

**THE HISTORY OF  
MENANDER THE GUARDSMAN**

**Introductory Essay, Text, Translation,  
and Historiographical Notes**

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## CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Introduction	1
Conspectus of the Fragments	31
Maps	33
The East and the Caucasus Region	
The Balkans and the North Shore of the Black Sea	
Central Asia	
Text and Translation	38
Notes	251
Bibliography	289
Correlation of Fragments	295
Correlation of Passages from the <i>Suda</i>	297
Index of Names and Places	299
Index of Quotations and Citations	305

*TO KATHRYN*

## Preface

This volume, devoted to the History of the late sixth-century writer Menander the Guardsman, completes the presentation of those classicising historians of the late Empire whose work survives in substantial fragments. It stands, therefore, as a continuation of my two earlier volumes on the fifth-century historians (*The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*), and its methodology is identical with that set out in the introductions to those volumes. In addition to the indexes supplied in the earlier volumes, I have included in this volume a correlation of the articles in the *Suda* drawn from Menander, which are many and usually brief. I have also incorporated in the apparatus references to a MS of the *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* not used by de Boor, the readings of which are reported by Krasheninnikov (the readings indicate little modification of the text). I have used Krasheninnikov's designation of the MS as C. Otherwise, the MS designations are those used by de Boor for the *Exc. de Leg.* and Adler for the *Suda*.

The task of preparing the present volume was far less onerous than that of preparing the earlier ones, not only because its subject is one writer and one work with fewer and longer fragments and a comparatively uncomplicated text, but also because of the existence of two excellent studies of aspects (especially the chronology) of the period covered, those by Stein (1919) and Whitby.

Thanks are, as with the earlier volumes, once again due to the Dean of Arts of Carleton University for a subvention towards the publishing costs.

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1984



# The History of Menander the Guardsman

## Introduction

Almost all the very little that we know about Menander comes from the preface of his History, of which a biographical fragment is preserved in the *Suda* (M591 = Fr. 1,1) and a much shorter and less informative one in the *Excerpta de Sententiis* (1 = Fr. 1,2).<sup>1</sup> The passage from the *Suda* tells us that his father, a native of Byzantium, had received no higher education, whereas the sons, Herodotus and Menander, both began to train towards a legal career. While Herodotus failed to stay the course, Menander completed it. He did not, however, practise as an advocate, becoming, as he himself confesses, a layabout and man-about-town.<sup>2</sup> From a life of penury and degradation he was rescued by the accession of the Emperor Maurice, who is described, in terms reminiscent of Ammianus on the Emperor Julian and Alexander the Great, as a nocturnal enthusiast of poetry and history.<sup>3</sup> It was this enthusiasm and the rewards which he gave to writers that encouraged Menander to take up the writing of history in order to repair his fortunes. He says that he decided to continue the History of Agathias after Agathias' death and implies that success in this task led to advancement. Whether the History was actually commissioned by the Emperor or a powerful minister is not clear, although the ready access to the imperial archives which Menander apparently enjoyed suggests high-level encouragement.<sup>4</sup> Presumably his rewards included a remunerative appointment, which was probably as *protector*, the title which he is given in the *Suda* and the *Excerpta*. In the sixth century service as a *protector* does

<sup>1</sup> Other testimonia on p.38.

<sup>2</sup> For speculation on further details of Menander's life and activities see Baldwin pp.101-104.

<sup>3</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 26,5,4ff. and Galletier's note *ad loc.* (which gives other examples).

<sup>4</sup> See pp.18-20. Hunger (p.310) suggests that he was connected with Agathias' circle. This may have been so, but if my reading of the History is correct, he does not seem to have been an uncritically admiring member.

not seem to have been necessarily military, and Menander's interests and knowledge, as evinced in his History, suggest a diplomatic career.<sup>5</sup>

The preface is an unusual piece of work. It tells us that Menander and his brother were drop-outs, and that Menander himself was one of the roués who frequented the Circus (perhaps one of those responsible for the witticisms with which the crowd would bombard the authorities). Instead of the usual pompous effusions upon the value of history and the circle of friends who persuaded the reluctant and untalented writer to preserve great deeds for posterity (the type of preface produced by Agathias), Menander says frankly that he took up history for the rewards which he hoped to receive. The picture thus drawn is far different from the traditional one of the earnest scribbler to which Menander's predecessors, and especially Agathias, conformed. It is rather of a worldly-wise, somewhat cynical character, emerging from a disreputable early career (as, apparently, Maurice had also<sup>6</sup>) to become a commentator on events.

Menander's History, which is the only work of his known to us,<sup>7</sup> is called Ἱστορία in the *Excerpta*. It may just have been entitled τὰ μετὰ Ἀγαθίαν, since the end of Agathias' History was its starting point. But Menander's History, though making constant reference, stylistically and materially, to his predecessor's work,<sup>8</sup> is no mere appendix. For, beginning with the preface, the Agathian 'model', its attitudes and judgements, are at times turned upside down.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the suggestion that Menander performed the function of *protector deputatus* described in *Fr.* 26,1 see n.304 to the translation. On a possible example of another 'bodyguard' (probably a *spatharius*) as a career diplomat see n.22 to the translation. That by the sixth century the various imperial guards could follow careers other than purely military ones perhaps lies behind the allegation of Procopius (*Anecd.* 24,24) that the *protectores* were at that time exempt from active service.

<sup>6</sup> Evagrius *HE* 6,1.

<sup>7</sup> Baldwin (p.103) and Hunger (p.310) suggest that Menander was also a poet. This is based only upon six lines of doggerel which he inserted into his History (*Fr.* 13,3) and the observation that other historians, such as Olympiodorus and Agathias, were also poets.

<sup>8</sup> Imitation of Agathias has been demonstrated in detail by Apostolopoulos.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Veh, who, while accepting that Menander might have used material prepared by Agathias and left unused at his death (p.7 and n.4), rejects the view that Menander slavishly followed Agathias' model (p.5). The organisation of Menander's History certainly seems to have been different (see below pp.4f.). Two examples of possible correction of Agathias are the spelling of the Persian title Nakhoergan (spelled by Agathias as Nakhorgan) and the explanation of Zikh as a title (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 11-14) which Agathias (4,30,8) treats as a name (apparently correctly). See also nn.1-4 to the translation. But the weight of evidence in support of my contention will be found in the text and the notes that follow.



Certainly, Menander wishes to place himself in the line of the historians in the grand manner, as his modest and conventional refusal to compete with the eloquence of Procopius attests (*Fr.* 14,2).<sup>10</sup> But the preface warns also to be on the lookout for the unusual.

Whatever the rewards Menander received for his efforts, a wide circulation for his *History* was probably not one of them.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, at least one copy survived into the tenth century to be used by the compilers of the *Excerpta de Sententiis* and *de Legationibus*, which preserve almost all of his text that survives. A little additional material is provided by a large number of passages included in the *Suda*, sometimes named (though there is in some cases uncertainty over which Menander is meant), often anonymous (though often repeating lines in the *Excerpta*), almost always brief.<sup>12</sup> Beyond these there is one fragment (17) which turned up in a manuscript in Paris and which may or may not be from Menander, and some speculation about his use by other writers. John of Epiphania, whose *History* covered some of the events described by Menander, appears from a comparison with the narratives of Theophylact and Evagrius, who did use him, to be independent.<sup>13</sup> Theophanes of Byzantium, who wrote a history, primarily of eastern events, from the accession of Justin II to an unknown terminus, has been canvassed as a user of Menander (and *vice versa*), but the summary of his work given by Photius is too brief to admit of certainty.<sup>14</sup> It has also been suggested that Evagrius in his *Ecclesiastical History* supplemented his named source, John of Epiphania,

<sup>10</sup> I should not wish to push this interpretation of the preface too hard, since we only have two fragments and *Fr.* 1,2 looks conventional. However, the praise of Procopius in *Fr.* 14,2 does seem to be another element by which Menander consciously distances himself from Agathias. The latter mentions Procopius in a number of places, usually with perfunctory approbation, but twice attacks him, once directly (4,26,4-7) and once implicitly (4,30,4), in the second passage with the kind of comparison that Menander seems to reject in *Fr.* 14,2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Blockley (1981) pp.93ff.; Wilson pp.1ff.; and the comment of Evagrius (*HE* 4,24) that he had not yet obtained a copy of Agathias (who had been dead only a few years).

<sup>12</sup> The *Suda* Θ449 is attributed to Menander and included in the collections as *Fr.* 7. But, as Müller (*ad loc.*) noted, despite a superficial (and incomplete) similarity to *Fr.* 5,3, the passage is not from our Menander. Some of the anonymous *Suda* articles which have been attributed to Menander mainly because of the similarity of subject matter (e.g. B401 and 508) I have excluded because they seem to have come from other, briefer narratives. The *Suda* articles accepted are indexed on pp.297-98.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Whitby pp.147-53.

<sup>14</sup> Canvassed by Jeep p.162; denied by Adamek II pp.4-7.

with Menander, but the case has not been accepted.<sup>15</sup> Much more likely is the view that Theophylact, whose primary source was also John of Epiphania, supplemented and corrected him from Menander (whom he certainly knew), mainly on elements of diplomacy but also perhaps on other details where he differs from what survives of John's account.<sup>16</sup> But even here the debt is too imprecise to allow additions to the fragments.<sup>17</sup>

Menander's statement in the preface of his *History*, that he began where Agathias ended, sets the opening date at 557/58. The statement of Theophylact (1,3,5) that Menander described the loss of Sirmium to the Avars brings the narrative to 582, the year in which Tiberius died and Maurice succeeded him. This is usually taken to be the last year covered. Baldwin's contention (p.106) that, to judge from the tone of the preface, Menander intended to continue into the reign of Maurice and might have done so, has nothing to recommend it. The usual practice of the late classicising historians (with Procopius as an exception) was to stop before the contemporary reign, and there is no indication that Menander did not conform to it.

It is clear from the fragments preserved in the *Excerpta* (especially *Fr.* 6,1) that Menander's treatment of events was large-scale, again in conformity with the practice of late classicising historiography (although, of course, the scale would have varied according to the availability of information, the historian's judgement upon importance, and other similar factors). The principal of ordering and the balance of material in the *History* are not entirely clear, since few book divisions are noted in the MSS and only two are usable: the note in the margin of some MSS that *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 10 (= *Fr.* 18,2) came from the sixth book and the statement above the text of *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 14 (= *Fr.* 19,1) that that passage came from the eighth book of Menander.<sup>18</sup> Even this second piece of information has been rejected by Niebuhr on the ground that it did not leave enough material to fill the intervening seventh book, a view which has generally been accepted.<sup>19</sup> Such a position is, however,

<sup>15</sup> Argued by Jeep pp.162-66; denied by Adamek, *loc. cit.*.

<sup>16</sup> Whitby pp.154f.

<sup>17</sup> Zonaras 14,10,22-23, discussing Justin's refusal of payments to Persia, uses language somewhat reminiscent of Menander, though no weight can be put on it.

<sup>18</sup> *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 15 (= *Fr.* 21) and 16 (= *Fr.* 23,1) have the annotation *λόγος*, but without a number. *Suda* Θ449 refers to the first book of Menander, but the writer is not our Menander (see n.12). For another (erroneous) reference to a book in the *Exc. de Leg. Gent.* see n.190 to the translation.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Müller IV p.244; Baldwin p.107.

erroneous, both because it quite arbitrarily rejects the piece of evidence vital to any attempt to recover the structure of the History and because a plausible division of the material can be made while retaining the assignment of *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 14 to the eighth book, thus:<sup>20</sup>

**Book 6:** siege of Nisibis by the Romans; Persian invasion of Syria and capture of Daras; Justin goes insane; one-year truce; Justin does not recover; Romans seek three-year truce (*Frr.* 16,2; 17; 18,1-3: mid 572 - late 574).

**Book 7:** Tiberius Caesar; three-year truce concluded; fighting in Armenia; embassy of Theodorus; Khosro's invasion of Cappadocia and retreat (*Frr.* 18,4-6: December 574 - summer 576).

**Book 8:** embassy of Valentinus to the Turks; further fighting and negotiations with Persia; Slavs devastate Greece; Tiberius tries to help Italy against the Lombards (*Frr.* 19-22: late 575/early 576 - 578).

This reconstruction, which fits well with the few facts that we have, suggests a history of perhaps ten books averaging two and a half years per book, the first four books covering the years 557/58 to the Persarmenian preparations for revolt in 571 (*Frr.* 2-13) and the final six covering the period from the appointment of Tiberius as general in the Balkans in 570 to the loss of Sirmium (or perhaps, rather, the death of Tiberius) in 582. Thus, the core of the work, on a modestly larger scale than the first four books, would have been built around the careers of the two men who are clearly the heroes of the History, Tiberius and Maurice. *Fr.* 14,1-2 may be from a preface introducing this part of the work.

Even if this reconstruction is not accepted, what is clear is that Menander did not produce a nice conformity of years to book. A glance at the conspectus of the fragments will show that the structure of the History is geographical and topical, with a very large concentration upon relations with the Avars and Persians and related events. A topic might be pursued for a number of years (e.g. *Fr.* 9,1-3: negotiations with Persia, 567-68; *Fr.* 10: dealings with the Turks, 568/69 - 571) with subsequent backtracking to another topic

<sup>20</sup> The chronology that is followed in this volume is Stein's (1919) rather than Whitby's, since the former seems to be more compatible with the structure of the material of Menander as preserved. Of course, the absolute chronology (which is the concern of both Stein and Whitby) is a different matter, but even here I generally find Stein preferable.

(e.g. *Frr.* 11 and 12: Avar attack on the Franks, Avar and Lombard attack on the Gepids, 566-69).<sup>21</sup> Menander seems to have been aware of the importance of accurate chronology and to have been generous with his chronological indicators. The imperial reign-year provided the basic framework, and there are traces of the traditional war-year in narratives of campaigns.<sup>22</sup> There is evidence of some attempt to correlate events and of interest in smaller units of time.<sup>23</sup> But it is unlikely that the latter were used systematically.

Although Menander is in the line of what I prefer to call classicising historians, his formal appeals to classical authors are only two, to Homer and to Hesiod.<sup>24</sup> Invocations of classical learning are equally rare: a reference to Aeetes, the legendary king of Colchis (*Fr.* 2), which may or may not derive from Agathias 3,5,4, and the story of Sesostris used by Peter to silence the Zikh (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 213-36), which turns up also in Theophylact.<sup>25</sup> Other attempts to see indirect classical borrowings – the inclusion of the text of the treaty of 561 as *imitatio* of the Peace of Nicias in Thucydides<sup>26</sup> and the sacrifice of the Hunnic captives by Turxanthus in *Fr.* 19,1 as based on Herodotus 4,94 on the Thracian practice of sacrificing one of their number as a messenger to the god Salmoxis – do not seem convincing.

Menander's style is very much in the tradition of writing in the grand manner practised by the classicising historians of the period. Formed by the literary education of the time, it is strongly influenced by rhetoric, poetry and drama. Words and phrases drawn from the classical authors in these genres can be identified, though to what extent they are conscious borrowings or merely drawn from the

<sup>21</sup> For a different view of the structure see Veh pp.8f. His opinion (p.9) that there were probably no natural book divisions derives from his view that the structure of the History was basically chronological/geographical. The structure and book divisions that I see suggest otherwise.

<sup>22</sup> Reign years: *Frr.* 10,1 line 1; 10,2 lines 7-8 (the detail here – reign-year, indiction-year and Latin month – suggests an official report); 19,1 line 1; 20,2 line 153. War-year: *Frr.* 18,4 line 30; 23,8 line 28 (cf. *Fr.* 18,6 lines 21-25 on Khosro's early arrival in Armenia).

<sup>23</sup> Correlation: *Frr.* 9,1 lines 3-4; 19,1 line 2; 20,1 line 1; 25,1 line 1. Smaller units of time: *Frr.* 9,1 line 22; 10,4 line 12. The mention of festivals (*Frr.* 6,1 lines 426-28; 9,1 line 25) is also a useful indicator of time.

<sup>24</sup> Homer: *Fr.* 4,7 and n.18 to the translation. Hesiod: *Fr.* 14,2 and n.172 to the translation.

<sup>25</sup> Theophylact 6,11,10, which could well be an imitation of Menander. Agathias (2,18,5) mentions Sesostris as the founder of the Colchian race.

<sup>26</sup> Baldwin p.111.

common stock of the late historians is not clear.<sup>27</sup> Clearer and extensive are the debts to Agathias, upon whose style Menander's is founded,<sup>28</sup> and (in common with Agathias and Procopius) to Thucydides, the model of the Atticising style that these historians affect.<sup>29</sup> Late Greek usages also appear, as do some favourite words and phrases, and a number of very rare words, especially compounds.<sup>30</sup> Menander clearly was concerned with his style, but the end result is the usual mixture of the period, undistinguished though usually clear.<sup>31</sup> A certain lack of facility in the writing shows, however, in the frequent otiose phrases and especially when he tangles himself up in long compound sentences, which he tends to do more towards the end of the History.<sup>32</sup>

In his use of terminology Menander tends to purism, even at the cost of cumbersome circumlocutions. Unqualified Latin words do appear occasionally, such as μάγιστρος (*Fr.* 6,1 line 191), κουβικουλάριος (*Fr.* 6,1 line 190) and μοναστήριον (*Fr.* 6,1 line 155), but, as Baldwin remarks (p.117), these occur in the context of official documents, so that the influence of the chancery is probable.<sup>33</sup> When Menander in his own person gives the titles of Peter, the *magister*, and the Zikh, the *cubicularius*, he uses the Greek terms, ὄς τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν ταγμάτων ἠγεῖτο and παρευναστήρ (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 6 and

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the remarks of Baldwin (*loc. cit.*) on the Thucydidean borrowings in *Fr.* 6,1, not flagrant but pervasive. Examples of words primarily poetic (and tragic): νεμεσίζω, *Fr.* 15,1 line 17; ὑπαγόρας, *Frr.* 18,1 line 22 and 19,1 line 91; εἰσαθρέω, *Fr.* 19,1 lines 69 and 85; ὑποκρύφιος, *Fr.* 21 line 51 (*LSJ* cites it only from Nonnos *Dion.* 29,107); ἀγχίθυρος, *Fr.* 26,1 line 76. Other examples in Baldwin p.120.

<sup>28</sup> See n.8.

<sup>29</sup> On the influence of Thucydides see Baldwin pp.111 and 120, and nn.95, 171, 265 to my translation.

<sup>30</sup> Baldwin (p.102 n.8) notes τὸ νουνεχές and gives examples of other favourites on p.120. ἐμβριθής (frequently of the Emperor) is too common to require citation (but a few examples at nn.52, 93, 100, 101), and ἀναπτερώ, used metaphorically, is a favourite (e.g. *Frr.* 13,5; 20,2 line 35), as is κατηκριβωμένος (*Frr.* 9,1 line 108; 23,2 lines 3-4). Menander particularly likes rare compound verbs, e.g. μεταφοιτάω, *Fr.* 18,6 line 42; καταχαράττω, *Fr.* 19,1 lines 120-21; καταδηλέομαι, *Fr.* 23,9 line 90; παρατιτρώσκω, *Fr.* 26,1 line 62; ὑπολοφύρομαι, *Fr.* 26,6 line 5; ἀναμαστεύω, *Fr.* 27,3 line 37; ἐπεντρυφάω, *Fr.* 23,1 line 16. Cf. also ἀφιλοπρωτεία, *Fr.* 20,7; προσκεπαστής, *Fr.* 26,1 line 17; σαθρόω, *Fr.* 39.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the remarks of Baldwin (p.120) with a few examples of stylistic tricks, to which I should add the ubiquitous ἔσοτί, a legacy from Agathias (see Keydell's *index graecitatis*).

<sup>32</sup> Examples of repetition and otiose phraseology at *Frr.* 18,6 lines 86-91; 20,2 line 142; 27,3 lines 21-24. Compound sentences out of control in *Frr.* 25,1; 27,3.

<sup>33</sup> Other examples are κεντηνάρια (*Fr.* 22) and the month August (*Frr.* 10,2; 18,6 line 23).

13). More often Latinisms are found in the context of objective phrases, such as ὅς . . . τῶν βασιλεῖ ἀνειμένων προειστήκει θησαυρῶν, οἳ γε ἀπὸ τῆς δασιλείας τῆ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορεύονται φωνῇ (λαργούς γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸ δασιλῆς ὀνομάζουσιν) in *Fr.* 20,1 lines 20-23.<sup>34</sup> Usually, however, Menander prefers the Greek, even at the cost of vagueness: τὸν προστάτην τοῦ θητικοῦ καὶ οἰκετικοῦ (*Fr.* 5,4 lines 24-25)<sup>35</sup> or μαχαιρόφορος (*Frr.* 5,2 line 7; 23,8 line 12), which can apparently alternate with ξιφήφορος (*Fr.* 19,1 line 4), and generally the vague στρατηγός or ἡγέμων for a high military officer (though in places the *magister militum per orientem* is identified, e.g. at *Fr.* 18,6 line 42). This vagueness is most evident in the terminology for kingship or leadership of a people or tribe.<sup>36</sup> When speaking of the Roman Emperor Menander uses βασιλεύς or αὐτοκράτωρ, reserving Καίσαρ for Tiberius before he became Augustus; the king of the Persians is always βασιλεύς.<sup>37</sup> But when referring to the rulers of other peoples he uses a host of apparent synonyms: ἡγέμων or ἡγούμενος of the Alans, Turks, Ephthalites, Saracens and Suani;<sup>38</sup> βασιλεύς of the Lazi (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 253 and 456); βασιλίσκος of the Suani (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 500 and 582); ἐφεστώς of the Lazi (*Fr.* 6,1 line 571); ἄρχων of the Suani (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 456 and 570); μόναρχος of the Lombards (*Fr.* 12,1); χαγάνος of the Avars and Turks (*Frr.* 5,3, Avars; 10,3 line 22, Turks); φύλαρχος of the Saracens (*Fr.* 9,3 line 45). Menander particularly uses ἡγέμων as a catch-all term, indiscriminatingly of Roman and non-Roman, civilian and military officials.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Also σάκραι (sc. *litterae*), *Fr.* 6,1 lines 164 and 168; κοιαίστωρ, *Fr.* 18,3 line 3; ἀσηκρητίς, *Fr.* 23,9 line 36; προτίκτωρ, *Fr.* 26,1 lines 16 and 20 (the second time explained).

<sup>35</sup> On this term see n.29 to the translation. Cf. also *Fr.* 3,1: προεστῶτα τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως περιουσίας (on which see n.10 to the translation), and *Fr.* 21: ὅς δὴ τῶν νήσων διήνυε τὴν ἀρχὴν τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς Ἰλλυρίδος ἰθύνειν ἔλαχε πόλεις (on which see n.261 to the translation).

<sup>36</sup> Though γενεάρχης at *Frr.* 20,2 line 41 and 23,8 line 34 does appear to be a particular term for the territorial princes (*iškhan, nakharar*) of Armenia (Toumanoff pp.114-17, 123 n.209, 175 n.108).

<sup>37</sup> The use of βασιλεύς of the Roman Emperor (the commonest term in the late historians) is a deviation from the chancery style of the period, which reserved it for the Persian king. The Persians called the Roman Emperor *quaisar* (Chrysos 1978 pp.35ff.) and he is so called (sc. Caesar) in the *sacrae litterae* of Khosro at *Fr.* 6,1 lines 182-83. This is the only place in Menander in which this use of Caesar appears.

<sup>38</sup> Alans, *Frr.* 5,1 and 10,5; Turks, *Fr.* 4,2; Ephthalites, *Fr.* 4,3; Saracens, *Fr.* 6,1 line 289; Suani, *Fr.* 6,1 lines 249 and 456.

<sup>39</sup> In addition to the examples cited at n.38 above, see *Frr.* 25,2 line 91, where ἡγέμονες refers to military men; 23,8 line 39 and 26,1 line 23, where civilian authorities are apparently meant (in these passages ἄρχοντες is used as a synonym); 25,1 line 67, where ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία means "the Roman Empire".

In naming foreign peoples Menander is usually modernist. Massagetae do not appear, and 'Scythian' is used as a generic term for the peoples of Central Asia.<sup>40</sup> Turks are Turks (twice with qualification), Avars are Avars, Slavs are Slavs (Sclaveni), and Huns are a distinct grouping of tribes.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, the Lazi can occasionally become the archaic Colchians, and the Persians can be transmogrified into Medes or even Assyrians, the last perhaps being a usage of the Roman chancery.<sup>42</sup> Inconsistency in rendering foreign names also occurs: Targitius/Targites, Meairanos/Mairanos, Dauritas/Daurentius, Kutrigurs/Kotragers, sometimes within a few lines and not, I suspect, always the fault of the copyist.<sup>43</sup>

Set speeches were beloved of most Greek and Roman historians, classical and post-classical alike, and the surviving fragments of Menander show that he made much use of them, usually in *oratio recta*. All of those which survive are concerned with diplomacy, an accident of survival but one which conforms in large measure to the historian's own interests. The complete History must have included speeches in other circumstances, especially before set battles, and some of the short passages in the *Excerpta de Sententiis* seem to have come from such speeches.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the speeches themselves display the standard tricks, arguments and sentiments learned in the schools (though the *exemplum*, popular with fourth- and early fifth-century writers, seems to have fallen out of favour). Baldwin (p.118) is inclined to regard them essentially as Menander's own confections, remarking that "Romans, Persians, Avars, Turks – all are marvellously capable

<sup>40</sup> See n.119 to the translation.

<sup>41</sup> For Turks, Avars and Slavs see the *index nominum* (Turks with qualification at *Frr.* 10,2 and 19,1 line 16). On the Huns see n.322 to the translation.

<sup>42</sup> For these names see the *index nominum*. The word 'Assyrian' occurs in clause 5 of the treaty of 561 (*Fr.* 6,1 line 339), where it could just be a specific usage, referring to merchandise from the Persian part of Mesopotamia. With the variation in nomenclature cf. Priscus' indiscriminate use of 'Persian', 'Parthian' and 'Mede' (see the *index nominum* in Blockley 1983).

