ πολλὰς ἐπενεκγόνας, βίας ἐλεῖν οὐ δεδύνητα. οὔθὲν ῥυγήρας τὰ πρὸ τῆς Βυζαντίου φρούριον καὶ ὀργάς ἀρφεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς προετοιμαζότας συνεξεῖς ἐπιδομάς καὶ ἐνέδρας ποιεῖτα πάρα τῶν Βυζαντίου Λατίνων, ὡς μῆπε προκύπτειν ἐνε ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν τῶν τείχων. δὴ πρὸς τοσαύτην ἡλίασι τοῖς Λατίνους πεινάν, ὡς τῇ τῶν ἔξοδου 10 σπάνει καὶ τὰς τῆς Βυζαντίου πλείστας καὶ περιφρασμένους οἰκίας καθελεῖν εἰς διαπάνην χρειῶντα τοῦ πυρὸς. εὐθύνεθα εἶναι Νίκαιαν αὐθῆς ῥυποστῆσαι αὐτῇ γὰρ ἔγγονα Ρωµαίων βασιλείων μὲτα τὴν τῆς Βυζαντίου πόρησιν, καὶ τῇ εἰκόσθα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐνακολούθει τοῖς ἑκάστος πρὸς παραλαμβάνειν μεγάρον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοῖς κράτος περιμένον τῆς ἐπιφάνειας ἐπισκευῆς ἐκείνης ἐνίκησε, φόρους ἐπηρείωσεν, 20 ὅσα καὶ δοῦλος ἀδέλφους, τὰξαντὸς τοῖς ἐνεπολείφθησιν Ἀραχνὶ τι καὶ Σύρως καὶ Φοίνιξ, κατὰ μέντοι τὸ ἑπίσης ἀπὸτοι ἐφέβος τβούτις καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑνόδου Εὐρώπατος Αἰσίαν καὶ πάσαν ῥαδίως καταστρέψει καὶ λήγοντα, ὅρους ποιημάκον τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἅρπακν λόγου καὶ κλόους πρὸς ἄρκτων Κατσικὸδων καὶ ποταμῶν (B82) τῶν Θερμόδωνα, πρὸς δὲ μεσμέριαν τὴν τὴν Κλίκικαν καὶ τὰ ἴχνα μετὰ τὰς ἀρχαῖς πλατάρων διαφοροῦμεν μέρη τοῦ Ταύρου, ὃς ἠμέγετος ἐπεφύκε καὶ ταῖς ἑνόδους ἀς ὑποκειμένας. ὡς τοῖς Τόικροις βασιλεία καὶ κραυγής 5 ὦ σουλατὰ Ἐξατάτη ἄμα τὸ ἵνα λῦσθη Μαλίκ φοιτά πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ρωµαίων Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, ἐνέγραξε φέρον πιστὰ μεγάλουν ἐξέλον ὀὸ πάνω παλαιὰς φυλοδομῶν καὶ μεγάλης κηδεμονίας ὑποκειμένας ὑποτελεῖσθα ὁπλίτη διηλαδῆ καὶ αὐτῶς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ, φρεγών οὐκ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοὺς ἐκεῖνοις κυνδύνους καὶ πλείστα 10 φέρον ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας τὸν μεγάλους φόβους ἐκεῖνον ἔχη, τοῦτων ἀνάμεισθαν ἐτ’ αὐτῶν ποιήμασθαν αἰτεὶ δυνῆν θάτερον ἡ συμμαχία κατὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἡ γῆς Ρωµαϊκῆς ἀποτομήν τινα καὶ οἰονεὶ 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 subdued the Turkish Empire as well. The Sultan Azatines [Izz-al-Din Kaykays 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
eis katokiaēn monimotēran autōu te kai tōn ēma autō. Hīn yār epagōmēnous ynanēka kai tēkna kai therapeían | 15 syngē̱n, kai proq tōtōs plōtōn mūla mako̱n kai polulēlē tō mēn oūn basilēl tō Rōmaitou katakevartēzēn strateēmata, polllōn pollekōthēn periuklōntōn polēmōn, oū pānō tōi āsosēlē dō dikēi, tō, tē qēs klhrodōsēn apōnēmēn anōdī tosoōn, polllōn satraperēōn ārīghē kastastānti kai ēkmēnikō | 20 tīnos ḷhosēs trophēmō, kai tōtō de oūk anopolōstōn hīn autē, oūd’ anē phōbēn melλōntōn. ēnāγkē gār tois Ṽpō chēra satrpēsai zētēsa tōi ārīghēn kai tōs Listening kākēlēn dīsiparēntas kai fereōmēnous ēi̱a plēnētas ēn nūkē ēi̱ tōn larmadōπhōn kai ḷhēgōn sūndērēmēn kai chrōnō genēsē Rōmaitōs | 88 kakōn Ṽmīchūno̱n deīn oūs ēi̱ tūtūṉs meteōrivsēs autōu tēn wuchēn ḷge kai Ṽfērēn ēllē̱dēn wósstēr parrāstōn.

5. Events in Greece and Constantinople

ἐπιφαίνεται | 20 ἔπειτα πόλιν ἐπιτρέχοντα, στρατὸν αἰφνιδίως προάλασθαι οὐκ ἐνέξεται ἡ Ἑυβοίας ἔφοδον καὶ τὴν τῷ ίσηται αἰῶν µβασιλέα αὐτῶν | 20 ἐν ἀγροῖς µβραχεῖ κώροῦντας τοὺς ἀφ ὀχυρᾶς; ἐκράτησεν τῶν ἥς ἄκρας µπροσεται ὀλίγους Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὄνοκρατοῦντος | 88 ἐπαγ γὰρ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοὺς σατράπας οἰκεῖν ὡς θῆναι δέους ἐν ἀγροῖς µβασιλέα· κἀκεῖθεν ζῆται τοὺς τοὺς σατράπας, οniąκοῦ κληροδοσίαν, πολλῶν µατίζειν Ῥωκατακερ τῷ µµθεραπείαν | 241 ὑπὲρ τούς ἀφ βουίων ὄνοκρατοῦντος παρεκομήνης ἑκέρωσε τὸν ἑπόλεμον, διακατάδιευκανές ἱπποὺς καὶ ὅπλα, πολλά καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπαναστήσατο τὴν ὑπήρξαν Εὐβοίας.

(B.) Ἀπεις τοίνυν σπουδὴ μετὰ συνηχοῦ τοῦ Rōmaitou στρατοῦ, πρὶν ἀπεθάνῃ τοὺς Εὐβοῖους τῆν ἔφοδον. εἰδῶς δὲ τὴν Λατινικὴν ὄρθον καὶ ὁς οὐκ ἀνέξεται ὁ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀρχήγος µῇ | 13 αἰρηδίως προϊλάσατο τῆς πόλεως στρατοῦ ἐπιτρέχοντα βλέπουν ἄλλοτρον, προλογίζει νυκτὸς περὶ τῆν πόλιν συνηχοῦς ὅπλατα. Ἐπειτα ἐπιφάνεται πρῶτος αὐτῶς κατατρέχον τὰ κύκλω, 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 stilled it, feeding the Sultan’s hopes, so to speak.

* * *

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 afraid 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 this 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 force 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
ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλων καὶ ἔκ τοῦ τε ἐµἐ ἐξήρτυσε ἐφέσεως καὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν χρησά· φην µυἱοὶ τῷ ενος τῆς Καρούλῳ Ιταλίαν τῷ ταν (B98), τὸ δὲ ἐπίτροπος καλεῖται δὲ µφωνὴ εταγό ενα εἰς παΐουλος ὁ 'δµ ἐκ 'ἐν µτοῦ λεῖται ὁ κατὰ ἄρχειν µσφῶν τῆς ταῦτα καὶ δὴ δίχα πεπλήρωκε κρατοῦντων πόλεως τῶν τῆς βασιλεὺς, εἰ βοηθοῖεν παρέχειν ὁ τοιαύτην συνεφώνησε βασιλεύουσαν αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἀτέλειαν. ἁλῶαι χαρισ Γαλάτου σφισιν τὸν καί εἰσοικίζειν Γεννούας ἐδόκει τοὺς οὐκ καὶ Πισσαίων Βενετικῶν ἀσφαλὲς εΛατίνους ἐναπελείφθη.

παράλογο τύχης ἐξαίφνης ψυχὴν πρηνὴς πίπτει τὴν καὶ ἐδάφους', ενον ἀποῤῥήγνυσι εἰσιόντα καὶ ἠθοὺς καὶ ἐξιόντα τοῦ πρὸς δὲ νῦν λα ετὰ ἐσθῆτος τῆς τὸν, καὶ µας σχή προῦ τοῦ µἱστα µπερὶ σύγκλητον πᾶσαν τὴν 'αὐτὸν καθή βασιλείου βασιλέα δεσ αὐτὸν πύλης ἔν καὶ εδὲ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτελεύτησεν τι ιος τούτους' πλείστου αδ ἐπίλοιποι ἅΕὐβοίας καὶ ἀρχηγὸν ἤζωνα, ὁ ἐπεφέρετο τὸν Ἰκάριος µµ ἕθλόχων οἱ ἐν πολε ὅθεν ῥατοῦς αὐτοῖς ὀπίσθεν. ιος τοῖς ἀρχηγῷ µΛατίνου τῷ ασφών ἀναγκασθῆναι εὐθὺς ὡς ἐν τοὺς τὸν Πισσαίων καὶ Βενετικῶν, ὁς βοηθεῖτο τὸν Ἰκάριον, τὸν τὰ ἀτάτων τῶν τὰ τοῦτον ὁ µὲν Βενετίας καὶ λείται µακαυλος, ὁ δὲ ΕΠίσσας κοινόσουλος, ὁ δὲ ΕΓνυνός ποτεστάτος ἀπερ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φοινὴν µεταγόμενα 25 τὸ µὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων καλεῖται ἐπίτροπος, τὸ δὲ ἐφορος, τὸ δὲ (B98) ἐξοσιαστῆς.

(Ε.) Ὁ δὲ Βαλδουῖνος διαδρᾶ τὸν τῆς Κονσταντινουπόλεως κύδιουν καὶ ἀπασφαλίσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν εκήδευε τὸ ρήγη τῆς Ιταλίας Καρούλο, νύµην ἀγόμενὸς τῷ ωὸ τὴν θυγατέρα ἑκείνου ελξόν ἐκείνῳ συμμάχο χρησάμενος τὴν 15 Κονσταντινουπόλειν ἀνάλημπευνε, μάταιος τῆς τε ἐφέτευς καὶ τῶν ἐλζών, ὁ γάρ βασιλεὺς πλείστον ἐξήρτυνε ναυτικόν, ἐμπλήρωσε τρήπησις ύπερ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἐκ τὲ ἄλλων καὶ γένους του πλundered 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 Lochach with their detachments and locked in, while Ikarios attacked with his troops. So the governor of Euboia 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 gas mules, 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 Lacinians, who had recently come to the Emperor from the
The years 1261-1264, which led to the reconquest of the Black Sea ports of Mesembria and Anchialos.

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 an 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 an 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 binding 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)
6. Reason for the departure of the Mogols

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. When the Scythians could not lay their hands on Emperor Laskaris, he turned straight to Aenus and made every effort to
7. Relations with the Mamlukes of Egypt and excursus on the First Crusade

In 1264, when the events mentioned in fn. 11 took place, the relationship 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, 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 want 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. About this time an embassy from the Sultan of Egypt and Arabia [Baibars I] came to the Emperor. 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 Scythes in the area around Lake Maiotic and Mount Tanais. From there they take men with 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.

164 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 want to 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 Aqaq 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 Baibars'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)
Aëtius and Alaric invaded Byzantine territories, and several Byzantine sources on lands and peoples
then, 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 for foreign wars, 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 subdued 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 way:

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

(Γ.) Ἐβασίλευε δὲ τηνικαύτα Ῥωμαίοιν ὁ Κοινηγός Αλέξιος, πρὸς δὲ διαπρεπέσταται ἀγοράν τις ἥρωοις 20 εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξώματιν καὶ ἡμί τοὺς διαπρεπέστατας πρὸς ἐν δι᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου τότε κράτιστον ἐρμαιν ἐδοξε βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἀπρί ταῖς ἡμί κατὰ φιλοτέχνιν ἐκφαντάτο. νεώστῃ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ σκίπτρα τῆς
Celts from the west. Not only did they do this
hospitality demanded. That is how easily the
buy goods, provided them with guides to take with
resolved to do what was best for th
then took the spoils of the liberated cities, as
and did not hesitate for a moment to fight those
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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 Cilicia were the
first to immediately recoil from the sight and they
resolved to do what was best for themselves. They
allowed them to march 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

...
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

6. I must now return to the point where I have begun my excursus on the Celtogalatian (i.e. Frankish) army. As 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 Arab Gulf. On the other hand, they had subjected all of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, i.e. all the areas south of the
10. War with the Massagetae (Alans)

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官员 accompanied the new army on its way. So this
the Turks a faster way to the sea than was Europ
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 near it. Not many days had passed before...
the Emperor returned to Byzantium, and the barbarians occupied almost the entire territory up to the Lesbian coast.

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VII

1. State of affairs in the Byzantine Empire – loss of territories in the East\(^{165}\)

1 a'. (A.) Katà τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἑω τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀνέρρητη πελάγη, καθάπερ μυρίων πνευμάτων ἐξεικνύσας ὡμοί συρράγεστον καὶ πάντ’ ἀνός καὶ κάτω ἐλαντότην καὶ συγκυκόντων. ἔπει γὰρ ἔρημα στρατημάτων τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἑγεμονίας \(^1\) ἑλείπετο, συνασπισμὸν οἷς τὸι Τούρκου στρατᾶ ποιήσαντες πάντα κατεδράμων ἰχρὴ θαλάττης ἓποπίσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτάς ἤθη ταῖς ἀκταῖς μετοικήσαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλεῖότων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν ὡμοί καὶ γνακκόν καὶ νηπίων, καὶ ὡσα ἐν κτήσει καὶ ὡσα ἐν χρήμασιν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων \(^{10}\) ἀρτὶ αἰχμῆν ἐγεγόνεισαν. ὅσα δ’ ἐλαθον διάδραντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐγγία τάκεις κατέφυγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔς Θράκην ἀστικοὺς καὶ γυμνοῖς τῶν προσόντων διέβησαν. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυριάν ἤθη ἐληλυθότες οἱ Τούρκοι κλήρῳ διέλαπαν πᾶσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἑγεμονίας ἐπηγάγαν γῆ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. κατέσχον σύν, ὁ μὲν \(^{12}\) Καρμανός Αλιούριός τά πλεῖο τῆς μεσογείου Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπὶ τά μέχρι Φιλαδελφείας καὶ τῶν ἐγγίστα πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς περί Μαίανδρον τῶν ποταμῶν Ἀντιοχείας· τά δ’ ἐκείθεν μέχρι Σύμφυς καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παραλίων τῆς Ἰωνίας ἔτερον, ὡςμα Σαρχάνης· τὰ γὰρ περί Μαγνησίαν καὶ Πρίηναν καὶ Ἕρεσιν φθάσας ψυλήτο \(^{20}\) στρατῆς ἐτερος, ὡςμα Σασάν· τά δ’ ἀπὸ Λυδίας καὶ Αἰολίδος ἄχρι Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ὄ, τε Καλλάμης ἐγούμενος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Καρασίς· τά δὲ περί τῶν Ὀλυμπον καὶ ὡς τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐξῆς ἐτερος, ὡςμα Αἰτίαν· τά δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ (B215) ποταμοῦ Σαγγαρίου μέχρι Παφλαγονίας μεμερισμένος ἐς τῶν Αμύριοι δύβησαν παῖς.

(B.) Τό μὲντοι ἐξῆς ἐτος ψαφὶ διαμηνύσασθαι λάθρα τῷ βασιλέω τῶν πρὸς τοῦ Ἰουλίου πατριαρχεύοντα καὶ παραπταμένον Αθανάσιον θεῖαν \(^{25}\) προβλέπειν ὅργην κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρακελεύσασθαι το αὐτῶν ὀλονύκτοις δείσασθαι πρὸς θεών ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τρίτην ἄμεραν· τῇ δ’ ύστερα ἔγενομένῳ σεισμῷ

toûtou éine, fánai toû basileía, tûn prorin-
men tin Athanásio theomínan. ἰσχυρίζεται te lo-
spó, òs òu éteros ádios mállon autôs prós toû
pataríxhôn análeitai 10 ὥρον: µῆδε γάρ ἃν ἐξεσέναι ἀνεύ θεοτάτου καταλήκ
µείναι τῆν προειρήκτον, ἀνεύ τῶν πολεµίων ὡς
παραρτόµατο γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρων τῆς τῶν Ῥωµαίων ἤ-
γεμονίας ἀµα τοῦ τοûntô es tûn pataríxhôn
anábeînai õrhôn kai gêneîthai, oínov eîpîn, ñar
metà xei móna kai xállhns metà klôdhô kai
rûstâ platanouthâi 15 tûs tûs Ῥωµαιôns xeg-
móns tûs stchôýmata.

(Γ.) Tûu toû mikróu pántatos árkhêrás kai
ieras, kai õsoi ásketírîs ëpûuov prorédév-
ontes, kai õson toû kûhâi, kai õu polloú déw
légen, õsoi tôn ágoranomînton kai ðûmâsia
ðû tîa ëgegeirizmînên hêan prágmata, anamur-
neîntas tûs plâia pñvmatikês 20 barûptîtos
tûu ándróos õu mikróûs dietarázêv Ístse kai
dêmpugounêi tû bасilêî peri tûs ñêmîmot kai
tûs Athanásiou prôrôpéas pistêuven oûk êghon,
avlî ūpexwîthôrws, õûs poðên êkînên ëndô-
xêtorev káûstên plâstêi kai xárîzêtai xeviê
tauhtî (B216) tûn dôsán autô, ïn' eíspará-
dektos kai õ toûntô prôs êkînên dûkôi pòthos.
dëxîzêtai ð' õûn ðmous kai logioû peithous õ
basileús êstîn õûs tûs te árkhêrêv kai môná-
zôntov perieîdon idious tû periá tûo épêpô-
hikei boulâmata meb' õn pezi kai báðhîn âpêia 3
para tûn tû Athanásiou kataugntîn tûn peri tûn
êpîrhoñ: kai ðmîllhsas autû tû eikûta peri
tûn õrhôn êpêsâ kai tû patarïxhka perîthêsa
sûmbola. µêde gár dêzêtai fánai xêrothêsis
êptâs, kai õsoi peri autûn króto kai ðrîamvû,
pâlai tautîn eîlîrûta bêbâwos, eî kai ëlîpsi
êneka metaxû tautîn êdoûx anábothêsa, toûton
õûtoû xeuomênov anêseîn xebôdamous õ tûs
10 patarïxhôn Athanásiou õrhôn.

(Δ.) 'Etûxhe ðe ñênikaptâ épîdômov tû basileu-
oussé kai tês kat' Aîgnûnon A Lêxandhriâs 4
patarîxhês, seînouás ðnir kai swînêsa lojismov
tà hê ðkosmov: õûs ènêthên polûlîn tûn aíddo
kai eûmêneian proûs tûs basilewps poîrîstêta.
õûtou õrhôn tûn tûs basilewov peri tûs
15 patarîxhôn Athanásiou flegmainovasn ñexîn
kai akûoun ðe diâ bâumâtos megalûn êpäinov
tó ekênînu thîdêmov õnoma và îsson õu ðeîstata
 tônt frettîn Xwînothômou prôthêsan ólwov tûs
nêmos tûtovn ðpoðrîmînovn, mêla õi
chàrîntov tês tûs basilewov 20 kàðhnînu ylòst-
îs kai, oînou eîpîn, tôs òn õù kaiwî fîlîtî mîas
ôútsoi poû èpîn: "hûn tês ânh tûn tëghn
skutoûs xalên êghon tô chôma leukhî, h tô
kat' õîkon mîwos kath' hèmêravan êhêrînu
êna, autê lathoûds aote kata métên krrhî
neîta tûn lekkîn, (B217) èn ê tû tû sîçtê
mêlaînên õ

Emporos 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
patrichial 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 en-
emies 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 celebra-
tions 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. 687 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.
2. The arrival of Roger de Flor and the Catalans

2. 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. The week he would return home and bring brilliant and sanguine 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 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-
3. The exploits of Roger de Flor and his death

3 γ'. (A.) 20 Επει δ' οὕτω ταύτα ἀλλήλων ἐξενέβησαν καὶ τά διὰ τάθεμεν νοὶ ἄστασισθαι ἦσαν εἰρήνην, οἱ κοπῆες τοῖς Ὥμοιος συμμάχους ἐπήει, ὅποι ποτὲ ἄρα τραπεζίως τὴν κερδονάσαν εὐροφάν. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ οἰκίας καὶ κτήσεις ἐσπέσαν, ἵνα τὴν ἐπιδηνὰν αὐτὸν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι· ἄλλη ἀλλοθρείως ἄλλος καὶ (B220) πολλοὶ πολλαχόθην ἄσκειοι καὶ γυναῖκες κέρδος ἔνεκα διαφορικοῦ συνδρομῆντες πλανίτη καὶ διαπόντων θροσκον βίων. ἦσε τοῦ τούτον ἀργοὶ Ροντέριων διαπρεπομενοῖο πρὸς βασιλεία Ανδρόνικον συμμαχήσει εὐθύνα οἱ κατὰ τὸν Τουρκοῦν, εἶ οὖν μὲν γε βουλημένον αὐτὸ εἴη, καὶ μεντὸς καὶ σφόδρα ἁμένῳ τὴν πρεσβείαν προσδεξαμενοῖο τοῦ βασιλείου. ἄρας ἐκεῖνος ἦσαν ἀν Σικελίας ἀπογομένοι ἀνήρας· ὅν τοὺς μὲν χιλίους ἀνόμαζες Κατελανάους ως ὅ οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὰ der fick 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].
πλείστα τὸ γένος κατάγοντας· τοὺς δ’ ἐπέρουσιν ὑλίους Ἀμογαβάρους· οὕτω γὰρ ἢ [10] Λατίνων φονῆ τοὺς πείσας ἐν πολέμως καλεῖ, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τούτους ἐν μοίρᾳ τιττομένους τοιοῦτο τούτῳ καὶ οὕτως κέκληκε τὸ ὄνοματι.

(B.) Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ ἐλθόντα γαμβρὸν εὐθὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑπείρετας ἐπάντα· ὡς, πρὸς δειλίαν τούτους τὴν, μὴ τοσαύτην τοῖς πολταῦτα Ἀλανῶν ὁπόσον ἐκ ἐπὶ ἑκτε ἐκτε ἐκον κατὰ ἄριστα συγκεκροτη τῶν ἐκένας αὐτῶν πάλαι Ῥωκαὶ τοσοῦτος γὰρ αἰκῶν ἱκροῦς ἐκ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ ἀπάγοντες τῆς γοντες· πόλεως ἀστεῖον τῶν Λατίνων κίνησιν πολτῶν τῆς προεδρεύοντος ἱερῶς τοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνωθεν διὰ τὸ συνεργούσης καὶ κάλλιστα τε καὶ τοῦτο λείν οὐργον καὶ ἐνδείᾳ χείροι τῶν ἐν πολλῷ πολεὶς· ἤδη τοῖς χρονίως Φιλαδελφειαν οὖντο δεινοῖς πολεὶς πολιορκοῦντας τὴν τοὺς ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ μὲ τὸν ἐκείνων δακρύων καταχεόντων τῶν ταλαιπώρων τῶν ἀπέλαυον ἀρῶν οἰκείοις ὡς καὶ κατεχρήσαντο ἀδεῶς ἀκαὶ μὸδείν γὰρ καταφυγόντων ἀπολιχνίοις Ῥῳδειν ἐν τῶν παριόντες εἰργάσαντο τοῖς λέγειν τί ἐχθροῖς καὶ χρή εἶν διαβάντας τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐς τὸ ἐξεκένωσε ὥστε ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνῆλθεν ἐν δωρεὰς τὰ ὁπόση, δαπάνη δουκός τοῦ ἀτων τῶν εγάλου δὲ τὸ Πιριγκερίῳ α· τὸ δὴ ὁ Καίσαρος τὸ Ῥοντζερίῳ ἕτερος ονο, Πιριγκέριος καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀνάγει ἡ Ἀσὰν καὶ εγάλου τούτῳ τῷ ονό καὶ. ὁτι κέκληκε οὗτος μὲ τούτους ταττο εκαὶ πεζοὺς οἷς καλεῖ διὰ ἂγαρ. ἡ οὕτω πλεῖστα κατάγοντας· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ροντζερίου ἔνου ἀνδραπόδοις ἐχρήσαντο· φεῦχοντο τοῖς ὑπελθόντα εὐθὺς δὲ γα ἐξελά Τοῦ [15] 1. 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. This caused such consternation among the enemy that many at the time dared to assert that, had not the Emperor, out
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 River, 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
4. The Catalan Vengeance – Battle of Apros

4 8’. (A) Τοις μὲν οὖν στρατώτασις ἐδοξέα τοῦτο πεποιηκόσι θρευδαίς τέκ τόν Λατίνον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τόν τῆς τόλμης ὄγκον ἐς τό μετρώτερον ἀπαλάλαξαντας σφάς ἡσα καὶ δούλως ὑπεκέιν Ṭρακικοὶ αὐτὰς χερᾶς καὶ αὐτὰς γνώμαις παρασκευάζονται καὶ δυοῦν θέτον ὁμονοίανας ἔλεσθαι, ἢ δουλεύειν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκόντας, ἢ τῆν ἀγαθοῦν ἄκοντα ἐπανεῖναι.

(B) Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λογίζεσθαι διανοίᾳ ἐστὶ χαμερποῦς καὶ ἢ αἰ χεῖρες τῆς φύσεως ἐς μῆλα ἀχλῶδος ἀπολαμβάνειν πιθήκαις κατήμεγα, ὡς μηθ ἐννοεῖν ἔχειν, ὅτι λόγιον προνοίας τά πραττόμενα περιτρέχουσιν ἐκάστος τέλους ἔχοντες ἔνεχυρα προκαταβληθείσας αἰτίας, ἢ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκόντες ἐπιλαμβάνειν, τό ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸς ὑπὸ φλαστιὰς (B225) ἐκκλίνοντες· ἢ δὲ δίκη τῷ γραμματείῳ ἐαυτῆς ἐγχαράζεσα θέρους καὶ ἀλόνυς εἰπἴν περιμένει καίρων, ἢ ἐπάξω τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπὸ τοὺς πράξεις τῶν γεώργια. ἢ γὰρ ἢ αὐτῶν ἔδιδακτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνθρώπος, ὡς δέα μη συναισχημένη ἐχει τόν ἀνώθεν δεξιάν, τούτους καὶ γη καὶ θάλασσα μάχεται καὶ ἀπρεπτός, ὃς εἴπερ τινὶ δραπέτης Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης ἀλάστοροι δραστηρίως ἐπιτεθέμεναι καὶ intolable 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 Kallionopolis, 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 Kallionopolis.
πράγ τὴν τε αταλά καὶ αἰσχρὰν ἀνδρικῶτα πέρας τὰ γενναῖα ὁ ἀνδρεῖον· οὔτ ὁ βουληφόρος οὔτε ἐναντιώτατον τέλος καὶ ἀσιἀπάντα ἔρρειν αὐτοῖς πράγ ἀσί τοῖς ἄνθρωπων βουλεύτων τῆς µµοὐ χειρόνων καὶ µαρχηγὸ παρὰ ἐλπίδα µτοῦν πονηρῶν νοίσαντες ὁ δ. πράγ τοῦτον θάνατον εἶναι ελον τὸν µµετά Ρωβουλό εγεγό ελη ἄτων ἐναργέστερον πληπαίως εθέλοι, ἡνίας καὶ µτις, δείγ ὀρθῶς εἴφθη µσαφοῦς εἰρηκότες, ἃ ἂν προφανοῦς τὸν ὀλεθρὸν, ή ἂν πολλαπλασίονα, Μασσαγετῶν ἔπειτα Λατίνων µµὲν ἀλλοφύλου συἐνείας ὅθεν πὁρρω τῆς µγινό µ¬ Ρωδις ἐνὶς αἰών µπάντα ἐλλείψασι γε βάντα τὰ’ ἔχοι πλέον, εἶναι νῆσθαι µτοῦ τοῦ ακρὸν µµένον τοῖς ἐπαρχοῖς, τοῖς ειδιῶσα τὴν ὁ φιλάνθρωπον τοὶ µµπλοῦν τὸν ποιεῖσθαι πάνυ εἶναι. γὰρ τῶν ἐθελοντὴς ακατίῳ ἀνάῤῥουν κύπεπλοῦντος τὰ ἐπα ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς ἄνωθεν τὸ δεινὰ ἀπαρκτίου ἂν σφοδροῦ πολύ· καὶ µτελέως παύειν φρυγάνων ὁρ, περιθέουσαν τὰ ἐἴη τῇ’ καθ ἂν φορᾷ τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ. ήρως καθάπερ χορηγεῖν φέρεσθαι ὑλῆν τι φέροντι τῷ µἄπρακτον δήπου συ, ἂντίδρο µπράττειν ἂν ἂν βίαιον ἄντιπαλα ἄνωθεν πρὸς ἔσθαι ἡ τῇ εἴη ἂν ὅστις ἑαυτῷ διδασκό.
Προσδοκώ, ἔφοδος οὐ ετρίβετο ἐπεὶ τε. χρόνο, ὅταν ἐκ παρενοίκα ἄνωθεν καὶ κατούσια ἀλλάκτησαν. οἱ δ’ ἔτεροι τὴν ἐαυτὸν πανοπλίαν ἀνάλαβοντες ἐπὶ λείαν καὶ διέθρην τῆς ἄλλης ἐξήξασαν Θάρηκας καὶ κακῶς αὐτὴν διετίθουν νύκτορ καὶ μεθ’ ἤμηρον ἐπιπεριφέρουμεν. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Πιρικέριῳ Τέντζα μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς οὐ μακρὸν ἐδέσσας τῶν καυρῶν τῇ προνοίᾳ εὐκαιρίαν ἐπιτίθεντο θανάτῳ. ἀναγομένας γὰρ ἐκ Γενονούς μετὰ βραχὺ τρίπησι δέκα ἡ λαμπρὰ ὀψίσμεναι διὰ τὰς πειρατῶν ἀκούσια ἄγονα συνεπεισώνεντας αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐργὸν ἐγένοντο θαλάττης, οἱ δὲ ἐξήρωσον ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος Πιρικέριος ἄγογετε σὺν ἀμα συνχώς τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ὅφημολοις πιπάσκεται.

(Δ.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω γυμνωθέντες ἐξαίφνης οἱ Ἐλλησπόντιοι τῆς ἀμα καὶ μεγάλης μιράς στρατοῦ ἐπὶ συνχᾶς τᾶς ἁμέρας ἔμειναν κατὰ χώραν ὑπεπετυχότα τὸ τό μέλλοντος ἄδηλον ἀτολμότερον (Β228) τε ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλα τὰς γνώμας περιεῖς. ὑπέρεχε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς διανοίας καὶ οὐ μετρίος ἐσπάραττο τό, τε τῶν Μασσαγετῶν δέος, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτοὺς συστάτευσαν ἐξεπλεμούθησανα τε κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μικρᾶς τοῖς αἰτίαις καὶ συγχῶς ἀναστάτων περονεύκασα τοίς τε αὐτῶν τῶν Ελλησπόντιων στρατιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐ μικρῶς ἐκδιώκαντο, τὰς τε χάρας αὐτῶν χήδες καὶ πρῶνα συνάρθουσιν ἐδών καὶ τὰς σφιθρᾶς ἀδέας ἐνεπέμπουσαν καὶ οὐδεμίαν οὐδέπειος πουλαθροτούσας κατέλησαν πρόερεσιν, ὡστε βαυλθεὶς σπειροεύθης τῷ βασιλεί κεισθεῖ έσχητον (5) φοιτοὶ τὸ πράγμα κινδύνον ἐκτὸς. καὶ τὸ γε τῶν οὖ ῥόβοιν σφιν ὑπήρχον, ὅτι καὶ τῶν βασιλεάν Μιχαήλ ὄντα ἑπίδοξον ἔκρηκαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς σὺν πὸλι τῷ στρατῷ. δέθεν βαθείαν περὶ τὸ φοροῦν τάφρον ἐλάσσατο καὶ χάρακα κύκλῳ βαλλόμενοι πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζοντα, πολλὰ ἀραιοὶ ἄγονα. ἡ προοδοκομόμην τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφόδων οὕτως παρηγ,

4. But I must go back to the point from where I started my digression. When the Latins at Kalliopolis found out about the assassination of the Caesar Roger, first of all they slaughtered all the Romans of armed age living in Kalliopolis, 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 trepimes, 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 trepimes 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 strongholds. They became discouraged and fearful. A terrible fear 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
The Massagetae had long since marched and formed a front against the Romans. Emperor Michael marched with the Thracian and Macedonian forces, which were reinforced by the troops of the Massagatens and Turcopoulous, to the plain of Apros and set his camp up there. These Turcopoulous were a corps of a thousand men, as I have related, the Sultan Azatines had followed when he 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 Turcopoulous together with the Massagetae, and the elite of the Macedonian and Thracian cavalry to the right. The rest of the cavaliers, which were the major majority, took the centre with the infantry. The Emperor Michael rode along the detachments, encouraging them to boldly attack.

6. At that time the Catalans and Turks were staying between the two cities of Cypselia and Apros. The Catalans and Turks were prepared for war.
λαθραίας προσκλήσεις δεξάμενοι \(10\) παρά τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Σκυθῶν, ἐξάφρος ἐπί τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὀξόνων εξόριζαν. ἂρτῃ γὰρ τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐκατέρθειον σημανθείσης εὐθύς ἐνέκλησαν οὕτως καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἔστησαν, μήτε Ῥωμαίοις ἀποβάντες, μήτε τοὺς πολέμιοις μαχώμενοι. τὸ ἰ’ αὐτό καὶ οἱ Τουρκόκοι ἐπεστήκανεν, εἶτε \(15\) συγκεκρίμενον ἐν ἀμφότεροῖς τὸ πονηρὸν τούτο δράμα, εἶτε τοῦ καιροῦ σχεδίασαντος οὕτως πως. ὁ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐσχήτα ἔσφηλε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν ἀκίμῳ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὀξόν τῆς τύχης τῶν κλήρων ἐνεχείρισε φέρον ἀπόνως τοῖς πολέμιοις. ἀπροσδόκητον γὰρ οὕτως τὸ τοσοῦτον ἐπελθὸν τὸ στρατό τοτε ἐστάθη τοῖς τούτοις \(20\) ψυχαῖς ἐνέσπειε τὴν διελλὲν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπήγαγεν θόρυβὸν καὶ τῶν τάξεων σύγχυσις, ὡσον ἐπενέγκη καὶ βαρῶς ἐπιθύμησαν ἀπαρτίας κατάφιδος ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ πλεούσῃ πολέμων καὶ τοὺς τέ κάλως καὶ τὰ ἰστία συντρίψαντο τελευταῖον καταδίωκαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς βυθὸς καὶ πυθμένας βιάσατο.

(H.) Οἱ μέντοι βασιλεῖς (B231) οὕτως ταραττομένοι τὰς τάξεις ἐξαιρότας ἱδὼν καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν τὸ πλείστον ὀρίσσας σπουδὴ περιθέουν ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέβιοτο σὺν δόκησιν ἐς ὀνόματος, στήνει παρακαλεῖν καὶ μὴ προκαὶ τοῖς πολέμιοις οὕτως προδοθῶν \(5\) Ῥωμαίοι τὴν τύχην. οἱ δὲ μικρὰ τῶν λεγομένων φροντὶς ἔδωσαν ὧν τὸ περιουσίας ἀμεταστρέπτη. ἄλλα γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτον κεχωρηκότα τὴν ἀπόγγουσιν τὰ πράγματα βλέπον ὁ βασιλεῖς καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφικόμενο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατα-κοιτάμενον τε καὶ συμπατὸ-μενον, ἔγνων θαρύν ἐπέρ οὕτως ἄφηκεν ἀμφότεροι \(10\) καὶ κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι προσφανῆ, κατήγρων ἐσέλησον τῆς τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀγνοομοῦσίνης, καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀμφότεροις συμπερασμαῖς (ἐπὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὕτως βραχεῖς) „νῦν ἀνθρωπος ἐπικαλε- \(15\) σάμενος” ἔφη, „καὶ δὲν ἐπικαλεῖται τῆς ζωῆς τὸ δὲ θησαυρὸς αὐτῆς περικρέστερον.” τὰτα εἰσίν καὶ τῶν ἔρευν ἐπικαλε- 

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
That was how things were. When they successfully broke away from them, they continued their grudges inside themselves. This was the moment they bided their time and silently harboured their serious quarrels in the divisions they had always profited and spoils, but when there had been some summer 1306. For they had long campaigned 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 Turkopouls 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 Berenguier d’En tença 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. Pirinkeros 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 Massagetae 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 Turkopouls and Catalans attacked them with combined forces and slaughtered all but a few able-bodied men [summer 1306]. For them to have long campaigned with the Massagetae 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

On the 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 Constansinos. 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 repeat 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
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 rebuffed. 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 perjuriously swears everything by heaven and earth. When this is also distinguished by origin
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 Kral 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 her 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 Emperor 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,
ἐκεῖσε παρὰ ψεν, υἱὸν βασιλίς ἐκεῖνον ἀποπληροῦν πρὸς ἀνίσταιτο τὴν βασιλεὺς εἴ ἔθνους ὁ ἀρκέσιος, Ἄλπ (τινα, µκλῆρον ταύτης ἐν τῶν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πρινῦ Βοιωτίας καὶ τῆς τὴν παθόντα πω τινα υδρῶς χρόνῳ ἐς', τὰ ποτα συνέχωσε µµ ἄλλα διεξιέναι τὴν ἥν γὰρ Σικελί Θηβῶν ὁ ικηρίου· τῆς ὁ εγάλου Κωνσταντίνος· ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος. (B239) τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τῶν πανταχέθηναι περιθοῦν ηγητῶν Παρθικῶν τε καὶ Περσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλων κεκληροῦνται πρότερον κλήσεις. ὁ δὲ Ρωσικός τὴν τε σταίναι καὶ τὸ ἄξωμα τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κεκληροῦτο Κωνσταντίνου· ὁ δὲ Πελοπονησιακός τὸ τοῦ πρίγκηπος· δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄρχηγος τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός· ὁ δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ τῶν Ἡθίων τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πριμουκρίου· ὁ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης νήσου Σικελίας τὸ τοῦ ρηγός· καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα. τί γὰρ δὲν καθ’ ἐκάστα διεξέμενα, ὅπ τὴν μνήμην ὁ χρόνος συνέχοσε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τελέος ἐκάλυψε καὶ λήθης ποταμοῖς ἀφῆκε συμφέρεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀπτεράματα συγκέχαρηκε περὶ τῶν βίων πλανᾶθαι; οὐ γὰρ ὠσπέρ νῦν παρ’ ἡμῖν, καὶ τότε ἐγένοντο ταῦτα, παρ’ οἷς ἐγένετο, ὁ λ’ ὀσπέρ ἐξ διαδοχῆς συνεκφοβήθησαν παραπέμπεθα τοῖς τῶν ἐπαρχῶν ἐκάστος ἀρχηγοῖς τὰ τῶν πρώτωσε εἰληφοῦτον ἐκάστα ἐξώματα, καὶ μὲν δὲ ἔστιν ἄ τῶν τοιοῦτων παρασκευάζομεν τινὰ τοῦ μακρὸ χρόνῳ παθόντα ἀμύδορος ποι υπεμφάνισε τὴν ἀληθείαν. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ τῶν Ἡθίων ἄρχηγον ἀντὶ μεγάλου πριμουκρίου μέγαν κύριον ὁνομάζοντο νῦν εἰς τοῦτο παρενεχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ παραφθείραι τὴν πρότην συλλαβήν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄρχηγον ἀντὶ μεγάλου δουκός δόκου καλοῦσι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

(ζ’) Καὶ ἤν ἐπάνελθομεν, δὴν εἰς τοῦτο ἐξέβημεν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ τὸς ἐπαρχίας ταύτης ἀρχηγοῦ τὸν τοῦ μαρκεσίου εἰληφῆς κλήρον, μικρὸν τίνα καὶ τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐκείνη (B240) ἀνάλογον. κεῖται δ’ ἡ χάρα αὐτῆς μεταξὺ που τῶν Ἀλπίων καὶ τῆς κάτω Ἰβηρίας· ἦν οἱ μαρκεσίοι εἰληφῆσαν, χρέος ἀβίδον ἔχουν, εἰ τὶς τοῦ ἐδούς ἀνίστατο βασιλεῖς, τὴν τοῦ σιμαιοφόρου τάξιν ἀποπληροῦν πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐτὸς· ἄλλ’ ἐκείνη. ἐπάνειμι. Θεόδωρον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐαυτός δεύτερον ὁ ἡ βασιλεῖς Εἰρήνης οὕτως ἐκέκλεισε παρέπεμψεν, ἵνα μὴ πάρα Ρωμαίος ὁν

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 for 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
δεσποίνης αὐτός τε καὶ ἢ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴ γέννηται τοῦ πραγμονοῦ βασιλέως. εἴλετο γὰρ κοινωνία τῆς Λατίνης τοῦτον μᾶλλον καταστῆσα θρησκεια καὶ ἀτιμῶτερον εἶναι πόρῳ διάγοντα. ἤ ἢ παρὰ Ρωμαίοις ἔνδοξον ὅταν δουλεύειν τὸ μισυμένον αὐτὴ προγονό καὶ ἁμα παῖδας παισὶ καὶ ἀπογόνους ἀπογόνους. συνεξεξερεύει δὲ ἐκεῖνο καὶ σωρφοὶ χρήματος Ρωμαίων, καὶ οὕτω δὴ τὴν φλεγμαίνουσαν ἔφρεσιν ἐαυτής ἐναντιομένην τῷ συζύγῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνός γε τῶν υἱῶν ἐπέραινε Θεόδωροῦ τοῦ μαρκεσίου.