<sup>43</sup> For these names see the *index nominum*. I cannot, of course, prove that Menander was inconsistent in his orthography (though the 'scientific' text of de Boor is dotted with examples), but it seems quite likely that, in a pre-print society which lacked the capacities for indexing and other tools of standardisation that we now cultivate, writers would not be as preoccupied with consistency (especially in rendering foreign words) as we are. Thus, in the Greek text I have abandoned de Boor's quest for consistency in the rendering of (some) foreign names and have in each case accepted what appears to be the best attested version (this is especially so with Kutrigur/Kotrager, which exhibits other variants also).

<sup>44</sup> *Frr.* 20,4-8; 26,3-4.

(as are their interpreters!) of orating in the same style with the same repertoire of linguistic effects.” It would be rash to deny that Menander has worked up his speeches, but I suspect that they bear a closer relationship to what he found in the records than Baldwin would allow. An examination of the speeches themselves reveals a more varied and plausible characterisation of the speakers than the above quotation would suggest, partly perhaps the result of Menander’s own efforts but partly also conditioned by the record.

Let us first take the speeches of the Turks, for some of which (those delivered away from the court at Constantinople) the records would probably have been scanty or non-existent. The first (*Fr.* 4,2) is a brief and colourful declaration by Sizabul that the Avars would not escape his vengeance; the next (*Fr.* 10,1) a series of brief answers by the envoy Maniakh to questions put to him by the Emperor Justin; then (*Fr.* 10,3) nothing at all from Sizabul, of whom it is simply said that he “uttered similar words in reply” to a formal message of greeting from Justin; then (*Fr.* 19,1) a very blunt and graphic condemnation of Roman duplicity by Turxanthus (to which the Roman envoy Valentinus gives a cliché-riddled reply that carefully skirts the charges); and finally (*ibid.*), a one-sentence demand by Turxanthus that the Roman envoys slash their faces as a sign of mourning for his father Sizabul. In all of these speeches, which in total are shorter than one average effusion by a Roman or Persian envoy, there is very little trace of the tricks of the schools of rhetoric. In fact, the forms of expression are often un-Roman and seem to be a faithful reflection of the ‘boastful’ oratory of the nomadic peoples.<sup>45</sup>

That is not to claim that the nomad envoys never resort to the style of Roman oratory. The speeches of the Avar emissaries often mix straightforward statements with Roman sententiousness, as, for instance, Targitius in his speech to Justin asking for the continuation and increase of Roman subsidies (*Fr.* 8) or Solakh when announcing to Tiberius the blockade of Sirmium in 580 (*Fr.* 25,2). In general the Avar speeches appear more Romanised than those of the Turks, which may reflect a greater ease of communication (and hence a fuller record of the proceedings) because of a readier availability of interpreters.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Fr.* 4,2 (of Sizabul): οἷα φύσει φρονήματι ἔπεται βαρβάρῳ ἀπαυθαδισάμενος, and *Fr.* 19,1: τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν τῷ Τουρξάνθῳ ἐκεκόμπαστο· ὑπαγώρας γάρ τις ἀνήρ καὶ ἀλαζονεῖα χαίρων.

<sup>46</sup> In *Fr.* 27,2 Theognis negotiates with Baian through Hunnic interpreters. These were presumably Utigurs or Kutrigurs, peoples who had been long in contact with the Romans.



It is, however, in the speeches of the Roman and Persian diplomats, which are more numerous and extensive, that one would expect to find more standard rhetoric; and this is the case. But whether this reflects more writing up by Menander or in fact conforms more closely to the modes of presentation, cannot be determined. By the sixth century the Romans and the Persians had a long-standing and more equal relationship and a more elaborate protocol, which in turn had led to the development of substantial records (kept by the Romans in the foreign archives at Constantinople).<sup>47</sup> The Persians themselves, too, probably had a native tradition of oratory (as they still have), and there were available in Persia men educated in the Greco-Roman tradition (both captives and possibly products of the Nestorian theological school of Nisibis) to train diplomats: two, at least, of the Persian envoys in Menander were probably Christians.<sup>48</sup> In short, whatever Menander's contribution to the speeches, it is likely that they were based fairly closely, as Menander himself at one point seems to indicate,<sup>49</sup> on the available records.

Furthermore, just as the utterances of the Turks and Avars show distinct characteristics, so do those of some of the Roman and Persian speakers. In fact, the longest and most contrived of all the speeches that survive is that of Peter initiating the negotiations that led to the fifty-year treaty of 561. At the beginning of the speech Peter defends his own verbosity (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 25-27: μεγαλορρήμων . . . περιττολογία) and proceeds to illustrate it copiously. In reply the Zikh, who is described as δεινότατος γὰρ ἐσὶ καὶ οἶος βαρβάρω γλώττη καὶ βραχυλογία τὸ δέον εἰπεῖν (lines 100-101), sweeps aside what he calls the Roman's κομψολογίαι (a rare word) and περίοδος ῥημάτων and proceeds to put the Persian position with economy and clarity. The Zikh even repeats some of Peter's effects, a counterpoint which is not only realistic (as Baldwin noted, p.111 n.35), but also mocking. This is clearly not accidental. Menander, who elsewhere condemns the tiresome and repetitious speechifying of negotiators (sounding rather like one who is sick of ploughing through such verbiage),<sup>50</sup> obviously regards Peter as an egotistical windbag who

<sup>47</sup> On Romano-Persian relations I follow Chrysos (1976). For the foreign archives see Const. Porph. *De Caer.* 1.89.

<sup>48</sup> Sebokhth certainly was Christian (*Fr.* 16,1 line 40) and Jacob, to judge from his name, probably was (*Fr.* 18,1).

<sup>49</sup> See *Fr.* 6,2 and n.84 to the translation.

<sup>50</sup> *Fr.* 6,1 lines 132-34; 20,2 lines 3-4 and 150-53. Cf. the comment at the end of *Fr.* 6,2 on the great length of Peter's Collected Works.

was not as effective a diplomat as he preened himself upon being. This is even more evident in the account of the subsequent meeting between Khosro and Peter over Suania. Peter's opening speech (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 437-57) is a typically turgid effort, which Khosro parodies in the exordium of his reply by expatiating in equally turgid style upon his inability to match Peter's brilliant rhetoric (lines 479-94). Thereafter the king switches to a direct style in rejecting Peter's position, and in the subsequent dialogue between the two cuts through the Roman's arguments with the simple (and justified) 'not proven'.<sup>51</sup> In this way Menander quite wittily allows the great *magister* to reveal his own flaws.<sup>52</sup> Only much later (*Fr.* 20,2) does he state directly his own verdict upon Peter's inadequate performance, when he notes that Mebod could not deceive Zacharias in the way in which the Zikh had deceived Peter over Suania.

Such characterisation appears elsewhere. The hard-headed and experienced Zacharias uses a brief statement (which includes some well-aimed rhetoric) to demolish the rather maladroit attempt upon him by the Persian envoy Andigan (*Fr.* 26,1);<sup>53</sup> the wily Khosro lures the envoy John into an action over Suania that embarrasses the Romans and ruins John's own career (*Fr.* 9,1-2). Rhetoric is certainly used both in the set speeches and in the dialogues (which seem to have played an important part also in the History<sup>54</sup>). Yet its use is varied,

<sup>51</sup> This whole vignette, and especially Khosro's speech with its florid assertion of his inability to match Peter, looks like a cut at Agathias' long attack (2,28-32) on the opinion that Khosro was an accomplished student of Greek learning.

<sup>52</sup> In fact, the above analysis gives point to Menander's declaration in *Fr.* 6,2 that he drew his material from the records, which were also published by Peter in (or as part of) a very large volume in which the *magister* overemphasised his own role *ὡς ἂν τοῖς μετέπειτα δειχθεῖη ὡς μάλα ἐμβριθῆς τε ἦν καὶ ἀνάλωτος ἐν τῷ ῥητορεύειν τῷ καταμαλάξει φρονήματα βαρβαρικά σκληρά τε καὶ ὀγκώδη*. Menander also remarks that the exact words of the speakers (in this case specifying the discussion between Khosro and Peter) are reproduced, whether they spoke *κατασοβαρευόμενοι* . . . ἢ εἰρωνευόμενοι ἢ καὶ ἐπιτωθάζοντες ἢ καὶ ἀποφλαυρίζοντες. This amounts to an assertion that Peter stands condemned by his *ipsissima verba*. (See also nn.84 and 85 to the translation.)

If, as I argue below (p.17), the text of the treaty plays a central role in the whole History, then this assertion of the accuracy of the text as incorporated also has the function of underpinning Menander's presentation of Romano-Persian relations.

<sup>53</sup> Zacharias' ringing declaration of the conquering might of the Romans is both a commonplace and very appropriate at this point in the game of diplomatic point-scoring, since it serves to underline Andigan's admission that if the full might of the Romans met the full might of the Persians, the former would prevail.

<sup>54</sup> Models for these dialogues, such as the Melian Dialogue in Thucydides and the dialogue between Belisarius and the Ostrogothic envoys in Procopius *Wars* 6,6.4-34, might be cited. But the most obvious and likely model is the minutes of the proceedings.

often clever, even witty, and the speeches and dialogues themselves serve, in the best tradition of ancient historiography, both to characterise the speakers and to explore the issues.

Of the formal digression, another exercise in which some of the classicising historians display their learning and talent for fine writing, there is little evidence in Menander. As has been remarked above, the note on the source for the Romano-Persian negotiations of 561 is intrinsic to his purpose. The third of the testimonia (on p.38) could indicate that Menander wrote a formal account of Persian customs (perhaps in competition with Agathias 2,23-27) though it could also merely refer to discrete pieces of information. The *Suda* preserves a note on siege huts (*Fr.* 40) and another, which may be Menandrian, on a cutwater (*Fr.* 38). In the former Menander appears to be at pains both to compete with Agathias and to excise Thucydidean words from his description.<sup>55</sup> The other passages which could loosely be called digressions are the accounts of embassies to the Turks (*Frr.* 10 and 19). But the massive example of Priscus' description of his journey to the court of Attila had probably established such material as a genuine part of the narrative, and Menander does not mark them as digressions. Nevertheless, the narratives of these embassies to distant peoples and places do enable Menander to indulge a taste, probably his own and his audience's, for exotic details. All such details offered here find parallels in other accounts, both ancient and medieval, of journeys to the nomads of Central Asia, and since the putative sources, the reports of the envoys Zemarchus and Valentinus, can be identified, there is no reason to suspect fabrication.<sup>56</sup>

The material preserved from the History suggests that Menander's interests centred upon Roman relations with other peoples. Certainly, the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, which preserve by far the majority of the material, must have imparted bias. But that contained in the *Excerpta de Sententiis* and the *Suda* shows the same orientation, and even the passage on the True Cross (*Fr.* 17), if it is

<sup>55</sup> See n.333 to the translation.

<sup>56</sup> Baldwin (p.119) is inclined on general grounds to see influence of Priscus in the account of Zemarchus' visit to the court of Sizabul (*Fr.* 10,3), but offers no clear parallels to demonstrate this. He also implies, but does not show clearly, that Menander may well have fabricated some details. I am not inclined to accuse Menander of fabrication, except perhaps in some speeches (see n.83), though he could make errors (see nn.31 and 129 to the translation). Baldwin's statement (p.118) that Menander is apparently in error in his explanation of the festival of Frurdigan (on which see n.102 to the translation) is itself an error repeated from Niebuhr and Müller.

from Menander, seems to have been occasioned by the Persian invasion of 573. One can assume – and there are traces of evidence to support this (e.g. *Fr.* 7) – that major domestic events, such as deaths and accessions of Emperors, would have been dealt with, perhaps at length.<sup>57</sup> But the balance would seem to have been (as also in the histories of Procopius and Agathias) overwhelmingly towards external relations. Even within this limitation Menander’s focus seems to have been comparatively restricted. For, after the first part, which tidied up Agathias’ interrupted narrative by dealing with the Kutrigurs and Utigurs (*Fr.* 2) and Narses in Italy (*Fr.* 3), the History concentrates, and appears to have been built, upon only two themes, Roman relations with the Persians and with the Avars. Even most of the dealings with other peoples seem to have been set against these preoccupations: Persian relations are central to the embassies to the Turks; the Slavs and Saracens appear only in the context of relations with the Avars and Persians; and even the Lombards, who seem to be treated independently in *Frr.* 22 and 24, could have been introduced in the context of Tiberius’ attempts to recruit mercenaries for the Persian war. There is no trace, for instance, of the dealings of Tiberius with the Franks, a subject which should have been as congenial to the compilers of the *Excerpta de Legationibus* as Avar dealings with the Franks (*Fr.* 11).<sup>58</sup> Menander may or may not have shown an “intelligent grasp” of western events,<sup>59</sup> but the evidence we have suggests that this was conditioned by an overriding concern for the East and the Balkans. Certainly, these were precisely the areas of primary concern at the time when the *Excerpta* were being compiled and thus could have biased the selector. But the same was true of the reign of Maurice, when Menander was writing the History.

The outlook is, of course, that from Constantinople, ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις (*Fr.* 5,4), and its concerns are paramount. On the European side the river Hebrus appears to form a sort of conceptual boundary for the heartland, the rest being regarded almost as marcher

<sup>57</sup> For instance, Whitby (*loc. cit.* at n.16) suggests that Theophylact drew on Menander for Justin’s speech when proclaiming Tiberius. There is no evidence that Menander dealt with the religious controversies of the period.

<sup>58</sup> But, of course, *Fr.* 11 could be viewed as preliminary to the Avar invasion of Pannonia, which then supports the opinion set out above. Tiberius supported the pretender Gundovald in Gaul and Hermenegild’s revolt in Spain (see Goffart). In general cf. Veh p.21.

<sup>59</sup> The phrase is that of Allen (p.19), who contrasts Theophylact’s ignorance. I should agree with Jones (II p.303) that on the whole Menander neglected the West, rather than with Baldwin’s opposite opinion (p. 108), though the evidence is not clear.

territory.<sup>60</sup> In this respect Menander's view is more like that of Malchus.<sup>61</sup> The broader vision of Justinian, reflected in Procopius and, more dimly, in Agathias, had already faded.<sup>62</sup>

Of the two areas of activity vital to the conduct of external relations – military and diplomatic – only one, diplomacy, bulks large in the fragments. That Menander did offer accounts of sieges and set battles is highly likely (since they were traditionally an important element of history in the grand manner), and, although no formal descriptions of these have survived, there are a few brief passages which seem to come from such descriptions, especially *Frr.* 12,3; 15,2 (both preludes to battles); 39 (collapse of a tower); 40 (siege hut).<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, Theophylact's note that Menander described how Sirmium was taken does not guarantee that a description of the siege was included in the History, since the city was taken through blockade of supplies and negotiation.<sup>64</sup> Even if, as seems likely, much of what has been lost dealt with military activity and would have included exemplary accounts of battles and sieges, it is noteworthy that in the surviving passages the frequent references to such activity usually occur in the context of diplomacy.<sup>65</sup> This suggests that in the full History negotiations were at least as important as war.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The paramountcy of the capital is reflected in *Fr.* 17; and note especially the invasion route traced by Turxanthus (*Fr.* 19,1 and n.224 to the translation). From the point of view of the capital the preoccupation with Thrace was realistic since the comparatively easy approach from that direction was the city's strategic weakness (cf. Obolensky pp.50ff.).

<sup>61</sup> See Blockley (1981) pp.73f.

<sup>62</sup> Note especially the almost complete absence of Africa from Agathias and its complete absence from Menander.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the passages cited at n.44. Two other examples (*Frr.* 23,3; 31) adduced by Baldwin (p.110) to show Menander the military historian may or may not be from accounts of battles. The first, on Maurice compelling his soldiers to fortify their camp, could be from an appreciation of his virtues; the second, on the killing of one Kokh, could be from an account of a killing during some sort of parley, since Kokh had his mouth open when he was killed.

<sup>64</sup> Theophylact is quoted as the first of the testimonia. In the accounts of Avar operations against Sirmium in 568-569 (*Fr.* 12,3-8) and 580-582 (*Frr.* 25 and 27) fighting and siege activity are frequently mentioned, and the beginning of 12,3 seems to indicate that siege operations have been described. At *Fr.* 20,3 Tankhosdro's recruitment of good troops is remarked.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. *Fr.* 23,1: 20,000 Persians ravage the neighbourhood of Daras to put pressure on the Romans to accept Persian terms; *Fr.* 23,7: negotiations at the siege of Chlomaron.

<sup>66</sup> There probably was an account of an Avar attack upon Sirmium (see n.64), of Maurice's siege of Chlomaron (cf. *Fr.* 23,7 *init.*) and the battle of Constantina (cf. *Fr.* 26,1 *ad fin.*). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in the *Exc. de Sent.*, which likes such

The importance of diplomacy in the fragments of Menander is obvious on every page; and the argument that this results from selection by the compilers of the *Excerpta de Legationibus* does no more than qualify this observation. For a glance at the sequence Eunapius, Priscus, Malchus, Menander will show not only an increase in the amount of material on diplomatic activity preserved, but more importantly an increase in the detail and intensity of that diplomatic activity. While the fragments of Eunapius (and the History of Ammianus Marcellinus) have little on the formal processes of diplomacy (the relevant passages of Eunapius being to a large extent notices of legations with considerable extraneous comment attached), Priscus and Malchus exhibit both an increase in the number of legations and a greater stress upon the negotiations themselves.<sup>67</sup> But neither of these historians offers the knowledge of and repeated emphasis upon the forms and contents of diplomatic activity that Menander does: not only the details of the debates themselves, but also, for instance, the superscriptions of the *sacrae litterae* (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 175-183); the process of reproduction and verification of official documents (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 408-423); the distinction between major and minor embassies and the practice of reciprocity in the sending of envoys (*Fr.* 18,6 *init.*); the distinction between *pro forma* declarations and negotiations *in camera*.<sup>68</sup> The question of whether all this represents merely the particular interests of Menander or was also a real development of the period is more difficult to answer. My own view (which is similar to that of Chrysos [1976]) is that the increase in and increasing formalisation of diplomatic activity, primarily, but not solely, between the Romans and the Persians, had been under way, with interruptions and regressions, at least from the reign of Constantius II (337-361) and was a response both to increasing military weakness and to the growing and diversifying pressure (especially in the fifth century) upon the Roman Empire by the Germanic, Hunnic and other peoples and upon the Persian Empire by the peoples of Central Asia, especially the Ephthalites. As the Romans and Persians sought to conserve their resources, they (or at least a portion of their ruling élites) struggled to develop and maintain an equilibrium between the

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things, there are very few *strategemata* and obvious pre-battle sentiments from Menander.

<sup>67</sup> Cf., e.g., Priscus *Fr.* 11,1; 13,1; 31,1; Malchus *Fr.* 20.

<sup>68</sup> *Fr.* 20,1 *ad fin.* (statements for show); 20,2 lines 110-125 (*in camera* discussions).

two ‘civilised’ powers, which entailed the development of formal diplomatic processes and a procedure of contact and consultation designed to avoid war.<sup>69</sup> The task was complicated by the unequal resources of the two principals: Persia, as financially the weaker power (in terms of resources that could be mobilised by the central authority), sought a subvention as the Roman contribution towards the equilibrium, while the Romans demanded equal terms in the full sense of the word (ἰσοτιμία, *Fr.* 20,2 lines 33 and 79). That both the desirability of equilibrium and the importance of diplomacy in achieving it were not merely Menander’s opinions but also the convictions of at least a part of the ruling élites of both powers is clear particularly from those clauses of the treaty of 561 (1, 2, 6-11) which appear to have been shaped to avoid a drift to war. It has been judged surprising that Menander included the text of this treaty in his History; explanations based upon the “dominating presence of Peter the Patrician” or stylistic *imitatio* of Thucydides are inadequate.<sup>70</sup> The text is included by Menander simply because it is the fundamental and necessary point of reference for all of the subsequent dealings in his History between the Romans and the Persians, whether they argue over who started hostilities or over the details of a new peace.<sup>71</sup> The treaty, and also the commitment to yearly payments which the Romans made as a prelude to it, dominate the subsequent part of the History that deals with the Persians (a good half of it). Its importance was agreed by both sides, and no external factor is needed to explain Menander’s decision (and innovation?) to include its text.

Between the Romans and the Avars (and other peoples such as the Turks) there was no such document; and relations differed considerably. Envoys certainly passed to and fro, and at times, for instance initially with the Turks and Avars, relations were friendly. But, as far as can be seen, there was nothing in writing and commitments were vague.<sup>72</sup> In fact, diplomatic contacts between the Romans and these peoples were more perfunctory and traditional, and negotiations, as distinct from the mere exchange of messages,

<sup>69</sup> Cf. especially the statements of Peter at *Fr.* 6,1 lines 48-96 and of Sebokhth at *Fr.* 16,1 lines 41-50. The sentiments here conform to the general view of Menander (see below pp.29f.).

<sup>70</sup> Surprise in Cameron (1970) p.136. Both explanations and the quotation in Baldwin p.109. On the importance of Menander’s insistence upon the accuracy of the text in this connection see above n.52.

<sup>71</sup> *Fr.* 16,1 *init.*; 20,1 *ad fin.* (and n.245 to the translation); 20.2 *init.*

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Fr.* 10,1 and n.123 to the translation.

were minimal. The repeated embassies between the Romans and the Avars offered, as Menander represents them, little more than a series of demands and threats which were met with rebuffs and counter-threats.<sup>73</sup> There was no attempt to modify the other side's position by argument, and the only movement was a certain escalation of Avar demands as they became aware of the weakness of the Roman military position in the Balkans. The nature of these contacts is well characterised by the rather bored historian at the beginning of *Fr.* 12,7 with the words: "Targitius came again wishing to be granted an audience with the Emperor and made the same proposals and received the same reply as before."<sup>74</sup> In such a situation, and between unequal powers,<sup>75</sup> diplomacy was of less importance and was treated accordingly.

The balance of interest shown by Menander is also reflected in the sources of information that he seems to have used. In common with most ancient historians, he gives little detail on his sources. But the hints that can be gleaned from his fragments suggest that the usual scholarly assessment is accurate: he had few published sources and relied for the most part upon archival documents and oral reports.<sup>76</sup> The only published material that Menander mentions is the *συναγωγή* of Peter's works published by Peter himself, and this he seems to treat as a secondary source (*Fr.* 6,2). Zemarclus may have published an account of his embassy to the Turks,<sup>77</sup> and the History

<sup>73</sup> See, e.g., *Fr.* 8 (speeches of Targitius and Justin); 12,6 (speech of Justin); 25,2 (revelation of Avar designs on Sirmium and reply of Tiberius); 27,2 (demands of Baian and Theognis' rejection of them).

<sup>74</sup> I take this to be Menander's rather than the excerptor's comment because it is followed by a summary of the demands.

<sup>75</sup> The statement of Targitius (*Fr.* 12,6), that Baian would be as a son to Justin if the latter met his demands, was probably appropriate given the usage of the period. (Whether it was realistic is another matter. But the view of Obolensky, p.60, that Baian was "cynically" mocking the usage, is going too far given Avar strength at this period.) Baian's position throughout the History appears to be defensive and opportunistic, recognising that overall the Romans were more powerful than the Avars (see esp. *Fr.* 25,2, the justification for wanting Sirmium, and 27,2, another reason for wanting the city, which Menander finds plausible). The characterisation of Baian by Bonus as *ὁμοδοῦλος* (*Fr.* 12,5 line 83) is far more provocative, but in line with the terminology used elsewhere in the History of the Romans and the Persians vis-à-vis their subjects and allies (cf. the interchange between Peter and Khosro in *Fr.* 6,1 in which *δοῦλος* is used of the Saracens vis-à-vis the Persians [line 539], of the Lazi vis-à-vis the Romans [line 553], and of the Suani vis-à-vis either [line 592]; and also *Fr.* 23,7, where Binganes' subjection to the Persian king is called *δουλεία*). Even so, it is not clear whether Baian was enraged by the language or by the refusal of gifts.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Hertzsch p.22; Veh pp.11f.; Baldwin p.104.

<sup>77</sup> John of Ephesus *HE* 6,23. But, as Whitby points out (p.170 and n.5), it could merely indicate an oral report.



of Theophanes of Byzantium might have been available to Menander (or *vice versa*). There are some circumstantial indications of the use of oral reports, the clearest being the account of the confidential offer made by Tiberius to the Persians, to which not even the imperial secretariat was privy (*Fr.* 20,2 lines 118-25). Only the Emperor himself, Maurice and Zacharias were aware of it, and it was put to the Persians in an *in camera* meeting between Zacharias and Mebod. Unless some later written report existed of which we are unaware, Menander's source of information seems to have been either Zacharias or Maurice himself. If the latter, point is given to the hint of connections with the court which can be read into the preface (*Fr.* 1,1); if the former (which in my view is more likely), it jibes well with the favourable treatment and high profile given to Zacharias from *Fr.* 18,1 onwards and would account for both the detail and the confident handling of the negotiations with the Persians thereafter. A 'physicians' connection' might also be posited to explain the information on the advice of the doctor Theodorus to the general Bonus in *Fr.* 12,5. Other reports could be oral or written: the detail that the envoy Sebokhth's cap fell off as he did obeisance to Justin (*Fr.* 16,1 lines 17-21); the report (λέγεται), which Menander rejects, that the Gepid king Cunimund made a second offer to surrender Sirmium to the Romans in exchange for assistance against the Avars and Lombards (*Fr.* 12,2); the report of the exchange between Zacharias and Andigan (*Fr.* 26,1: λέγεται, lines 40 and 59).<sup>78</sup>

However, most of Menander's information in the fragments – that is, almost all of the accounts of negotiations – could have, and probably did, come from material in the archives: minutes of proceedings, supporting documents and correspondence, and reports from envoys of embassies and meetings which are unlikely to have been otherwise recorded (e.g. the embassies to the Turks).<sup>79</sup> That the whole of the account of the negotiations conducted by Peter prior and subsequent to the treaty of 561 (*Fr.* 6,1) was based upon the minutes of the proceedings and relevant documents seems clear from *Fr.* 6,2, supported by the statement in *Fr.* 6,1 (lines 184-87) that the

<sup>78</sup> The repeated use of λέγεται here seems to indicate a different source from the usual one for the negotiations between the Romans and the Persians, which are not normally introduced in this way. Of course, λέγεται could also indicate the use of a published account.

<sup>79</sup> Priscus *Fr.* 15,4 shows that envoys returning to Constantinople were expected to make a full report, and presumably this at least would be deposited. Whether a fuller formal report was required is not clear. I presume that Zemarchus' version, if it was written, was produced for publication.

historian is translating word-for-word the *sacrae litterae* of the Persian king.<sup>80</sup> Peter's συναγωγή is mentioned in *Fr.* 6,2 as an alternative source which Menander advises readers (who presumably had no access to the archives) to consult for more detail, while he himself warns against a certain bias in Peter's version, presumably by comparison with the archival material. Whether the methodological note of *Fr.* 6,2 can be taken generally is not absolutely clear (since its placing is conditioned by particular considerations),<sup>81</sup> but there is no reason to suspect that the procedure used to collect the information in *Fr.* 6,1 would have differed from that for the other negotiations. Two small indications lend some support to this: first, in *Fr.* 18,1 the use of οἴμαι in the comments on the tone of Khosro's letter to the Roman Emperor, which suggests that Menander had seen the letter; and, second, the note in *Fr.* 25,2 (lines 49-50) that the actual expression used by the Avar envoy Solakh in describing Sirmium was 'jar',<sup>82</sup> which suggests recourse to the transcript of the interview.<sup>83</sup>

That Menander was a Christian is clear; about this there has been no dispute comparable to those over the religion of his predecessors Procopius and Agathias. Like his predecessors he tends to avoid Christian terminology: not even the by-then-common ἐπίσκοπος appears.<sup>84</sup> But the fervent language of Menander's praise of the Persian martyr Isaozites (*Fr.* 13,3-4) guarantees his religion, as does the phraseology which he uses of the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany<sup>85</sup> and other not infrequent references to Christians in the fragments. There is no certain indication of the nature of his

<sup>80</sup> Both Agathias and Theophylact claim to quote letters *verbatim*, though the latter might have taken all of his from John of Epiphania (Whitby pp.162f.). There is no indication that Menander was derivative in this way. *Fr.* 6,1 lines 304-312 and 408-423 give some interesting information about the recording and verification of discussions, which would presumably not have been in the archival account. Menander may either have drawn this from Peter's Collected Works or have based it upon his own knowledge of procedure.

<sup>81</sup> See n.84 to the translation.

<sup>82</sup> χύτρα, which would be the interpreter's rendering of the Avar word.

<sup>83</sup> See also n.22. For some of the dealings between non-Roman peoples (e.g. the speech of Daurentius in *Fr.* 21) the source is hard to visualise, and here the details may have been fabricated.

<sup>84</sup> The largest group of terms for Christian officers and objects is in *Fr.* 23,7: ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ προεστῶς τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μυσταγωγός, ἱερεύς, ἱερουργός, τὰ ἐς ἀγιστεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνειμένα (= consecrated vessels). Also *Fr.* 6,1 line 399, νεώς; lines 400-401, οἱ χαριστήριοι ὕμνοι; *Fr.* 25,1 line 81, αἱ θεσπεσῖαι βίβλοι. More examples in Baldwin pp.115ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Fr.* 6,1 line 426, τῇ γενεθλίᾳ ἑορτῇ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ; lines 427-28, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιφανείᾳ.

Christianity (though it might be suspected that he was orthodox<sup>86</sup>), since the majority of references come in the context of relations with the Persians and are of a general kind. Thus, the Persian envoy Sebokhth, himself a Christian (probably Nestorian), begs the Emperor Justin not to attack Persia since he will be confronting fellow believers (*Fr.* 16,1); at the siege of Chlomaron Maurice declares that he has come to free Christians (again mainly Nestorians) from the Persian yoke and, when the bishop of the town fails to cooperate with him, arrests him despite his status as envoy, an act that elicits no comment from Menander (*Fr.* 23,7); and the refusal of Tiberius to surrender the Christian Armenian and Iberian rebels and his demand that other Christians in these lands be allowed to migrate to the Roman Empire if they so wish are treated with apparent approval despite the earlier condemnation of Justin's decision to support the revolt.<sup>87</sup> There are, however, no strong statements (except for Maurice's above) of the Christian Empire's mission against the non-believers, towards whom Menander shows no particular animus.<sup>88</sup> His God is a god of justice, pleased by Tiberius' decision to free Persian captives (*Fr.* 28,3), angered by Roman mistreatment of their subjects (*Fr.* 23,4)<sup>89</sup> and even, it appears, by their too great success against the Persians (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 38-39); and when angry, he imposes unexpected reverses.<sup>90</sup> The thought is traditionally Greco-Roman, adapted to a Christian context: worthy and wise human endeavour is efficacious within limitations, which, having of old been imposed by capricious Fortune, are now imposed by an equally unknowable God.<sup>91</sup> Hence, moderation and the proper

<sup>86</sup> Apostolopoulos pp.33ff., who sees echoes of passages of the Bible.

<sup>87</sup> Tiberius' position is set out most firmly in *Fr.* 20,2 lines 41-47; cf. *Fr.* 23,8 and 26,1. On Justin's decision see below pp.23f.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Veh pp.23ff.

<sup>89</sup> This passage, unlike the long account of the monophysite John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,10), makes no mention of the fact that the subjects were Armenian Christians (and therefore monophysites). But the passage of Menander is both retrospective and too short to allow any certainty that it fully reflects the original narrative.

<sup>90</sup> *Locc. cit.* and *Fr.* 30,1 (a defeat of Narses as the result of some divine anger); cf. *Fr.* 4,5 and 7.

<sup>91</sup> See esp. *Fr.* 7,6 on the mutability of human affairs, and cf. Veh pp.22f. Valdenberg (pp.81ff.) elaborates upon Menander's views on these and other matters. Much of his discussion is based upon the aphorisms preserved in the *Exc. de Sent.* Since many of these cannot be assigned and may well be commonplaces from set speeches, I am reluctant to treat them as evidence for Menander's thought, unless they find parallels in his more extended statements.

use of success are still the watchwords.<sup>92</sup>

Since human endeavour is effective to a degree, the character of the leading men of the state is important. Their desirable traits are set out in a series of words which serve to define the ideal: experience, shrewdness, careful thought and caution.<sup>93</sup> As usual, and probably quite realistically (since their actions and decisions did have considerable effect), the rulers are the main objects of interest, and the policies of the state, for good or ill, are often referred to traits of their character.<sup>94</sup> As a result, even when their representatives hold centre stage, the rulers of the Roman Empire and their Persian and Avar counterparts dominate the History.<sup>95</sup>

The first part of the History covers the last part of Justinian's reign. The old Emperor, enfeebled and lacking the vigour of his earlier days when he had crushed the Vandals and Visigoths (who are identified by their rulers' names, *Fr.* 5,1),<sup>96</sup> resorted to other means, tribute and the sowing of dissension, to weaken the enemies of the Empire (*Frr.* 2; 5,2). Menander's attitude towards this policy seems to have been equivocal. He views it not merely as a substitute for action, but as an alternative policy which could be effective.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, he does say that it was a function of the Emperor's old age and has the Avar envoys, when they first approach the new Emperor Justin, come to try him out hoping to profit from the Romans' inertia and negligence (*Fr.* 8), which are associated by both Procopius and Agathias with Justinian's old age and the payment of tribute.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Cf. (the uncertain) *Fr.* 37 on an Emperor's unwillingness to aim too high, and the warning of Sebokhth at *Fr.* 16,1 lines 39-50, which Menander calls *ἁμαλοῖ τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς λόγοι* (line 51).

<sup>93</sup> E.g. *ἐμβριθῆς* (*Fr.* 9,1 lines 36 and 108), *ἀγχίνους* (*Frr.* 10,1 line 44; 5,2), *ἐχέφρων* (*Fr.* 26,1 line 8), *βουνεχῆς* and *κατηκριβωμένος* (for both of which see n.30).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. the discussion by Cameron (1977) pp.15-17.

<sup>95</sup> To cite only the two most obvious examples: it is Justin who determines on war with Persia (*Frr.* 13,5; 16,1), and it is the wilfulness of the new Persian king, Hormizd IV, which prevents peace (*Fr.* 23,9). Cf. the effect of Justinian's old age on Roman policy towards the Avars, discussed below.

<sup>96</sup> The last part of this fragment is closely modelled on Agathias 5,14,1.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. esp. *Fr.* 5,1: *καὶ γὰρ κατηγωνίσαστο ἄν καὶ ἄρδην ἠφάνισεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πολέμῳ ἄλλ' οὖν εὐβουλίᾳ;* and 5,4, where Justinian is obviously not inert. In *Fr.* 25,2 lines 66-71 Baian appears to regard it, when combined with military action, as a policy that historically had been effective. Agathias (5,24,1-2) also sees positive aspects in Justinian's later policy, though he deplores (5,14) the generally bad effect of the running-down of the army. Procopius in his *Anecdota* (11,5-7; 19,5ff. and 13) is consistently hostile.

<sup>98</sup> See the references to Agathias and Procopius cited in the previous note. Cf. *Fr.* 16,1 where Khosro is said to have lost his taste for war in old age.

Justin, Justinian's successor, sought to return to the glorious policies of his predecessor's earlier days and to reassert the concept of the Roman Emperor as "the unbending Roman whom nothing could affright."<sup>99</sup> Although nothing of a programmatic statement by Justin comparable to that in Corippus (*In Laud. Iust.* 2,178-274) survives in Menander (except perhaps the scraps in *Fr.* 7,7-9), his approach to foreign policy is set out fairly early both in his reply to the Avar envoy Targitius (*Fr.* 8) and in the speech of the Roman envoy John to Khosro (*Fr.* 9,1). In the first passage Justin proudly asserts the might of the Romans and their rejection of the Avar demands, in the second John implicitly condemns Justinian's excess of generosity (φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολή, line 73) towards the Saracens and says that Justin will give them nothing, for he wishes to be the object of the greatest fear (φοβερώτατος, line 88) to all.<sup>100</sup> In fact, says John, there is a danger that he will opt to break the peace established in 561 thinking that the terms are adverse to Roman interests. Such assertions of Roman might and the Emperor's dignity and scorn for the barbarians recur until Justin's madness.<sup>101</sup>

Menander's treatment of Justin's adoption of more aggressive policies is, as Baldwin (p. 112) points out, more balanced than that in most of the sources who, with the exception of Corippus, roundly condemn him. In fact, Menander seems to have approved both of Justin's rejection of the Avars' demands, which is said (*Fr.* 8 lines 66-68) to have caused them to go off thunderstruck to the land of the Franks, and his initial handling of the Persian manoeuvres over Suania (*Fr.* 9,3), which the historian regarded as strategically important to the Romans and unfairly withheld from them (*Fr.* 9,1 lines 6-16).<sup>102</sup> It is only when Justin has firmly decided to go to war with Persia, apparently in late 571 (*Fr.* 13,5), that Menander becomes openly critical of his policy and behaviour, pointing to his arrogant treatment of the Persian envoy Sebokhth (*Fr.* 16,1 lines 26-28: ὁ βασιλεὺς περιεφρόνησέ γε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἄνδρα) and his unrealistic threats against Khosro (ὑπερόρια, line

<sup>99</sup> Baynes p.264.

<sup>100</sup> Earlier in the same passage Menander himself had remarked that Justin was ἐμβριθής . . . καὶ βαρβάρων φρονήματι ἥκιστα ὑποχαλῶν.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. *Frr.* 9,3 (Justin's rough treatment of the Persian envoy Mebod); 12,5 (Bonus' fear of Justin as φοβερὸς τε καὶ ἐμβριθέστατος); 12,5 (Justin's spirited rejection of Baian's demands); 12,7 (Justin pours scorn on Targitius' words); 16,1 (Justin scorns the Persian envoy Sebokhth).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Cameron (1977) pp.7f.

56).<sup>103</sup> In contrast, there is no clear criticism of Justin's continued intransigence towards the Avars. His rejection of Targitius' demands in 568/69 is called high-spirited (*Fr.* 12,6 lines 79-80: *μεγαληγορία τε χρησάμενος*), and there is no adverse comment on his readiness for war either in this passage or in *Fr.* 15,1 (even though in the latter there is an indication of opposition on the part of Tiberius). This suggests (although the lack of fragments for the years 572-574 precludes certainty) that Menander viewed stability on the eastern border as desirable both in itself and because it would free the Roman armies to deal with the threats and treachery of the Avars, which Baian (and presumably Menander) thought that the Romans in full strength were capable of doing (*Fr.* 25,2: speech of the envoy Solakh). If this were so, then Menander would not have condemned Justin's foreign policy *in toto* but only his provoking of Persia to war, which left to Tiberius and Maurice a legacy of devastation in the East and defencelessness in the Balkans that they struggle to deal with for the rest of the History.

When Justin lost his mind shortly after the fall of Daras in late 573, the Empress Sophia was the sole ruler of the Empire until it had become clear that Justin would not recover. Then Tiberius was created Caesar on December 7, 574. Although Tiberius had assisted Sophia during most of 574, the Empress played a major role during the year and continued to do so after his elevation. This is not reflected in Menander, who, after mentioning Sophia with Tiberius in the first passage after Justin's madness (*Fr.* 18,1) and Sophia alone in the second (*Fr.* 18,2), then treats Tiberius as the sole ruler. Sophia is not mentioned again.<sup>104</sup>

In common with most of the ancient sources (and unlike some modern commentators<sup>105</sup>) Menander has much good to say of Tiberius. The approval of his policy towards Persia is unequivocal. After the demoralising loss of Daras, Tiberius sought a truce during which to rebuild the Roman forces, as the Persians themselves realised (*Fr.* 18,4). His long-term aim was to bring the Persians back

<sup>103</sup> It is noteworthy that the only portent in the fragments occurs here, Sebokth's hat falling off as he does obeisance to Justin, which led the courtiers to persuade the Emperor that he would destroy Persia. Menander regards this as ridiculous. Unfortunately, since nothing survives between this interview and Justin's incapacity due to madness, it is impossible to tell whether Menander linked the greater hostility towards Persia with his madness, either causally or interactively. But that Menander regarded Justin as the aggressor is clear from the present passage and *Fr.* 18,1.

<sup>104</sup> On Sophia see Cameron (1975).

<sup>105</sup> E.g. Goubert I pp.57ff.; Allen p.14; Bury (1966) I pp.79-82.

to the bargaining table and re-establish a firm peace based upon a return to the territorial *status quo ante* (i.e. that at the time of the treaty of 561), while also meeting Justin's goals of equal terms (which entailed the dropping of Persian demands for yearly payments)<sup>106</sup> and the right of Christian dissidents in Armenia and Iberia to migrate to Roman territory.<sup>107</sup> However, whereas Justin seems to have looked solely to confrontation (and also apparently had far more ambitious aims),<sup>108</sup> Tiberius, though ready to use force, preferred a diplomatic solution.<sup>109</sup> A combination of military success and conciliatory gestures<sup>110</sup> was apparently about to achieve the peace that Tiberius sought when Khosro died and his successor, Hormizd IV, influenced by Mebod,<sup>111</sup> showed an arrogance and intransigence worthy of Justin and rejected fair terms. Menander's final fragment on eastern affairs shows the Romans still trying to negotiate, the Persians intransigent, and another bout of fighting inevitable (*Fr.* 26,1).

While Menander's approval of Tiberius' Persian policy is clear and consistent, his attitude towards the Emperor's policy in Europe

<sup>106</sup> The phrase used by Menander, ἰσοτιμία (*Fr.* 20,2 lines 33 and 79), is paralleled by Theophylact's ἐν ἰσῆ μοίρᾳ (3,17,2; 5,12,2), and perhaps reflects an official formulation. Whether it also implies a doctrine of spheres of influence (as well as non-payment of tribute) is unclear but possible (cf. Higgins 1941 p.307). Menander's statement that Tiberius realised he could not hold Persarmenia and Iberia (*Fr.* 20,2) would seem to imply a realistic recognition of such a situation. Tiberius was still ready to make a non-recurring payment, which, of course, implied nothing about the Romans' status vis-à-vis the Persians (*Fr.* 20,2 lines 125-28).

<sup>107</sup> The general Roman position is set out in *Fr.* 20,2 and repeated with a necessary modification (the substitution of Arzanene for Iberia) in *Fr.* 23,8.

<sup>108</sup> *Fr.* 13,5 suggests that Justin dreamed of the destruction of Persia.

<sup>109</sup> So Baynes p.275. The influence of Zacharias in this is strongly implied in *Fr.* 23,8.

<sup>110</sup> The initiative in conciliation is consistently given to Tiberius (see *Fr.* 20,6: Theodorus sent to offer negotiations; 23,8: Tiberius frees Persian captives; 23,9 line 80: Tiberius' letter to the Persian king is written φιλανθρώπως). At the same time Tiberius makes an attempt to rouse the Turks against Persia (*Fr.* 19,1). It is clear from the connection between military success and diplomatic progress that, in Menander's view, a combination of force and negotiation was necessary in dealing with the Persians. Thus, after Daras the Persians were aggressive (*Fr.* 18,1 and 4; 23,1), but after the Roman successes in Armenia they offered to negotiate (*Fr.* 20,1), only to draw back after a victory over the general Justinian (*Fr.* 20,2 lines 85-89). Then they attempted to put pressure on the Romans by invading Mesopotamia (*Fr.* 23,1), only to become accommodating after Maurice had devastated Arzanene (*Fr.* 23,8).

<sup>111</sup> Mebod appears as the *éminence grise* behind Hormizd in *Fr.* 23,9. In *Fr.* 23,1 he is characterised as not only hostile to the Romans but also an advocate of fighting (cf. *Fr.* 20,1). One suspects a connection between his hostility and the rough treatment he encountered earlier at the hands of Justin (*Fr.* 9,3).

is more equivocal. He seems to accept that he was unable to assist Italy with anything more than gold because the Roman armies were tied down in the East (*Fr.* 22 and 24). But he seems not entirely happy with Tiberius' dealings with the Avars. He records without comment Tiberius' disagreement with Justin over the latter's refusal to come to terms with them (*Fr.* 15,1) as he does Tiberius' request that they attack the Slavs (*Fr.* 21). But at the end of the latter passage he does remark that one of the Avars' motives in acceding to the request was to obtain the gold that the Slavs had plundered from the Romans, and later it is made clear that the expedition provided them with the excuse for bridging the river Save and cutting off Sirmium (*Fr.* 25). While Tiberius is not blamed for having no troops available when the Avars blockaded Sirmium, Menander does hold him responsible for trusting in the treaty with the Avars and failing to lay up adequate supplies in the city (*Fr.* 25,2 lines 11-13).

In Menander's treatment of Maurice there is no such equivocation. That is to be expected since Maurice was the reigning Emperor and Menander's hoped-for patron; but the historian's task is made easier because in the History he appears only as a general and, therefore, does not have to be closely linked to state policy.<sup>112</sup> On his first appearance Maurice's closeness and loyalty to Tiberius are remarked (*Fr.* 20,2 lines 120-21). Later there is formal praise of his high-mindedness and gentleness (*Fr.* 23,2), his qualities as a disciplinarian (*Fr.* 23,3) and his protection of those subject to the Romans whom his predecessors as general had allowed the soldiers to ill-treat (*ibid.*). When some of the forces under his command suffered a reverse, that is attributed to the indiscipline of the subordinate officers who ruined their general's well-laid plans (*Fr.* 23,11).<sup>113</sup> In the account of his siege of Chlomaron (*Fr.* 23,7) Maurice emerges as the Christian warrior fighting for his faith against the forces of error, the only place in the fragments where there is a clear link between religion and action.<sup>114</sup>

For most of the period covered by the History the main enemies of the Romans were each ruled by one man, the Persians by Khosro I Anushirvan, the Avars by the Khagan Baian. Whereas Procopius

<sup>112</sup> There is no passage comparable to *Fr.* 15,1, in which Tiberius' involvement in discussions of policy is noted before he became Caesar.

<sup>113</sup> There is also the peculiar passage (*Fr.* 26,6 and possibly 7) on Maurice's grief and despair over a defeat. But the context is not clear.

<sup>114</sup> Almost certainly the account of Justin's support for the Persarmenian revolt would have introduced religion (cf. *Fr.* 20,2 lines 49-56).



was unremittingly hostile to Khosro, Agathias' treatment was mixed; and Menander's was apparently closer to the latter, admiring in some respects but not especially friendly.<sup>115</sup> The main characteristics of Khosro that appear in the History are cunning (or cleverness) and arrogance; the third stock trait of the oriental king, cruelty, is not in evidence.<sup>116</sup> Khosro shows his cunning both when he baffles Peter over Suania and when he traps John into sending emissaries to the Suani.<sup>117</sup> His arrogance is remarked on a number of occasions: the childishly boastful letter sent to the Roman Emperor after the capture of Daras (*Fr.* 18,1); the arrogant tone suddenly assumed after the defeat of the general Justinian in Armenia (*Fr.* 20,2); the impertinence of both breaking the three-year truce with the Romans and placing his chief negotiator, Mebod, at the head of the invading force (*Fr.* 23,1). Menander's view is that Khosro was set upon maximum gains for Persia (hence his willingness to treat after the capture of Daras), but was quite realistic in his dealings with the Romans. He was affable to the envoy Theodorus and acceded to his request not to attack Theodosiopolis – when he realised that he could not take it (*Fr.* 18,6); and he expressed friendship towards Tiberius (*Fr.* 18,6; 20,2), which made him willing even to drop the demand for tribute – especially since the Romans were ravaging Persarmenia at the time (*Fr.* 20,1). In short, Khosro is portrayed as a very able ruler, ambitious but responsive to pressure – an implicit justification of Tiberius' policy towards him of mixing force with diplomacy. Hormizd, Khosro's successor, displayed a much greater intransigence and hostility towards the Romans, thereby earning from Menander the sobriquet of “a truly wicked man” (ἀνοσιουργὸς ὄντως ἀνὴρ, *Fr.* 23,9 line 3).<sup>118</sup>

While Khosro generally conforms to a type of Persian, there are some details that confer individuality: the old king on campaign, mounting a horse and reviewing the troops to impress the Roman

<sup>115</sup> On the various ancient views upon Khosro see Christensen pp.367ff. In general the oriental sources are very admiring, as are some of the Syriac ones (e.g. John of Ephesus).

<sup>116</sup> The insertion of the notice in *Fr.* 20,1 that Khosro had Asterius killed may have been intended to illustrate his cruelty, but that is not clear. Similarly, the king's cruelty may have been discussed in the account of the persecution of Christians in Persia (cf. *Fr.* 13,1-4).

<sup>117</sup> On Khosro and Peter see p.12; on Khosro and John *Fr.* 9,1.

<sup>118</sup> Whether Hormizd was Menander's 'stage oriental', as Baldwin (p.114) suggests, is not clear from what little survives on him. Certainly he responds positively to the Roman request for negotiations in *Fr.* 26,1.

envoy (*Fr.* 20,1), and his old man's concern for his sons' inheritance (*Fr.* 16,1). No such individuality attaches to Baian, who is the stock nomad chief from beginning to end: cunning, treacherous, ruthless and greedy. From their first arrival at the Danube the Avars intended treachery (*Fr.* 5,4); Baian's intent was to plunder the Roman cities (*Fr.* 12,1), and even when he aided the Romans against the Slavs one of his motives was to seize Roman gold (*Fr.* 21). The sanctity of envoys means nothing to him (*Fr.* 12,4). The blockade of Sirmium is an act of utter deceit, carried out despite Baian's own solemn oaths, both Avar and Christian (*Fr.* 25,1). Tiberius' angry declaration that Baian has scorned both the treaty and God (*Fr.* 25,2) is an accusation of a kind never levelled at the Persian king.<sup>119</sup> The image in *Fr.* 27,2 of the Khagan on a golden throne under a canopy and protected by the shields of his warriors is of a sort that was to recur frequently during the Middle Ages.

Beside and beneath these towering figures, Emperor, Shahanshah and Khagan, Menander's History offers a range of other characters, often individualised. There is the Turkish Khagan Sizabul, boastful as a barbarian and also intelligent,<sup>120</sup> and the Turkish leader Turxanthus, another arrogant barbarian (*Fr.* 19,1 lines 91-92). Amongst the Persians there is Yezdegusnaph the Zikh, intelligent, laconic and the master of Peter over Suania;<sup>121</sup> the experienced diplomat Andigan (*Fr.* 26,1); the effective soldier Tankhosdro (*Fr.* 20,3); and above all Zacharias' opponent Mebod, diplomat, soldier, statesman, arrogant, cunning and bitterly hostile to the Romans.<sup>122</sup> Amongst the Romans themselves there is less differentiation. Narses is treated with a due respect that seems rather frigid (*Fr.* 3,2), and a reverse of his is noted (*Fr.* 30,1); Bonus emerges as a resourceful and competent general (*Fr.* 12,2 and 5; 33); Theognis apparently likewise (*Fr.* 27), though there may be some criticism of his tactics (*Fr.* 27,3). The diplomats, with the rather unflattering exception of Peter,<sup>123</sup> are fairly colourless. The charac-

<sup>119</sup> The closest Menander comes is in *Fr.* 23,1 line 34, where Khosro is said to have broken the three-year truce ἀναίδην (cf. *Fr.* 23,5: τῆς ἀναισχύντου τῶν σπονδῶν ξυγγύσεως). In *Fr.* 26,1 line 131 Zacharias speaks of τοὺς Περσῶν δόλους, which could be a specific reference to the Zikh's deceiving of Peter.

<sup>120</sup> Boastful, *Fr.* 4,2; ἀγχίνους . . . καὶ δεινός, *Fr.* 10,1 line 44.

<sup>121</sup> δεινότατος γὰρ ἐστί καὶ οἶος βαρβάρῳ γλώττη καὶ βραχυλογία τὸ δέον εἰπεῖν, *Fr.* 6,1 lines 100-101; καὶ Σουανίας περὶ . . . ἠπατήθη Πέτρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζίχ, *Fr.* 20,2 lines 140-41.