(Z.) Τὸν μὲντον πρῶτον υἱὸν αὐτῆς Ἰοάννην πᾶν τοῖς πλείστα ἐπούδασε πρότερον εἰς ὑπερόριφοι κῆδος ἐκπέμματι καὶ αὐτόν, καὶ πλείστα ἀνηλικοὶ χρήματα θέλουσα τούτον ἀργώντα καταστῆσαι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων, καὶ ὡς τῆς Ἰπείρου περίχρορος· ἀλλ’ οὐδαμὴ ἔσχα τοῦδε θείαν τὸ βουλευσαμία. ἐπέρα δ’ οὐδὲς βουλευσομένης αὐτῆς περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ φόβας ὁ βασιλεὺς εμπόδωσεν ἐγένετο τῆς ὑμηρᾶς, πατὴρ εἶναι λέγει καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἤτον τῆς μητρὸς κηδώμονος τοῦ υἱοῦ· προστίθηκεν δὲ καὶ του μείζονα δύνασθαι τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ πατέρα, τὸ κωλύει οὐδὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τελεσθήναι βούλησαν ἐπὶ τὸ (Β241) παιδὶ μάλλον ἢ τῆς μητρὸς, ἢ δὲ τοῦτο τειχαίναυν τὸς πράξασαι σοφὸς ἀνήρ καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ οὐκενειν πλούτων ἐς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλα τοῖς πλεῖστας ἀποκατοικῶν τῆς τοῦ κριτοῦντος εὐμεμελείας τε καὶ φοβητὸς καὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς βρῆθην γὰρ τοῖς χρήμασι διὰ ταῦτα. Νικηφόρος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου, οὕτως θεοπτικοὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν ὑπελθὼν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πραιτῆς αἰτεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ τὴ θυγατρίς τοῦ τῆς ἤτην τοῦ βασιλέως υἱῶν Ἰοάννην, δεινοπαθοῦσας μὲν καὶ οὐδαμὴ ἐθελοῦσας τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δεσποίνης· ἔλαβε δ’ οὖν ἀλλ’. οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ κηδοῦς ἀπόνατον οὐθ’ ὁ λαβὼν, οὐθ’ ὁ ληφθεὶς. πρὶν γὰρ ὅλα ἔζηκεν τέσσαρα ἔτη, ἀπὸ τὸν βιόν ὁ Ἰοάννης ἐπετίθανεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐπὶ μητρὶ καὶ πνευμὼ καὶ σωζόγ. (Η.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τοῦτο τοῦτο τῆς μητρὸς ἔλπιδας ὁ χρόνος σὰ τὰς Χάρυβδις ἀφελόμενοι κατεβάπτεσε, αἱ Κραλάινῆς τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ παιδὸς καταλείφθησαν μόναι. τοσαῦτα τοῖς ἐξεζήνουσε Ρωμαίικὰ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν Κράλην ἤ πενθαρά τα καὶ δέσποινα, τὰ μὲν ἔκεισε πέμπουσα, τὰ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μεταπεμφμένη καὶ ἐπιφροτισμένα, δόα καὶ τρήρεις ἑκάτων ἐξηρτύσαν ἄν καὶ διηγικάς τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐγίγνοντ’ ἂν ὅψιος. καὶ τι δὲν καταλέγειν τὰς καινὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτῆς, ὀπόδος μὴν πρὶν γεγονοῦσα πόρρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ φιλοτιμομενή 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 she 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 Theodorus 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 fulfill 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 foil 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, epì tou kanikleiu Nicephoros, 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 Emperor. 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
9. The Empress did not realize 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 ἀναρθημένοις ὑπερεχομένη τοῖς δόροις, ἀπαγορευθέντος ἦν τοῦ παῖδα γενέσθαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κραλαίνης, ἐλθὼν κατὰ δεκατέραν πλούν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τῶν Τριβάλλων ἀρχῆς εἰς ἕνα τινά τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς Κραλαίνης. Δημήτριος δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ Θεοδόρος ὁ μαρκέσιος· τὸ μὲν οὕτω τότε τῶν ἐρημίων παραλλάττων· δ’ ὁ καὶ παῖδον ἦδη τυχόνοιν πατὴρ περὶ χώραν τῆς Λαμπαρδίας, ἔνθα παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, ἐξεπέμφθη τοῦ γένους λείψανοι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δημήτριον πολλαῖς τάξει τῶν χρημάτων τρυφαῖς καὶ βλακείας πρὸς τὸν Κράλη συνεκκέμευε, διάδοχος (B244) χειροτονηθῆσαμεν, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, τῆς ἀρχῆς· ὥς δ’ καὶ ἁμαρτονός μὲν ὑποδέχθηκαν παρὰ τοῦ Κράλη· τὸ δὲ τοῦ τόπου σκληρόν καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον ὀλίζων ὁμίλες ἄνεσθαι καὶ ἀπεπέρρετο τὴν εἰκὲ διαμονὴν καὶ μακροτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐνδιατέτον. οὖν μετ’ οὗ πολὺ τὸν Δημήτριον οὗτος ἐκέεθεν ἢ μήτηρ ἐπανήκοντα δεξαμενή καὶ τῶν ἐντεθέντων ἢ γενεσθαι ἑπάτων τὸν ἐτέσιν ἐκ τῆς Λαμπαρδίας υἱὸν μετασέμευεν Θεοδόρον τὸν μαρκέσιον κεκαμβρεμένον ἐπιφερομένων πόρων· καὶ τῶν ὀμίλων τρόπον ἐκπέμπει καὶ τοῦτον διαδόχον ἑπάτων τῆς τοῦ Κράλη Σερβίας ἀρχῆς. ἁμαρτονός υἱὸν καὶ τοῦτον ὁ Κράλης ὑποδέχεται. τὸ δὲ τοῦ τόπου σκληρόν τε καὶ ἀδύνατο τοῦτον ἀρχή μονομετέραν ἐκεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διατριβήν. ἂλλ’ ἐπανεκδόθην καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν μητέραν, πάσης παρ’ ἐπίδας ὀποῖας ἐπὶ τοῦτος ἐτέρων ἐλπίδας ἀποβεβλήκησαν, ὡς ἔτεκα αὐτῶν ἐς Λαμπαρδίαν αὐτῆς 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 Catalans ravaged the Byzantine cities on the coast of the Sea of Marmora

6 ζ’. (A.) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῖς χρόνοις τούτου ἐσχά τον τρόπον. τὰ σ’ ἐρήμους εἰρήσονται ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Κατελάνους αὐθὸς τρεπτέον τῶν λόγων. οὗτοι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν γενόμενων περὶ τοὺς Ἀπρούς πόλεμον ἐπαρθένης τῇ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ τῷ Κραλάσου ἐπαιράσθη αὐτὸς τούτος τῆς Κατηλάνου ἀρχῆς· ἀνάγκης συναίζῃ παρὰ τὸν τοῦτον ἀρχήν πολεμικήν περιπλανώμενος συγχρονος τοῖς ἐκδρομὸς ἐς περὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Αϊσούς ἀνεσόβει. διὰ τὴν ἀναπαράστασιν τοῦ Κραλαίνης τῇ τῇ ἔνθα τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τ
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 Christopolus and built a long wall from the sea to the top of the near mountain. This place was thus converted into a fortress 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's presence.

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 counted together, the Turks numbered over two thousand, but that of the Catalans numbered over five thousand.
κατελάνων, ὁπότε μᾶλλον θανατοί εἰς καὶ αὐτοῖς, κινδύνον είναι προφάνης θαράττεις οὕς ἡ πλῆθις τὸν στρατοπέδου, καὶ συνθάνοιμα πάρα τοῦ τῶν αἰχμάτων, ὡς ἀπόρητος εἶται αὐτοῖς ἡ πρὸς Θράκην ὄδος, τοῦ πρὸ βραχέος ἀνεγέρθης περὶ τὴν Χριστούπολιν μακρὸ τεῖχος ἀποκλείοντος τὸ παράπαν αὐτοῖς.

(Ε') Τοῦτο παρὰ πάσαν αὐτοῦ προσδοκίας εξεπλήγη καὶ πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν ἠλάθα λογισμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἠγοράζετο τοῦ τε λιμῷ πεζοῦσιν καὶ ἀμφότεροι μὴ τὰ τοῖς ἐν ἔστι Μακεδονία Ρωμαίοις οὕς ἡ πλῆθις τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκάστας ἔφανεν ἐκτείνετο παραξύνοντοι ἀλληγόρῳ, Ἰλιροὶ τε δηλῶδες καὶ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Ακαρνάνης καὶ Ἰταλῶν, καὶ συνασπίσματα τοῖσον κυκλώσαντες τοῖσον τοῖσον ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἠγοράζετο τοῖσον τοῖσον μὴ δῶσαν εἰς ἀρξής ἀναφθόνοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕς ἔν ἀνάγκης καίρῳ μανικώτερον ἢ τομημέρωτερον ἁμαρτία τῶν πραγμάτων. ἔδωξε γὰρ ὑμῆς μείλησαν ὡμοῦ τοῖσον πρόσες καὶ ἔφανεν τὴν ταχείτερα καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἄρα ἐντός χώραν ἔφασαν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἔστι ἐπειδήδε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔστιν ἀράχθηται ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλῶν ἄρα ἐντός τοῖσον ἔστιν ἀράχθηται, εἰς ἄρα ἀκρού περὶ τοῦ, ἀποφαίνεται μὴ ἔσται τῷ Ἐστίν διὰ τὴν ἀκρούς, παραθάλασσῆς ἐν ἔστιν ἀναφθόνοις, ἢ καθ' ἔσται τῷ ἔσται τῷ ἑπεκείνα ἠχτῶν πορεύεται τάχιστης καὶ Θετταλῶν τῶν τοῖσον ἄχρι ἀμφότερος επιτήδεια τὸ ἔσται σφάς καὶ ἔσται τοῦ ἐκεῖνο τῆς. Ἐστίν διὰ τὴν ἀκρούς, ἢ καθ' ἔσται τῷ ἑπεκείνα ἦν ἐν θετικῆς ἔσται τῷ τῆς τριταῖς ἀφίκοντο ἢ τὼν καὶ ἀκρούς ἐπιτήδεια τὸ ἔσται σφάς καὶ ἔσται τοῦ ἐκεῖνο τῆς, ἀμφότερος επιτήδεια τὸ ἔσται σφάς καὶ ἔσται τοῦ ἐκεῖνο τῆς.
was just before the battle at Aprós. 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 necessary 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. The Catalans in Thessaly

7 ζ’. (A.) Οἱ δὲ Κατελάνοι τῶν Τούρκων ἤδη ἀπαλλαγής καὶ ἠστείοις ἦσαν παραχαμα- 
ζοντες πρὸ τῶν ὅρων τοῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμποῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀσσής, ὡς ἔφασαν. ἔφασε δὲ ἐπιστάντος ἀραντις 
ἐκείθεν διαβαίνουσι τὰ τῶν ὅρων κορυφῆς καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτω τεῖχη 
καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ δέρος, ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὰ Θετταλικὰ πεδία. ἔθε 
τὰ ὅραν αὐτῶν ἄγαθην τὴν τὴν ἐπαγγέλματος (B249) 
καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπερέαν λάφυρα διανείλουσιν κατὰ 
τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐκάτερον τῶν μέρεσιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ 
τῶν Τούρκων πλεῖστον δεῦμα λόγου ἐρώτην 
ἐν τῶν ἔξεσις.
Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι διὰ ατα· µ diá µ ὀν Ἀσωποῦ τὴν ετατιθένταν τὰ δύο, πρὸς καὶ κάτεισι τὸν διαβάντες τὰς ἐτὰ εἰληφότες τοὺς ἤρι ἄτα, ἔνοις Θετταλούς· εἰρη διασ δύνους, ὀντὰς ἔπειτα καὶ ἅχων ἄτων τοσούτων χρῆ ἀπῳκισεί, ἀτοπωτάτων καὶ καὶ ἀποβάσεως εὔοδα ὁποτέρως, τὸ τὰ πολιορκίαν τά ἀσφάλειάν δίδωσι· ἔχουσι θάρσος φύσις χώραν πρόσεστιν. αἵ ἀπλανὴ εἴαυτῖς ἐς τῆς ἡ οὔτε έσθαι ἵν σφίσι καὶ, ἧττον περιγεν ἐπίσης τοῖς εἰπωταῦτα σαφῆ ἐστίν δἐ ἐπίπαν.

τῶν νίκης τῆς ἰν, ἕκατον οἶκησιν χώραν τοὺς τε ὑποσχέσθαι ἵαῃ µἐσχήκεναι.
Εὐθυγρωτίας θαλάττη | 20 σπενδόμενος περὶ τὰς Ἀυλίδος προσαλόμενος ἕνα δάκρυ πάλαι τοὺς ἑπὶ Τροών ναυσιτολογόντας Ἑλλήνας τε καὶ Ἰρρως πᾶς πρόσο προσεχεῖται τε καὶ αὐλισσάτη πέργο}]ν.

(Δ.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθύμη ἔφοδον ὁ τὴν τῶν Αθηνῶν καὶ Ὀθηνῶν διέπον ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην ἐξών ἀπάσαν, ὡς δὴ καὶ (B252) μέγας μὲν, ὡς ἀνότορο εἰρήκηκεν, ἐπονόματο προμικηρίῳ, τῆς δὲ λέξεως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμοιον διαφθορείσις μέγας ἐλέγετο κύριος—οὕτως τοῖνοι δίδακν μὲν αἰτήσασα τοὺς Κατελάνοις οὐ μεμοῦλαται δοῦνα, ὡς γὰρ ὁποὶ βούλοντο ἀπέλειν διὰ τῆς χώρας | αὐτῶν; δὲ ἀλλὰ μακρὰ τὴν ὄρφην διὰ τῆς ἱλιότης εἰπεδείκνυσι καὶ πολλὶν τὸν μυκήτηρα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡς οὐ φροντὶ δος μεγάλῃς μᾶλλα ἄξιον καταχάρακτους ἦσον ἄκρα τὰς δύναμις διὰ τὰς φθονοπόρως καὶ χειμώνας ἐς ἑαυτὸν

παρεσκευάζοντα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κατελάνοι ὡς ἐπηνθησομένοι τὸ πολέμῳ ἴησον τεύκλεος.| 10 (Ε.) Ἐτερὸς μὲν οὖν επεγενομένοι διαβάντες οἱ Κατελάνοι τὸν Κύκνον κατεστρατοπεδεύσαν περὶ τὴν Βουτιανὸν ὁ πόρρῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αὐτὸ που συστήνη τῶν πολέμων ἠκάθαρτον ἦσαν μὲν οὖν τῶν Κατελάνων οἱ μὲν ἐπείς πεντακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ πέλεον τρικασιχλίου ὀλὸς καὶ πολλὶ τῶν ἀλεξιαλότων διὰ | τὴν τοξίκης εὐφώνιας συγκατελήγησαν. ἀκομηδείς δὲ ὄν τοῦ ἀνυπόκερτος πολεμίων ἐφεστήσοντας ἀραθεὶς μὲν τὴν τὴν ἐκείνην ἀπάσαν, ἐνδὰ συσστήνη τῶν πολέμιων ἔννυσαν. ἔπειτα περιταφρείςαντες καὶ διώριης ἀναίξαντες ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλον ἄρ δείτουσι τὸ πεδίον οὕτω πλούσιος, ὡσε ἐλλημάζανεν καὶ ἀνίσχυρον | τὴν βάσιν τῶν ἄρεων ποιεῖν, συγχειρημένον τὸ πλῆκτὸν τῶν πολέων καὶ οὐκ εὐερεῖς ἐχόντων κεισθαί. (ζε.) Καὶ μὴ δὴ μεσοῦντος ἔτερος ἐρίσταται καὶ ὁ τῆς χώρας ἀρχηγὸς πολῶν ἐπαγόμενος στρα τὸν συγκεκριμένον ἐκ της Βοιωτίας καὶ Αθηναιαν καὶ Παλατείας, καὶ ὅσοι Λοκροὶ καὶ Φωκεῖοι καὶ Μηγαρεῖον ὑπήρξον | ἔπληκτός, ἵππος μὲν ὅσον ἔκαθροι ἕτερως καὶ τεταρτός. (B253) πεζοὶ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦς ἀκτικασιχλίους—οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὁφόντα πιθὸ τὸ παράλλογον κεκτήμεν. ἠπίζεν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς Κατελάνοις αὐτίκα συγκατασφάγανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας ἐφεξῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεις ἄρει τῆς Βυζαντίδος ἐξειν ὑποερήμος. τὸ δὲ ἦν πάντων τοῦ τοῦ τούτος ἀναίζασιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ χηρὶ τοῦ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπέμενεν ἐκβιάτοι, παύγην ἐν μέρος τῶν πολεμίων καθίσταται. θεσαυρός γὰρ τὸ πεδίον πολλὴ τῇ χλόῃ τῶν παρὰ κατάκομμον καὶ μηδὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπονοήσας βοή καὶ παρακελεύσαιμαι ἀνὰ τοῖς ἄρητος πάσαν εἰπεῖτεν ὅρμος κατὰ τῶν | πολεμίων, ἀκνήτεις ἐξόν τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τὴν αὐτίκωσι προσδοκώντων ἐρώτησαν. ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰς μέσον ἔλθεν τὸ 

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 conglomeration of Thebans, Athenians, Plataeans, 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. 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.
8. The adventures of Khalil and his fellow Turks in Europe

8 η’. (A.) Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι μετὰ τὸ διαστῆναι τῶν Κατελάνων εἰς δύο σχίζονται μοίρας—καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Χαλῆλ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Μελῆκ ἐπονομάζονται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μελῆκ ἐπέδρα τῷ θεῷ βασιλείας πρὸς τὰς τελευταίας μεταπολεμήσεις μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρχοντας, τρομότητα ἐτελεύτατος γενόμενης, ἐπειδή ηδή όσα τὴν αὐτών ἐπιφανείαν ἑτρεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀκαθάρτως ἐπιστρέφοντας καὶ ἀποφεύγοντας τῷ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἐπήγαγον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνακηλοῦσας τῷ Λυκίων, οἱ μὲν τῶν Κατελάνων ἀναθροπήσαντος πρὸς τὰ δρώμενα παντοδαπὰς κυκλώσας μενοί βέλεις τούτους μὲν ἀπαντάς ἀρδήν κατέσχεσαν· καὶ ἠπέλθοντο τὰ ἐς τῆς Ἑλλησπόντου ενοικίου ἀποτροπαίον, καὶ Χαλῆλ ἵνα περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τούτην ἔχον πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἡμέρα τὸν ὅροον (B254) οὐ λήγοντον ἄχρι τίμημα τούς ὅρους ἢ ἐπειδή αὐτῆς αὐθεντίας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν Κατελάνων ὅρους ἑσχῆν.

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 cavalrymen 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,
leadership of the Emperor, the strategists set out to clear out the fortress itself. So, under the Emperor Michael to gather the entire army and besiege the fortress and destroy the enemy. They therefore felt it necessary to force the Romans. They overran one of the nearby forays 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.

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 forays 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 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.
παρέδοσαν ἐν τῶν βασιλέα διώκειν καὶ τοὺς τὸν πόλε ἑν δια ἀκρώ τὴν καὶ ενον· οὐδένα εὕρισκε τῶν στράτευ τὸ τὸν "κρότου ἀπό τέλος κατέκατο τὰς αὐθαιρέτους πρὸς τες ακρὰ πον τούτων ἔμεως δυνά εὐταξίας 

(Ε.) Ὁσοὶ μέντοι τοὺς πολέμιος ἐνὴ ἐρρόθεσι πρὸς αὐθαίρετος κινδύνους διὰ τὴν δὴ τὸ ἐν πολέμια περικελέει σήμερα γη καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθει στρατοῦ πολύ τὸν ἀντιπαρατατο (B257) μένων ἠτάσθαι, τοσοῦτο Ρωμαίοις ξυνέβαινε πειραρ- νοῦτας ιέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀμελοῦτας τῶν τακτικῶν διὰ τὸ πλοῦ τῶν πολέμιων ὀλίγους καὶ πλῆθεις ὑπὲρεχέναι· μὴ ξυνείσθησαι, ὡς ἐοικέν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ πραγμάτων βέβαιον τι καὶ ἃ ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ παῖγνιον θεοῦ τὰ ανθρώπινα κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ ὀδήλως πάντα· ἄνοι καὶ κάτω περιχωρεῖ καὶ ἐναλλάξ ἀκτέμαρτον παρευῖται δρόμων. τὰτ' ἀρα καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πρότερον ἀπὸ μόνης τῆς φήμης τὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων δεδοὺς στρατεύματα καὶ τοὺς τεθηκοῦς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔσεσι συγκαταλέγοντες ἀειτούς νῦν· τὴν οὐκ ἐν τὰς τούτους θεασάμενοι κίνησιν, ἐκατολέοτεροι σφόδρα γίνονται πρὸς τὴν μάχην· καὶ συναγαγόντες ἀπάντα χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ ὧς μὴ πρὸς τὸν προκεύμενὸν ἔσαν χρήσιμα πολέμουν, ἐντὸς ἠσφαλίσαντο τὸν τὶς ἔκαθαντοι καὶ τάφρων, ἢν οἰδαντες καλῶς προ- παρακάτασσαν πρὸς οἰκεῖαν ἀσφάλειαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ὑπάρχεις ἀναλαβόμενοι καὶ ὀλησθεῖς λαμπρὸς οὐ πλεύς τῶν ἐπάπασιον τυγχάνοντες ἐξαίφνης πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως διευθέτουσι σημαίναν ὡς ἐν ἀσφάλει τοῦ τόπου σταθέναι, οὔτε τῆς προσηκούσης δυνάμεώς τε καὶ εὐπτείες ἡμιομένης.

(ζ'). Πρὸς δὴ τὸν οὕτως αἰφνίδιον δρόμον τῶν πολέμιων ὅσοι δορυφορίζουν πρῶτον ὁ συμφερότερος ἐκέννος καὶ ἀγρότης ὄχλος πρὸς ἄστετον ἐβλέπαν παρευθέ την ψυχήν· ἐπιτα ἄλγους ἔτεροι διελούντο· καὶ τέλος ἐφαράγονται πάντες ὧν ἄρομα πολύκροτο ἐκεννοῦ ἀμετάστρεπτό. βούλομενος δ' ὁ βασιλέως πρὸς τὰς ἀθροίζει τὸ στράτεμα εὑρίσκε τῶν πάντων οὐδένα τὸν ἀκροφίλοις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσας ήτι τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτός ὑπο (B258) καὶ διακόρων μεστός, ἐκτίστην εἶναι ταττή σαφή διαλογίζομεν έκ θεοῦ παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων ἀμαρτημάτων. οἱ δὲ πλευρῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν αἰσχυνθέντες τὴν οὐκ ἐν τὰς ψυχήν ἐκατέρτους μέχρι τῶν ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ πείρας τός τῶν ἀετῶν πόλεμον τοὺς ὅβερβαρρως καὶ οὖν ἀναστέλλομεν αὐτοὺς, μὴ διώκειν τοὺς σφιγγόντας τῶν Ρωμαίων, μήδ' αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν βασιλέα. τέλος δ' κυκλοθεῖτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων πάντων ἀθροίζεντος ὁμοί παρέδοσαν ἀειτούς· οὶ 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 troopers, and they had counted the Romans 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 crime. 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
δεσμοὶς ἱσφαλῇ σαντο καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ δυνεῖμαντο χρήματα, καὶ ὀσά τῶν βασιλικῶν παραστίμουν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦσαν σκηνή· μηθ’ ὅν ἦν καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ καλύπτρα, κεκοσμημένη συνθήκος τὸ τέθος καὶ ταῖς τῶν μαργάρινων σειραῖ—ἤν δὴ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφάλῃ τὸν Χάληλ ἐπιθέντα φασὶ σκοπτικοὺς τε καὶ εἰρωναὶ λόγους ἀφιμέναι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέως.

9. The schism of Areseniou

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
períonov phusikéin, éi kai próes graammatón ásgolías tautínt einína, tois mãlistata twn sofrón exētaçet' an. álala phásas twn chrmatón ó póthos kai tís kosmikís periaphíasia kai doçipó te àpeirókalon |25| dhlhn éz tautí tìn fusiukí ekéinín àpapugolís apúsin kai peri-
novon, (B260) kai dhlhn óswter àmopoticos eXEorphése tìn víkto to kai méth' hímeran meléttan autón. kai hí émepirótato diá tautí próes pásan bioptikón pragramátov éspistiasían, ez te futhikómatas dhlaði kai ampeilónwn érgasías eukárion kai óikon pántolów oikoodómas |5| kai, áplloús eitein, ósa tois stíon kai tón óion tás apothèkas kai tás bállátwa ríghnus, mécwv tón ónton àpaitouñta kath' ékastov tón éanvautón. édd légen énédómaton blákeián kai ïpoun ñeugóron kai ñwagíronn kôssies kai trapejízés ósa thnpeúë te sómwa, kai mpité ñléz páchos èntíthése, mpité te ñeçhron ñapagoréuei. |10| édédios yáron kai tè ònunwkoítida káirñon ásgolías óu ríðhminw tina kai kata tó éppiso énédóchúmen, wll' anagkían kai kai, ós èitein, àpaparetítewn. ó de tóuítostos tróptos parapéxe toúton kai tìn éppitroph kai diáookíswन ñestróteron tón ñunakeíaw pragramátov kai kthmáton ñpleleính, léggó dí tónw dúo paráthoun, |15| tî te Ïërte kalomènou kai Kratáioi, ìna àma mèn èk tón prospódon èstíno dí ñefteríziíta propháse tón oikoodómewn tón, àma dé kai sugñóteran èkhi poieštía tìn ekèiése diantríewn metá tínon vàyrou kai ñhliodántos híson, óutos ópósosus ñwdoí míshe chrwoménous ñéwra físthesi tè nthnison, ñóskai próes |20| àrákeina kai koinei tois pásai kai idía tois bàsileídes peripókai, (B261) fíloús èinai swfón ñpakríñeto mén èz ge tòn phainómewnon-
kríra d' èígeto pásai kai báskanov èxerévon ñórhalamón te kai gnómwn kaiñ autón- kai láthra prósbowna ÿe tó basileí ñpóroßtên óúk ókñei tás àkóas, ñllote ñllou loídorðuménon párapléwnı |5| ñowýn tî de órei te Líthikó. gínnethai yá fari pará tois Línnswn ñorín èkhlíndh parósmion, ós políhn ènýgmenous fístmon, ós mp thíetó tois parósi, mónon ñanóymenwn ëgwen te tois fármou tòn stóma métà tìn ñlóttis ñáfise tois parósin apsedókhtwn ñlóthron.

(Ò) "En tì mónòn èdoxe to basileí swm-
bouleúsein |10| chríston kai toutó d' ou tón oikíewn éndékunménou tróson; álala tìn tó basileí wà toutó diástron ñxennonóikos órqmí ñunegíos èdoxe ñ to bouüleima kai autóis, swýngsthse yáyr tò tó basileí dògmata ñz tó deýsséthi tòus Arsenítas ñpás tís katholikís tòu ñoù ekklísiás àpàrghántas diw kenvndoxián, ìna |15| mú autóte te tón ñygíkwn kátà diádoçhyn kínvnyeússasi ñ tánaton kai âmá allous èzapatúntes ñz tó autón swnelaúnovn 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
ółebroν. τοῦ δὴ βασιλέως εἴξαντος ταῖς πατριαρχικαῖς συμβουλαῖς σύμωσις, ἂτ' ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο βουλομένου, συναθροίζονται πολλοὶ πολλαχότεν ὥσπερ ἐκ πετρῶν καὶ βάτων αὐθημεροὶ βλαστάνοντες. 10 Γίγαντες, ράκη μὲν περικείμενοι διερήγοτα, πλείστον δὲ, ἐν τοῖς τῆς καρδίας μαχητικοῖς τὸν τῆς κεινοδοξίας καλύπτωντος οὐκ. καὶ δὴ βαρέα τινα καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐ μετρίως κνιζόντα προβάλλοντο λοντά τὰ ζητήματα, ιὐ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰμφάνισθην δήθεν οὐκ (B262) ἀναίτιας εὐαίτως σχεζομένους. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ πατριαρχεύοντος Ἀρσενίου λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ανδρέου μονῆς εντιμῶς ἀνεύρησατο ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σωφίας νεώ μεταβαίνει. δεύτερον, ἵνα καθαρτικῷ τινι καθυσπερφθησίν ἐπὶ γένε τῶν ἱερῶν, ἠργίαν δηλονόμενης ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα, τρίτον, ἵνα νηστείαις καὶ γονυκλίσιαις ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἀπερὶ λαοῦ καθαρθοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπέρχεται τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπονοιας ἐχόμενα, ἡ πάντα διὰ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας καλὸν σπέρμα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπεραίνει.

| 10 (Δ.) Εἶθες ὥσι, μὴ ἀξιομάσην ἁναλόγως τητήμηται τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίσματος ἀθροισθέντων, προστασίας δηλαδὴ μητροῦ πόλεων, προστασίας μοναστηρίων, παράξενης ἐν βασιλείοις, πορισμένος προσδόχων εἰρήνης, οὗτοι δὲ πάντες μετὰ βραχύ τῆς τουτέστις ἀπερήγαγαν ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰσὶ ταῖς προτέραις αὐθες ἐμμένοντες ἱδιοτροπίαις καὶ σχίσμας, ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης | 15 προτραπεῖς παρὰ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν συνελθόντων Ἀρσενίακῶν ἀνήλθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁμβολίου, ἐνδεδειγμένος τῆς ιερατικῆς στελῆς, καὶ στὰ πρὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ Ἀρσενίου ἑξεφώνησεν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσενίου δήθεν συγχωρήσῃν ἀπαντὴ τοῦ λαοῦ.

10. The devastation of Thrace by Serbia

20 τι. Ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς ὁρόνοις μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκείνην θρασυχύνετο ὅσον πλείστον ἔζην οἱ βάρβαροι μικρὸι πᾶσαι ἐδημοσίευεν καὶ κάκιστα διέθηκαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰράκην τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν, ὡς μὴ ἄροτριάν, μὴ σπειρέαν τῶν πόλεων ἐξόντως δύνασθαι Ῥωμαίους εἰς ὅλος ἔτσι παρὰ βραχύ δύσι. καὶ ἦσαν δία τούτου (B263) λίθοι βαθείας καὶ παλαιμαινοικητῆς φροντίας τὴν ἐκατοντάς ἵνα βασιλέες ψυχὴν κατατέθηκατο τῇ μὲν χάρῳ ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταστρεφόμενοι βοήθειαν ἀπεγνώκειαν ἡ ἡ τελείως, ἐξευνέτες μὲν ὑστεραὶ τῇ κατατέθῇ τοῦτοι ἐπισκόποικαν, τὰς δὲ τῆς θεουργίας ἰσίαις οἴος καὶ ᾧ ἐξευνέτες καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς
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 post 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 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
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 Kalloupolis (Καλλιούπολις), 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 of 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. Gallipolis 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 19th C.

The Byzantine Emperor John III Doukas Vatazes ruling from Nicaea expelled the Franks from Gallipolis in 1234 before the capital city on the Bosporus 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 1307.166

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

the Balkans, via opportunist crossings on the Bosporus. 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.

THE ORATIO DE NON REDDENDA GALLIPOLI 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.

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 1385.168

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 (Oration de non reddenda Callipoli) in a style reminiscent of the oration ‘On (not surrendering) the Chersonese’ (De Chersoneso) of the Athenian orator Demosthenes.169 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 18th October, 1369.170

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.171 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’.172 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,173 Andronikos finally agreed in 1376 to surrender Gallipoli to Murad and the fortress was handed over.


171 Id. 1012C.

172 Id. 1013A, see also 1034C/D.

173 Id. 029B.
before the end of the winter of 1377. 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:

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 merchants, 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. 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 Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians and Bulgarians met the Ottomans in the same year on the field of Kosovo Poyle (‘the field of blackbirds’) (15 June 1389). 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, Piedro Loredan, won a spectacular victory over the Ottoman fleet on 29 May 1416 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.

\[174\] 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.

\[175\] Idem, Ep. 25.11-23, ed. G. Cammelli, Démétrius Cydonés Correspondance, i, Collection Byzantine (Paris, 1939) 58-59. ‘Ἰάθ᾽ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἑγαίμονας, νοσοῦσκας δὲ μετὰ τῆς πολιτείας κοινή, περὶ ἡς οὐδὲν φασιν ἱερόν· τὸ γὰρ ἁγίων κακόν, οὗ Τούρκοι, βαρύτεροι, ἐξουσίας ἡμεῖς μὲν τῆς ὑγιαίνοντας Ἴσθι μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἔνθα θ᾽ ὑπαυεῖν τῶν εἰς τι προστεταγμένων τοσοῦ δεδέσθαι·, ἤμεν, ἐπαρθέντες κακόν τῇ Τοῦρκοι, ἱερόν· θ᾽ ὑπαυεῖν τὰ τῆς Τοῦρκοι στεκαὶ ταύτης μισθὸν λαβὸντες καὶ ἀλλα πολλὰ προπαραλάβοτες τῶν ἥμετρον, καὶ προσεύχατο ἁγίωσθ᾽ ἄν ἐν τῇ ἅγιᾳ ἁγικήματι προξεύομεν, σύνοφοι φασίν ἱερόν τῇ βοηθείᾳ κοινίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάττουσι πάντα καὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς πάνθ᾽ ὑπαυείν, ἢ τὶ τῶν προστεταγμένων μεμφομένως δεδεσθαι· εἰς τονδούθ᾽ ἱκουσιν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐξουσίαις, ἡμεῖς δὲ δουλείας. . . . Trans. Charanis, Strife, 297-98.

\[176\] Dennis, op. cit., 127.

\[177\] Cf. N. Radojčić, ‘Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kosovo Polje’, Byzantion, 6 (1931) 241-46.

\[178\] 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\textsuperscript{c} siècle’ in A. Petrusi (ed.) Venezia e l’Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento (Venice, 1966) 268-69.
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

[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 feared 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 peaceful 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 betraying 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
Oū mēn ἀλλὰ καὶ [1012A] τοσοῦτον ἐχούσης τοῖς λέγουσι κίνδυνον τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημηγορίας, οὐκ εἰλικρώς δὲ ἡ τινῶν ἀρχαντα τῆς ύπερ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος συμβουλῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. Δίκαιοι δ’ ἂν εἴπητε καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ χαλεπαίνειν, ἃν τινῶν λογισμοῦ τοῖς ἕμετροῖς μὴ συμβαίνοντας ἀσθενήθε. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, περὶ τούτων αἱ πόλεις εἰσόδαι σκοπεῖν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ περὶ ὧν τὰς τάναντι λέγον, οὐ δόξει ληρεῖν. ἔπει τούτων καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι εἰς ποιοῦντες ἐκκλησιάν ἀποδεκώκατε καὶ βουλήν, ἄλογον δυσχεραίνειν, εἰ τε καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀπετοῦτο δόξης· ἄλογα τε καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐρ′ ἢ μὴν ὄντος ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινεύοντος ἀρσενοῦσα ταύτη, ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων κρατοῦντων, [1012B] τῶν δὲξιάν ἐπεσάθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμητέαν, ὡς αὕτη γ’ ἐστιν ἡ Καλλιπόλις, ἢς οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ τῆς πόλεως φροντίζειν φάσκοντες οὕτω τοῖς πολεμίοις παραινοῦσιν ἐκτῆται, ἢν οἱ πάντων τῶν ἕμετρων κτημάτων ἡγούμεθαι τιμώτερον, καὶ μεγάλην ἢμιν συντέλεσαι πρός τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεων παρασχέσθαι δυνάμενον.