<sup>122</sup> Mebod is especially prominent in *Fr.* 9,3; 20,2; 23,1, 6 and 9.

<sup>123</sup> On Peter see pp. 11f.

ters of Zemarchus and Valentinus do not emerge from the accounts of their exotic missions in the way in which Priscus and the medieval envoys to the Mongols are revealed in theirs. Even about Zacharias, a most interesting and versatile man,<sup>124</sup> who is constantly active in the History after 574, we are told little beyond that he was “altogether very shrewd” (ἔσῶτι ἐμφρονέστατον, *Fr.* 20,2 line 143). Perhaps in these cases we see the influence of Menander’s sources and the professional self-effacement of the diplomat.

The History of Menander, as described above, is, despite quirks such as the preface and the rather mocking treatment of Peter, a work whose methodology is conventional.<sup>125</sup> The views of the historian also seem to have been traditional, inherited from classical historical thought and adapted to the Christian world. His main interest (even allowing for the bias in the surviving fragments) seems to have been in Roman relations with foreign peoples, especially the Persians and the Avars. Thus, in the full work war and diplomacy would, as usual, have predominated. The view of the foreign opponents of Rome is also traditional: they, like their leaders, are greedy, cunning, arrogant, lacking in self-control and untrustworthy.<sup>126</sup> The implication is that they must be met by force. The exception is the Persians. Certainly they are barbarians and are possessed by some of the vices of barbarians, especially cunning and arrogance.<sup>127</sup> But the state of Persia is, with that of Rome, the greatest of the states,<sup>128</sup> its king is the brother of the Roman Emperor,<sup>129</sup> and they should co-exist, in Menander’s formulation, “on equal terms” (ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας).<sup>130</sup> This is the view of Tiberius (and later of Maurice), but the desirability of such co-existence and the consequences of not accepting it are

<sup>124</sup> On Zacharias see Blockley (1980) pp.91f., 94.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Cameron (1970) p.136.

<sup>126</sup> These characteristics have been adequately illustrated above. But see also *Fr.* 5,3, where the Avars murder the envoy of the Antae, and *Fr.* 21, where the Slavs murder Avar emissaries, in the second instance specifically because they lose control. For the characterisation of the Saracens, again as typical nomads, see *Fr.* 9,1.

<sup>127</sup> In *Fr.* 6,1 lines 8-9 Menander refers to Khosro as ὁ τῶν ἐφῶν βαρβάρων βασιλεύς, and in *Fr.* 23,7 Binganes, the Persian commander of Chlomaron, is said to have kept to the right course of action, καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὢν.

<sup>128</sup> *Fr.* 2: τὰ . . . μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων. Chrysos (1976) pp.14f. points out that Menander reserves πολιτεία and related words for the Roman and Persian states. The other peoples are ἔθνη or γένη or φυλαί.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Khosro’s *sacrae litterae* in *Fr.* 6,1 lines 179-183. The accepted equality of the states also permits the Caesar Tiberius to say (*Fr.* 20,1) that, as by far the younger man, he will defer to Khosro as if he were a son. Such familial terminology had also been used in the fourth century (Ammianus Marcellinus 17,5).

<sup>130</sup> See n.106.

articulated most clearly by Peter at the end of his long dissertation to the Zikh: if fighting continues, resources will be dissipated and the state will fall before those to whom it should not.<sup>131</sup> The words were prophetic. The efforts of Tiberius and Maurice led to a peace that lasted only from 591 to 602. Then “the greatest of the states” began to fight again. Fifty years afterwards (and seventy years after the end of Menander’s History) the Romans had lost all their eastern possessions and the Sassanid Persian Empire had completely disappeared, both of them before the “uncouth and untrustworthy” Saracens.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup> *Fr.* 6,1 lines 94-96 (the Greek is not entirely clear). The reverse position, which still implicitly recognises the danger, is put by Andigan in *Fr.* 26,1. The same point is made by the repeated remarks (*Frr.* 22; 24; 25; 27) on Tiberius’ lack of troops for use against the Avars and Lombards.

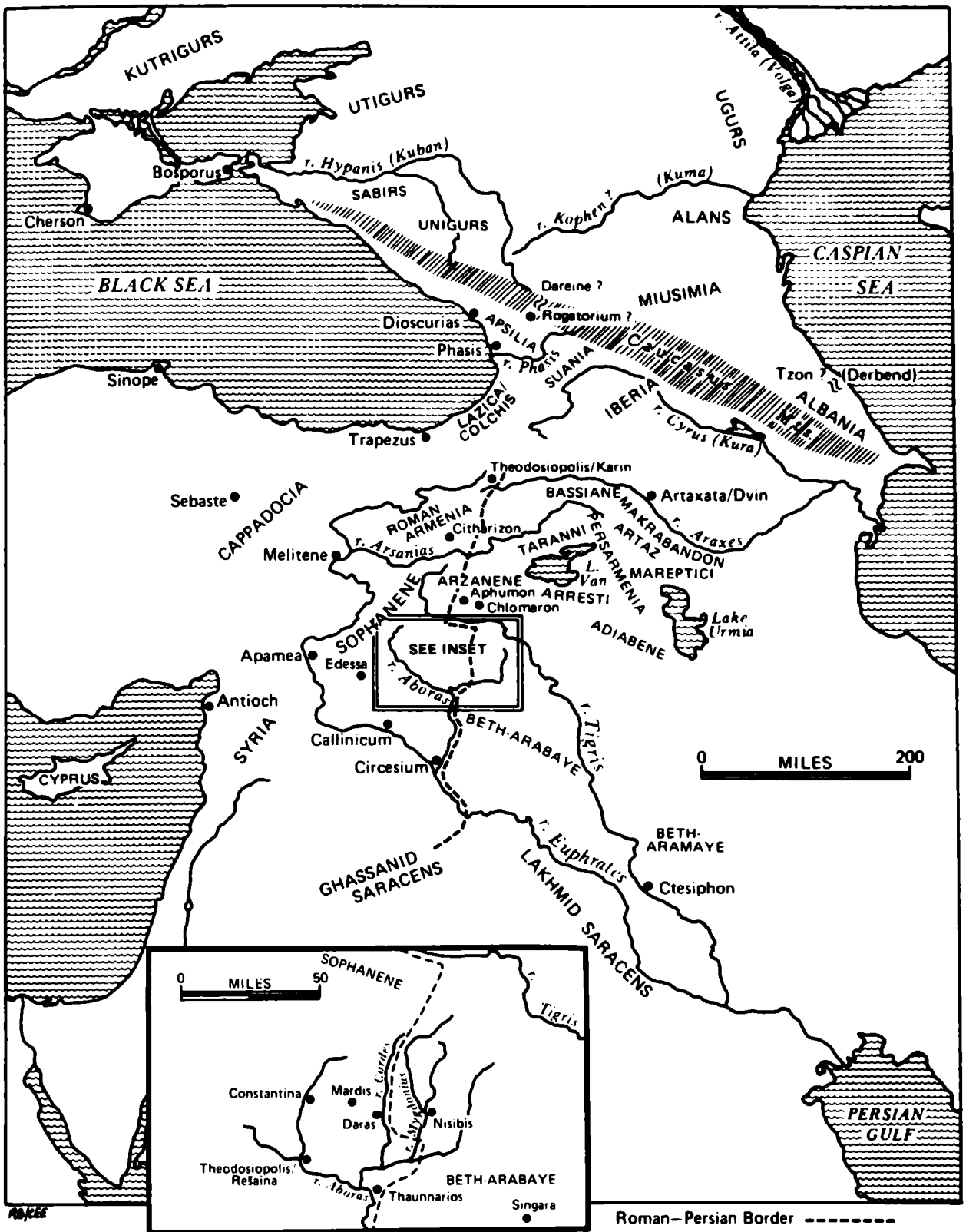
<sup>132</sup> Cf. *Fr.* 9,1 lines 67-69 (words of the envoy John): ὅταν δὲ λέγω Σαρακηνοῦς, ἀναλογίσεσθε, ὦ Μῆδοι, τὸ ἀλλόκοτόν τε καὶ παλίμβολον τοῦ ἔθνους.

## Conspectus of the Fragments

1,1-2	Preface ( <i>Suda</i> M591; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 1)	
2	Fighting in Lazica; Kutrigurs and Utigurs ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 1)	557; post 559
3,1-2	Narses in Italy ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 2; <i>Suda</i> A2394)	pre 561
4,1-8	Destruction of the Ephthalite kingdom; flight of the Avars ( <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 2-9)	pre ca 560
5,1-3	Avars flee west; alliance with the Romans ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 1-3)	ca 559
5,4	Avars on the Danube; hostility towards the Romans ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 4)	ca 561
6,1-3	Fifty-year peace with Persia ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 3-4; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 11)	561
7,1-9	?Death of Justinian; accession of Justin II ( <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 12-20)	565
8	Avar embassy to Justin ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 5)	565
9,1-3	Negotiations with the Persians ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 5-6; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 6)	567-68
10,1	Turkish embassy to the Romans ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 7)	568/69
10,2-5	Embassy of Zemarchus to the Turks ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 7-8; <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 8-9)	569-71
11	Avars attack the Franks ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 10)	566
12,1-2	Avars and Lombards destroy the Gepids ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 11-12)	567
12,3-8	Avars besiege Sirmium ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 9; <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 13-15; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 21; <i>Suda</i> E2310)	568-69
13,1-5	Khosro persecutes Christians; Persarmenians plan revolt with Roman encouragement ( <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 22-25; <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 16)	570-71
14,1-2	?Preface ( <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 26-27)	
15,1-6	Fighting with the Avars; Romans defeated; treaty ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 17-19; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 28-29; <i>Suda</i> A2053)	570-71
16,1-2	Romans support Persarmenian revolt, besiege Nisibis ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 20; <i>Suda</i> O916)	572
[17	Relic of the Cross at Apamea (MS Paris grec 1140A fol. 58v-59)	-573]
18,1-4	Tiberius Caesar; negotiations with the Persians; truce in the East ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 10-12; <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 21)	574-75

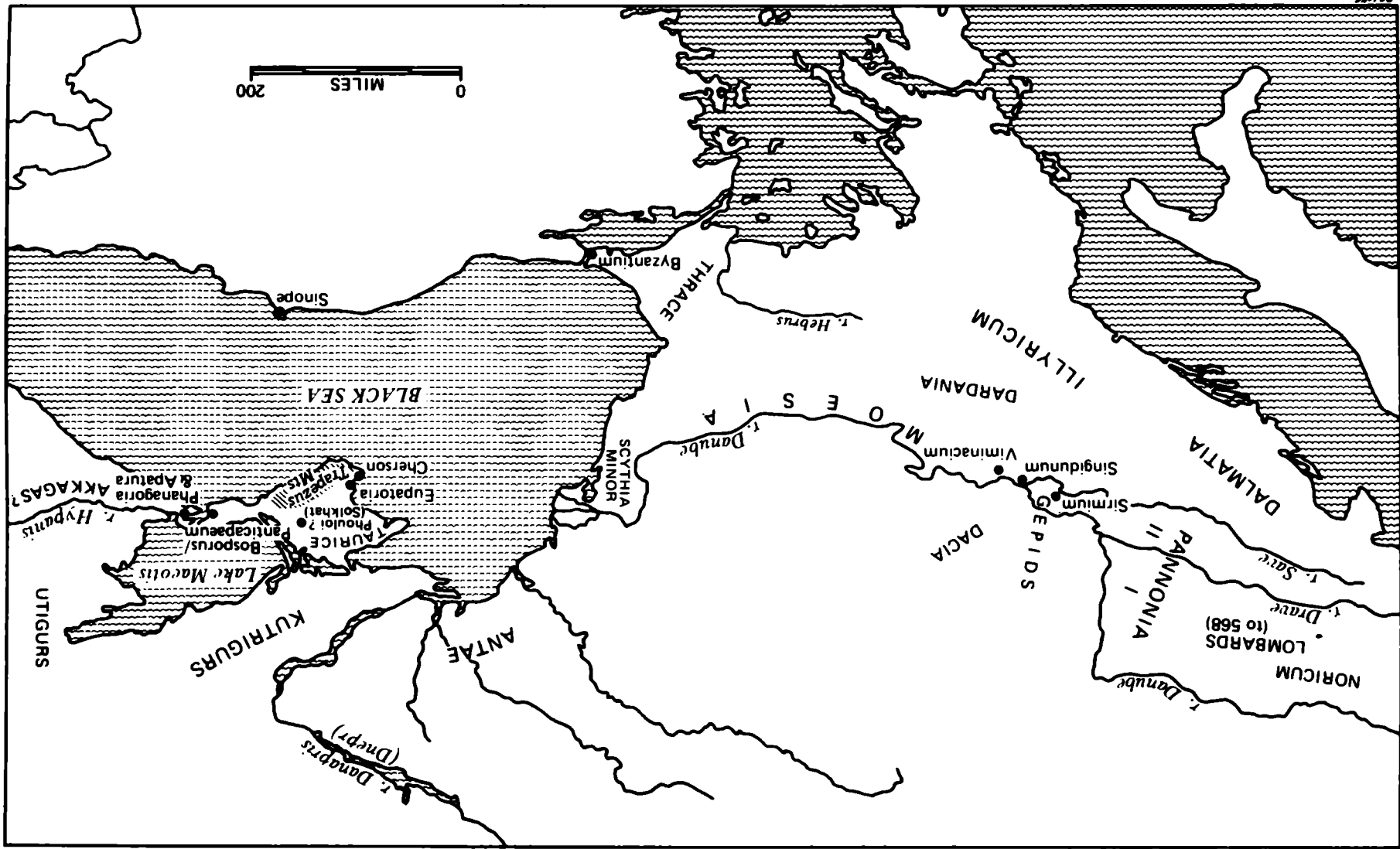
## 32 *Conspectus of the Fragments*

- |         |                                                                                                                                                                                 |        |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 18,5-6  | Fighting in Armenia and the Caucasus; embassy to the Persians ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 22; <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 13)                                                      | 576    |
| 19,1-2  | Embassy of Valentinus to the Turks ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 14)                                                                                                               | 575-76 |
| 20,1-8  | Roman-Persian negotiations; fighting in Armenia ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 23-24; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 31-35; <i>Suda</i> E962)                                                | 576-78 |
| 21      | Slavs plunder Greece; Romans seek Avar help ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 15)                                                                                                      | 578    |
| 22      | Tiberius attempts to end Lombard devastation of Italy ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 25)                                                                                           | 577/78 |
| 23,1-7  | Roman-Persian negotiations; Maurice general, invades Arzanene ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 16; <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 26-28; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 36; <i>Suda</i> M294, A3080) | 578    |
| 23,8-12 | Tiberius Augustus; death of Khosro and accession of Hormizd IV; failure of negotiations; further fighting ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 17-18; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 37-39)         | 578-80 |
| 24      | Tiberius again tries to help Italy against the Lombards ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 29)                                                                                         | 579    |
| 25,1-2  | Avars cut off Sirmium ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 30-31)                                                                                                                        | 579-80 |
| 26,1-7  | Roman-Persian negotiations; further fighting ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 19; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 41-46)                                                                         | 580-81 |
| 27,1-3  | Romans cede Sirmium to the Avars ( <i>Exc. de Leg. Gent.</i> 32; <i>Exc. de Leg. Rom.</i> 20; <i>Exc. de Sent.</i> 47)                                                          | 581-82 |



The East and the Caucasus Region

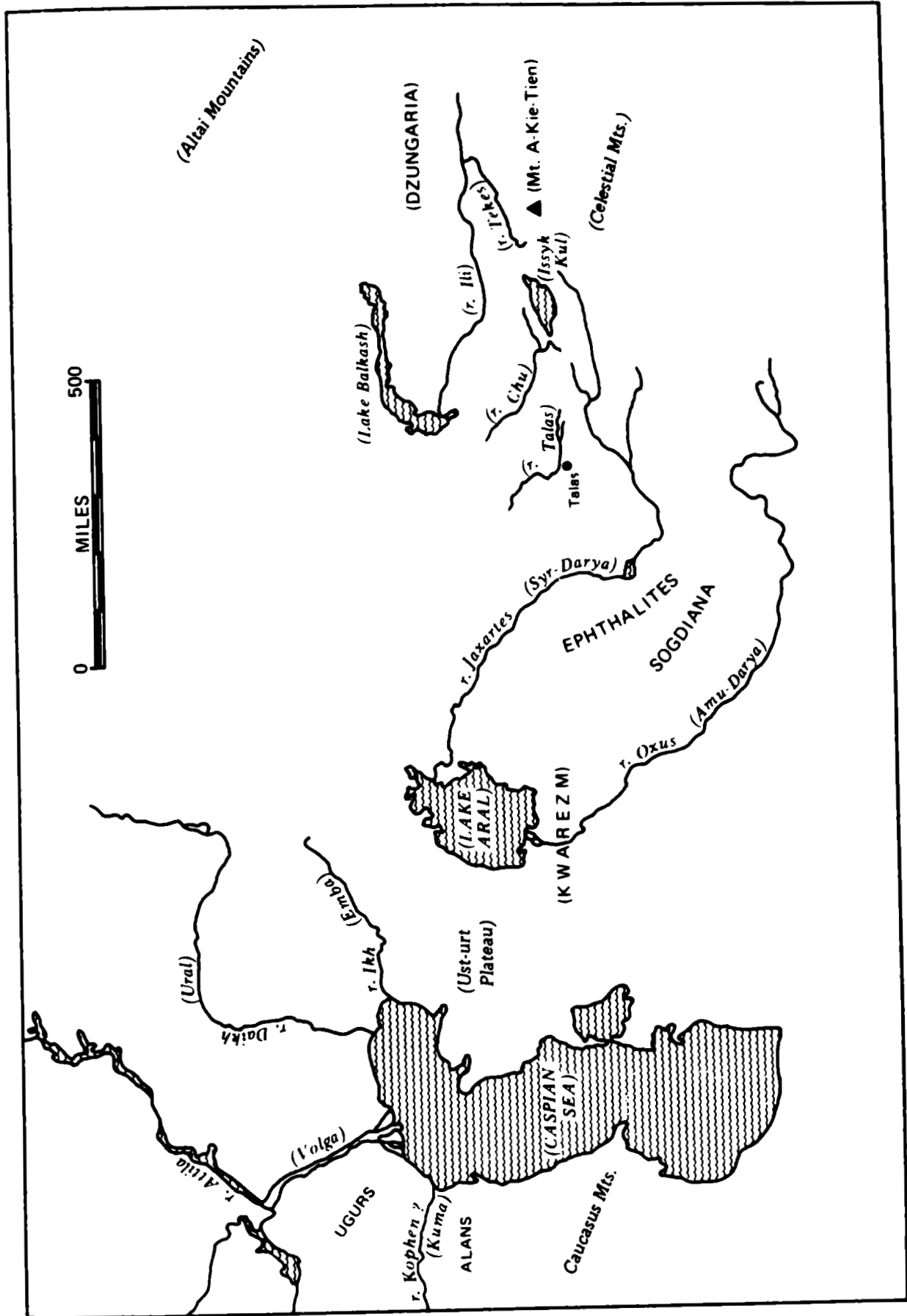
The Balkans and the North Shore of the Black Sea



SCALE

0 200 MILES







**TEXT**



**TRANSLATION**

## TESTIMONIA

### 1

(Theophylactus Simocatta 1,3,5)

Τὸ δ' ὅπως [sc. Sirmium captum esset] Μενάνδρῳ τῷ περιφανεῖ σαφῶς διηγόρευται.

### 2

(Const. Porph. *De Them.* 1 p.18.9-12 ed. Bonn)

Οὔτε γὰρ Προκόπιος οὔτε μὴν Ἀγαθίας οὔτε Μένανδρος ... ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνόματος [sc. secundi thematis Armeniaci], οἱ τὰ χρονικὰ συντάξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας.

### 3

(Margine cod. Paris Strabonis n. 1393 ap. Dindorf *HGM* II p.131)

Ἄκριβέστερον τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη Μένανδρος ὁ Προτίκτωρ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρέθετο.

2 Προτίκτωρ scripsi [Πρακτίκωρ cod.]

# TESTIMONIA

## 1

(Theophylactus Simocatta 1,3,5)

The famous Menander has described clearly how [Sirmium was captured].

## 2

(Const. Porph. *De Them.* 1,2 p.18,9-12 ed. Bonn)

Neither Procopius nor Agathias nor Menander . . . , who wrote histories during the reign of Justinian, mentioned the name of this [the second theme, Armeniacum].

## 3

(In the margin of MS of Strabo, Paris n.1393 = Dindorf *HGM* II p.131)

Menander the Guardsman in his History has very accurately described the customs of the Persians.

# FRAGMENTA

## 1

### 1. (*Suda* M591)

Μένανδρος, προτίκτωρ, ιστορικός· ὃς λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· ἐμοὶ πατήρ Εὐφρατᾶς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὀρμώμενος ἦν· οὗτος δὴ οὖν ἤκιστα τῆς τῶν λόγων μετειλήχει παιδείας. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ὁμόγνιος δέ μοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀπογευσάμενος παιδείας εἶτα ἀφηνίασε τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς· ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὔτι χρῆναι 5  
ῥόμην μὴ καὶ νόμοις ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ ἐς τέλος ἴκεσθαι τῶν πόνων· καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην, ὡς μοι ὑπῆρχε δυνατόν. ἤκιστα δὲ ἐχρησάμην τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος· οὐ γάρ μοι θυμῆρες ἦν ἀγωνίζεσθαι δίκας οὔτε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾶ θαμίζειν καὶ δεινότητι λόγων τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων οἰκειοῦσθαι φρον- 10  
τίδας. καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα τοιγαροῦν παρῆς καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα ἐλόμενος, κεχηνῶς περιενόστουν. καὶ μοι καταθύμιοι ἦσαν οἱ τε θόρυβοι τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ οἱ ἀμιλλητήριοι τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνες, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἡ παντόμιμος ὄρχησις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιστραῖς ἐναπεδύομην καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξώκειλα ἀφρο- 15  
σύνης, ὡς καὶ τὸν φαινόλην ἀποδύσασθαι, συναποδύσασθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ νουνεχές, καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τι ἐς βίου ἀγλαΐσμα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μαυρίκιος τὸ βασίλειον διεδήσατο κράτος, τοῦτο μὲν προμηθέστατα ἔχων ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μουσῶν ἔραστῆς ποιημάτων τε καὶ ἱστορίας ἡδιστα ἐπαίω, ὡς καὶ τὸ 20  
πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς μέρος καταναλίσκειν περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας φρον- τίδας καὶ παρορμῶν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὀξύνειν τοῖς χρήμασι τοὺς ἀμβλυτέρους τὸν λογισμὸν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐν τῷ τότε ἔγωγε ἀλύων καὶ δυσανασχετῶν τῷ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ἔχειν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἦν, ὡς οὐ χρεῶν ἀνόνητά με περινοστεῖν, ὡς τ' ἂν οὖν μὴ διαπαντὸς 25  
κενεμβατοίην, ὠρμήθην ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν ἄρξασθαι μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν Ἀγαθίου καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.

3-4 μὲν οὖν . . . δέ μοι [μὲν οὖν μοι . . . δὲ GVM (γε V) δὲ ὦν . . . γε μοι Bernhardy μὲν ὦν μοι Müller 14 ἔτι [ὅτι V 18 διεδήσατο [διεδύσατο GM 19 προμηθέστατα [προμηθέστατον V προμυθέστατα GM 25 ὡς τ' ἂν οὖν [ὡς τοίνυν Bernhardy

# FRAGMENTS

## 1

### 1. (*Suda* M591)

Menander Protector, a historian, who says of himself, “My father Euphratas, who came from Byzantium, had no literary education. My brother Herodotus began to train towards a legal career<sup>1</sup> but lost his enthusiasm for these studies. I myself thought that I ought not to abandon the law and should complete my studies, which I did to the best of my ability. But I did not take up the profession for which I was trained. For I had no desire to plead cases or to haunt the Royal Stoa and impress the petitioners with my eloquence.<sup>2</sup> I therefore neglected my career for the disgraceful life of an idle layabout. My interests were the gang fights of the ‘colours’, the chariot races and the pantomimes, and I even entered the wrestling ring.<sup>3</sup> I sailed with such folly that I not only lost my shirt but also my good sense and all my decency.

When Maurice became Emperor, he was not only very solicitous for his subjects but he also loved the Muses, being especially enthusiastic for poetry and history. He spent the greater part of his nights studying these and, as a result, offered financial inducements to stimulate slothful intellects. At the time I was discontented enough and, finding my lack of means hard to endure, I was thinking that I ought not to drift about to no profit. Therefore, in order that life be not completely futile, I started work on the present History, beginning after the death of Agathias and taking my starting point from where he ended.”<sup>4</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 1)

... λέξεως εὐγενεῖ ὅσον τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφηγήσει καρποῦσθαι θαρρήσας· πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν ἐμὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀφίχθαι παιδείας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ συγγράφειν ἰέναι; ἀπεριμέριμος γὰρ ἐσότη ἔμοιγε ὁ βίος καὶ ἐκδεδιητημένος ὑπῆρχεν.

1 οὐ τοσοῦτον τῷ τῆς suppl. Niebuhr in lac.