Ἀλλὰ κἂν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, κἂν ταῖς βουλαίς, ὅτε πάσι μετὰ παραρρέας τὸ δοκοῦν ἐξεστὶ λέγειν, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἤκουαν ἃν τις ἄλλης πολλοῦς ἐναντιούμενος· καὶ τάδε μὲν ὡς ἄλλων τιθέμεναι, ὡς ἄλλων δὲ ἀναιρεμένους, φιλόνοικος δὲ ὁὐδεὶς ὡς τ’ ἀξίων ἄλλο τι τῆς Καλλιπόλεως προτιμῶν· ἄλλα αὕτη δὴ μια γνώμη διὰ πάντων ἐκράτηται, ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ φρουρίου, καὶ πάνθ’ ὑπομένειν καὶ [1012C] πονοῦντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ὡστε σῶν ἢ τῇ πόλει τηρεῖσθαι. Τοῦ δ’ οὕτω πάντας περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου φρονεῖν αὕτων ἢ πείρα, καὶ τὸ παρ’ αὕτης διδαχθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἢ τῶν ἕμετρως συνήγεγκε πρόγνωσι. Τοῦ γὰρ μὴ παντάπεισιν ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τίνος κύριος κατακλυσθέντας μικρότ’ εἴναι πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἐλλήνας ὅσι τὴν Εὐρώπην ὀκουσίν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤγγον καὶ ἔφερον οἱ νῦν ἢμιν ἐπικείμενοι, τοῦτ’ αὕτων ἦν. Ὁτι δὴ τῶν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ τετήρων πάντων ἐπικαυρότατον ὄν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πόρο καὶ τὸ στενὸ 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 no one 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 for indeed it is the
βάρων άναγόμεναι νῆς οὐκ ἐμελλὼν λήσειν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις τρήρεσιν ἐφορμούσας αὐτόθι παρείχεν ἄδικαν τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνείργην λήστας, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀσφαλῶς τὰς πόλεις οἰκεῖν. Ἐπείτ' οὐ [1012D] μόνον ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν ὅν . . . πειράζεται καὶ πειρώμεθα αὐτὸ ἀπολέσαντες ράδιον συνιδέν, ός παντὸς μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἦμιν ἀποστατέν ἢ τούτου. Τὸ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα συμβάντος σεισμοῦ δὲ πάντα ἀνέπρεπε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τούτο τοῖς βαρβάροις προδεδοκότος, ἢ τε Χερονόσε Πάσσα τούτοις ἑδούλευσε, καὶ τὰς ἐν Θῆρηκ πόλεις δι’ ἐκατόντων ἐποίησαν, καὶ πρὶν ἐτος ἐξήκειν, φόροις τε ἡμᾶς ἐπρέπεν, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτεμον γῆν. Κάν τις τῆς παρούσης αἰσχύνης, καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀδόξων καὶ ταπεινῶν τὴν πόλιν βουλεύεσθαι, αἰτία τὴν Καλλίπολιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἀπόλειαν εἶναι φη, οὐδένα ἢ ἐχοὶ τὸν αὐτόλυγον. Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον, ἢ παρόντα μὲν τοσαύτην ἠγέχει τὴν ὑφέλειαν, [1013A] ἀπόντα δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἐπήγεγκε, τούτων ἐκκατηγορούσε τοὺς πολίτες, καὶ οἷς τάστα προλαβοῦσιν οὐδέν ἐπὶ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀτόλυμπον ἔσται; Καὶ τάστα ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὡσπερ δέον τοῖς βαρβάροις πάνθ’ ὑπακούσεν, οὗ τῶν ἡμετέρων πλεονεκτημάτων ἐκείνους κυρίους ποιεῖν.

Κάκεινο δὲ χρὴ προσενθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠγέλθη τὴν Καλλίπολιν συστηθέναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λησθῆναι, τίνας φωνὰς ἠρίσεμεν, καὶ τίς ἦν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως βρήκος; καὶ τίς ἦν τὸ τότε παρὰ τῇ πόλει κρατοῦσα φήμη; Οὐχ ὡς ἀπολύσαμεν; Οὐχ ὡς ἐν σαγήνῃ πάντες ἢ διὰ τούτων τείχεσίν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμµεθα; Οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοῦτος αὐτὸ λιποῦν τῆς πόλεως ὑπόκειται τοῖς κινδύνοις; Οὐκ [1013B] ἐδακμέων ὁ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν καταλιμπάνον τότε ἔδοκε; Πάντως μείνησε, ὡς τῆς πολέμιας μᾶλλον ὑποτυπούσειν τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Γαδερα, καὶ τὴν ἐξ φημής πάντες ἠπείγοντο θάλασσαν, ὡς οὕτω μόνοις τὴν δουλείας ἀπαλλαξάμενοι. Ἡν τοῖν τότ’ ἐθηρνούμεν ἀπολυτίκαι καὶ ἡ δουλευόμενος, οὐδέν ἦμιν ἢ ἄνελπιστον τῶν κακῶν, ταύτισιν οὕτως ἀπάλλη μπροσμήθη, ἐπειδήθερ πρόνοια πάλιν εὐ ποιοῦσά τα πράγμαδ’ ἢμιν ἐπανήγγειλο: ὡσερ ἡ τῆς ζῆμιας ἐπιλαμβάνομεν, ἡ δυστυχούστες 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 we ‘didn’t even leave 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
εἰδότες λογίζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ βελτίων τύχῃ μὴ δυνάμενοι χρῆσθαι. Καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀπεραντὸν τὸ κακὸν, εἰ κύριοι μὲν τινοι ὄντες, οὐκ αἰσθησόμεθα τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ὄφειλαν, ἀπολελοῦτον δὲ, ἀθυμήσωμεν; καὶ ποθῆσαμεν μὲν μὴ [1013C] παρόντα, ἐπανελθόντα δὲ αὐθίς ρίψομεν· καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰδότες, ώς οὐ καταλύσομεν τὸν ἔρωτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθήσομεν, ὅταν οὐκ ἦ. Τοῦτο γάρ ἄντικρες οὐ Πενελόπης ἰστόν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀναλύοντον, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μισοῦντων εὐχὰς.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μὲν οἰκείοις τέλεια καὶ στρατείας καὶ πόνους ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων γενομένην ἄνεκτησώμεθα, χρῆν μὲν οὐδ’ οὕτως ὅν ἀνηλόκαμεν καὶ πεπονήκαμεν ἐπιλαθομένους, ταὐτὴν ἑκένες πάλιν προεσθῆ· ὅμοιος εἰς τινὰ λόγον τὸ πάλιν ἐρ’ ἡμῖν εἶναι ταύτην ἀναλαβόντως ὅταν βουλήσωμεθα, πείσατα ταύτης νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀμελήσαι· εἰ καὶ ἄλλως, ὧπερ ἐρηνεί, ἀνόητον, ἑκόντας ἐκδιδόντας, αὐθίς ἀνασώζειν πειράσθαι, καὶ καθ’ ἐκατέρθην πράγματα ἢξειν. [1013D] Εἰ δ’ ἡμεῖς τόθ’ ἀλουσὶν τοσαῦτ’ ἀπέσχομεν αὐτὴ βοηθήσαμε, ὅσον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν πτησσεθοῦσ’ ἱπτε γὰρ ὡς ἔτους ἐκάστος περὶ τούτων ἐκκήλησαν ἀθροίζοντες, πεζὶς μὲν δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐλάττων ξέρεις ἐπὶ τούς Ἐλλήνες ἤγε, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλέγομεν δεν· νεόν δὲ πλεῖόνον, ἢ δ’ ὅσον τὴν Τροϊαν Ἐλλήνες ἔλον· χρήματον δ’ ὅσον οὐδ’ ἦν τὴν ἑκάστων οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν ἀρκεῖσαν ἅλλοι δὲ τινὲς πόρρωσθεν ἤκοντες, καὶ οὐκ ἠπεστερήσαμεν συνάλησαντες, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις καὶ ἀναλόμηνν αὐθίς ἡμῖν ἀπέδοσαν, ἃν πρότερον ἐκπετῶκαμεν· τί δει πάλιν εἰς τὰς προτέρους καθισταθῆται συμφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑκένων αφανίζεις φιλοτιμίαν, οἷς παρ’ ἡμῶν καὶ στήλην ἔδει σταθῆναι μημένοι ὅν ἡμᾶς εὐχῆρενοι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν [1016A] μαινομένων ποιεῖν, οἶ τὴν ἐσθήτα περιρρηγυνόντες· ἀσχημονοῦσαν· κάν τις αὐτούς περιστέλλῃ, οἶ δὲ πάλιν γυμνοῦνται, καὶ δάκνουσι τοὺς δὲ ὅκτων 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 in the hands of the foreigners (lit. barbarians), through our own taxes and expediency, 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 and never having it in our power to take back it 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 carrying 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
Ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δήλον εἶναι τινά ἑαυτῆς μὴ ἀρκοῦντα, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ παρὰ παιδαγογὸν ἔτερων δεῖξαι, οἱ τούτῳ τὰ ὄντα τηρήσωσιν: τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βοηθοῦντοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικεῖν βουλουμένους εἰργάσοντο, καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὡς εἰ πράξειν προνοοῦντων, αὐτὸν κρημνίζειν ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπιτήδεις, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πληροῦν τὰς εὐχὰς, τούτ’ ἤδη καὶ τῶν μαννίουν παραδείγματα σαφῶς ὑπεραίρει. Πρὸς Θεοῦ: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλλόντες, ἥ ἢ καὶ πρέσβεις [1016Β] πέμψαντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οἱ καὶ Καλλιπόλιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρετῶν, καὶ ἡμῖν παραδώντες, λέγων: ‘Ἡμεῖς, οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκοντες; οὐδὲ γὰρ προεξείχα γε τὰ ἑν ὑμῖν παρὰ Βυζαντίους, οὐδὲ χαρίτος τίνος ἢ βοήθειας ἡμῖν παρ’ ὑμῖν ὑπαρξάς, ἐδεί τὴν δορεὰν ἀναταναλπηθημένην: τὴν ἄρχην δὲ οὕτω ἀνευρημένον δ τι βούλεσθαι συνεντέχθηκεν, ἐπειδὴ μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν μεθ’ ἡμῶν προσκυνοῦντας, ἤκουσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καταπατεῖσθαι: καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν γῆν ἐκείνους φέρειν τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ κέρδη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπ’ ἐκείνους ανασταθῆναι καὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ὁσα τὸ ἐξὸς διέφυγε, πανταχός διασπαρόντα δουλεύειν τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀμα τούτων τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ πειθὲν καὶ τῇ καθ’ ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτων ὑμῶν μαίνεται: τοσοῦτο [1016C] δ’ ὑμῖν τῆς χώρας λειψθήναι, ὡς ὑμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς φόρους οὐς οἴστε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀρκεῖν: πάντα δὲ τὸν ὑμετέρον κόσμον πρὸς ἑκείνους μετατείθεσθαι, καὶ λοιπὸν εὐχὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι τὸ γοῦν δουλεύειν συγχωρηθῆναι· εἰς τὰς τῆς φήμης ἀκούσαντες, καὶ συμφωνῶν ἵδια τὰ οἴκεια λογισάμενοι πάθη, καὶ μὴ δὲν τὴν ταῦτ’ ἐρόουσαν προσβεβαιαν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀναμείνας, ἔξαλλομεν μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, κατέλιπομεν δὲ γονέας καὶ φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτηθεοῦσας, δειμνόσεις καθήθησαν καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολαλεῖν ἥδεν, καὶ μὴ περιεργάζεσθαι, μὴ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακῶν καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων τύχης κληρονομεῖν. Ἡ σιαν δὲ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἡμῖν καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ πατέρων δεόμενα. Καὶ ἤστε τοὺς τῆς οἰκίας ἔρωτας, [1016D] καὶ ως τὴν εἰ ἀνάμαντος καρδίαν γυνὴ διακρύσασα μαλάξειν ἄν, καὶ τέκνων ἀσθένεια πατρικῶν ὀρθαλμῶν δεομένη. Ἄλλ’ ὅμως οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμῖν πρὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας γένος σοιτηρίας:

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 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. 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 envouts 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.
καὶ τὸ τέως ὑπὸ πάντων θρολλούμενον ἀμήχανον, ὡς τῆς Καλλιπόλεως ἀφετέσσας ἀμήχανον μὴ δουλεύα, καὶ δὲ πάντες ἐν τοῖς ἀδύνατον ἔφοντο, ταύτην ἐπανασώσατο, τοῦτ’ ἢδη παρὰ δόξαν ἐκπέρακται: καὶ κύριοι μὲν ὑμεῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ λιμέσει χρωμένους, τῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ληστείας καὶ τοῖς ἐκπλοῦσι ἀνέργειαινεί» ἄν δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντι, ἀν πρὶν ἐπέδρασαν τυχόντες, πάλιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας φθονείτε, καὶ δουλεύας αἰρέσθε: Τούτῳ γὰρ ὑμῖν βούλεται τὸ τοῖς βαρβάρως πάλιν ἐγχρωμάζειν τὴν πάλιν: τι ἐροῦμεν, ἢ τι ἀποκρούομεθα πρὸς Θεοῦ; Πάντως ἀνάγκη κύπτει εἰς γῆν, καὶ συγχωρεῖν μετ’ αἰσχύνος οἷς λέγουσι, τῷ μὴν ἔχειν δίκαιον ἀντέπειτε. Καὶ μὴν οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑιούντας Χριστιανοὺς, οὕσιδαι χρῆ τὸν αὐτόν υἱὸν εἶναι λόγον. Αἱ τοῖς ἔγραψαν οἱ δεδομένοι ἐκπλησσόμενοι ἐκείνου, ἀπάντησε Ἰσαάκ καὶ νῦν ἐν τὰ μετὰ τοσοῦτον κινδύνου κτηθέντα προσέβαζε, πάντως ὑπὸ ἀγνοήσουσι. Τίνα τούτων οὐδέν ημεῖς ἔλεγαν πέμπτε [1017B] Ἰταλός, Γαλάταις, Γερμανοῖς, Κέλταις, Ἰσπανοῖς, τοῖς ἐν τὰς ἡπείροις, τοῖς ἐν τὰς ἴθνον, τοῖς ἐξ Οὐαδείρων, οἵποιες ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνος τούτης καὶ τῆς ἀπόκοιτος πρὸς πάντας ἀπολογησάτο; 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 us 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 them in defence. Indeed we must not think that that same opinion will be held about you by them (the foreigners) alone, but all by the Christians who dwell in our soil. 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 that it is all about.
καὶ ὁλογοῦσιν μὴ λείπεται οὖν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐστε εἰδότας τίνας τῶσαν συγκαλέσει ἄλλους παρὰ πάντα ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χείριστα, προσοίσει τοῦτο, οὖν ἀρὰς Τίνας συναχθο ἐκείνων.’

Τίνας δ’ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχάς ἢ καὶ θυσίας προσοίσει, ὡς ὁ πάντας ἔκόντας οὕτως τὰ χείριστα αἰροῦμένους; [1017D] Μάλιον μὲν οὖν πόδες οὐ καὶ καταράτους τοιούτους ἐπιχειροῦντας ἠγίστησα; Ὡς γὰρ τὸν ἁγιάθα σφίκι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλομένοις, καὶ ὅπως τούτων τύχοιν τοῦ Θεοῦ δειμένων, οὐ τῶν ἐξεπίτευξε ἐναυτοῖς ἀπολλύντων, καὶ θύουν καὶ ἐχεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα πουεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν. Κατηγορίσα δὲ καὶ ἀραὶ παρὰ πάντων, εἰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν προδοσίας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζοι. Τίνας δ’ ἡμῖν καὶ συγκαλέσει συμμάχους, ἢ μετὰ ποιὰς γνώμης ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέξεσθαι βοηθεῖας; τίνας δὲ καὶ πείσει ποιεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν εἰς τοῦνταν αὐτὴ τὴν σπουδὴν ὑδὲ τελευτάσωμεν; Ἄ γὰρ ὁ Κόμης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπόνησεν ἐκείνη πεισθείς, τούτων ὡμες επὶ τῶν βαρβάρως μετενεγκεῖν τὴν ὑφελίαν βούλεσθε. Ὅλος δὲ τίνας χρὴ προσδοκῆσαι συμμάχους ἡμῖν, εἰ δότας ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτ’ αὐτοῖς οὐδ᾽ Τ[1020A] ἡμῖν ἄλλος ὁ πονήσωσιν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλα πάνιν τοὺς ἐχθρούς ῥυπότονα μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐλεφαντεύειν ὑπὲρ οὔ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰσόμεθα τῶν κινδύνων, ὃ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄλλον ἡγομνομένους λείπεται πρὸς παραμυθίαν; Οἱ γὰρ εἰ παθόντες, ῥίγαντες τὰ δοθέντα, οὐδὲ τοὺς εὐρήτας χάριν ὑμολογοῦσιν, ὁ ἐδοσάν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μὴν αὐτοὶ οἰκεῖα δυνάμει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμεθα, καὶ τοῖς συμμαχεῖν δυναμένους ἀντίκερως προερούμεν δι᾽ ὧν ποιοῦμεν φείγειν ἡμᾶς, τί λοιπόν, ἢ τὸ χαῖρε δήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἱκετεῦσι, καὶ μόνον ἐν συχνωροσὶ ξῆν, κέρδος ἤγεισθαι;
[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 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 onward our possessions just as
καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ένοις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βεβουλεύσαι τοὺς φανερῶς ἔστι καὶ φρονείν, καὶ ποιεῖν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰ τινα Θεός πέμψας προσέπτατε δωρεάς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν, ός οὐκ ἀντιχεῖσθων, οὐδὲν ἂν [1021A] ὡμάς ἔτερον αἰτήσαι νομίζοι πρὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ ἀποκλέσαμεν, ός οὗτος μόνος ἔξον εἰς τὴν προτέραν τύχην ἀναδραμεῖν, καὶ δίκας ἀπαίτησαι τοὺς νῦν πλενούζοντας. Εἰπ’ ὅτι τυχόντες οὐκ ἂν εὑξαίμεθα μείῳ, ταῦτ' ἐξεπίτηδες ἀπολλύνετε, τὸ συνοίσον περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν νοικοίμην βεβουλεύσατε; Καὶ πῶς οὐ μαίνεσθαι δόξομεν;

Ἐπειτα οὖν ὁμοιον, προσπολεμοῦντας τῶν οἰκίαν, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, εἶτα πταίναντας ταῦτα ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αἰτούντων ἢ καὶ ἐπιπτάντων, ταύτην ἔνεγκει τὴν ᾿Ζημίαν. Ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ τὸ γοῦν αἰσχρὸν ἀπέστη, καὶ μονής τῆς τυχῆς γίνεται τὸ ἔλαττομα, ἢς ἀνθρώποις γε ὄντας οὐκ ἔστιν ἂει [1021B] περιγίνεσθαι: τὸ δ’ ἐκόνας καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἐξῆς τοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπινῆς φύσεως πόρρω πίπτε, καὶ μονῆς ἀναισθησίας ἐποδέξας έχει: ὁ νῦν ἦμιν συμβῆσαι, εἶπ’ ἂν μεταθάμησα περὶ ἂν βουλευο-μέθα.

Χωρίς δὲ τούτων, εἰ μὲν ἢ τις ἠμᾶς ἀξίωρεος τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων γνώμης ἐγγυτής (Θεός δ’ ἂν ἦν οὕτως; οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις γε οὐδέν τα ταύτα δοτέον ἐπίστασαθαι), ώς ἐὰν ά ν νοι βαρβαροὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπαγεγκλώσαν λάβοισιν, ἰσχύσασιν τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν στήσασιν ἐν τοῖς δεδομένοις, αἰσχρὸν μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὕτως, καὶ τῶν μέχρι νῦν τοὺς προγόνους κατορθώσαν ἀνάξιον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ γῆν [1021C] καὶ κατὰ θάλαταν αὐτοὺς εἰργασμένους ἐναντιότατον, καὶ πάσαν ἱδρὴν ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, δοκεῖν εἰκεν τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ὑποσοῦν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐν οἷς λυμαίνονται τοῖς ἡμέτεροις καλοίς, καὶ κατορύττειν γε προσήκε τὸν ταῦθ’ ἦμιν συμ-
σημάθου μὲν τὰ τῆς πατρίδος καλά· ἀριστεόν δὲ ἀνδρώντες ἀνατραπήτωσαν· ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ἐξαλειφέσθωσι, τοὺς ἐσομένους δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετήν· καὶ πᾶς δ’ αὐτή ὑπὲρ δοξῆς διηργοῦμενος [1021D] ἁγών λήθη δεδόσθω, καὶ περεγραφὴ δοκεῖτο τὸ κινδύνουσιν ὑπὲρ δόξης αἱρετικᾶ· τοῦτο δὴ ὁétat μὲν πόλεως, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρός ὑπερεύχεται καὶ πάν’ ὑπακουοῦσαν τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ οἷς συγχωροῦσαν ἔχειν ἐμμενετέον. Εἰ δ’ ἀπαντὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτ’ ἐλπίσαι τις ἂν, τοὺς βαρβάρους λαβόντες, ἢν ἀυτοὺς παρ’ ἡμῶν, ἤσυχαίαν, τίς ο’ πείθει ὅτι ἄρα δεῖ συμφέρον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὅπλοις τοὺς πολέμους ὁπλίζειν, ἵν’ ὡσ’ ἄκουε δυσκαταγωγοιστέρος χρησομεθα. Εἰ γὰρ ὅ’ ἐδήμητον καὶ κλοπάς πρὸς τὰς ἀφομοίας τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἱστείαις ἐχὼντο, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἐπεθύμησαν, οὗδένα πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπέρ τοῦ ταύτην κτησοσθαι παραιτούοντες, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡμετέρων τότε καὶ σῶμα, καὶ χρῆμα, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν προθηματὰ ἐλλείπειν, ἐρρομενόν [1024A] ἁμημολογοῦμεν. τι χρὴ νῦν προσδοκῆσαι αὐτοῖς δράσειν, καὶ τὰ ἡμετέρα προσλαμβάνεις ἱσχυρά, καὶ μάλιστα νῦν, διὸ τῶν μὲν χρησάματα τὰ μὲν ἀπόθετα πάντα ἀνήλθατι, οἱ δὲ πόροι τοῦτων ἐπελποῦν· ίδία δὲ ἐκάστος πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἄρκτης· σῶμα δὲ ἐφθαρτἰ· αἱ δὲ τῶν πολέμιων συντάξεις ἐκλέγεται· χορὶς δὲ πάντα προσελήνηται. Οὕτως μετὰ τὴν Μυσῆν πρὸτερόν τὸν Τριβαλὸν νῦν ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι βασιλείαν· τοσοῦτον ἄναπτεν ἡμῖν συγχωροῦντες, ὅσον πρὸς ἑκέννεις ἤσχηλεται. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τάκει διουχοῦμεν, ἐπανήλθεν τίν’ ἡμῖν φοβεροί, ζητήσουσι δὲ οὐ τὴν Καλλίπολιν τότε, οὐδὲ περὶ φόρον τὸτε ἀκριβολογηθοῦσαν, οὐδὲ στάχυς, οὐδ’ ἀμπέλος ἀπειλήσθωσιν ἑπερήμηται· ἄλλ’ ἀπαίτησιν τὴν ἔλευθεραν, καὶ τὸ χρήμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων [1024B] καὶ ἡμῖς γνώναι τοὺς ὄντας δεσπότας.
Τότε τι συμβουλεύσουσιν οἱ πάντες ἐξερεῖς οὗτοι, καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον σκοποῦμεν: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅσπερ νῦν τοις βαρβάροις ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὗτοι καὶ τότε δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς παρανένευσιν, χρήστοις ἄρα πολίτες αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξίως προστάτας ἀποφανόσην· εἰ δὲ ὅσπερ εὐλογον καὶ θεῷ μὲν ἄρεσκαν, πάσι δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπέν συγκεκληρομένον ανθρώποις, εἰσθανὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἔξωρχης τοῖς πόλεως ἄργοις, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ συμβαίνον, τότε συμβουλεύσιν θελήσων, ὡς ἄρα ἄθετεν μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλα τὴν δουλειάν φοβερότατον [1024C] ἢγετόν· τί νῦν παρανοοῦσιν, ἢ τότε ἀναφησοῦσι δι' ὁν τοις συμβουλεύσιν; Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τότε πόλεμον ἐξενεγκείν συμβουλεύσειντες, καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ συμμάχων, καὶ τόπων, καὶ λιμένων, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσθεθήκην ἐπινοοῦσιν. Εἰτα τῶν ὧν ὅπως προσέτατο τότε σκευόμενοι, τὰ ὄντα νῦν ἐκβάλουσι; καὶ προσθήκην ζητοῦντες, ἄφαιρέσει νομοῦν περιεσθεῖ τοῦ δοκοῦντος· Εἰ γὰρ ὅπως δεὶ πολεμεῖν, βελτίων τοῖς δόλος μετὰ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκλαττοῦν ἐξεπεπτόμενε, μεθ' ὧν ἀνέγκη διαιφρεῖν τῶν πόλεμον, ὅσπερ καὶ μετὰ συμμάχων. Εἰ τοῦτον ἄνευ εἰποὶ τις ἀνδρὸς κινδυνεύειν, καὶ μετα χρημάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς μετὰ πενίας· καὶ ἀπλῶς μεθ' ὧν πλέσετος οἶον τε περιουσίας· εἰ δ' ὧν μικρᾶ μὲν ἡ Καλλιπόλης, [1024D] μεγίστη δὲ ἡ μηρόπολις, διὰ τούτου ἄρα δεὶ τοῦτον ἄντι τοῦ μεγίστου προεξεῖ· πρότων μὲν ἀνόητον μεγεθέν τὸ πράγματα κρίνεται, καὶ βελτίων μὲν δεὶ τὸ μείζον· τὸ δ' ἤτοι χείρον δοκεῖν· ὅσπερ ἂν εἰ τις καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν χείριστον ὥστε, ὅτι δὴ καὶ συμμέτοχον, ὡς καὶ τοὺς τοῦ σώματι μείζον βελτίως τῶν μετρίων ηγεῖτο. Καὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως τοῖς ὅπως τὸν περὶ πολὺν μόνον καὶ τῶν τῶν πάριν ἀριθμὸν προσκύνησιν σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιπτολήτητα τοῦ χωρίου λογιζέσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀκρόπολις τῆς τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως εἶναι δοκεῖ· καὶ ὡς ἔος μὲν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν εἴχομεν, ἢ τὰ Χερράνησος καὶ αἱ ἐν Θράκης πόλεις ἡμῖν ὑπήκοον καθαρῶς· ὃρ' ὡς δὲ τοῦτον κατέσχεν οἱ βάρβαροι, εἰκεῖνα τε ἀπέστη, καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς συνθηματίας οἱ λόγοι γίνονται [1025A] καθημερινα· τοσαύτην ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ῥοπῆν ἔχει τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο χωρίον. Ἡστ' εἰ δεὶ 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 every thing. They will then 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 subtractions? 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 world, 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
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 either grant the terms or refuse them [1025C] that we either grant the terms or refuse them, 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.
οἷς πλεονεξίας τοῖς βαρβάροις νομίζετε, καὶ ταύτην λαβόντας, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἦμιν οὐσθεὶ νεροτῆς ἀφαλείας χρήσεσθαι συγχωρήσει· ὦτῳ πᾶς τις ταύτ’ ὄνειροπολῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων παντελῶς ἀμαρτάνων. Ὕρας τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπερχωροῦσι, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπελὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτῆς γενέσθαι κύρως, τί οὐκ ἄν πιστεύσῃ δρᾶσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τήν μεγίστην τῶν πόλεων, καὶ ἦς οὔτ’ ἂν τοὺς εὐροί παράδειγμα, κτίσασθαι, καὶ τοιοῦτοι χρημάτων καὶ δόξης προσέπαι τὰ ὑπηργεῖα κοσμῆσαι; Ὡς οὖν οὐκ εὐθές, τῶν μικρῶν ὀρθῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιποιοῦμεν, οἰκεῖοι τῶν μεγίστων αὐτῶν ἀμελήσει; Φθαρὲ ἀν εἰ τις καὶ πληγῶν ἀνέχομεν ὑπὲρ ὅμοιον τινα βλέπων, ἔπειτ’ ὅποτε ταλάντων ἐκόντα καταφρονήσει. Μωρία καὶ ἄνοια τοῦ τιμὸς ἐλπίζειν. [1028B] Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν αἱ προσθήκαι φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αὑρὰς πᾶσας ἀνελθέντας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέλους ἐγγύτερον γινομένως, ὑπὲρ οὐ πάντα πράττοσιν.

Εἰ τοῖς όμιλοι τοῦ μῆ τῆς 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
Βυζαντινά πηγάρια για γης και άνθρωπους

...δέδοικα ἡ ἕνατη τελευταία πάνω. ὡστ' εἶναι τοὺς θουλομένοις αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλη πρὸ ἐκείνων τιμηθεῖν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰς ταῦτα ζημίαν χαλεπῆν ἔγοραμα καὶ ξυπνήραν σὺν ἡμῖν μόνον τοὺς ὑπέμενους ταύτην, [1028C] ἄλλα καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις εἰς τὰς τουίτις ἀνάγκας ἤγαγον οἱ καρποὶ; ἄλλ' ἀνδρῶν μὴ τοῦ παρόντος γίνεσθαι μόνον, καὶ τὸ νῦν λυπηρὸν θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ τι χέριν εἰς τὸ μέλλων ἀπόκειται, τούτ' ἢ μὴ προσβλέπειν, ἢ προοριζομένους ἐπιτρέπειν τῇ τύχῃ ἄλλ' αἰρεσθάν τὴν παράδοσιν εἰς τὰ κουφότερα λύπην τοῦ μετὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἐσομένου κινδύνου. Ἑστὼ γὰρ, καὶ συγκεχρησθεὶς τὴν Καλλίπολιν ἐκδόντας, τὸν στίχον κοιμάσθαι: οὕτω μὲν ὅν τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔτος ἐν ἀρθῶνος διάξομεν. Καὶ τοῖς ἂν ἴσοις εἴποι διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπειρίαν μιᾶς τοῦτο βέβαιον εἶναι. Πολλὰ γὰρ πολλάκις ὅπως γεγονοῦμεν, ἑναντία τὰ τέλη τοῖς υπεσχέσθησις ἐξήνεγκαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τίθημι τηρήσειν αὐτοὺς τὰς συνθήκας, πάντως ὃ ὅσον οἱ ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἔτος ἔσται: ἄλλα τελευτήσεις μὲν τούτο: [1028D] ἀναλογίζεται δὲ οἱ καρποί· καὶ πάλιν ὃ στός ἐν ἀκμῇ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οἱ βαρβαροὶ ὀσπέρ πωρευόντος περιοδὸς ἱεροῦ· καὶ ἡμῖν δεήσει τροφοῦ· τὰ ποτ' αὐτοὺς δόσουμεν υπὲρ τῆς κομβῆς τῶν ὀρᾳτίων; Σηλυμβρίαν ἐρεί τις ἡ Πειρηνόν, ὅσπερ οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τῆς ύστερης ἐνεχθράζοντες.

...οὖν ὁ θεός ἠμᾶς θηρεύειν· δι᾽ ὃν τοὺς καθ' ἑκατον ἔτος ἧμης ῥυθμοὺς ξυπνοῦμεθα, οὖθ' ὅσιοι βαρβαροὶ συγκεχρησθοῦσιν ἡμῖν προῖκα τριφόνων. Λυπίσαν τοῖνοι ἐπὶ τὸ κεφαλαίον ἀπαντῶν· ἔκεινοι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀιτοῦντον καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὡστ' ἡμᾶς λειτέσθησαν ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντλήσατοι μὴ δυναμένοι, τῶν καρπῶν ἡμὶ καὶ τοῦ θέρους ἐμφατοῦν τὰ στῶματα. Ὁστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλεύσομεν. Οὓ [1029A] γὰρ ἔγορα ἄλλο τὸ μέσων ὅρῳ τῆς τοῦτον βαρβάρων πλεονεξίας καὶ τοῦ μηθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἄπολλον όξιν. Ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ χορίσει τούτων δέδουκα μὴ τῶν ἐπετείους 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 not 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, ἑφεξῆς πόλλ’ ἐτη λιμῷτες ἀναγκάσθωμεν. Νῦν μὲν καὶ μὴ γεωργοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργοῦμενα κομίζοντες καὶ πολλάκις ἱμενόν τούτοις συμβάν, ὅταν ἢ παρά τῶν πολεμίων οὐρανίων ὃ τῆς γῆς τόκους κολληταί, ἢ καὶ παρά τῶν πολεμίων τουτούς βλάπτεται, ποιοῦντι ἡ νῦν ἀπελοῦσι. Τότε γὰρ ἄντι τῶν ἄγρων ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα γίνεται· καὶ πολλοί τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ ταύτης ἀροῦσιντες καὶ σπερνοῦσι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν κομίζοντες ἡμῖν ἢ δεόμεθα· καὶ πολλάκις ἢ πόλεις τὰ τῆς περιοχῆς μὴ συγκομισμένην, ἐν ἀρβανιστέροις δηγάγει. [1029B] Καὶ ὅλως τῆς θαλαττῆς ἠρπάζεται τὸ πλέον τῆς ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς, ἢς ἐκστάτες, ἀναγκασθησόμεθα συνεχῆ λιμῶν ὑπομένειν. Τίς δὲ σοκ ὁδεῖν, ὡς ἁμα τῆς Καλλιπόλεως οἱ βαρβαροὶ καὶ τῆς σιτοποιίας ἔσσονται κύριοι, καὶ οὔτε σταυροφόρος, οὔτε ἄλλο τοῖς χρησίμων ἡμῖν κομίζονσα ναός ὁδώροι ἐπί τούς τῆς πόλεως ἐξει λιμῆνας. Τί γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή λιμῷτες ἑτέρως αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται κινδυνεύειν; Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἕρω σε ἥμας ἢζοντα διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἱέναι, τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοὶ συνεχῶς ἐγκαθισμένως πρὸς τοῖς στενοῖς, καὶ νοσοὶ καὶ τρίπετες καὶ πλαίσιος ἀλλοίς τοῦ στελλόμενος εἰργῶντες, καὶ τῶν πόρον ποιοῦντον ὁδός ἄδει. Ἡτα τ’ εἶ τι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ποιείειν, οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν ἢτε τοὺς γεωργοὺς εὐπτεῖν. [1029C] ἀπερσεῖς ἱπποῦς ἱππεῖς ἀνάγκη λιμῶν, μήτ’ ἄλλων παρ’ ἡμῖς δυναμένων καταφεύγειν, μὴ θ’ ἡμῶν ἔτενθήντες ἀνάγκασθαι· καὶ συμβήσεται, τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἔτους δυσχέρειαν ἐκφύγειν βουλεύοντες, κακοίς ἀμηχάνοις περιπεσεῖν, λιμόποτανς διὰ βιοῦ· ὃ τῆς φύσεως στέγην μὴ δυναμένης, λοιπὸν ἢ θανεῖν δυστυχόντως, ἢ ἢν δυστυχόστερον, αὐτοχείρα παραδόντας τὰ τείχη.

Τί οὖν; πολεμήσουμεν, καὶ σῶ τούτῳ κελεύεις; Ἐγὼ δ’ ἀντερήσομαι; Τί οὖν; δουλεύσουμεν, καὶ ύμεῖς ὡς σοῦ τούτ’ ἔσται ποιεῖτε; Ἀλλ’ οὔθ’ ύμᾶς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ποτὲ προδότας ἔγω; ἢν εἴποιμι, οὔτ’ ἐγὼ δυναμένος ἐγένει εἰρήνην, ταύτης συμβουλεύσαμι ἢν [1029D] ἀνθελέσθαι τῶν 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. Ἀλλ’ εἰ τὰ πράγματ’ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγεί, οὗ τοῖς γε συμβούλως δίκαιον τὰ τῶν πραγ- μάτων λογιζέσθαι; Ὅμως οὐχ οὕτως ἀπλὸς οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ τοὺς πολέμους αἰροῦνται: ἀλλ’ ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῖς ἢ σοστήρα καὶ τὸ τυγχάνειν ὑμῖν βουλοῦται περιγίνεται, τοῦτ’ αὐτοῖς προτιμᾶται θατέρου. Καὶ γὰρ πολεμοῦμεν ἐφ’ ὑσίζοιται, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσπαζόμεθα, εἰ διὰ ταύτην τὰ ἄντα τηροῦμεν. Τὸ δ’ εἰρήνης ἄγει εἰς ἥς πάντα ἀπόλλυμεν, οὐδὲν ἔστω ἢ δι’ εὐπρεποῦς ὀνόματος τὸ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχρὸν ὑπομένειν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤσυχόσως ἀπολαύει τεῖν τῶν οἰκείων, σώματος τοῖς μηδὲν περιγέμνεσθαι παραινεῖν: εἰ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ῥήματος μόνον τὸ σεμινὸν ἔστι τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ δὲ ἄντα πολέμος ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατος, πῶς ἄν εἰκότος δυσχεραινότοι τοὺς πολεμεῖν ἀξιοῦντας, ἐφ’ ὑσίερ [1032A] ἡμᾶς οὐθεὶ καὶ ἀκόντα ἡ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη; Εἰ δὲ τὰς τῶν πολέμου τύχας λογιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς δυσκολίας, ἀκνεὶ τοῦτον ἐκφέρετε, ἀλλότερα μὲν σωφρο- νοῦντος ἡς τε εἰπεν εἰναι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ταύτην· ἐνταῦς δὲ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρά προέκυψε τῇ ἀναβολῇ. Τι γὰρ τῶν ὀνείδων οὐκ ἂν δικαιοὶ ἀκούσιες ὃ πρὸς πᾶς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας στεροῦμενος. ἔπειτα μὴ κινούμενος, ἀλλ’ εἰδόλου τινὸς ἐτ’ ἵνα λειψθήτω δοκοῦντος ἐχέμονος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀξίων σπένδοθαι πρὸς τοὺς πάντα ἄφελομένους· καὶ νομίζων ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ μετρέων τινὸς ἀπολαύ- σεθαι, καὶ μηδέ τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, ὡς ἢ τῶν δουλῶν τῆς ὑδένος ἀπολαύεις χρηστοῦ, ἀλλὰ συλλέβουν πάντων τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐξίστασθαι; οὐ μὲν ἔλπις ἔστι κοιμεῖσθαι ὅπις διὰ τὴν ἄγαν ἀπραγμοσύνην πρότερον ἐμπεπτο- καμεν, πολεμἐτέον, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολογιστέον, οὐ πόνον, οὐ κίνδυνον, οὐ δαπάνην, εἰς ὃν μὲλλομεν τὸ εἰ πράξειν, καὶ τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι βουλομένους, καὶ τοσοῦτο ἢνικῆτος ἁμνιστεῖ σιδηρούμενος: εἰ δ’ οὐδὲν χρηστόν τέλος ήμιν ἐλπίζομεν οὐσίν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη σφαλέτας μηκέτ’ εῖναι, οὔτε τὴν τελευτήν ταύτην ἀτιμιστέον, καλλίνε ὡς οὔσιν καὶ ἐντιμον, καὶ δόξῆς οὐκ ἠμιροδίσαι· ἢ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀριστῶν καὶ γενναῖοι ἀνδρῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα, κατὰ πάλιν. Τι γὰρ σεμιτέρουν, τι δ’ ἐντιμῶτερον ἀνθρώπων τὸν τοῦ δικαίου τάξεν τετηρηκότον, καὶ τὸν ύπέρ τῆς πατρίδος