## 2

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 1)

Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι τῇ περιμαχήτῳ τῶν Κόλχων χώρα προσκαθεζόμενοι, ὡς ἂν ποιήσωνται γε αὐτὴν κατήκοον, μετὰ πολλοὺς ὅσους ἀγῶνας χρόνου τε συχνοῦ τριβέντος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τι περαιτέρω ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ τε πλείονα τῆς Λαζικῆς καὶ ὁ Φάσις ἢ πόλις, ἐνθα λέγεται εἶναι τὰ τοῦ Αἰήτου βασιλεία, οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐτύγγανον ὄντα· τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ὧν μὲν ἐν κατοχῇ ὑπῆρχον, εἴτε φρούρια εἴτε ἕτερα ἄττα, οὔτι μεταθεῖναι, εἶναι δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μέχρις οὗ ἀσφαλέστερον διευκρινηθεῖν τὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς. καὶ τοίνυν ἐδόκει οὐκ ἄλλως, ἐκεχειρία τέ τις ἐγεγόνει ὅσον οὐπω 10 τελεωτάτης εἰρήνης ἔχουσα ἐλπίδα, τὰ τε μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἡσυχίαν ἤγον.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦτα τῆδε ἐχώρει, καὶ οἱ γε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζαβέργαν Οὐννοι πόρρω που τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἀπεληλαμένοι ἐτύγγανον, τηνικαῦτα Ἰουστινιανός (ἐν νῷ γὰρ εἶχεν ὡς ἐλεύσονται καὶ αὐθις οἱ Κοτριάγηροι δηώσοντες τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης) ἐγκείμενός τε ἦν τῷ Σανδίλχῳ τῷ τῶν Οὐτιγούρων ἡγεμόνι, ἀνίει τε οὐδαμῶς παραινῶν πρεσβείας τε συχνὰς ἐκπέμπων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἀνερεθίζων, ὡς ἂν ἀμωσγέπως ἐκπολεμῶση γε αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν Ζαβέργαν. προσετίθει δὲ ταῖς ὡς τὸν Σάνδιλχον ἀγγελίαις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὡς, εἴ γε καταγωνίσοιτο τοὺς Κοτραγῆρους, καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐτήσια χρήματα ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἀπονεμηθέντα ἦσαν τῷ Ζαβέργῳ μεταθήσειν ὡς αὐτόν. καὶ τοίνυν ὁ Σάνδιλχος (Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ ἐπιτήδειος ἐβούλετο εἶναι) βασιλεῖ ἐσήμηεν ὡς πέφυκεν οὐχ ὅσιον μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλως 25 εὐπρεπὲς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἀφανίσαι ἄρδην, μὴ ὅτι ὁμόγλωσσοί

5 Φᾶσις edd. 6 δὲ [δὴ de Boor 8 ἄττα Niebuhr [ἄλλα codd. 9 ἀσφαλέστερον Hoeschel [ἀφελέστερον codd. 15 ἐν νῷ Hoeschel [ἐν ᾧ codd. 16 Κοτρίγυροι Niebuhr Κοτράγηροι de Boor 25 ἐσήμηεν Hoeschel [σεσήμηεν codd. 26 μὴ ὅτι Bekker [μήποτε codd.



2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 1)

... hoping to enjoy success not so much because of any distinction of style but because of my narrative of events. For how could I, whose life to now has been unreflective and undisciplined, have reached such a level of culture as to be able to turn to historical writing?

## 2

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 1)

When the Medes, in order to gain control of the disputed land of the Colchians,<sup>5</sup> laid siege to it, after spending much time and fighting very many battles, they made no progress at all. Most of Lazica and the city of Phasis (where they say the kingdom of Aetes was situated) remained as firmly as ever in Roman hands. At length the Romans and Persians agreed that they would retain possession of what they held, whether forts or any other places, and that the *status quo* would remain until they conclusively settled their disputes. Since they agreed on this, a truce was made which held out hope that a comprehensive peace was close, and the greatest of the states ceased hostilities.<sup>6</sup>

While these developments were taking place, the Huns led by Zabergan had been driven far from the Roman Empire. But since he thought the Kutrigurs were planning to return and ravage the land of Thrace, Justinian at this time was applying pressure to Sandilkh, the leader of the Utigurs.<sup>7</sup> He made continual attempts to rouse him somehow to war against Zabergan, sending a stream of embassies and trying various means to provoke him. Justinian added in his messages to Sandilkh that if he destroyed the Kutrigurs the Emperor would transfer to him all the yearly tribute-monies that were paid by the Roman Empire to Zabergan. Therefore, Sandilkh, who wished to be on friendly terms with the Romans, replied that utterly to destroy one's fellow tribesmen was unholy and altogether improper, "For they not only speak our language, dwell in tents like us, dress like us

τέ εἰσι καὶ ὁμόσκηνοι ἡμῖν καὶ ὁμοῖα χρῶνται στολῇ καὶ διαίτη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ξυγγενεῖς κἂν ἑτέροις τισὶ τετάχεται ἡγεμόσιν. ὁμως δ' οὖν (Ἰουστινιανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὰ τοιάδε ἐγκελευσάμενος) αὐτίκα τὴν ἵππον τοὺς Κοτραγήρους ἀφελόμενος οἰκεῖον ποιή- 30  
σομαι κτῆμα, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἔχοιεν ὅτῳ ὀχούμενοι σίνοιντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

28 κἂν Niebuhr [καὶ codd.]

### 3

#### 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

Ἵτι Ἄμμιγος ὁ Φράγγος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀττίσου, ἣ προσδόκιμοι ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαβήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς τοῦτο ἐγνωκῶς Παμφρόνιον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πατράσιν ἐτέλει, καὶ Βῶνον, προεστῶτα τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως περιουσίας, ἐκπέμπει πρεσβευσομένῳ ἄμφω ὡς Ἄμμιγον ἐδή- 5  
λωσέ τε αὐτῷ ἐκποδῶν γενέσθαι καὶ μηδαμῶς πόλεμον αὐθις κινήσαι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων· ἐκεχειρία γάρ τις ἐγεγόνει μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου Φράγγους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους. ὁ δὲ Ἄμμιγος διὰ τῶν πρέσβων ἀπεκρίνατο ὡς οὐκ ἐνδώσοι ποτὲ ἔστι' ἂν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκόντιον οἷα τέ ἐστι κραδαίνειν ἢ χεῖρ. 10

4 Βῶνον [Boῦνον X et edd. 7 μεταξύ [ἐν τῷ μεταξύ de Boor

#### [2. (Suda A2394)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς, ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατηγός, ἐς πάντα ξυγκατε- μίγνυε τῷ μεγαουργῷ τὸ νουνεχές, καὶ ἐκοινώνει αὐτῷ τῆς φρονήσεως ἢ ῥώμη καὶ ἅπας τῷ κρείττονι ἀνεῖτο, ταύτη τοι οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἐμμελὲς ἐκκλίνας, αὐτίκα καὶ ὄγε ἐπεραιώθη τὸ ρεῖθρον σὺν τῷ στρατῷ.] 5

4 ἐκμελὲς Kuster (sec. ἐγμελὲς S) 5 στρατῷ scripsi [ρεῖθρον codd. ῥῶ T ἴσως σὺν τῷ ῥῶι (ῥόθω M) IM

### 4

#### 1. (Exc. de Sent. 2)

Ἵτι ὁ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡδίκημένος χαλεπαίνει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῷ κοινῷ.

#### 2. (Exc. de Sent. 3)

Ἵτι ὁ Σιλζίβουλος ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμών, ἠκηκόει γὰρ ἤδη τῶν Ἀβάρων τῆς φυγῆς πέρι καὶ ὡς τὰ Τούρκων διαδηλησάμενοι

and live like us, but they are our kin, even if they follow other leaders. Nevertheless, we shall deprive the Kutrigurs of their horses and take possession of them ourselves, so that without their mounts they will be unable to pillage the Romans." This Justinian had asked him to do.<sup>8</sup>

### 3

#### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 2)

Ammigus the Frank placed his camp facing the river Attisus<sup>9</sup> at the point where the Romans were expected to cross. When he learned this Narses sent Pamphronius, one of the Emperor's patricians, and Bonus, who was in charge of the Emperor's estates,<sup>10</sup> as envoys to Ammigus, ordering him to withdraw and never again make war on the Romans, for at the time there was a truce between the Franks and the Romans. Through the envoys Ammigus replied that he would never yield as long as his hand could wield a spear.<sup>11</sup>

#### [2. (*Suda* A2394)

Since Narses, the general of Italy, combined cleverness and lofty aspirations in everything he did and since he had a force of will which aimed wholly at the greater achievement, he did not choose the expected course of action but immediately crossed the river with his army.]<sup>12</sup>

### 4

#### 1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 2)

He who has been treated unjustly by the ruler feels great anger against the whole state.<sup>13</sup>

#### 2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 3)

When Silzibul,<sup>14</sup> the leader of the Turks, learned of the flight of the Avars and the damage they had caused to Turkish possessions at

ᾤχοντο, οἷα φύσει φρονήματι ἔπεται βαρβάρῳ, ἀπαυθαδισά-  
 μενος ἔφη ὡς οὔτε ὄρνεις πεφύκασιν, ὅπως τῇ πτήσει ἀνά τὸν  
 αἰθέρα διαφύγοιεν τῶν Τούρκων τὰ ξίφη, οὔτε μὴν ἰχθύες, ὡς ἂν 5  
 ὑποβρύχιοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰ κατώτατα τοῦ θαλαττίου ἀφανισθή-  
 σονται κλύδωνος, ἀλλ' ὑπερθε περινοστοῦσι τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἡνίκα  
 μοι ὁ κατὰ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν διανυσθήσεται πόλεμος, ἐπιθήσομαι  
 καὶ Ἀβάροις καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς ἤκιστα φευξοῦνται δυνάμεις. ταῦτα  
 λέγεται ἐπικομπάσαντα τὸν Σιλζίβουλον ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐπ' Ἐφ- 10  
 θαλίτας ὁρμῆς.

9 φεύξουσι edd.

### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 4)

Ἵτι ὁ Κάτουλφος κωλύων τὸν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἡγεμόνα τῆς  
 πρόσω πορείας ἐπεφθέγγετο βαρβαρικὸν μὲν τι καὶ παροιμιῶδες,  
 ὅμως δὲ ἐχόμενον πειθοῦς, ἓνα κύνα ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ὀθνεῖων  
 δέκα ῥωμαλεώτερον εἶναι.

2 ἐφθέγγετο edd. μὲν τι Mai [μέντοι cod.]

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 5)

Ἵτιπερ οὐδὲν οὔτω βέβαιον ὡς τὸ τῆς νίκης ἀβέβαιον.

### 5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 6)

Ἵτι ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις πολλάκις παραπέση γε τῇ τόλμῃ  
 τὸ σώζεσθαι.

1 παραπέση γε [παρέπεται Bekker 2 σώζεσθαι Boissevain [ονίζεσθαι vel ανίζεσθαι cod.  
 ἐλπίζεσθαι Mai λογίζεσθαι Bekker]

### 6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 7)

Οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε τάληθῆ σιγητέον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν εἵποιμί τι  
 τῶν μέγα δυναμένων. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι τὸ εὐκλεές, τούτοις  
 ἐγκώμια προσφέρων τις παρὰ τὴν πάντων δόξαν καταγέλαστον  
 τίθησι τὸν ἐπαινούμενον, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπισκιάζειν βουλό-  
 μενος κὰν τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ψεύδεσθαι δόξει. 5

1 εἵποιμί [<ἂν> εἵποιμι Bekker τι post εἵποιμί om. edd.]

### 7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 8)

Ἵτι ὀλισθηρότατόν τι χρῆμα ἢ νίκη καὶ διαδιδράσκειν οἷα τε  
 οὔσα ῥαδίως. ταῦτά τοι καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτὴν φησιν ἐπαμείβεσθαι  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας.

their departure, as is naturally the case with barbarians he declared boastfully that, "They are not birds that they can take to the sky to escape the swords of the Turks, nor are they fish that they can take to the water and hide in the depths of the sea; but they must travel the earth. When I have ended the war with the Ephthalites, I shall attack the Avars and they shall not escape my might."<sup>15</sup> It is said that with this boast Silzibul continued his war against the Ephthalites.<sup>16</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 4)

Katulph, in dissuading the leader of the Ephthalites from advancing further, spoke the following proverb, barbaric indeed but persuasive, that one dog on its home ground is mightier than ten strangers.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 5)

Nothing is so certain as the uncertainty of victory.

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 6)

When danger is greatest the desire to survive often reinforces boldness.

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 7)

I must not hide the truth, nor should I speak to gratify the powerful. For if someone, contrary to the judgement of all, seeks to praise men who deserve no repute, he makes his subject laughable and, in his attempt to hide the truth, is thought to lie even in those details upon which there is agreement.<sup>17</sup>

7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 8)

Victory is a thing hard to hold and always ready to slip away. Thus, Homer says that it comes in turn to men.<sup>18</sup>

8. (*Exc. de Sent.* 9)

Ὅτι ψυχὴ τυραννουμένη πρὸς φόβου τῶν δεόντων κατ' οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν προμηθεύεται.

## 5

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 1)

Περὶ Ἀβάρων, ὡς πολλὰ περινοστήσαντες ἦκον ἐς Ἀλανοὺς καὶ ἰκέται ἐγένοντο Σαρωσίου τοῦ Ἀλανῶν ἡγουμένου, ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτοῦ γνώριμοι ἔσονται Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνω τῷ Γερμανοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ἐν Λαζικῇ καταλόγων ἐξηγουμένω τῶν Ἀβάρων πέρι ἐδήλωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ· 5  
καὶ δὴ ἐνεκελεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ στρατηγῷ στέλλειν ἐς Βυζάντιον τὴν πρεσβείαν τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ οὖν Κανδίχ ὄνομά τις ἤρέθη πρεσβευσόμενος ὑπὲρ Ἀβάρων πρῶτος, <ὅς> ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἐσφοιτήσας ἔλεξε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὡς πάρεστι τὸ μέγιστόν τε καὶ ἀλκιμώτατον τῶν ἔθνῶν, καὶ ὡς τὸ φύλον οἱ 10  
Ἄβαροι ἀκαταμάχητοί τε εἰσι καὶ τὸ ἀντιστατοῦν οἰοί τε ῥαδίως ἀπώσασθαι τε καὶ διαφθεῖρειν, καὶ ὡς προσῆκόν ἐστι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὁμαιχμίαν σφᾶς ἐταιρίσασθαι ἀλεξητηρᾶς τε ἔχειν ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως εὐνούστατοι ἔσονται τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ πολιτεία ἢ δώροις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τιμιωτάτοις καὶ χρήμασιν ἐτησίοις καὶ 15  
γῆς εὐφορωτάτης οἰκήσει. ταῦτα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπειδὴ ἠγγειλεν ὁ Κανδίχ, αὐτίκα, οὐ γὰρ ἐσφρίγα οἱ τὸ σῶμα οὐδὲ ἤκμαζεν ἢ ἀλκή, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ἠνίκα Γελίμερά τε τὸν Βάνδηλον καὶ Οὐίτιγιν τὸν Γόθον ἄμφω ἔτι νεάζων ἔθετο δοριαλώτω, ἀλλ' ἤδη γηραλέος τε ἦν καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐκεῖνο φρόνημα καὶ φιλο- 20  
πόλεμον μετεβέβλητο ἐς τὸ ῥαθυμότερον, ταῦτα ἔγνω ἐτέρω τρόπῳ καὶ οὐχὶ πολέμῳ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀποκρούσασθαι δύναμιν. καὶ κατηγωνίσαστο ἂν καὶ ἄρδην ἠφάνισεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' οὖν εὐβουλία, εἴ γε μὴ τῷ ὀφειλομένῳ τέλει πρότερον ἠφανίσθη αὐτός· οὐ γὰρ πολλῷ ὕστερον ᾤχετο ἐκεῖσε. 25  
ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦκιστα ἦν οἴός τε περιεῖναι, τὴν ἐτέραν ἐτράπετο.

8 ὅς add. Hoeschel

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

Ὅτι δημηγορήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ξυλλόγου τὸ ἀγχίνουν τε καὶ βουλευτικὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινέσαντος, παραχρῆμα τὰ τε δῶρα ἔστελλεν, σειράς τε χρυσῷ διαπεποικιλ-

8. (*Exc. de Sent.* 9)

A mind oppressed by fear takes no thought at all for what must be done.

## 5

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 1)

Concerning the Avars:<sup>19</sup> after many wanderings they came to the Alans and begged Sarosius, the leader of the Alans, that he bring them to the attention of the Romans.<sup>20</sup> Sarosius informed Germanus' son Justin,<sup>21</sup> who at that time was general of the forces in Lazica, about the Avars, Justin told Justinian, and the Emperor ordered the general to send the embassy of the tribe to Byzantium. One Kandikh by name was chosen to be the first envoy from the Avars, and when he came to the palace he told the Emperor of the arrival of the greatest and most powerful of the tribes. The Avars were invincible and could easily crush and destroy all who stood in their path. The Emperor should make an alliance with them and enjoy their efficient protection. But they would only be well-disposed to the Roman state in exchange for the most valuable gifts, yearly payments and very fertile land to inhabit. Thus spoke Kandikh to the Emperor.

Justinian's body was weak and his strength, of course, had diminished from the time when, as a young man, he had made captive both Gelimer the Vandal and Vittigis the Goth. Now he was an old man, and his bold and warlike spirit had become feeble, and he sought ways other than war to ward off the power of the barbarians. He would have crushed and utterly destroyed them, if not by war then by wisdom, had he not met his destined end first; for shortly afterwards he departed this life. Since he could not defeat them, he followed the other course.

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

The Emperor put the matter up for discussion, and when the holy senate had praised his plan and its shrewdness, he immediately sent the gifts: cords worked with gold, couches, silken garments and a

μένας και κλίνας ἐσθιτάς τε σπηκας και ἕτερα πλείστα ἐκμαλ-  
 θακῶσαι οἷα τε ὄντα ἀλαζονείας ἀνὰ πλεονηματα, πρὸς τοῖς  
 5 και πρεσβυσομένον Βαλεντινον (εἰς δὲ οὗτος τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 μαχαιροφόρων), πρὸς τρεπετέ τε τὸ φύλον ὀμαιχμίαν ἐσάγειν  
 Ρωμαῖοις και κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὀπλιζέσθαι, ἐμφοροέστατα,  
 οἷμαι, προμηθευσομένους ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς ἦ νικῶντες οἱ Ἄβαροι ἢ  
 10 και ἡσώμενοι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πορίσωσι Ρωμαῖοις τὸ συνοῖσιν. τοῦ  
 δὲ Βαλεντινου ἐκείσε ἀφικομένου και τὰ δῶρα παρασχομένου  
 και ὅσα ἐστήμηεν ὁ βασιλεύς ἐξείποντος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξέπολε-  
 μῶθησαν Οὐνιγούροις, εἶτα Ζάλοισ, Οὐννικῶ φύλῳ. και Ζα-  
 βήρους δὲ καθέλων.

(Suda A402 = vv.1-2, Z274 = vv.3-4, E493 = vv.4-5)

4 ἕτερα [ἄλλα τε Suda E493 5 οἷα [οἷας Suda 13 Οὐνιγούροις [Οὐνιγούροις Niebuhr

3. (Exc. de Leg. Geni. 3)

Ὅτι ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες Ἄντων ἀθλίως διετέθησαν και παρὰ τὴν  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ἐπεπτόκεσαν, αὐτίκα οἱ Ἄβαροι ἐκείρον τε  
 τὴν γῆν και ἐληίζοντο τὴν γῶραν. νιεζόμενοι δ' οὖν ταῖς τῶν  
 πολέμιων ἐπιδρομαῖς οἱ Ἄνται ἐπρεσβύσαντο ὡς αὐτοῦς,  
 5 Μεζάμηρον τὸν Ἰδαρίσιον Κελαγάστον ἀδελάφον ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσ-  
 βειαν χειροτονοήσαντες, ἐδέοντο τε πρίασθαι τῶν τινας τοῦ  
 οἰκείου φύλου διοριζάτων. και τοῖσιν Μεζάμηρος ὁ πρεσ-  
 βυτής, στωμύλος τε ὢν και ὑπαγόρας, ὡς Ἄβαροις ἀφικομένους  
 ἀπέρριψε βήματα ὑπερήφανα τε και θρασυτέρὰ πως. ταῦτα τοῖ  
 10 Κορδάμηρος ἐκείνους, ὁ τοῖς Ἄβαροις ἐπιτηδέιος, ὁ κατὰ Ἄντων  
 τὰ ἐχθιστά βουλεύσομενος, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μεζάμηρος ὑψηλότερον ἢ  
 κατὰ πρεσβυτήν διελέγετο, εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Χαγάνον. οὗτος ὁ  
 ἀνὴρ μεγαίστην ἐσοτὶ περιβέβληται δυνάμιν ἐν Ἄνταις οἷος τε  
 πέφυκε κατὰ τῶν ὄπισσόν αὐτῷ πολέμιων ἀντιτάττεσθαι. δεῖ  
 15 τοιγαροῦν ἀποκταθῆναι τοῦτον και τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδέως ἐπι-  
 δραμείσθαι τὴν ἀλαορία. τοῦτῳ πεισθέντες οἱ Ἄβαροι, παρ-  
 σάμενοι τὴν τῶν πρεσβῶν αἰδῶ ἐν οὐδενὶ τε λόγῳ θέμενοι τὴν  
 δίκην ἀναρῶνσι τὸν Μεζάμηρον. ἐξ ἐκείνου παλῶν ἢ πρότερον  
 20 ἔτιμονον τὴν γῆν Ἄντων και οὐκ ἀνέισαν ἀνδραποδίζόμενοι  
 ἀγοντες τε και φέροντες.

(Suda A3048 = vv.8-9)

1 Ἄντων Valisius [τῶν Α 4 οἱ Ἄνται de Boor [τόνται Α ὡς οἶόντε edd. 10 Κορδάμηρος [Κορπιγούρος conl. Niebuhr Κορδάμηρος Müller (ei Niebuhr in textu)

4. (Exc. de Leg. Geni. 4)

Ὅτι ἐδέξαστο Ἰουστινιανὸς παρὰ Ἄβαρων πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ᾧ σφῶς



great many other objects which would mollify the arrogant spirits of the Avars. In addition, he sent as ambassador Valentinus, one of the imperial bodyguard,<sup>22</sup> and he urged the tribe to make an alliance with the Romans and take up arms against their enemies. This, in my view, was a very wise move, since whether the Avars prevailed or were defeated, both eventualities would be to the Romans' advantage. When Valentinus arrived at his destination, presented his gifts and delivered the Emperor's message, the Avars first crushed the Unigurs, then the Zali, a Hunnic tribe, and they also destroyed the Sabirs.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3*)

When the leaders of the Antae<sup>24</sup> had failed miserably and had been thwarted in their hopes,<sup>25</sup> the Avars ravaged and plundered their land. Since they were hard pressed by the enemy incursions, the Antae sent an embassy to them, appointing as ambassador Mezamer the son of Idariz and brother of Kelagast, and they asked him to ransom some of their own tribe who had been taken captive. The envoy Mezamer was a loudmouthed braggart and when he came to the Avars he spoke arrogantly and very rashly. Therefore, that Kutrigur who was a friend of the Avars and had very hostile designs against the Antae, when he heard Mezamer speaking more arrogantly than was proper for an envoy, said to the Khagan, "This man is the most powerful of all amongst the Antae and is able to resist any of his enemies whomsoever. Kill him, and then you will be able to overrun the enemy's land without fear." Persuaded by this the Avars killed Mezamer, setting at nought the immunity of ambassadors and taking no account of the law. Thereafter they ravaged the land of the Antae even more than before, carrying off prisoners and plunder without respite.

### 4. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4*)

Envoys came to Justinian from the Avars to look over the territory

περιαθρήσαι γῆν, ὅποι τὸ φύλον θήσονται τὰς οἰκῆσεις. καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν βασιλεύς, Ἰουστίνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σημήναντός οἱ, ἐν  
 βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὴν Ἐλούρων χώραν κατοικίσει τὸ ἔθνος,  
 ἔνθα πρὸ τοῦ ᾤκουν οἱ Ἐλουροὶ· δευτέρα δὲ προσαγορεύεται 5  
 Παιονία· καὶ εἴ γε θυμῆρες αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ κατένευσεν ἂν ὁ  
 βασιλεύς. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι Σκυθίας οὔτι ᾤοντο δεῖν ἔσσεσθαι ἐκτός·  
 αὐτῆς γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἐσὸτι ἐφίεντο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐ προύβη,  
 ἔστειλε δὲ ὅμως Ἰουστίνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ  
 Βυζάντιον ἐδήλωσέ τε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐν κατοχῇ 10  
 ἔσοιντο ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἐφιλοποιήσατο γὰρ τῶν πρέσβειων ἓνα (ὄνομά  
 οἱ Κουνίμων) ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τέ οἱ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κουνίμων ὡς ἕτερα  
 διαλεγόμενοι ἕτερα γνωματεύουσι, καὶ ὡς λόγοις μὲν ἐς τὰ  
 μάλιστα μετρίοις χρῶνται, καὶ ὡς τὴν ἐπιείκειαν παραπέτασμα  
 προβάλλονται τοῦ δόλου τῷ ἐμπεδῶσαι δῆθεν τὸ εὖνον ὡς τοὺς 15  
 Ῥωμαίους, ὡς ἂν ταύτῃ διαπεραιωθεῖεν τὸν Ἴστρον, τὸ δὲ γε  
 βουλόμενον αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης ἔχει ἐτέρως, καὶ ὡς, εἴ γε  
 διέλθοιεν τὸν ποταμόν, βούλονται πανστρατὶ ἐπιθέσθαι. τούτων  
 οὖν Ἰουστίνος ἐγνωσμένων αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐσήμηεν, ὡς ἂν οἱ  
 πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐγκαθειργμένοι ὧσιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ· ταύτῃ 20  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀνέξοιντο διελθεῖν τὸ ρεῖθρον, πρὶν ἢ ἀφεθῶσιν οἱ  
 πρέσβεις.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἔπρασεν ὁ Ἰουστίνος, οὐχ ἦττον παρεσκευ-  
 ἄζετο ἅμα φυλάξων τὰς διαβάσεις τοῦ ποταμοῦ· Βῶνον γὰρ τὸν  
 πρωτοστάτην τοῦ θητικοῦ καὶ οἰκετικοῦ τῆ τοῦ ποταμοῦ 25  
 ἀπένειμε φυλακῇ. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀβάρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδέν τι  
 ὤνησαν ὥνπερ αἰτοῦντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀφίκοντο, δῶρα ὡσπερ  
 σύνηθες ἦν αὐτοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰληφότες, καὶ μὲν οὖν ὤνησά-  
 μενοι τὰ ὅσα χρεῶν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐσθῆτος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὄπλων,  
 ἀφέθησαν μὲν, ὅμως δ' οὖν Ἰουστίνῳ λάθρα ἐνεκελεύσατο ὁ 30  
 βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τῷ τὰ ὄπλα ἀφελέσθαι παρὰ σφῶν. καὶ οὖν ὁ  
 στρατηγός, ἐπεὶ ἐδέξατό γε αὐθις ἐπανιόντας τοὺς πρέσβεις,  
 κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο ἡ δυσμένεια Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ  
 Ἀβάρων ἤδη ἐκ πολλοῦ ὑποτυφομένη, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μὴ ὡς  
 θᾶπτον ἀφεθῆναι τοὺς πρέσβεις. συνεχέστατα γὰρ ἐσήμηεν ὁ 35  
 Βαιανὸς ὡς ἂν ἐπανέλθοιεν· τὸ μελετώμενον δὲ σάφα ἐπιστά-  
 μενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως διετίθει τὸ παρόν, ὅπως ἐς τὴν  
 βασιλίδα πόλιν ἐγκαθειργμένοι εἶεν.