[1032B] Ὡστ’ εἰ μὲν ἔλπις ἔστι κοιμεῖσθαι ὅπις διὰ τὴν ἄγαν ἀπραγμοσύνην πρότερον ἐμπεπτο- καμεν, πολεμἐτέον, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολογιστέον, οὐ πόνον, οὐ κίνδυνον, οὐ δαπάνην, εἰς ὃν μὲλλομεν τὸ εἰ πράξειν, καὶ τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι βουλομένους, καὶ τοσοῦτο ἢνικῆτος ἁμνιστεῖ σιδηρούμενος: εἰ δ’ οὐδὲν χρηστόν τέλος ήμιν ἐλπίζομεν οὐσίν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη σφαλέτας μηκέτ’ εῖναι, οὔτε τὴν τελευτήν ταύτην ἀτιμιστέον, καλλίνε ὡς οὔσιν καὶ ἐντιμον, καὶ δόξῆς οὐκ ἠμιροδίσαι· ἢ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀριστῶν καὶ γενναῖοι ἀνδρῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα, κατὰ πάλιν. Τι γὰρ σεμιτέρουν, τι δ’ ἐντιμῶτερον ἀνθρώπων τὸν τοῦ δικαίου τάξεν τετηρηκότον, καὶ τὸν ύπέρ τῆς πατρίδος

[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
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
ἡ δὲ ἀφαιρήσει τῶν ἀνδριποδῶν τύχης κληρονομήσαι· χρείαν τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ προθυμιεῖτο ἡ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ὀμφαλὸς ἐλευθεροῦν, ἢ γενναῖον γοῦν τι καὶ καλὸν πράξαντας, μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. Εἰ δ’ οἴομεθα, προδότες τὴν Καλλιπόλιν, οἰκίσαντες ἄσφαλος τὴν πατρίδα, δέδουκα μή καὶ ταύτης μετὰ μικρὸν ἐκπεσόντες, οὐδ’ ἢ οἰκίσαμεν εὑρῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ. Τις γὰρ ἄν τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων προδότας ἐπιβήνη τῆς έαυτῶν συγχωρήσεις; [1033C] Τις δὲ τοὺς τοὐστὸν μῦσις σκυτόχειρας, πρὸς τινὰ τῶν σεμνῶν πράξεων εἰςπηδείους ἤησσετο: Ἀλλ’ ἄσοισεν ἢ ἡμῶν γένεται τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων χειρᾶς διαφεύγειν, πλανήσμεθα μὲν λανθάνοντες περὶ τὰς ἀλλοδαπᾶς: κάνε τίνι φανόμεν, ἢρα παρὰ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἔγονται καὶ κατηγορίας καὶ γέλους. Τούτως δὲ χρὴν ὁρᾶσθαι; μετέχει δὲ συλλόγου: ἀναπενε δὲ ὄλος; οἱ τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχοντες πόλιν, τοσοῦτο καὶ χρῆμα, τοσαύτην δὲ δύναμιν· θαλαττὶς δεὶ καὶ γῆς ὧντες κύριοι· πάντα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνύειν δυνάμειν, τῆς μὲν περιουσίαν ἐκείνην βλακωνόμενοι καὶ καθευδοντες καὶ ὑβρίζοντες πάσαν ἀνήλωσαν· τελευτῶντες δὲ, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδότες, νῦν ὧσπερ κοίνον τι περίπασιν ἄγος· λοιμοί τινες μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς νόσου μεταδότεντες! [1033D] Ημᾶς δ’ όυ’ ἀντιλέγειν ἐξέσται. Το γὰρ τῶν ἐλέγχων δικαίων τὴν παρρήσιαν παντελῶς ἀφαιρήσεται· καὶ τὸ φέρειν ὑβρισμένους ποιεῖς οὐ βαρύτερον συμφορὰς! Ἡμᾶς δ’ ἀνακκεφαλεύει τοὺς μὲν πόλεις, φεύγει δὲ συλλογῶν· εἰς χρηματίους δὲ τινας καταδύνατας, ἡμῖν, κρύστοντας ὄθεν ἔσμεν, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν εὐχαιρέσεις. Οὐκ, εἶπον ἡμῖν, πειθήσεις ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν γοῦν παντελῶς ἀπιστίσαντες τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ πιστεύοντες πρὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα τείνειν, ὅπως ἡμᾶς καταλυσάμενοι, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀφέλοιτο τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοῖς δ’ ἠμέταρος σώματι τάς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθεῖν ανάγκας,
οὐ μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε τῶν νῦν βουλευμάτων· ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσνους τῇ πόλει νομίζαντες τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμώντας ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν, πέμπειν μὲν τοὺς τὴν Καλλιπολίν [1036A] φυλάξοντας, καὶ πάνθετα ὃσον δέοι πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προνοησομένους καὶ πράξοντας, ὁπως ἃν βεβαια παραμένοι τῇ πόλει· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας γεγονότας τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ τὴν πατρίδα ἔλευθερον. Εἴρηκα ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ύμεῖς δὲ ἔλοιπε τὸ μέλλον κοινὴ 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 Ἰστοριῶν (Proofs of Histories, Lat. Historiae Demonstrations) 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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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 Araxes, 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 Khaia. 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. Khaia is a great and prosperous city to the East of Hyncania. 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
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 Khesië (Kesh) so-called. It was great and prosperous, since the king and his nobles were dwelling in it and the armies of Asia were 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 Khesië (Kesh) was Ninos (Nineveh) in days of old and was assigned to the land of the Assyrians. They deduce this from Pagdatinan 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 Urda (Urda). Having gathered a large army and enlisting the people of Khataia, he pressed on to Tanaïs (i.e. Don).

2. India

(III, p. 152.15-154.12, ed. Darkó = 163.6-165.6, ed. Bonn)

Ο δὲ Ἰνδὸν βασιλέως οὐδέ έστιν ὁ τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοῦνοιTrois, Τζαχατάς βασιλέως, τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων βασιλέα γενόμενοι τούτων, τῶν διά τούς Μακεδονίας στρατον μέγαν ἔτη Τεμήρης ἐπεμέλειαν, λέγεται τὸν τῶν Ἀράχων ἐπονόμασιν κυριαρχόμενον τούτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Παγδατινίας Βαβυλώνος, οἰκίας τὸ Χεσίν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ ποιημένως, ἐπενοεῖ ἐπά Αὐγούστον τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθος ἐστρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγοράν Οὐρδάν καλωμένην, καὶ στρατόν μέγαν συναγερίας καὶ τοῖς Χαταῖς συμπαραλιμίνων ἔμελαν εὐθὺς Ταναίδος.

15 Ο δὲ Ἰνδὸν βασιλέως οὐδέ έστιν ὁ τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοῦνοι Τροίς, Τζαχατάς βασιλέως, τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων βασιλέα γενόμενοι τούτων, τῶν διά τούς Μακεδονίας στρατον μέγαν ἔτη Τεμήρης ἐπεμέλειαν, λέγεται τὸν τῶν Ἀράχων ἐπονόμασιν κυριαρχόμενον τούτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Παγδατινίας Βαβυλώνος, οἰκίας τὸ Χεσίν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ ποιημένως, ἐπενοεῖ ἐπά Αὐγούστον τοῦ καὶ ἐπί Σκύθος ἐστρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγοράν Οὐρδάν καλωμένην, καὶ στρατόν μέγαν συναγερίας καὶ τοῖς Χαταῖς συμπαραλιμίνων ἔμελαν εὐθὺς Ταναίδος.

The sources that the text is from are Byzantine sources on lands and peoples. The text discusses the land inside the Ganges and the Indus. It notes that India was under one king and mentions 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.

3. Tabriz and the Adzamians
(III, p. 156.12-157.4, ed. Darkó = 167.5-18, ed. Bonn)

Tabrêzê dê pólis eînai megálê te kai evdaimôn kai tòn en ëtai Asia meta' ge Samarraxoan thermatôn te prôsodô kai tî allî evdaimonîa prochoûsa' ñôrhês te têrfêi ëtai

Tabriz is a large and prosperous city. After Samarkand it is the most eminent in Asia in income and prosperity of prosperity. This country breeds silkworms and produces raw silk
χώρα 15 αὐτή μεταξύ τε καλλίστην ποιουμένην καὶ τῆς Σαμαχῆς ἀμένῳ. φέρει δὲ καὶ κραμιζένη σῆμα ὁπτω καλούμενον πορφυρόν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰ τε ἀπὸ ἐρυμ καὶ σημάων, μαφίν ἐνδεικνυόμενα ἀξίαν λόγον. ἔστι τὸ πλέα τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Περσῶν τῶν Ἀτζαμίων καλουμένων ὧν γὰρ τὴν Ἀτζαμίων 30 φωνήν προΐηνε, Πέρσαι τοῦ ὁπτοῦ σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν (157) φωνή διαλέχονται. οἰκούν τον Ταβρέζην τε καὶ Καγινόν καὶ Νεγείτην, πόλεις εὐδαιμόνες τῶν Μήδων καὶ Λουσίων χώρας. Σαμαχή τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίον χώραν ψιθυμηνῆ, πόλις εὐδαιμόνες τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

4. The Caspian Sea

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐπὶ Ὀρχανιῶν ἑσπρα-τεύτου καὶ τὴν ταύτην 19 βάλλασσαν, καὶ ἐθνῆς τε σῦν ὁλίγα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τένδε Ὀρχανιῶν ἐνοικουῦντα παράμια κατ-ειστρέφοντα. λέγεται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Κασπίᾳ τῇ τὰ τραύμον τοῦ ἐπονυμίων διήρκει δὲ κατὰ μεσομήδειαν Ζώσας τε ἔχον καὶ Καδουσίως ἐπὶ ἑοδίας τριμυχίως. (110) πρὸς ἐός καὶ βορᾶν Μασσαγέτας, γένος ἀλκομῶν τε καὶ ἐν πολέμως εὐδοκοῦντα ἐπὶ ἑοδίας τριμυχίως μάλιστα. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ γένος ἐλαῦνον ἐπὶ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν λέγεται κατα-στρεφόμενον πολίσματα κατασχειν ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ Τεμήρην τοῦ γένους τοῦ τούτου γενόμενον σὺν τοῖς Μασσαγέτας ὄρμασθα ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρ-χάνδης ἁρχήν καὶ Λουσίων τὴν χώραν καταστρέφομεν ἐχειν. τὴν μέντοι θάλασ-σαν ταῦτην ὑπὸ ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ὁπι ὁλίγων ἐκδιδόντων μεγίστην τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἑοδίας διήρκει, ὑσταμή ἐκδιδόναιν, ἤ λέγεται, εἰς τὴν ἑκτὸς θάλασ-σαν. 19 διώρισα μένες ἐντούμεθα ἔγοραι ἀπὸ ταύτης διήρκει καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑνδικήν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦν. ἐνοικουῦν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τένδε ἐθνῆ πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄλκαιν, καὶ ἤθελας μὲν φέρει αὐτῇ ἡ θάλασσα πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγάθους, φέρει το θα καὶ ὀστεβα μαργαρίτας ἔχοντα, ἢστρο το καὶ ἢ Ἑνδική θάλασσα, καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ 15 πλέε τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, παρὰ ἀλλήλους ἐπιπλέοντα φροτῶν πλέα, ἔστι τὸ αὐτή ἡ θάλασσα πρὸς ἐς μάλιστα τῆς Αἰγίς, ἐς ἐν ἑκδιδοῦ δὲ τοῦ Ἀράξεις ποταμοὺς μέγιστος καὶ Χοσάτης πρὸς ἐν θέους, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι σὺν ὁλίγοι. τὰ μέντοι ἐς of the finest quality, even better than that produced in Shemakhi. It produces a purple silk which is called krīmis (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 those who speak the language of the Adzamians are all Persian and converse in the Persian language. They dwell in Tabriz, Kagino and Negitia, 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.

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 Casudians. 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-sing 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 Casudians and that they pay their taxes every year to the city of the Casudians.
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

5. Iberia (i.e. Georgia) and the Illyrians

(IX; ii. p. 223-5.224.14, ed. Darkó = 467.10-468.21, ed. Bonn)

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 a Khalchikh 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 Mamiyas and Samantaus and Guria and the other coastal cities. For from the cities of Upper Iberia are also the Alansians, who share a border, and the Huns and the Embrians. The Alansians seem to be living alongside the Caucasus. These men are considered to be the most excellent in military matters, making remarkable corsets. 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 Alansians, the Unians and the Sasians. … Such is the extent of my knowledge and I will make mention of them.
6. Cairo and the Expansion of Islam

(III, p. 131.10-133.9, ed. Darkó = 140.18-142.23, ed. Bonn)

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 popula-lation. 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
7. The religion of the Arabs

(III, p. 112.22-132.18, ed. Darkó = 121.4-124.2, ed. Bonn)

The lawgiver Mohammed is said to have been born the so 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 they 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

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ίσμεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐντεταμένων, μηδ’ ὀτιοῦν ἀνέναι προο-δεχομένους ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐς διάταται καὶ ἐς τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς οὐτε κεκολαμμένον ἐς νομοίς, ὥστε μὴ ἐς τὸ τοῦ βίου ὡς πολιτεύσασθα οὕτω τὴν φύσιν μηδαμὴ βαίηται. γυναικές μὲν γὰρ ἠγεοθή, παλλακίδας μέντοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων, ὅτους ἐκ ἕκαστος οἷς ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου, γυναικάς τὸ κοινωνία ἠγεοθή ἐς τὰς πέντε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων παιδας νομίζοντος οὐ πόθος. ἢ ἐς ἀπὸ παλλακίδων ἐξευθένθη τὰς νομίζοντας οὕτως: γυναῖκες, γυναικεῖς μὴ παρθενοῖς ἐπιζήτωσιν. ὑπόθεσιν τὸ καὶ τὰς κοινωνίας, ὅσον ἐν τίς βουλοῖς ἐκδοῦναι τὴν ἐκατούρνθε. ἑπεθεῖαν τὸν προειρηγημένον ὁμοίων ἐς τοὺς γάμους ἄγωντας τὰς γυναικάς. ἢ ἐς ἀφθονοὶς τῇ γυναικῇ ὁ ἀνήρ ἐπιτείθη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίαις ἀποσχέοντας ἀυτῆς, ἦν ἡ ἠλευθερώσεται τὸ λόγῳ ἐς τὸ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. νομίζεται τὸ ἀόρατον, ἢν ἐν τίς ἀποπέμπωσι, αὐτῆς αὐτὴν ἠγεοθή ἐς τὸ κηρύσσει ἀνὴρ ἐς ὑπὸ ἔπειρον ἀνεπάγει. οὕτω τὸ ἐκεῖνο καθέμοντα ἐπαγρέθει τῷ γένει τοῦτο, καὶ μὴ λουσακέανοι μὴ ἠγείροντας αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν προσεειρήνιν ἔνοιαν. δεκατείς ἐς τίνα ἐξελάνοντος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἐτους, ἐς νηστείαν ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπέσκεψα ἡμέρας. τῆς μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅλης μηδ’ ὀτιοῦν προειρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ μελέτητος, οὔτε ἠγείροντας σήμερον ἐς τὸν ἄστρα φαίνεται, αἰτούσατος πάντων ἐς μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μὴ ἠγείροντας οὖν πέσατο τὸ παράσατον. πρεπτέμενον ὅτι τὸ αἰδοῖον χάριν παντᾶ-πασιν. Ἰησοῦν ἐς τοῦ ἀπόστολον γενέσθαι νομίζει, καὶ εἶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ Γαβριήλ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, παρθενὸν τῷ ὡς καὶ μιμεί (115) ἀνδρὶ συγγενομένης γενέσθαι Ἰησοῦν, ἤρωα τίνα μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπουν καὶ ἐς τὴν τελευτην τοῦτο τὸς κόσμον, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ἁρία τοῦν οὐδὲ βεβημένων καθιστῶνται οἱ ἀνθρώποι, τὸν γε Ἰησοῦν φιλοὺς ἠγείρεσα διατητὴν τῆς κόσμου. σοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀπεθάναγος ἐς θέμες εἶναι, καὶ τὰ γένια πάντα ἐσθίοντο, ἢν μὴν ὁ πρῶτοι ἐπὶ ὁμογένων γένοντας. θεοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐνα ἐφιστοῖς τῶς τὸ παντί, ὑπήρχατος δὲ χρώμονον τοῖς πυρίνοις, ἢ φωτί, νόσοις. πεπομφέναι δὲ Μεχμήτην ἐς τὰ ἐλληνικὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιστοιχεῖν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην νομοθέτησαν. κάθαρον δὲ ἤμοιον ἐς τὴν τοῦ περιτομήν οὐδὲν πάντων δὴ μάλιστα, ἢ καὶ γέμους 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 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 who 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 they 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 particularity 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
8. The Origin of the Turks

(1; i, pp. 7.10-9.10, ed. Darkó = 9.10-11.9, ed. Bonn)

Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

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 subdued 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.

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 Turk, 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
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)

Then learning that King Timur was attacking them with a great army, the Scyths 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 Scyths divided up into tribes long before and managed the region 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 Scyths 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 τὴν ἡπειροσσομενὸς τὴν χώραν, ἐπελάσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἀστρέων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀστρέων ἀποβάντες, μοίρᾳ τοῖς οὐκ ὁλίγῃ τῆς Θρᾷκης λεπιτευτόντες ἐπεδραμοῦσι, καὶ ἀνεχόρουν ἀπὸ Ἀστράματα ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναόν ἱόντες, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀστρέων ἐνέμειναν, ἀν ὁ πλεῦν ἐπὶ Παιαζέτεας διαβάν τὸν Ἀστρέων [ἐνέμειναν] ὀψίσθια χωρίς ἐκαστὸν μέρος τοῦ γένους τούτου γενόμενον, τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθηκόν μέρος αὐτοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἀστρέων <παρά> Καζήμπρω τὸ βασιλεῖ Λιουτάνων τὴν διάπαν ἔχουσι, τὴν γῆν νεμοῦσιν ἐς ζαὶ καὶ νῦν, ἐς τὸν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους αὐτοῦ πόλεμον συμβαλλόμενοι τὰ κράτατα· ὥσπερ ἂν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τυχάνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, δοκοῦσι τὰ τές ἕσπερ πολέμοι καὶ εἰσὶν κράτιστοι· ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν νῆσον καλομένην, διειργω-σαν λήμνη τὴν Μαιοείτα καὶ τὸς γε Ἐξεξινόν πόρον, ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλεῖ Αξικερής τὰ τὸ ἐδάφη τὰ ἐς γῆν ληδημονοῦν κατατρέγαντο ἐς φόρον ἄπαγουσι, τοὺς τε Γόθους καλουμένους καὶ Ῥουσανκοὺς τοὺς τὴν τα Καπά πόλιν ἐνοικοῦντας· καὶ Σαρματίς μέρος τι ἀπάχτη τοῦτο τὸ βασιλεῖ φόρον. Σαρματίας μὲν ὅν τις Ἐξεξινός πόρον καὶ οἱ πρὸς ὦκεανόν τοῦ μεγάλῳ Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ (122) φόρον ἄπαγος, ἐξ ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Σαρματίαν ἐπαραμένουτα τὰ μὲν ἄνδραποδίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ληθάμενοι κατέσχον ἐπὶ σχοινί τινα χρόνον, καὶ ταῦτῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε φόρον τοὺς ἐπεξεργάσατο τὸ βασιλεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ ἔτους ἐκάστου ἄπαγουσι.

Σαρματία μὲν ὅν δήκει ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπὶ Δάκας τε καὶ Λιτουάνους, γένος τὸν Ἑλληνίδον φονῆ τὰ πολλὰ διαχρώμενον. καὶ διατίτε καὶ ἦθες τὴν Ἱσραίμ νόμους ἐποικοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας μᾶλλον τετραμμένοι οὐ πάνω συμφέρονται τὸ Ῥωμαίον ἁγιαρεῖα, Ἑλληνικὸ τὸ ἁγιαρεῖα χρύσα, καὶ τοῖον πεθοῦντα τὰ ἐς θηρείαι τε καὶ διάπαν φησί. καὶ ἦθες τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἐλλήνων διαχρώμενοι, σκευὴ τὸς Παραπλήσιος προσχρόνται, τὰ μέντοι πρὸς Ἐξεξινόν πόρον Σαρματῶν γένες ὡς Λευκοπόλεμος καλομένης, ἤγοναί τε διαλαγχάνουσι τὰ πολλὰ· τὸ τοῦ Μοσ-χοβίνος τε καὶ Κυλεός καὶ Τοφάρι καὶ Χαρκοβίνος, πολλὲς ὡς τυράννοι εὐθυνόμεναι, ἐς τὴν μελανίαν οὕτω ὑπὸ σφόν αὐτῶν καλομένην Σαρματιὰν τελοῦσιν. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ὦκεανον ὑπὸ τὸν ἄρκτον οἰκίσαν γένες λευκήν Σαρματίαν καλοῦσι, πρὸς μέντοι ὦκεανὸν πόλεις Οὐγκράτης καλομένης, ἐς άριστοκρατίαν τετραμμένη, ὄλον τον παρεχεῖ καὶ αὐτὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπερφέρουσαν τῶν ἀλλων τῆς Σαρματίας πόλεων, τῆς δὲ 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 Bosporus 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 paid the people 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 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 Uigkratis (Novgorod) has been converted into an aristocracy. It is rich and exceeds the other cities of Sarmatia in wealth, whether they are called
The Peruvians live in the area north of the Sarmatians. They share a border with the Sarmatians and the Romans speak the same language as the Peruvians. It is said about the Persians 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(getai) 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(getai) 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 praise 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
καὶ ἄνθρωπος δὲ τυραννίδας διήκει διαίτῃ ἐνον γενό
µἐν Αὐτοῖς ἀνδρειότατον, τὰ τῇ Ἰφήλιαν ἰσβασίλειαν τὸν Ἰκὴν, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τούτων, καὶ τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ἔνθος ἰδίκων ἐς ταύτῃ τετραμένον τὸν Θηρσείαν τῶν Αἰολίων, νοµίζει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ γένος καὶ θεοὺς ἐπί ἄλλους, Διὰ τε καὶ Ἰραν, ὡς προϊόντι πρόσω τοῦ λόγου δηλωθῆται.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοιαύτην εἰρήσθησα Πολάνοις (125) δὲ ἔχονται Σαρματιόν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τούτων νομίζουσι, καὶ ἴσης δὲ καὶ διάτῃ τῇ Ρωμαίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Πολάνον δὲ ἔχοντας Λιτουάνοις ἐπὶ Εὕρεινον πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν καθῆκοντες καὶ οὕτως, ηὲ μὲν µέλαινα Πογανία, δὲ ἐν τῇ Λευκοσαλίξαν καλουμένα τὰ βασιλεία ἔχονσα, ἀπὸ Δακίων τὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐπὶ Λιτουάνοις καὶ Σαρμάτας διήκει. γένος δὲ ἐστὶ τούτῳ δύσκιον, ὡς ἄν τοὺς τεκμαῖροτα, τῇ τοῖς φωνῇ τῆς αὐτὴν ἴμεσον, καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιότου δευτερομένων διήκ τὸ γένος ἐς τριαντάδες καὶ ἡκεμισιῶν δῶν κατέστη. (10) Λιτουάνοι δὲ οὕτως Σαρμάτσαις εἰσίν οἴκογενσις, οὕτως Παῖσιν, οὕτως µὲν Γερµανοῦς, οὐ µὴν οὐδὲ Δαξη, ἰδίᾳ τὸ τὸ παράπτων νοµίζουσι φωνῇ. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεία πόλεις μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυ-άνθρωπως καὶ εὐδιαγόνως δὲ κοιλιτοῦ τὸ γένος εἶναι τὰ μέγα τῶν ἀψυχίαν τῆς χώραν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀνδρεύσονται, (11) καὶ πρὸς τὸς Προσώπους τοὺς Γερµανοὺς καὶ Πολανοὺς διασπολούν περὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς χώραν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ρωµαίων ἔθη καὶ διαιταῖς τετραγώνων, σκεύη δὲ τῇ Σαρµατίαν παραπλησίᾳ χρωµένων, καὶ τῇ µελανίᾳ Πογανίαν ὑμᾶς τὰ πολλὰ οὕσα πρὸς τούτων ἀγανίζεται.

(126) Σαρµάται τὸ φωνὴ διαχρόνει παρα-πλησία τῇ Ἰλλυρίων τῶν ὡς τῶν Ἰόνων παρουσί-κουσιν ἐστὶ ἐπὶ Εὐντούς, ὅποτεροι μὲν τούτων παλαιότεροι, καὶ τὴν ἔτρων ὅποτεροι τούτων χώραν ἐπινέομαι, ἢ Ἰλλυροὶ ἐπεκείνα τῆς Κάππας διαβάσαντος Πολανίαν, τῇ καὶ Σαρμάταις ὑψισθούσα, ἢ Σαρµάται δὲ ἐπὶ τάς τοῦ Ἰστρὸν γενόμενον τὴν τὶς Μυσίαν καὶ Τριβάλλων χώραν καὶ δὴ Ἰλλυρίων τῶν πρὸς τῶν Ἰόνων ἄχρη δὴ Ἐντονοῦ ὑψισθούσα, οὕτω ἄλλου τῖνος ἐπιθυμήσεων τῶν παλαιότερων διεξόμενα, οὕτω ἄν ἔχομαι πάντη ὡς ἄληθῆ δια-σιµμένως.

(10) Ἐπάνειμα δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, δὴ 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 known the 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 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, 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
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 Bosporus. They have established their capital in the Horde. So those of them who have settled around the Bosporus, in the land there, raid the bordering countries – the Circassians, the Mingrelians and the Sarmatians. They carry off many captives to the Bosporus, 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 regime 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. Darkö = 242.10-245.17, ed. Bonn)

Oðto mèn oûn hè Pelopónnηsos àpò Ἰταλόν ès toûs Ἑλληνας παριλήβηθεν. Ἑλλησì μèn oûn oûtò προσέφερε τά πράγματα, ύπαγομένος σφίς τήν Πελοπόνησον. Αμιουράτις τὸ ὁ Μεχμέτου ἐστρατεύετο ἐπί τήν Τριβάλλον χώραν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἐπεὶ τα εξήγηκε πόλεμον, στρατεύματα ἐπιπέμψας ἐδόθη τήν [10] χώραν, καὶ τότε δὴ ὄνον, ὡς ἐπίθετο ὁ τῶν Τριβάλλον ἡγεμόνι ἐπένει ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βασιλέα, πρόεβες τις ἐπιπόμενες τε ἑξίαν ἐπισεβαζότος, ἐφ’ ὃ ἄν ἀπάγετον φόρον, ὅν ἄν τάξηται αὐτῷ βασιλείας, καὶ πεισθαῖν, ὅ τι ἄν κελεύσῃ αὐτῷ. ἐπέκειν Αμιουράτις ἦγεται τήν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τριβάλλον ἡγεμόνι. ἐπιπέμψας [12] ἐπεί Σαραζίνων τῶν ἠθέον ἠθέον ἢγαγε τῇ την γυναίκα, τῷ Χάλλεων ἀνάγοντος, παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγα εὐδοκιμίαν ἔστη, κατὰ τα βασιλεία αὐτῶν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠλαινεν ἄπαντα τοῦ Καραμάνου τῶν Ἀλισούριν, ἠγε- μόνι τῆς Καρα, τὰ τα ἄλλα αἰτίασαμένως, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ τῶν πρόσφερον ἐχὼν παρ’ ἄπαντα ἐπέμενεν [20] ἐπεί τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἔπιεν δὲ συν ἐπιτεύγματα πολλὸ τήν χώραν ἐδόθην, ἐκελεύοντος αὐτήν την Καραμάνου καὶ τὰ ἅρμα κατεχόντος (21) τῶν ὅρεων. ἔστην δὲ αὐτῶ δύο πόλεις ἢ μὲν Λάρανδα λεγομένη, ἢ δὲ τὸ Ἰκόνιον, πόλες μεγάλη τε ὅσα το παλαιόν και εὐδαίμονον, ἐν ἢ καὶ βασιλίς ἦν τὸν πρόσφερον βασιλέαν τοῦ γένους τούτου ὅτε γὰρ τῶν ὅρεων τῆς χώρας ἱσχυρὸν ὄντων δὲ καὶ οὐκ εὐπέτειον ἑπιβάνην, ὁμομενόν τῆς ταύτη χώραν περιόχου ἦν καὶ ἔφερον καὶ κατὰ βραχον προϊόντες κατεστράφοντο. ἦστι δ’ ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς εὐνομομενή ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω παλαιοῦ. Λάρανδα δὲ ἡ πόλις ὄχρημα μὲν αὐτῆς ὅποι τὴν ὑπόξειαν ταύτη ὅρεων, καὶ οὐ πάνω ἔλαυ τιν σύχροιμα. ἡ δ’ χώρα ἐπιόντος τοῦ Αμιουράτου [10] ὅπεμενεν τε καὶ οὐκ ἔξελεν οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομίζεται Τοῦδος γε ὅταν αὐτοῖς ἄνδραποδίστησα, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ἁμεῖ ἂν καὶ ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν διαταν συνποιημένως. ο’ μὲν τοῦ Καραμάνου οὖσος ὁμορός ἦστι τῇ Πισίδα χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ Τυργούτει. δὲ Πισίδας οὖσοι καὶ Βαρσάκαζας καλούμενοι νομαδές μὲν εἰσὶ τοῖς [15] καὶ ἱλιστρῖν τῇ Τούφρον διαχωρισμοῦν, ληστρικοῦτον δὲ βιοτεύειν, τὴν τα Συρίαν ληξομένου καὶ τῇ ἀλλιν σφίσαν χώραν, καὶ δὴ τὴν Καραμάνου διαπολεμοῦντες ληξομέντες ἄρχοντες δὲ σφίσιν ἐφεστώτες καὶ ληξομένους τῆς τε λείας τὸ ἐπι- βάλλον (22) μέρος αὐτῶ τοι ἀναβλαγχόνους, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπιμαίνουσιν ἐπι- διελόμενοι διδάσασι τὸ ἀλκιμον 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 Turgitus. 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 they rule over them, when they carry in piracy, divide up the share of the plunder which falls to
όντος δὲ τὸς Φρυγίας χώρας ἐπάρχει τε, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίων ἤκει καὶ Καππαδοκίας ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ Τουργυοῦτεν γένος δοκεῖ ⁵ νεότερον γεγονέναι ὕπο Αμουράτην, καὶ ἐπικαταβαίνει ἐς τὴν ταύτη τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν ἐπικρατήσας τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐς δεύτερο διαγενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τε καὶ Καραμάνου διαπολεμημέν. 

διεπολέμησε μὲν ὅπως τὸ παλαιόν καὶ πρὸς τούς Λευκαρίους Καραλούδουκεων παῖδας. τὸ μὲντο Κανδιλόρον ⁶⁰ ἡ πόλις τῆς Καρίας ὕπο αὐτῷ τῶν ὄρων ζῆνεν, καὶ τὴν χώραν καταστρεφόμενος Αμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέτων τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσχατον ἐς τὴν γυναικῶντι, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κατέληκε ἄρρητως τῆς χώρας, τοὺς μὲντον ἠγε­μόνας, τὸν τε Καραμάνον καὶ Αἰδίνην, ἔλαυνον ἐπὶ Καραμάνον, καὶ τὸν τε Σαρχάνην τῆς τῆς τε ¹⁵ χώρας ἑξῆλθατε, καὶ ἐπιοίκα τὰ βασίλεια αὐτῶν ἡποδράσατο. ὃ μὲντον Ἀδινίδος ἐπελήφθη τῆς ἀναδίκης αὐτῶν, ἢν, Σαρχάνης δὲ καὶ Μενδεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ὄμορας αὐτῶν χώρας διεσώζοτα, ἀποφυγόντος Αμουράτην ἐποίητα. Μενδεσίας μὲντον ἐς Ρόδον ἀφικόμενον διέτριβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κηρυκευμά­­νον ἀφίκετο παρὰ ⁵⁵ βασιλεύα, δεύτερος τυχεῖ ἄγαθον τινὸς πρὸς τὸ βασιλέως, καὶ (23) ἐς δεύτερο ἐπὶ διατρίβον τὴν τάς ἐξαιρέσατο χώραν ᾤδὼν ὑπὸ τῶν θυρών. ὃ μὲντον Καραμάνον, ὡς τὸ τὴ Κέραν κατελήφει καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ κατέχον διέτριβεν, ἐπέμπε πρέσβεις παρὰ Αμουράτην, ὡς εἰς τὴν τε θυγατέρα δοῦναι αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναίκα καὶ ἐς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐπεμπεῖεν συν­­τραπεσμένον ἐπὶ τὰς Αμουράτεως θύρας. ὃ μὲν δὴ Αμουράτης ἐπιθέτει, τὰς σπονδάς καὶ ὥρκια ποιημένον ἀπήλκυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνον ἐπιγιγνομένου αἰτισάμενος Ἰσμαήλην τὸν Σινοπίτης καὶ Κασταμονίας ἠγε­μόνα ἐστρατεύσετο ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. ὡς μὲν ὅτι τοῦ τοῦ παραδότου ὑπέκλησεν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπεμπηκὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπεμπεῖεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἐς τὰς βασιλείας θύρας. τὸν μὲντον Τουργυοῦτεν παῖδα καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ παραγεγομένον ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείας θύρας ¹⁵ ἐπιθύμησε ἐπιγιγνομένου βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπιτρέπει παρὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ διαθέτεια, ἢ ἐς ἀυτὸ ἀκομή. 

10. The Administrative hierarchy and Military command of the Turks

ai μὲν οὖν θύρας οἶδε πτώτομ οὐχοῦσα. πεζοὶ πάρασον τοῦ βασιλείς ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐξακεφαλίσοις καὶ ἐνὶπεὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους ἀμφὶ (8) γὰρ τούτον φοινουρὰν τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοῦ τοῖς ἀκροπόλεσι, καὶ ἀυθές ἐτέραν εἰς them and distribute the lion’s share and give it to those who stay at home with wives. Turgut’s rules over the land of Phrygia and his land extends to Armenia and Cappadocia. The family of Turgut 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. 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 Turgut, 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.
Byzantine sources on lands and peoples

tīn χώραν ἑκείνων καθίστησι. παρεγένοντο δ’ αυτοῦ τῆς. παιδῶς λαβὼν ἀγαμαλότους, ὅσους ἄρη τῇ ἀνθρώποποιόμενος, κατατίθεται ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάρα τοῖς Τούρκοις, ὅπες τὴν 5 φοινίκι ἐκμαθηθέν ἕνα ἐκαστον. καὶ ἐπὶ δῶ ἢ καὶ τρία ἐπὶ διαγενέμοιν τῇ τε γλῶσσαι εκμαθήνοις, καὶ συνεντέκτες τῆς φοινικῆς, ὧσ ἄν δυνηθότως, ἀὕθες συλλέγει, ἀρ’ ὅν κατέθετο, ἐξ δισχίλιους καὶ πλείους τοῦτον. ἔγερ δ’ αὐτοῦς ἐξίμισσαν ἐς τὴν Καλλιουσίλλην, καὶ καθίστησαν αὐτούς ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, ναυτίζεσθαι | 10 τε καὶ διαπορθέμεναν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τούς βουλομένους διαμαθίζει. ὀβόλον δ’ ἔχει ἐκαστον ἑντεῦθη, καὶ χιτάνα τε ἑνευςτῆ, μετά τε χρόνον μεταπέμποντα ἐς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ, παρέχον τε μισθῶν, ὅσοιν ἄν ἴππος ἐς τὸ ἀποζήν αὐτοῦς, ἐνίος ἀλλάς δ’ πλεῖον παράγεται. καὶ ἐς δεκαδάρχας | 15 τε καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας καὶ ἐνομιοτίκες καὶ λόγως τεταγμέναν τε καὶ διακαρκμέναν στρατεύονται, κατὰ τὰ συσσίτια τε καὶ τῇ δῦσε ἥλιον εἶναι σὺν τῷ δεκαδάρχῃ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν. σκηνοῦσι τὸ οὕτω ἄμφι τοῦ βασιλέα, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χώρον ἐκαστον ἐξίμισσαν τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐντὸς μέντοι τοῦτοι οὐδένει ἔστει | 20 σκηνουν, πλὴν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέα παῖδαν καὶ τῶν θεσ- τῶν τοῦ βασιλέα καὶ τοῦ κοίτους. σκηνή τοῦ ἐρυθρά ἀυτῶ, οτὲ μὲν δῶ, οτὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἑδρυνται αὐτῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀπὸ πλοῦν ἐρυθρὸν χρυσόπαστοι, καὶ σκηναὶ ἑπεραι αμφὶ τᾶς πεντε- καίδεκα, πάσαι ἐντὸς τῶν νεβηλοῦν. ἐκτὸς δὲ σκηνοῦσιν οἱ λουποὶ τῶν (9) θυρών ἄνδρες, οἱ περὶ ἀμφιαράχιοι καὶ οἰνοχοί οἱ λεγόμενοι παρ’ αὐτῶν σαραπαρίκοι, καὶ σμιαφόροι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐμουράλμιοι, καὶ τῶν θυρών πρύτανες, βεζηρίδες οὕτω καλολήμενοι, τοῦ βασιλέα ἀγγε- λαφόροι. οὕτῳ μὲν ὁμάλοι τῷ θντεὶ, καὶ ὡς 5 πλεῖον ἐπαγομένοι θεράσσονται, πλὴν παρ’ ἑραντο ἀπλετόν. μετὰ δὲ συλλικτάριδες ἔνεισι τῶν βασιλέων θυρῶν ἄμφι τῶν τριακοσίων, οἱ ἑπτά οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν νεβηλῶν ἐπὶ ταύτην παραγίνονται τῇ τὸν μέντοι, καὶ τοὺς σαραπαρίκους καὶ οἰνοχούς ὁμοίως καλολήμενοι, ἀμφὶ τῆς κατάκεισι. οὐτοὶ δ’ εἰσίν οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων | 15 παιδίς, ὃν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοίτους ἐκβαλὼν ἐς ταύτην αὐτοῦς καθίστη τὴν χώραν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἑντεῦθη ἔχει ὡς ἀνδρῶν παιδίς ἀγαθῶν γενομένου.
Kai ai mên thūrai, ὡς ξυνελόντι μοι φάναι, οὕτω τετάχαται δύο de ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐς ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ τὴν ἁρχὴν καθίσταται ἀζάπιδες ὡς στρατηγοὶ, ὁ μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὁ de τῆς Ἀσίας. καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρω ἐποντα τὰ τε στρατεύμαται καὶ ὁ ἀρχινότες, ὁποὶ ἢν ἔξηγονται, ἐπειδάν ἐπαγ—

ii. (VII; ii, p. 103.3-12, ed. Darkó = 331.12-22, ed. Bonn)

(103) ἰ καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς νεήλιδας παραταξάμενον ἐκυκλώθη ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν, εὑμεγέθεις σπήλαιον σιδηρὰς ἐς τὴν γῆν. φέρει ὁ τότε ἀρχινότες, ὁ πρὸς γε τὰ ὅπλα τῶν νεήλιδων ἐπὶ τῶν καμηλῶν φέρει, καὶ ὅποι ἢν ἐσοκτὸν αὐτῷ μάχη, διαμεταμόνως τὰ ὅπλα ἐς μάχην καθίσταται, μετὰ δὲ τούτων τοὺς θυρείς ἐνεκι Καὶ τὰς καμηλὰς ἀυτοῦ ταύτη ἐμπροσθεν ὁ τῶν θυρεῶν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅποι παρατάσσεται ἐς τὰς θύρας, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶ τε καὶ οἱ τὸν οἶκον ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ τὸν θυρών, ὁποὶ παρείσχυν 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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