(Suda Γ335 = vv.12-13, Υ620 = vv.33-34)

where the tribe was to make its home.<sup>26</sup> On the advice of the general Justin,<sup>27</sup> the Emperor was planning to settle the tribe on the land which the Heruls had earlier inhabited, which is called Second Pannonia. If they had agreed, the Emperor would have granted this. But the Avars were unwilling to live outside Scythia, since, I suppose, they were greatly attached to the place.<sup>28</sup> Although no progress was made on the matter, the general Justin sent the envoys to Byzantium and advised the Emperor to detain them there for a considerable time. For he had made friends with one of the envoys, whose name was Kunimon, and Kunimon had told him confidentially that their intent was different from what they professed. Their demands were very modest, and by asserting their goodwill towards the Romans they were using their reasonableness as a mask for their treachery until by this means they had crossed the Danube. Their intent, however, was otherwise, and, if they managed to cross the Danube, they planned to launch an attack with their whole army. When Justin learned this, he told the Emperor in order that the envoys be detained in Byzantium, since the Avars would be unwilling to cross the river before the envoys were released.

While he was doing this, Justin was no less careful to take precautions against the Avars crossing the river, for he assigned Bonus, the commander of his household troops,<sup>29</sup> to guard it. Since the envoys of the Avars could obtain none of their demands from the Emperor, they received their accustomed gifts from him and were allowed to depart, having purchased whatever they required, both clothing and weaponry. However, the Emperor secretly ordered Justin to deprive them of the arms by whatever means, and when the general received the envoys on their return, he acted accordingly. Thereafter the hostility between the Romans and the Avars, which had already been smouldering, broke out. But the particular cause was that the envoys had not been quickly released. For Baian had demanded that they return with all speed, but since the Emperor well knew what was planned, he manipulated the situation in various ways to keep them in the capital:

## 6

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

Ὅτι ἀνά τὴν ἔω τε καὶ Ἀρμενίαν τελεωτάτη τις εἶναι εἰρήνην ἐδόκει, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λαζικὴν ἐκεχειρία ἦν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὥσπερ ἡμιτελῆ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπῆρχεν, ἐδέδοκτο δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πληρεστάτην ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τούτου ἕνεκα Ἰουστινιανὸς στέλλει Πέτρον, ὃς τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν ταγμάτων ἡγεῖτο, διαλεχθησόμενον Χοσρόη περὶ τῶν καθόλου σπονδῶν. καὶ τοίνυν ἀφικομένου ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ Δάρας κατάδηλόν τε ποιήσαντος τῷ τῶν ἐφῶν βαρβάρων βασιλεῖ, ὡς πάρεστιν ἐπικηρυκευσόμενος ἀμφὶ τοῦ καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα ἕκασταχόσε, ἐκπέμπεται αὐτόθι καὶ Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς, ᾧ δῆτα ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἀξίωμα τὸ Ζίχ, μέγιστόν τι τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις γέρας, προσηγορία δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰεσδεγουσνάφ· οὗτος δὲ παρευναστήρ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως ὑπῆρχε.

Καὶ τοίνυν ἐν ταύτῳ γινόμενοι οἱ πρέσβεις, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀρχόντων εἰς ἓν ξυναθροισθέντων, κατέστησαν ἕς ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ Πέτρος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς ἀποχρώντως ἔχων τῆς τε ἄλλης παιδείας καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων ἔλεξεν ὧδε· πάρεσμεν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως σταλέντες. ὁποῖος δὲ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς περιττὸν ἂν εἶη λέγειν, τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄνδρα διηγουμένων ὑμῖν. πάρειμι μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τῆς ἤδη γεγενημένης ἕς τελεωτάτην εἰρήνην μετασκευάσαι. ἀναδιδάξαι δὲ βούλομαι πρότερον πρὸς οἶαν ὑμῖν πολιτείαν καὶ ὄσσην αἰ σπονδαὶ βεβαιωθήσονται. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις μεγαλορρήμων εἶναι δόξω τὸ συνοῖσον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις θηρώμενος, μὴ ἀχθεσθῆτε τῇ περιττολογίᾳ. οὐκ ἕς μακρὰν γὰρ ἐν δέοντι δόξει τὰ τοιαῦτα λελέχθαι, ἐπαινεθῆσομαί τε πρὸς ὑμῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἀναδιδασκόντων τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλειαν.

Γενήσονται τοίνυν ὑμῖν αἰ ξυνθῆκαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ἀρκέσει δὲ Ῥωμαίους εἰπεῖν· δηλοῖ γὰρ ἡ προσηγορία τὰ λειπόμενα. χρεῶν οὖν ὑμᾶς ὡς πρὸς τοσαύτην πολιτείαν σπεισομένους καὶ οὐ περὶ βραχέων βουλευομένους τὰ κάλλιστά τε καὶ τὰ ξυνοῖσοντα μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀδήλων τοῦ πολέμου τὸ προδηλότατον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαθὸν

9 βαρβάρων Hoeschel [βαρβάρω codd. ἐπικηρυκευσόμενος Bekker [(ἐπι) κηρυκευσάμενος codd. 11 ἀξίωμα τὸ Hoeschel [ἀξιώματι codd. 13 αὐτὸν Hoeschel [αὐτῷ X αὐτῶν E 15 ταύτῳ Bekker [αὐτῷ codd. 22 ἐκεχειρίας post γεγενημένης conl. de Boor 24 οἶαν [οἶα BE 27 δόξει Classen [δείξει X δείξη E 35 τὴν εἰρήνην [τῆς εἰρήνης edd.

## 6

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

Through the East and Armenia there seemed to be a very firm peace between the Romans and the Persians. In Lazica there was a truce.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, since a partial peace was already in existence, the rulers of the Romans and Persians decided to make a universal peace, and for this purpose Justinian sent Peter, the master of the offices, to negotiate with Khosro for a comprehensive treaty. When Peter reached the frontier at Daras, he informed the king of the eastern barbarians that he had come to treat concerning the mutual cessation of hostilities. To that place was sent the envoy of the Persians, whose name was Yesdegusnaph. He held the rank of Zikh, which is the highest honour amongst the Persians, and he served as his king's chamberlain.<sup>31</sup>

When the envoys met and were joined by the governors of the neighbourhood, they opened the conference. Peter, the Roman envoy, who was well educated, especially in the law, spoke as follows: "We are here, O men of Persia, at the behest of the Emperor of the Romans. It would be superfluous to tell you what kind of man our Emperor is. His achievements describe him. I am here to turn the present peace into a comprehensive one. I wish first to explain to you the nature and the power of the state with which you will be making the treaty, and if I seem to be dwelling at too great length on the advantages to both states, do not let my verbosity irritate you. For shortly what I shall say will prove to be to the point, and you will commend me when you learn the utility of my words from their results.

"You will be making a treaty with the Romans. It is enough to say 'Romans'; the name tells it all. Since you are to make a treaty with such a great nation and you are, therefore, confronting a major decision, you should choose the best and most beneficial course and embrace, not the uncertainties of war, but peace, which is very clearly

ἀσπάζεσθαι. καὶ μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω λογισμὸς ὡς νενικήκατε Ῥωμαίους, ἐπηρμένοι τῷ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀλῶναι πρὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἄττα Ῥωμαϊκὰ χωρία. τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς εὐτυχίας ὁ θεὸς ἐκόλασεν ἐν τούτῳ, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου διαφέρειν πολὺ. καὶ εἰ μὲν τὸ φύσει δίκαιον ἐκράτει, 40 οὔτε ῥητόρων οὔτε νόμων ἀκριβείας οὔτε μὴν ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ποικιλίας τῶν λόγων ἔδει· αὐθαίρετα γὰρ τοῖς βιωφελέσι τῶν πραγμάτων προσετέθημεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δίκαια καθεστάναι νομίζομεν <τὰ κεχαρισμένα> προσδεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων τερθρείας ἡμῖν. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐς 45 ἐκκλησίαν ξυνεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἂν πείσοιμεν ἕκαστοι τοὺς <ἄλλους> δεινότητι λόγων ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸν εἰρήνη καὶ τούναντίον πονηρὸν ὁ πόλεμος οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τὴν κοινήν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν βέβαιον ἡγήσόμεθα τὸ νικᾶν, οἶμαι τὸν 50 νενικηκότα κάκιστα ζῆν ἐξ ὧν δακρύουσιν ἕτεροι. οὔτω δῆπου καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν λυπηρόν, μήτι γε τὸ κρατεῖσθαι λυπηρότερον. διὸ τοίνυν ὁ καθ' ὑμᾶς βασιλεὺς ἀπέσταλκε σπεισομένους ἡμᾶς καὶ προτέρους ἰκετεύσοντας καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐχ ὡς δεδιῶς μὲν τὰ πολέμια, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ προφθάσοιτε διαλεγόμενοι πρότεροι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς φιλτάτης ἡμῖν. 55

Μὴ δῆτα οὖν, ὡς . . . πρὸς τῆς τῶν θορύβων ἀπαλλαγῆς, τὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπεκτείνωμεν δυσμενείας. πολιτείας γὰρ εὐ πολιτευομένης ἀλλότριον πέφυκέ πως τὸ μὴ στοχάζεσθαι τῶν 60 ξυμβησομένων ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. διαγραφέτω τις ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχικαῖς θεωρίαις ὥσπερ παρόντας τοὺς πεπτωκότας καταλοφυρομένους, ἀναλογιζέσθω καὶ τὰς καιρίας τῶν πληγῶν ἐπιδεικνύοντας ἀποικτιζομένους τε καὶ ἐπεγκαλοῦντας ὡς τῆ τῶν κρατούντων ἀβουλία διέφθαρται τὸ ὑπήκοον· εἶτα τοὺς περιόντας εἰσπράττοντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀπολωλότας τυχὸν μὲν γονεῖς, 65 τυχὸν δὲ παῖδας, ξυμβὰν δὲ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἢ τὸν ὄντιναοῦν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄνθρωπον. ἐνθυμηθῶμεν χηρωθείσας τὰς οἰκίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν νεωτάτην ἡλικίαν ὀρφανισθειῖσαν, καὶ πανταχοῦ μεριζόμενον τὸν θρῆνον ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ συγγενείας ὄνόματι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ 70 δοίημεν τὸ πίπτειν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος εἶναι καλόν, πάσης ἀφροσύνης ἐστὶν ἀνάπλεων δύνασθαι μὲν ἄνευ κινδύνων χάριν ἐκτίνειν τῆ θρεψαμένη, τῷ δὲ δοκεῖν μειονεκτεῖσθαι τῶν ἀντιπάλων μὴ βούλεσθαι. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γῆν καὶ τὴν

38 ἄλλα ante ἄττα conii. de Boor 44 τὰ κεχαρισμένα add. Niebuhr / 45 προσδεῖ Niebuhr [πρὸς δὲ codd. (δὴ an dei incert. in E) 46-47 ἕκαστοι τοὺς <ἄλλους> Niebuhr [ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς Bekker 57 lacunam indicavi 62 καιρίας Hoeschel [καιρίας codd. 63 ἀποικτιζομένους [ἐποικτιζομένους MP Dindorf

a good thing for all mankind. Do not be led astray by the conviction that you have conquered the Romans because you are elated at your capture of Antioch and other Roman towns.<sup>32</sup> This was God's way of punishing the excessive good fortune of the Romans, lest they think that men differ greatly from one another. Moreover, if what is naturally just always prevailed, there would be no need of orators or the careful distinctions made by the laws or meetings or complex discussions of these issues, since we should automatically follow the most beneficial course. But since we all consider what we support to be just, debate with its complex argumentation is also necessary. For this reason we have come together in congress, so that each of us, through his skill in argument, might try to persuade the others that his position is reasonable.

Now, no one will deny that peace is good and its opposite, war, is bad. Even if against the general consensus we hold victory to be assured, in my opinion that victory is ruined by the distress of the defeated. Thus, even victory brings grief, though less than defeat. With this in mind our Emperor has sent us to make a treaty and to take the initiative in asking that the war be ended. He does this not because he fears war but because he dreads that you might anticipate him in proposing the peace which is so dear to us.

“Let us not allow the respite from turmoil which we have enjoyed to lead us to continue hostilities.<sup>33</sup> For it is the mark of a well-governed state to take into consideration what will result from war. I ask you each to picture in your mind, as if they were present, those who have fallen, lamenting. Imagine them displaying their mortal wounds, accusing and complaining that the madness of the rulers has destroyed their subjects. Then imagine the survivors demanding of us the dead – perhaps a father, or a son, or perhaps a dearest friend, or just a human being. Let us think upon the homes bereft of their menfolk, the new-born child an orphan, and the grief which everywhere spreads amongst all the kin. Even if we allow that it is a noble thing to die for one's country, it is utter and complete madness to be able without danger to render gratitude to the land which has nurtured us, yet to refuse to do so because we appear to be worsted by our opponents. This, I think, the land of Persia and the

Ῥώμην αὐτήν, εἶπερ ἠδύναντο φωνᾶς ἀφιέναι, ταῦτα δήπουθεν ἡμᾶς ἀντιβολεῖν. μὴ οὖν αἰσχυρθῶμεν τοῦ πολέμου καταθέσθαι τὸ φορτίον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπικαίρως ἅπαντα πράσσειν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν προσοίσει τῆς ἀνδρείας τὴν εὐκλειαν. 75

Μηδέ τις ὑμῖν ἐς προκάλυμμα τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν κατατιθέναι τὰ ὄπλα τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κάλλιστον τὴν εἰρήνην δυσεύρετον εἶναι τι χρῆμα καὶ δυσπόριστον εἶποι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς οἴονται πολλοί, τὰ κάκιστα μὲν προχειρότατα καὶ αὐθαίρετα προσίπταται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ αὐ βέλτιστα τῶν πράξεων διαδιδράσκει τε καὶ διολισθαίνει καὶ δυσάλωτα πέφυκέ πως. πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ κακὸν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ταλαντεύεται γνώμῃ, καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ προσδέχεται τὴν ῥοπήν. ἀρκέσει δ' οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος πρότερον, ἢ περ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρκέσωμεν. οὐ γὰρ ὄπερ ἄμεινον οἶεται τις τὸ συνοῖσον ἀκριβῶς ἐν τούτῳ γνωρίζεται. οὐ δεῖ τοιγαροῦν ὑμᾶς ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς φθάσασιν ἀπειροκαλίας ἑαυτοῖς περιτιθέναι γνωρίσματα. μία γὰρ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἐν ἅπασιν, καὶ οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν τὸ ὁμοιογενὲς διαλλάττειν φύσει τινί. ἀσφαλέστατον δὲ πως ἐνέχυρον καὶ τὸ ξυνεστάναι τὸ ἀντιπολιτευόμενον. ἔως γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φανερώς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον εὖ, παιδεύονται τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, καταλύοντος δὲ μὴ φαινομένου τοὺς ἀντερεΐδοντας, καὶ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν συγκαταλύουσι δύναμιν, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ ἄξιοι νενικημένοι τυγχάνουσιν. ταῦτα καὶ θεὸν τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς μαρτύρομαι καὶ τοὺς καθ' ὑμᾶς εἰ θεοὶ εἴτου ἕτεροὶ τινες τυγχάνουσιν, εἶγε καὶ Πέρσαις οὕτω δοκεῖ. τοσαῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Πέτρος. 80 85 90 95

Ὁ δὲ Ζιχ ἀκηκῶς (δεινότατος γὰρ ἐσὶ καὶ οἶος βαρβάρῳ γλώττῃ καὶ βραχυλογία τὸ δέον εἰπεῖν) ὑπολαβὼν ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε· ὡς μὲν οὐκ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια πρεσβεύετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τίς ἀπάνθρωπος καὶ θηριώδης οὕτω φῆσαι; κοινῇ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὸν εἰρήνην δοκεῖ. ἐγὼ δὲ κατεπλάγην ἀνταῖς κομψολογίαις, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ Πέρσαις ἐτυγχάνομεν ὄντες. μὴ οὖν οἴεσθε περιόδῳ ῥημάτων λήσειν ἡμᾶς ὁποιοὶ τινες καθεστῶτες ἤκετε τευξόμενοι τοῦ συνοῖσοντος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προβάλλεσθε τὴν εἰρήνην ὥσπερ παραπέτασμα τῆς δειλίας καὶ ταύτη τὸ φανερώτατον τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐπισκιάζειν οἴεσθε, βραχέα διαλεχθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ σύνηθες ἀνδρῶν 100 105 110

77 προσοίσει Hoeschel [πρόσεισι codd. 78 ὑμῖν [ἡμῖν edd. 81 προσίπταται [προσάπταται C 82 αὐ Hoeschel [ἄν codd. 83-103 τε καὶ κακὸν . . . κοινῇ γὰρ om. X et edd., inseruit de Boor ex E 94-95 τοὺς ἀντερεΐδοντας de Boor [τοῦ ἀντερεΐδοντος E 97 ἡμᾶς de Boor [ὑμᾶς E 106 ἐτυγχάνομεν Niebuhr [τυγχάνομεν codd. 107 τευξόμενοι Hoeschel [εὐξόμενοι codd. 108 προβάλλεσθε Hoeschel [προβάλλεσθαι codd.



land of Rome, if they could speak, would entreat of us. Let us not, therefore, be ashamed to cast off the burden of war. For if we settle everything expeditiously, we shall win more good fame than we shall through bravery.

“Let no one, to hide his unwillingness to cease hostilities, say to you that, though peace is the thing most desirable, it is hard to find and hard to secure. For it is not the case, as many think, that great evils alight very readily, indeed spontaneously, upon mankind, whereas great benefits slip away and elude us and are most difficult to secure. For the human mind weighs every advantage and disadvantage and inclines the balance towards what it desires.<sup>34</sup> And so we shall always be sated with war before it is sated with us. In war one cannot clearly identify the course that will lead to the desired result. Therefore, you should not become excited by your early successes and join to yourselves tokens of a lack of good sense. For all men are of one and the same nature, and their emotions are all the same. One should not imagine (and the surest proof of this is when rival states become friends) that one race has different characteristics from another. While men are clearly prevailing over their enemy, their courage is nurtured. But when it is obviously failing to destroy their opponents, they dissipate their own resources and consequently are conquered by those who ought not defeat them.<sup>35</sup> To witness these things I call upon our God and upon the gods amongst you – if there are other gods and if the Persians so believe.” Thus spoke Peter.

When he had listened to this, the Zikh, who was an extremely intelligent man and able to speak briefly and to the point in his native tongue, said the following in reply: “Who, Romans, is so uncivilised and savage as to say that your mission is not appropriate and just? All men agree in regarding peace as a blessing. I should have been taken in by your fine words, were you not Romans and we Persians. Do not imagine that your convoluted arguments hide from us what kind of men you are who have come here, seeking your own advantage. Since you use peace as a blind for your own cowardice and seek to hide your manifest dishonour behind it, I may speak briefly. For it is not

Πέρση περιττολογία διεξιέναι τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ καίρια.

Χοσρόης ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἶπερ βούλεται, βασιλεὺς οὔτε τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἄλωσιν ἐγκαλλώπισμά τι καὶ ἐγκώμιον ἑαυτῷ περιτίθησιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ φοβερὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐργωδέστατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν πραχθέν, ὅμως ἡμεῖς πάρεργον 115 ἡγούμεθα τὸν ὄντιναοῦν τῶν πολεμίων νικᾶν· πεπαιδευόμεθα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τὸ κρατεῖν, καθ' ὅσον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένη κρατεῖσθαι μεμαθήκασιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν· οὔτε μὴν ἑτέρας Ῥωμαϊκῆς πόλεως καταστροφή πρὸς ὄγκον ἡμᾶς ἐξαιρεῖ ποτέ. τὸ γὰρ προχειρότατον ἡμῖν οὐ θαυμαστόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρκέσει πρὸς 120 ἔλεγχον τῆς μάτην ἀπερριμμένης παρ' ὑμῶν ἀδολεσχίας. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ σύνητες πράττουσι περὶ σπονδῶν πρότεροι διαλεγόμενοι Πέρσαις. ἤσσηθέντες πρὸς ἡμῶν νενικήκατε τῷ τάχει προτερήσαντες τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτεῖν, καὶ ταύτη τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀδοξίαν ἐπικαλύπτετε, τῷ δῆθεν μὴ ἐφιέμενοι μάχης 125 ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι δοκεῖν. ὅπερ ἂν ἡμεῖς, εἶπερ ἐμελλήσατε, καὶ κρατοῦντες ἐπράξαμεν. ὅμως δεχόμεθα τοὺς λόγους, τὴν εἰρήνην περὶ πλείστου ποιούμεθα. φρόνημα γὰρ εὐγενὲς τῷ πρέποντι ζυμμεταρρυθμίζειν τὰ πράγματα.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ζιχ εἰπόντος, οἱ ἀμφοτέρων ἐρμηνεῖς 130 διασαφηνίσαντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τὰ ῥήματα διδάσκαλοι τῶν νοημάτων ἐγίγνοντο, πλείστων καὶ ἑτέρων ἀπερριμμένων λόγων, νῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρειώδους χάριν, νῦν δὲ καὶ κόμπου ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἦττον ἔχοντας τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίεσθαι. Πέρσαι μὲν διηνεκεῖς ἠξίουσαν ἔσεσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, πρὸς δέ γε καὶ χρυσίον 135 ῥητὸν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κεχρηῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις κομίζεσθαι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν, τὸ γοῦν ἐλάχιστον τριάκοντα, προειληφότας ἐκ τῶν συντελεσθησομένων ἐν ἐνὶ συναθροισμῷ, οὕτω βούλεσθαι κατατιθέναι τὰ ὅπλα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοῦναντίον ὀλιγοχρονίους τὰς ζυνθήκας εἶναι 140 ἐβούλοντο, πρὸς τοῖς μήτε μὴν κατατιθέναι τι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. ἀμίλλης δὲ περὶ τούτου ἐπὶ μέγα κινηθείσης, καὶ λόγων προελθόντων ἤκιστα ὀλίγων, τέλος ἔδοξεν ὥστε ἐπὶ ν' μὲν ἔτη ζυνεσθάναι τὴν εἰρήνην, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἀποδοθῆναι τὴν Λαζικὴν· στερράς τε εἶναι καὶ ἐρρωμένας τὰς συνθήκας καὶ κρατεῖν 145 ἑκασταχόσε, τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔω, τοῦτο δὲ [κατὰ τὴν] καὶ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δῆπου τῇ Λαζικῇ, οὕτω μέντοι ὡς λ' χιλιάδας ἐτησίας χρυσίου νομίσματος ἀποφέρεσθαι Πέρσας

123 ἤσσηθέντες Niebuhr [ἤσσηθῆναι codd. 126 ἐμελήσατε EMP 138-39 ἐκ τῶν συντελεσθησομένων scripsi [ἐκτός συντελεσθησομένων C (om. συν-) BEP ἐκτός συντελεσθησομένων M pān τὸ συντελεσθησομένον Niebuhr 141 τοῖς [τῷ Bekker 143 προελθόντων Niebuhr [προσελθόντων codd. 146 κατὰ τὴν exp. Bekker 148 χρυσίου [χρυσοῦ de Boor

the habit of a Persian to waste words on irrelevances.

“Khosro, the king of all men (if he so wishes), does not use the capture of Antioch for his own self-advertisement or glorification. If what we have achieved causes you great difficulty and fear, to us the defeat of one of our enemies is a side issue. We are well versed in victory, in that we have taught the other nations what it is to be conquered. Therefore, the reduction of yet another Roman city does not make us haughty. What is commonplace for us causes us no wonder. Yet these facts suffice to disprove your idle prattle. For the Romans customarily are the first to offer treaty negotiations to the Persians. Though defeated by us, you salvage victory through your speedy requests for peace. By this means you hide the dishonour you have earned in war and, while unwilling to fight, you give the appearance of acting properly. Yet if you had waited, we, the victors, would have done the same. Nevertheless, since we value peace most highly, we are open to your proposals. For a noble spirit acts in accordance with what is right.”

When the Zikh had spoken thus, the interpreters of each side reported what the other had said and explained the sense of the words. A large number of other speeches were made by both sides, some necessary, others for show to demonstrate an equal commitment to peace. The Persians wanted a treaty without a time limit and a fixed amount of gold every year from the Romans in return for their not taking up arms. Moreover, as a condition for laying down their arms they demanded that they first receive in a lump sum forty, or at least thirty years' instalments of the money to be paid.<sup>36</sup> The Romans for their part wanted the treaty to be a short one and proposed to pay nothing for peace. There was a long dispute over this in which many words were expended, but finally it was agreed that the peace be for fifty years; that Lazica be ceded to the Romans; that the terms of the treaty be firmly adhered to and prevail on both sides, not only in the East and Armenia but also in Lazica itself; that under these conditions the Romans pay thirty thousand golden *nomismata* per

τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. ἐβεβαιώθη δὲ τοῦτο ὥστε 150  
 Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὁμάδι δεκαετίας ποσότητα προπαρασχεῖν οὕτω  
 παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑπτὰ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ζ' ἐτῶν  
 παραδρομὴν οὐκ ἐς ἀναβολὴν κατατιθέσθαι τῶν λοιπῶν τριῶν  
 ἐτῶν τὴν συντέλειαν· εἰθ' οὕτω καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος πορίζεσθαι  
 Πέρσας τὸ ὄρισμένον ἐνιαυσιαῖον.

Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατασκαφῆσαι τὸν μοναστήριον 155  
 οἶκον τὸν λεγόμενον Σεβανὸν καὶ ἰδρυμένον ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις,  
 καὶ ἀπολήψεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὸν τόπον, Ῥωμαίων μὲν καθεστῶτα  
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, Περσῶν δὲ παρασπονδησάντων καὶ ἐν κατοχῇ  
 τούτου ἤδη γενομένων τείχει τε κατησφαλισμένων τὸ ἰλασ-  
 τήριον. οἱ δὲ ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε ἐς τέλος κατέσκαψαν οὔτε μὴν 160  
 ἐνεχείρισαν Ῥωμαίοις. ταῦτά τοι οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐμ-  
 φέρεται.

Ἐστέρχθη δὲ ὥστε τὰς λεγομένας τῇ Λατίνων διαλέκτῳ  
 σάκρας ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν βασιλείοι ἀποκομισθῆναι ἐπι-  
 βεβαιούσας ἅπαντα ὅσα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβων ἐμπεδωθέντα 165  
 ἐτύγγανε. καὶ τοίνυν τὰ τοιάδε ἐστάλη αὐτόθι. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ  
 ἐς τοῦτο ὥστε κατὰ μίαν μοῖραν προσελθεῖν τὴν καλουμένην  
 σάκραν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐπιψηφιζομένην περὶ τῶν  
 προδοθησομένων χρημάτων τῆς τριετίας μετὰ τὸν ἔβδομον  
 ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς καταθήσουσι ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι Πέρσαις. ἐκυρώθη 170  
 <δὲ> ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν ὁμολογίαν ἐν γράμμασι  
 προσελθεῖν ὡς, ἥνικα πορίσαιντο Πέρσαι τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν τὸ  
 ὀφειλόμενον χρυσίον, βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων τὸ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦδε  
 βεβαιωτικὸν ἀναδοθήσεται γράμμα.

Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίου αὐτοκράτορος περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης 175  
 ὁμολογία τὴν συνήθη φέρουσα προγραφὴν γνώριμος ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ  
 μάλιστα τυγχάνει· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως γράμμασι μὲν  
 ἐγράφη Περσικοῖς, τῇ δὲ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ κατὰ ταῦτα δήπουθεν  
 ἰσχύει τὰ ῥήματα· Θεῖος, ἀγαθός, εἰρηνοπάτριος, ἀρχαῖος  
 Χοσρόης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, εὐτυχής, εὐσεβής, ἀγαθοποιός, 180  
 ᾧτινι οἱ θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν δεδώκασι,  
 γίγας γιγάντων, ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται, Ἰουστινιανῶ Καί-  
 σαρι, ἀδελφῶ ἡμετέρῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν προγραφὴ οὕτω πη ἐδήλου,  
 ἀτὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῶν λεχθέντων τοιάδε ὑπῆρχεν. εἴποιμι δὲ αὐτὴν  
 γε δήπου τῶν λόγων τὴν συνθήκην· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἔγωγε φήθη 185

151 ἐνιαυτῶν Valesius [ἐνια τῶν codd. 156 Σεβανὸν [Σεβαστιανὸν MP Dindorf 164 ἀποκομισθῆναι E de Boor [ἐπικομισθῆναι X edd. 167 προσελθεῖν codd. [προελθεῖν Bekker (item v.172) 171 δὲ add. Niebuhr 179 εἰρηνοπάτριος [εἰρηνοποιός de Boor 181 μεγάλην τύχην Niebuhr [μετὰ τύχην codd.

year to the Persians for peace. It was also agreed that the Romans should make a lump-sum payment of ten years' instalments as follows: those for seven years would be made immediately, and at the end of the seven years the three remaining instalments would be paid without delay. Thereafter the Persians would receive annually the payment due.

Concerning the demolition of the monastery called Sebanus, which was on the border, it was agreed that the Romans should receive the place back. It had been in the possession of the Romans initially, but when the Persians broke the treaty<sup>37</sup> they took it over and fortified the monastery with a wall. However, in the end they neither demolished it nor did they hand it over to the Romans, since it was not mentioned in the treaty.

It was decided that the letters from both rulers (called 'sacred' in Latin) ratifying everything which the envoys agreed upon should be conveyed to the present place; and they were duly sent. In addition, it was agreed that the so-called sacred letter from the Roman Emperor should contain an appendix guaranteeing that after the period of seven years the Romans would hand over to the Persians the three years' instalments which they were to pay, and that the Persian king should give a written commitment that when the Persians had received the three years' payments due, the appendix guaranteeing this should be returned to the Roman Emperor.

The letter of ratification from the Roman Emperor, bearing the usual superscription, is well known to us. The letter from the Persian king was written in Persian and the following is a Greek translation: "The divine, good, father of peace, ancient Khosro, king of kings, fortunate, pious and beneficent, to whom the gods have given great fortune and a great kingdom, giant of giants, formed in the image of gods, to Justinian Caesar, our brother." Such was the superscription, while the meaning of the text was as follows (I use a word-for-word translation, a procedure I felt absolutely necessary lest, if I changed

χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἄλλως, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὑποτοπήσοι τις ἑτέρα φράσει  
 παρατετράφθαι τι τῶν ἀληθῶν· εἶχε <δὲ> οὕτω· Χάριν ἀπο-  
 νέμομεν τῇ ἀδελφότητι τοῦ Καίσαρος περὶ τῆς χρείας τῆς  
 εἰρήνης τῆς μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν δύο πολιτειῶν. ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 Ἰεσδεγουσνάφ θείῳ κουβικουλαρίῳ ἐκελεύσαμεν καὶ ἐξουσίαν 190  
 δεδώκαμεν, ἡ ἀδελφότης τοῦ Καίσαρος Πέτρῳ μαγίστρῳ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Εὐσεβίῳ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξουσίαν  
 δέδωκε λαλῆσαι καὶ τρακταῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Ζιχ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος παρὰ  
 Ῥωμαίοις μάγιστρος καὶ Εὐσέβιος τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κοινῶς  
 ἐλάλησαν καὶ ἐτρακταῖσαν, καὶ ἐτύπωσαν τὴν εἰρήνην πεντή- 195  
 κοντα ἐνιαυτῶν, καὶ ἔγγραφα πάντες ἐσφράγισαν. ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἃ ὁ  
 Ζιχ καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐποίησαν,  
 βεβαίως ἔχομεν τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἐμμένομεν αὐτοῖς. οὕτω μὲν ἐπὶ  
 λέξεως εἶχεν. ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως  
 ἐτύγγανεν οὐσα ὁμολογία, ἄνευ τῆς προγραφῆς ἧς εἶχε τὸ 200  
 βασιλείον γράμμα τὸ Περσικόν. καὶ ἐν τοιοῖσδε ὁ ξύλλογος  
 διελύθησαν.

Ἐν δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα ξυνελεύσει μεγαλαυχοῦντος τοῦ Ζιχ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ κομπολογία χρωμένου φάσκοντός τε, ὡς  
 ἀμαχώτατός τέ ἐστι καὶ νίκας περιεβάλετο πολλὰς καὶ ὡς, ἐξ οὗ 205  
 χρόνου τὴν κίδαριν ἀνεδήσατο, ἀμφὶ τὰ δέκα ἔθνη καταγωνισά-  
 μενος κατέστησεν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῶν Ἐφθα-  
 λιτῶν κατεστρέψατο δύναμιν καὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς ἐχειρώσατο  
 πλείστους, καὶ ὡς ἄγανταί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τεθήπασιν οἱ ἐκείνη  
 βάρβαροι, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς αὐτῷ ἢ 210  
 ἐπωνυμία κεκόμψευται τὸ βασιλέα προσαγορεύεσθαι βασιλέων,  
 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιάδε τοῦ Ζιχ περὶ Χοσρόου μεγαληγορία  
 χρησαμένου, ἐν διηγῆματι ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Πέτρος τοιάνδε ἱστορίαν  
 τινά, ὡς ἐγένετό τις ἐν τοῖς πάλαι τε καὶ ἀνωτάτω χρόνοις  
 βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτιος ὄνομα Σέσωστρις, καὶ οὖν γε συμπνεούσης 215  
 αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης μεγάλα ἐφύσα καὶ ἔθνη μέγιστα καθεῖλεν, ὡς  
 δουλαγωγῆσαι καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀρθῆναι ἀλαζο-  
 νείας ὡς καὶ ὄχημα χρυσοκόλλητον ξυμπήξασθαι, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν  
 ἵππους δέον ἢ ἕτερα ἐλκυστήρια ζῶα τοὺς δοριαλώτους ἐκείνους  
 βασιλεῖς ὑπαγαγεῖν τῷ ζυγῷ οὕτω τε διφρευόμενον διὰ τῶν 220  
 λεωφόρων ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. τοῦτο ἐπεὶ ὁσημέραι  
 ἐπετέλει, τῶν τις βασιλέων τὸ ὄχημα ἐλκόντων κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον

186 ἄλλως codd. [ἄλλοις de Boor 187 τῶν ἀληθῶν· εἶχε <δὲ> de Boor [τῶν ἀληθῶν· εἶχε  
 EP τῶν ἀληθῶς, εἶχε MB ὡν ἀληθῶς εἶχεν Hoeschel ἢ δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν Niebuhr 196 καθ' ante ἃ  
 add. Niebuhr 198 τὴν εἰρήνην fort. exp. de Boor 209 ἐκείνη Valesius [ἐκείνοι codd.  
 221 ἐπιφαίνεσθαι [ἐπιφέρεσθαι X edd.

the phraseology, I be suspected of distorting something of the truth): “We render thanks to the brotherliness of Caesar for the enjoyment of peace between the two kingdoms. We have given to Yesdegus-naph, the sacred chamberlain, orders and authority to confer and negotiate, and the brotherliness of the Caesar has given the same orders and authority to Peter, the master of the Romans, and Eusebius.<sup>38</sup> The Zikh and the aforementioned master amongst the Romans and Eusebius have conferred together and negotiated concerning the peace, have fashioned a peace of fifty years and have all affixed their seals to the documents. Therefore, we steadfastly embrace the peace and adhere to those terms which the Zikh and the master of the Romans and Eusebius have established.”<sup>39</sup> Thus it was written word for word. The sense of the letter of ratification from the Roman Emperor was similar, but without the superscription of the letter from the Persian king. And this was the end of the discussion of these matters.

At the following meeting the Zikh began to boast and exalt king Khosro, saying that he was invincible and adorned with many victories; that from the time when he had assumed the tiara, he had conquered about ten peoples and made them tributary; that he had destroyed the power of the Ephthalites and had defeated very many kings; that the barbarians there were in wonderment and awe of him; and that properly and rightly he was proclaimed king of kings.<sup>40</sup> When the Zikh made these and similar boasts about Khosro, Peter digressed into the following story. There was in very ancient times a king of Egypt called Sesostris. Fortune smiled upon him and he performed great deeds, destroying the mightiest peoples and enslaving their kings. He became so arrogant that he had a chariot made inlaid with gold, and instead of horses or other beasts of burden he yoked the captive kings to it, and driving through the streets in this manner exhibited himself to his subjects. As he did this every day, he noticed that one of the kings pulling the chariot, who

ἐξευγμένος συνεχέστατά πως καὶ λεληθότως ἐς τοῦπίσω τὸ  
 βλέμμα ἐπιστρέφων ἐθεᾶτο τὸν τροχὸν κυλινδούμενόν τε καὶ τῆ  
 τῆς κινήσεως συνεχεία ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιελιττόμενον. ἐποχούμενος 225  
 δὴ οὖν ὁ Σέσωστρις (ἐπέσκηψε γάρ), τί δῆτα, ἔφη, τοῦτο ποιεῖς,  
 ὦ οὗτος; ὁ δὲ ἀμοιβαδὸν ἔφη· ὦ δέσποτα, ὄρῳ τὸν τροχὸν ὡς  
 θαμὰ περιδινούμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βάσεως μένει ὄδε, ἀλλὰ  
 γὰρ ἄνω κάτω φερόμενος τὴν ἄρματοτροχίαν ἐργάζεται. τοῦτο  
 ἀκηκῶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος καὶ μὲν οὖν τεκμηράμενος, ὡς ὑπαινίττεται 230  
 τὸ ἀστάθμητόν τε καὶ παλίμβολον τῆς τύχης, καὶ ὡς τροχῷ  
 κυλιομένῳ ἔοικε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ξυνῆκε μὴ ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς χρόνῳ  
 ποτὲ τοιούτῳ προσπταίση δυστυχήματι, τοῦ λοιποῦ τε ἐπαύσατο  
 κατὰ τὸν προλεχθέντα τρόπον ἄρματηλατεῖν· πρὸς τοῖς <τοῦς>  
 δεδουλωμένους οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀφῆκε καὶ ταῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγε- 235  
 μονίαις ἐνεβίβασεν αὐθις. ἐνταῦθα Πέτρῳ ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἱστο-  
 ρίας ὁ λόγος ἐγγαλινώσαντι τὴν τοῦ Ζίχ περι Χοσρόου μεγαλη-  
 γορίαν.

Εἶτα διελέγοντο αὐθις περὶ τῶν πρακτέων. ἅπαντα μὲν γάρ,  
 ὡς ἐνῆν, τὰ ἀμφίβολα ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ καθειστήκει, τὰ δ' οὖν 240  
 περὶ Σουανίαν ἔτι ἐν μετεώρῳ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ὑπελέλειπτο σφίσι  
 μόνῃ ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλῳ. τῷ τοι ἔλεξεν ὣδε Πέτρος· πλείστων  
 ἐπαίνων ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ, ὅς τέλεια βουλευόμενος τέλειον  
 ἐπιθήσοι ταῖς πράξεις τὸ πέρας. εἰ γὰρ ἐλλείπει τι τῶν δεόντων,  
 ἐλλιπὲς οἶμαι καὶ τῷ βουλευομένῳ τὸ φρόνημα. οὐκ εἰκῆ δὲ καὶ 245  
 μάτην εἴρηται νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος· πρὸς σὲ δὲ φερόμενος, ὦ Ζίχ,  
 Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις φανήσεται λυσιτελέστερος. εἴπομι δέ  
 πως φανερώτερον. Σουανία Ῥωμαίοις ὑπῆρχε, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 Σουάνοις ἐκέλευον. ἀμέλει Τζαθίου Σουάνων ἐξηγουμένου  
 Δείτατός τις Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκεῖσε Ῥωμαϊκῶν καταλόγων 250  
 ἐτύγχανε προεστώς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες Ῥωμαίων ἐν Σουάνοις  
 ἐποιοῦντο τὰς διατριβάς. δυσμενεῖας δὲ τινος <γενομένης>  
 μεταξύ τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως καὶ Μαρτίνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου τηνι-  
 καῦτα ἐκεῖσε στρατηγοῦντος, τούτου ἕνεκα ὁ Κόλχος οὐκ  
 ἀπέστειλε Σουάνοις τὸ σῆθηδες σιτηρέσιον· ἔθος γὰρ πέμπεσθαι 255  
 σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ Κόλχων βασιλέως. διὸ δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ  
 Σουάνοι τῷ τῶν νενομισμένων ὑστερηθῆναι κατάδηλον ἐποιή-  
 σαντο Πέρσαις ὡς, εἰ γενήσονται αὐτοῦ, Σουανίαν ἐγχειρί-  
 σουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ Δεισάτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἡγεμόσι

227 ὄρῳ [ὄρῳ de Boor 234 τοῦς add. Niebuhr [πρὸς γε τοὺς Bekker 235 δεδουλωμένους [δεδουλωμένους EMP 252 γενομένης add. Niebuhr [οὔσης add. Hoeschel 257 Σουάνοι Hoeschel [Σαυνοὶ vel Σαννοὶ codd. ὑστερηθῆναι [στερηθῆναι Bekker 259 Δεισάτῳ [ΕΞισάτῳ X edd.



was harnessed to the end of the yoke, was continually looking furtively behind and watching the rolling wheel as it moved for ever upon itself. As he was driving along Sesostris called out to him, "You there, why are you doing that?" The king replied, "Master, I am watching the wheel as it keeps rolling and never stays in the same place, but goes over and over as it carries the chariot." When he heard this the Egyptian understood that he was alluding to the shifting and unstable nature of fortune and hinting that the affairs of men were like a rolling wheel, and so he realised that at some time he himself might fall into misfortune. For the future, therefore, he ceased to ride in the manner described and in addition he freed the enslaved kings and restored them to their thrones.<sup>41</sup> Thus ended Peter's story and it checked the Zikh's boasting about Khosro.

They then turned again to business. All of the points at dispute were settled as far as possible, although they could not agree over Suania,<sup>42</sup> which remained the only point of contention for them. Therefore, Peter spoke as follows: "Worthy of the highest praise is the man who plans for perfection and achieves a perfect end to his endeavour. If he leaves something necessary undone, his plan, in my view, is defective. I am not now speaking idly and to no purpose. My words are aimed at you, Zikh, but they will bring greater benefit both to the Romans and to the Persians. I shall make myself clearer. Suania was subject to the Romans, and the Suani took their orders from the Romans. Actually, when Tzath was chief of the Suani, a certain Ditatus was commander of the Roman troops there, and there were other Romans also living amongst the Suani. When ill-feeling arose between the king of the Lazi and Martin, at that time the general of the Romans in Lazica, on account of this the Colchian did not send to the Suani the usual supply of grain (for grain was customarily sent by the king of the Colchians). The Suani, therefore, angry that they failed to receive what was customarily theirs, told the Persians that if they came to Suania, they would hand over the territory to them. Meanwhile, they told Ditatus and the other Roman

τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἔφασαν ὅτι· πολυπληθία Περσῶν 260  
 ἀγγέλλεται χωροῦσα κατὰ Σουάνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀξιόμαχον οὐκ  
 ἔχομεν δύναμιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ συνοῖσον βουλευσασθε ξὺν τοῖς  
 ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων καταλόγοις ὑποχωροῦντες τῇ Μηδικῇ στρα-  
 τεία. τοσοῦτῳ χρησάμενοι Σουάνοι δόλω καὶ δώροις ἀναπεί-  
 σαντες τοὺς τῶν καταλόγων ἐπιστάτας ἀπεβάλοντο παρὰ σφῶν 265  
 τὴν Ῥωμαίων φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξὺν τάχει παραγενόμενοι  
 Σουανίαν ἔλαβον. ληπτέον οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀνέκαθεν ὑπῆρχεν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀρμόζει τήμερον. εἰ γὰρ  
 δικαιοτάτα Λαζικῆς κύριοι καθεστήκαμεν, καθὰ δήπουθεν ὑμεῖς  
 ἐψηφίσασθε, Σουανίας τῆς ὑπὸ Λαζικὴν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου 270  
 δεσπόσομεν.

Ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας ἔφη· ἄχθεσθε μᾶλλον Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι ἔθνος  
 αὐθαίρετα καὶ ἐκουσίως προσεπέλασεν ἡμῖν. ὁ Ζίχ ὑπολαβὼν  
 ἔφη· αὐτόνομοι γεγόνασι Σουάνοι καὶ οὐπώποτε τῇ Κόλχων  
 ὑπεκλίθησαν ἀρχῇ. αὐθις ὡς τὸν Ζίχ ἔλεξεν ὁ Πέτρος· εἴ γε μὴ 275  
 βούλει, ὦ Ζίχ, ἐν τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης συμβολαίοις ὀνομαστὶ  
 Σουανίαν ἐγχαράξαι, σήμανον ὡς ἀποδίδως μοι Λαζικὴν ξὺν  
 τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἔθνεσιν αὐτῇ. ὁ Ζίχ· εἰ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ποιήσω,  
 ἄδειά σοι δοθήσεται καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἀμφισβητεῖν κατ' ἐξου-  
 σίαν τε εἵποις ἄν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ κατήκοος ἐγεγόνει Λαζῶν. 280  
 ἔνδηλος, ἢ δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, γεγένησαι, ὦ Ζίχ, ὡς οὐ βούλει πᾶσαν  
 ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι Λαζικὴν, ἀλλὰ τινα μοῖραν αὐτῆς. πολλὰ μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ ἕτερα Ῥωμαῖοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσαι εἰπόντες τε καὶ ἀκηκοότες  
 Σουανίας πέρι ὅμως οὐ ξυνέβησαν. δοκεῖ τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῖς περὶ  
 τοῦ τοιοῦδε τὸν βασιλέα ἐπισκοπῆσαι Περσῶν. καὶ ὄρκω 285  
 ἐπιστώσατο ὁ Ζίχ, ἢ νενόμισται Πέρσαις ὀμνύειν, ξυνεπι-  
 λαβέσθαι Πέτρῳ ὡς Χοσρόην ἀφικνουμένῳ ἕνεκα Σουανίας.

Εἶτα τοῦ Ζίχ τοὺς περὶ Ἄμβρου τοῦ Ἀλαμουνδάρου τοῦ τῶν  
 Σαρακηνῶν ἡγουμένου κινήσαντος λόγους φάσκοντός τε, ὅτι γε  
 δήπου καὶ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ 290  
 Σαρακηνικοῦ κομίζεσθαι χρεῶν τὰς ρ' χρυσίου λίτρας, ἀντεῖπεν  
 ὁ Πέτρος, ὥστε τὸν πρὸ Ἄμβρου ἡγεμόνα δωρεᾶ τινι ἀγράφῳ καὶ  
 ὄσῳ ἄν ἠβούλετο χρυσίῳ καὶ ὀπηνίκα ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐφιλο-  
 φρονεῖτο δεσπότης. τοιγαροῦν ἐστέλλετο τῇ ταχυτῆτι τῶν

261 ἀγγέλλεται Niebuhr [ἀγάλλεται codd. 262 βουλευσασθε Niebuhr [βουλευσασθαι codd.  
 265 καταλόγων Niebuhr [λόγων codd. λόγων Cantoclar. ἀπεβάλοντο [ἀπεβάλλοντο BP  
 266 δὴ post δὲ add. C 268 ὑπῆρχεν [ὑπῆρχον X 270 ἐψηφίσασθε [ἐψηφίσασθαι EMP  
 271 δεσπόσομεν Hoeschel [δεσπόσωμεν codd. 275 ὑπεκλίθησαν [ὑπεκλήθησαν E 276-7  
 ὀνομαστὶ Σουανίαν de Boor [ὀνόματι Σουανίαν codd. ὀνόματι Σουανίας Hoeschel 281 ἐν-  
 δηλος, ἢ Dindorf [ἐνδηλώσει codd. 286 ἢ Hoeschel [ἢ codd.

commanders that 'a large army of Persians is reported to be advancing against the Suani, and we do not have a force adequate to meet it. Your best course of action is to retreat with the Roman forces here before the army of the Medes.' Using this trick, which they reinforced with gifts, the Suani convinced the army commanders and rid themselves of the Roman garrison, and the Persians quickly arrived and took over Suania.<sup>43</sup> From this it must be agreed that Suania belonged to the Romans from the first and should belong to them today. If we are in full justice the masters of Lazica, as you yourselves agree, then our claim to Suania, which is subject to Lazica, is equally valid."

To this the Surenas<sup>44</sup> replied, "Rather, Romans, you are vexed that the people came over to our side freely and of their own volition." The Zikh added, "The Suani are autonomous and have never been subject to the Colchians." When the Zikh had spoken, Peter proposed, "Zikh, if you do not wish the name Suania to appear in the treaty document, say that you are willing to hand over to me Lazica with its subject peoples." The Zikh said, "If I do that, I shall give you licence to raise the issue of Iberia.<sup>45</sup> You would be able to claim that it, too, was subject to Lazica." "It is clear," said Peter, "that you are not willing to return the whole of Lazica to us, only a part of it." The Romans and the Persians both made and listened to many other arguments on Suania, but came to no agreement. They, therefore, decided to refer this matter to the Persian king, and the Zikh swore by the usual Persian oath that when Peter came to discuss Suania with Khosro, he would support him.

Then the Zikh raised the subject of Alamundar's son, Ambrus, the chief of the Saracens, saying that he, like the previous chief of the Saracens, ought to receive the hundred pounds of gold. Peter replied, "Our master honoured Ambrus' predecessor with a free gift of gold, given in whatever amount and at whatever time the Emperor saw fit. Thus, a messenger was dispatched by the public post to deliver to the

δημοσίων ἵππων ὀχούμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγγελιαφόρος ὡς τὸν Σαρα- 295  
 κηνὸν ἀποκαταστήσων οἱ τὸ ὅπερ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ πεμφθὲν πρὸς  
 τοῦ Ῥωμαίου βασιλέως. οὕτω τε ἐς τοῦμπαλιν ἐκ τοῦ Σαρακηνοῦ  
 ὡς βασιλέα τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν ἐπέμπετο δωροφορῶν πρεσβευτής,  
 εἶτα ἀντιδῶρῳ αὐθις ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο τὸν Σαρακηνὸν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτοκράτωρ. εἰ βούλεται οὖν καὶ Ἄμβρος κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, 300  
 λήψεται, εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖ· εἰ δέ γε οὐ βούλεται,  
 κινεῖ τὴν ἄλλως, πρὸς γε καὶ ἡλιθιώτατα φρονεῖ. ἀποίσεται γὰρ  
 οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν.

Τούτων διαμφισβητηθέντων καὶ ἐτέρων, ἐγράφησαν αἱ  
 πεντηκοντούτιδες σπονδαὶ περσιστὶ καὶ ἑλληνιστί, μετεβλήθη 305  
 τε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Περσίδα φωνὴν καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς  
 Ἑλληνίδα. οἱ δὲ τὰς ξυνθήκας βεβαιοῦντες Ῥωμαίων μὲν Πέτρος  
 ὁ τῶν περὶ βασιλέα καταλόγων ἡγεμῶν καὶ Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἕτεροι,  
 Περσῶν δὲ ὁ Ζιχ ὁ Ἰεσδεγουσνάφ καὶ Σουρήνας καὶ ἕτεροι. τῶν  
 οὖν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ὁμολογιῶν ἐν συλλαβαῖς ἀναληφ- 310  
 θεισῶν, ἀντιπαρεβλήθησαν ἀλλήλαις τῷ ἰσοδυνάμῳ τῶν ἐνθυ-  
 μημάτων τε καὶ ῥημάτων. ὅσα δὲ ἐσήμηνε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης  
 γραμματεῖα, λελέξεται.

Καὶ δὴ δόγμα ἐγράφη πρῶτον ὡς διὰ τῆς στενοπορίας  
 τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ λεγομένου χώρου Τζὸν καὶ τῶν Κασπίων 315  
 πυλῶν μὴ ἐφεῖναι Πέρσας ἢ Οὐννοὺς ἢ Ἄλανοὺς ἢ ἐτέρους  
 βαρβάρους πάροδον ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας,  
 μήτε δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐν αὐτῷ δήπου τῷ χώρῳ μήτε μὴν ἐν  
 ἄλλοις Μηδικοῖς ὀρίοις στρατεύμα στέλλειν κατὰ Περσῶν.  
 δεύτερον, ὡς ἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἑκατέρας πολιτείας 320  
 ἐμμένοιεν καὶ οἱ τοῖς βεβαιωθείσι, καὶ μήτε τοὺς Περσῶν  
 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων μήτε τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ὀπλίζεσθαι κατὰ Περσῶν.  
 κατὰ τρίτην τάξιν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐμπόρους Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ  
 Περσῶν τῶν ὀποιωνοῦν φορτίων, τούτους δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοιούσδε  
 ποριστὰς κατὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κρατῆσαν ἔθος ἐμπορεύεσθαι διὰ 325  
 τῶν εἰρημένων δεκατευτηρίων. δ', ὡς ἂν οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ τῆ  
 ταχυτῆτι χρώμενοι τῶν δημοσίων ἵππων πρὸς τὰς ἀπαγγελίας, ὁ  
 μὲν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ δ' <ἐς> τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφικνούμενοι  
 κατὰ τε τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ προσῆκον ἕκαστοι τιμηθεῖεν καὶ τῆς  
 δεούσης τεύξονται ἐπιμελείας, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τε σφᾶς μὴ 330  
 χρονοτριβοῦντας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας, ἃς ἐπιφέρονται,  
 ἀμοιβάζειν ἀκωλύτως τε καὶ ἄνευ συντελείας τινός. ε' διετυπώθη

Saracen whatever the Roman Emperor sent to him. In the same way the Saracen for his part sent an envoy bearing gifts to our Emperor, and again our ruler bestowed gifts in his turn. Therefore, if Ambrus is willing to do the same, he shall receive gifts, should the Emperor wish it. If Ambrus is unwilling, he is very foolishly raising a problem to no purpose. For he will receive nothing at all."<sup>46</sup>

When these and other issues had been argued out, the fifty-year treaty was written out in Persian and Greek, and the Greek copy was translated into Persian and the Persian into Greek. For the Romans the documents were validated by Peter the master of the offices, Eusebius and others, for the Persians by the Zikh Yesdegusnaph, the Surenas and others. When the agreements had been written on both sides, they were placed side-by-side to ensure that the language corresponded.<sup>47</sup>

I shall now detail the provisions set out in the treaty:

1. Through the pass at the place called Tzon<sup>48</sup> and through the Caspian Gates the Persians shall not allow the Huns or Alans or other barbarians access to the Roman Empire, nor shall the Romans either in that area or on any other part of the Persian frontier send an army against the Persians.<sup>49</sup>

2. The Saracen allies of both states shall themselves also abide by these agreements and those of the Persians shall not attack the Romans, nor those of the Romans the Persians.<sup>50</sup>

3. Roman and Persian merchants of all kinds of goods, as well as similar tradesmen, shall conduct their business according to the established practice through the specified customs posts.<sup>51</sup>

4. Ambassadors and all others using the public post to deliver messages, both those travelling to Roman and those to Persian territory, shall be honoured each according to his status and rank and shall receive the appropriate attention. They shall be sent back without delay,<sup>52</sup> but shall be able to exchange the trade goods which they have brought without hindrance or any impost.<sup>53</sup>

ὥστε τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁποιοῦσοῦν βαρβάρους ἐμ-  
 πόρους ἐκατέρας πολιτείας μὴ διὰ ξένων ἀτραπῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς 335  
 πορείας, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς Νισίβεως καὶ τοῦ Δάρας, μήτε  
 μὴν ἄνευ κελεύσεως ἀρχικῆς ἰέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν. εἰ  
 μέντοι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τολμήσωσί τι, ἤγουν, τὸ λεγόμενον,  
 κλεπτοτελωνήσουσιν, ἀνιχνευομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις  
 ἀρχόντων ζῦν τοῖς ὅσα ἐπιφέρονται, εἴτε Ἀσύρια φορτία εἶεν 340  
 εἴτε Ῥωμαῖα, παραδίδοσθαι εὐθύνας ὑφέξοντας. ζ´, ὡς εἴτινες, ἐν  
 ᾧ χρόνῳ ὁ πόλεμος ξυνεστήκει, ἠϋτομόλησαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς  
 Πέρσας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, τοῦτο δὲ <ἀπὸ> Περσῶν ὡς Ῥωμαίους,  
 εἴ γε βούλοιντο οἱ προσκεχωρηκότες ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἐπαναστρέφειν,  
 μὴ γίνεσθαι σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν μήτε μὴν κωλύμῃ χρήσασθαι τι. 345  
 τοὺς μέντοι ἐν καιρῷ εἰρήνης αὐτομόλους ἤγουν καταφεύγοντας  
 ἐξ ἐτέρων εἰς ἑτέρους μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ´ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου  
 καὶ ἄκοντας ἐγχειρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπέδρασαν. ζ´ μέρος  
 τῶν σπονδῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπεγκαλοῦντας περὶ τοῦ σίνεσθαι τι  
 σφᾶς τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους δίκη τέμνεσθαι τὸ φιλονεικού-  
 μενον ἢ δι´ ἑαυτῶν τῶν τὴν βλάβην πεπονθότων ἢ δι´ οἰκείων 350  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐκατέρας  
 πολιτείας ξυνιόντων, οὕτω τε τὸν ζημιώσαντα ἀκέσασθαι τὸ  
 σκάζον. ἠ´, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐπικτίζεσθαι τὸ Δάρας. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέραν  
 πολιτείαν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδαμῶς ἐπιτειχίζειν ἤγουν περιοχῇ τι 355  
 κατασφαλίζειν τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀροθεσίοις χωρίων, ἵνα μὴ  
 πρόφασις ἐντεῦθεν ἔσοιτο ταραχῆς καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαλυθῆ-  
 σονται αἱ σπονδαί. θ´, μὴ ἐπιέναι ἢ πολεμεῖν ὑπηκόῳ ἔθνει ἢ  
 χώραν τινὴ ἄλλῃ τοὺς ἑτέρας πολιτείας, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἄνευ  
 βλάβης καὶ κατ´ οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν πημαιομένους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, 360  
 ὡς ἂν καὶ οἶδε ἀπολαύοιεν τῆς εἰρήνης. ι´, ὥστε μὴ πολυπληθίαν  
 στρατοῦ εἰς τὸ Δάρας ἐνιζάνειν, πλὴν ὅση γε ἀρκέσει πρὸς  
 φυλακὴν τοῦ ἄστεος, μήτε δὲ τὸν τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸν κατὰ ταύτην  
 ἐνιδρῦσθαι, τοῦ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἐπιδρομᾶς ἢ βλάβας γίνεσθαι  
 κατὰ Περσῶν· εἰ δέ γε ἄρα τι τοιοῦτον ξυνενεχθεῖη, ἐπαγιώθη 365

337 τολμήσωσί [τολήσουσί Dindorf 338 ὑπὸ Hoeschel [ἀπὸ codd. 341 ξυνεστήκει [ξυν-  
 ειστήκει edd. 342 ἀπὸ add. Hoeschel 343 προσκεχωρηκότες Niebuhr [προκεχωρηκότες  
 codd. 346 ὑποδέχεσθαι [ὑπερδέχεσθαι E ὑπεκδέχεσθαι de Boor 347 τοῖς Hoeschel [τοῖς  
 codd. 359 ἑτέρας [ἐκατέρας Dindorf 360 πημαιομένους Niebuhr [πῆ μενομένους codd.  
 361 ἀπολαύοιεν Hoeschel [ἀπολάβοιεν codd. 364 τοῦ μὴ Hoeschel [τῷ μὴ codd. 365 ἄρα  
 τι Hoeschel [ἀρ´ ἔτι M ἄρε τι BP

5. It is agreed that Saracen and all other barbarian merchants of either state shall not travel by strange roads but shall go by Nisibis and Daras, and shall not cross into foreign territory without official permission. But if they dare anything contrary to the agreement (that is to say, if they engage in tax-dodging, so-called), they shall be hunted down by the officers of the frontier and handed over for punishment together with the merchandise which they are carrying, whether Assyrian or Roman.<sup>54</sup>

6. If anyone during the period of hostilities defected either from the Romans to the Persians or from the Persians to the Romans and if he should give himself up and wish to return to his home, he shall not be prevented from so doing and no obstacle shall be put in his way. But those who in time of peace defect and desert from one side to the other shall not be received, but every means shall be used to return them, even against their will, to those from whom they fled.<sup>55</sup>

7. Those who complain that they have suffered some hurt at the hands of subjects of the other state shall settle the dispute equitably, meeting at the border either in person or through their own representatives before the officials of both states, and in this manner the guilty party shall make good the damage.<sup>56</sup>

8. Henceforth, the Persians shall not complain to the Romans about the fortification of Daras. But in future neither state shall fortify or protect with a wall any place along the frontier, so that no occasion for dispute shall arise from such an act and the treaty be broken.<sup>57</sup>

9. The forces of one state shall not attack or make war upon a people or any other territory subject to the other, but without inflicting or suffering injury shall remain where they are so that they too might enjoy the peace.<sup>58</sup>

10. A large force, beyond what is adequate to defend the town, shall not be stationed at Daras, and the general of the East shall not have his headquarters there, in order that this not lead to incursions against or injury to the Persians. It was agreed that if some such

τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Δάρας διατιθέναι τὸ πλημμεληθέν. μία πρὸς τῇ  
 δεκάτῃ τῶν σπονδῶν βεβαίωσις, ὥστε εἰ πόλις ἑτέραν ζημιώσει  
 πόλιν ἢ ὀπωσοῦν διαφθείρει τι τῶν αὐτῆς, μὴ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ  
 πολέμου μῆτε μὴν δυνάμει στρατιωτικῇ, ἄλλως δὲ δόλῳ τινὶ καὶ  
 κλοπῇ· εἰσὶ γὰρ τοιοῖδε τινὲς ἀνοσιουργοὶ οἱ ταῦτα πράσσοντες, 370  
 ὡς ἂν πολέμου ἔσοιτο πρόφασις· ἐβεβαίωθη τοιγαροῦν τὰ  
 τοιουτότροπα ἀναζητεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τοὺς  
 δικαστὰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πέρασιν ἑκατέρας πολιτείας ἰδρυμένους.  
 εἰ δέ γε αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἱκανοὶ ἀναστέλλειν τὰς πρὸς 375  
 ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων φθοράς, ἐστέρχθη ὥστε τὴν δια-  
 δικασίαν ἀναπέμπεσθαι ὡς τὸν τῆς ἕω στρατηγόν, ὡς εἴ γε εἴσω  
 μηνῶν ἕξ μὴ τμηθεῖν τὰ τῆς ἀμίλλης, καὶ ὁ ζημιωθείς μὴ  
 λήψεται τὸ ἀπολωλός, τὸν ἀδικήσαντα λοιπὸν ἐπὶ ποινῇ ὡς τὸ  
 διπλάσιον τῷ ἠδίκημένῳ εἶναι ὑπεύθυνον. ὡς εἴ γε μὴδὲ οὕτω 380  
 πέρας ἕξοι, διετυπώθη τὸ πονοῦν μέρος πρεσβείαν στέλλειν ὡς  
 τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ ἠδίκηκότος. εἶτα εἰ μὴδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 γενήσεται οἱ τὸ ἀποχρῶν καὶ διπλοῦν τὸ ὀφληθὲν ἀναλήψεται  
 κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὅσον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ δόγματι  
 διαλελύσθω τὰ τῶν σπονδῶν. δευτέραν πρὸς τῇ δεκάτῃ μοῖραν  
 τῶν σπονδῶν κατανοήσοις τὰς πρὸς θεὸν ἰκετείας, ἔτι τε καὶ τὰς 385  
 ἀράς, οἷον τῷ μὲν στέργοντι τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἰλεῶν τε  
 καὶ ξύμμαχον διὰ παντός, τῷ δὲ ἀπατηλῷ τῶν τε ἐμπεδωθέντων  
 νεοχμῶσαί τι βουλομένῳ τὸν θεὸν ἔσεσθαι ἀντίπαλόν τε καὶ  
 πολέμιον. τρίτη πρὸς τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν νομισθέντων ἰσχὺς, πεντη-  
 κοντούτιδας εἶναι τὰς σπονδάς, ἐρρῶσθαι τε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ 390  
 πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς, ἀριθμουμένου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, ἐκάστου ἔτους τῇ τριακοσιοστῇ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ  
 καὶ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ περατουμένου.

Ἰσχυῖσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, καθὰ ἔφην, ὥστε ἕξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν  
 βασιλείοι ἀποκομισθῆναι συλλαβὰς ἐκεῖσε δηλούσας ὡς καὶ 395  
 ἄμφω στέρξαι ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἐβεβαίωσαν οἱ πρέσβεις. πέρας τε  
 δεξαμένων τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἀντεδόθησαν αἱ λεγόμεναι σάκραι.

Τούτων δὲ δοξάντων καὶ ἰσχυροποιηθέντων ἐκτὸς ἐνο-  
 μίσθη τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι Χριστιανῶν, ὥστε καὶ νεῶς  
 οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ἐπιθειάζειν σφᾶς ἀδεῶς καὶ τοὺς χαριστηρίους 400  
 ὕμνους, καθὰ νενόμισται ἡμῖν, ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ

378 ἀδικήσαντα [ἀδικήκοτα C ὡς τὸ E [εἰς vel ἐς cett. codd. 383 ὠρισμένον edd. [ὄρι-  
 μένον codd. 385 κατανοήσοις [κατανοήσεις edd. 394-95 τοῖν βασιλείοι om. X edd.  
 395 καὶ add. X edd. 396 ταῦτα Hoeschel [τὸν τὰ codd.



should happen, the commander at Daras should deal with the offence.<sup>59</sup>

11. If a city causes damage to or destroys the property of a city of the other side not in legitimate hostilities and with a regular military force but by guile and theft (for there are such godless men who do these things to provide a pretext for war),<sup>60</sup> it was agreed that the judges stationed on the frontiers of both states<sup>61</sup> should make a thorough investigation of such acts and punish them. If these prove unable to check the damage that neighbours are inflicting on each other, it was agreed that the case should be referred to the general of the East on the understanding that if the dispute were not settled within six months and the plaintiff had not recovered his losses, the offender should be liable to the plaintiff for a double indemnity.<sup>62</sup> It was agreed that if the matter were not settled in this way, the injured party should send a deputation to the sovereign of the offender. If within one year the sovereign does not give satisfaction and the plaintiff does not receive the double indemnity due to him,<sup>63</sup> the treaty shall be regarded as broken in respect of this clause.

12. Here you might find prayers to God and imprecations to the effect that may God be gracious and ever an ally to him who abides by the peace, but if anyone with deceit wishes to alter any of the agreements, may God be his adversary and enemy.<sup>64</sup>

13. The treaty is for fifty years, and the terms of the peace shall be in force for fifty years, the year being reckoned according to the old fashion as ending with the three-hundred-and-sixty-fifth day.<sup>65</sup>

It was also the practice, as I have said, that letters be sent by both rulers stating that they, too, ratified everything upon which the envoys had agreed. When the terms had been settled, the so-called 'sacred letters' were exchanged.<sup>66</sup>

When these matters had been agreed and ratified, they turned to a separate consideration of the status of the Christians in Persia. It was agreed that they could build churches and worship freely and without hindrance sing their hymns of praise, as is our custom.

μήτε καταναγκάζεσθαι εἰς μαγικὴν μετιέναι θρησκείαν μήτε  
μὴν θεοκλυτεῖν ἀκουσίως τοὺς παρὰ Μήδοις νενομισμένους  
θεοὺς, καὶ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ δέ, ὥστε ἥκιστα καὶ οἶδε τολμῶεν  
μετατιθέναι μάγους ἐς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς δόξαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ ὥστε 405  
καὶ τοὺς θνήσκοντας τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐπ' ἐξουσίας εἶναι  
θάπτειν ἐν τάφοις, ἢ νενόμισται παρ' ἡμῖν.

Τούτων οὕτω προελθόντων καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει γενο-  
μένων, ἐπεὶ ἀνεδέξαντο οἱ γε ἐς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι τὰς συλλαβὰς  
τοῖν δυοῖν βιβλίοι καὶ ἀπηκρίβωσαν τῷ ἰσορρόπῳ τε καὶ 410  
ἰσοδυνάμῳ τῶν ῥημάτων τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, αὐτίκα οἱ γε ἰσόγραφα  
ἕτερα ἐπετέλουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κυριώτερα ξυνειληθέντα τε καὶ  
κατασφαλισθέντα ἐκμαγεῖοις τε κηρίνοις ἑτέροις τε οἷς εἰώθασι  
Πέρσαι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκτυπώμασι δακτυλίων ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβων,  
ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἐρμηνέων δέκα πρὸς τοῖς δύο, ἕξ μὲν Ῥωμαίων, 415  
οὐχ ἦττον δὲ Περσῶν, ἀμοιβαίᾳ τῇ δόσει τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης βιβλία  
παρέσχοντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῇ Περσῶν φωνῇ γεγραμ-  
μένον ἐνεχείρισε Πέτρῳ ὁ Ζίχ, καὶ Πέτρος δὲ τῷ Ζίχ τὸ τῇ  
Ἑλληνίδι, καὶ αὐθις τοῦ Ζίχ τὸ ἰσορροποῦν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ  
Ἑλληνίδι βιβλίον γράμμασι Περσικοῖς διασεσημασμένον ἄνευ 420  
τῆς τῶν ἐκτυπωμάτων ἀσφαλείας εἰληφότος, <ἐς> τὸ σωθή-  
σεσθαι οἱ τὰς μνήμας, καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπετέλεσεν  
ἀμοιβαίως.

Εἶτα ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθησαν τῶν τε ὀρίων ἄπο ἐγένοντο,  
καὶ ὁ Ζίχ εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἐπορεύετο· ἀτὰρ ὁ Πέτρος ἔμεινεν 425  
αὐτοῦ ἐπιθειάσων τῇ γενεθλίᾳ ἑορτῇ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἤδη γὰρ  
προσεπέλαζε τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ σέβας· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἐπιφανείᾳ τὰ νόμιμα ἀγιστεύσας μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέβη τῆς Περσῶν.  
καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε πέρας εἰλήφει τὰ τῶν ξυνθηκῶν.

Πρὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν πρέσβων, παραγενο- 430  
μένων τινῶν Περσῶν ἐς τὸ Δάρας, οἷς τὸ τοιόνδε ἐν φροντίσιν  
ὑπῆρχεν, ἅμα ἐνίοις τῶν ἐρμηνέων καὶ τοῖς τῶν πλαστίγγων  
ἐπιστάταις, ἀποκατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ζίχ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα  
χρήματα τῶν ζ' ἐνιαυτῶν, ἐφ' οἷς αἱ ξυνθῆκαι προῆλθον.

Ὡς δὲ Πέτρος ἀφίκετο πρὸς βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐν τῷ 435  
προσαγορευομένῳ Βιθαρμαῖς διαλεχθησόμενός οἱ περὶ Σου-

402 μὴν post μήτε add. *Suda* Θ162 εἰς exp. Hoeschel 407 ἢ Hoeschel [ἢ codd. 408 προ-  
ελθόντων [προσελθόντων X 409 ἀνεδέξαντο [ἀνελέξαντο de Boor 415 γε om. X edd.  
421 ἐς add. Niebuhr [τοῦ pro τὸ de Boor 426 ἑορτῇ [ἡμέρα *Suda* E2331 τοῦ θεοῦ om. *Suda*  
l.c. 430 δὴ om. MP Dindorf

Furthermore, they would not be compelled to take part in Magian worship nor against their will to pray to the gods that the Medes believe in. For their part, the Christians would not venture to convert the Magians to our beliefs. It was also agreed that the Christians would be permitted to bury their dead in graves, as is our custom.<sup>67</sup>

When matters had progressed to this stage of orderly development, those whose task it was took the texts of the two documents and polished their contents, using language of equivalent force.<sup>68</sup> Then they made facsimiles of both. The originals were rolled up and secured by seals both of wax and of the other substance<sup>69</sup> used by the Persians, and were impressed by the signets of the envoys and of twelve interpreters, six Roman and six Persian. Then the two sides exchanged the treaty documents, the Zikh handing the one in Persian to Peter, and Peter the one in Greek to the Zikh. Then the Zikh was given an unsealed Persian translation of the Greek original to be kept as a reference for him, and Peter likewise was given a Greek translation of the Persian.

After this the conference ended, and they left the frontiers. The Zikh returned to his native land, but Peter remained in the area to celebrate the Festival of the Nativity of Christ the God, for that holy day was near. When he had also celebrated the rites of Epiphany, he entered Persia.<sup>70</sup> Thus the negotiations over the treaty concluded.

Before the envoys had departed,<sup>71</sup> certain Persians, sent for the purpose, came to Daras accompanied by some of the interpreters and the controllers of the scales, and the seven years' instalments due under the treaty were paid over to the Zikh's men.

When Peter came to the Persian king in a region called Bitharmaïs<sup>72</sup> to discuss Suania, he entered the palace and spoke as

ανίας, ἐς τὰ βασιλεία προελθὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ἦκομεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 παρὰ σέ, τὸ μὲν ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔχειν εὐτυχήσαντες ἤδη,  
 τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁπὲ γοῦν τευξόμενοι τῶν δικαιοτέρων παρὰ σοῦ μὴ  
 ἀχθησόμενοι. ὁ γὰρ τὸ παρὸν εὖ διαθείς καὶ σχεδιάσας, ὡς 440  
 εἰπεῖν, τὸ συνοῖσον πῶς οὐχὶ τῶν μελλόντων προμηθεύεται  
 πολλῷ τῷ διαφόρῳ, καθ' ὅσον καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ πλείονι; μεγίστου  
 τοίνυν πέφυκε βασιλέως τὸ δύνασθαι μὲν πλεον ἔχειν, μὴ  
 βούλεσθαι δέ· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἰσχύος ἐν σῶφρονι  
 κολάζεται λογισμῷ· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ ζέον τοῦ πολέμου κατέσβεσται 445  
 νῦν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀνεπνεύσαμεν, εἷς δὲ μόνος ὑπολείπεται  
 σπινθήρ, φημὶ δὲ σπινθήρα κακῶν τὴν Σουανίαν, ἀπειλοῦσαν  
 ἡμῖν μεγίστην ἔσεσθαι δυσμενείας ἐμπύρωσιν, γενοῦ κώλυμα  
 τῶν δεινῶν καὶ προκατάπαυσον ἡμῖν ἐλπίδα τῶν κακῶν. ἐν σοὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἀμηχάνων τὸ ἄπορον ἀνεθέμεθα μηχανησαμένῳ τὰ 450  
 δέοντα. μία γὰρ τίς ἐστὶ τελεωτάτη τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσις τὸ  
 προστεθῆναι καὶ Σουανίαν ἡμῖν, εἴπερ Λαζικῆς κύριοι καθεσ-  
 τήκαμεν. ὁ γὰρ δεσπόσας τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πῶς οὐχ ἔξει τὸ  
 ὑποβεβηκός; οὔτε γὰρ Λαζοὶ οὔτε μὴν αὐτοὶ Σουάνοι πρὸς  
 ἀμφισβήτησιν ἴδοιεν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκοος ἡ Σουανία Λαζῶν ἀνε- 455  
 καθεν ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ψήφῳ τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως ὁ Σουανίας ἄρξων  
 τὸ κύρος ἐδέχετο.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Πέτρος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐπεδείκνυ Χοσρόη  
 παλαιτέρους Λαζῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλους ὑπὸ ἄλλων χειροτονη-  
 θέντας Σουάνων ἡγεμόνας. εἶτα καὶ αὐθὶς ἔλεξεν· τοῦ δικαίου 460  
 τοίνυν ἡμῖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ Σουανίαν παρέχοντος, οὐχὶ σὺ  
 προτερήσας ἐν κέρδει σχήσεις ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ δόξαι μὴ  
 ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν δωρεῖσθαι τὸ προσῆκον πᾶσιν; οὐ τι γὰρ  
 ἂν καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς οἴοιτο ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἴ γε τὸ οἰκεῖον  
 ὥσπερ δῶρον λήψεται παρ' ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λαζικὴν οἶεται οὐκ 465  
 ἄλλως ἔχειν. διαβεβαιουμένων γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐναργέστατα  
 δεικνύντων, ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἐκ πλείστου χρόνου κτῆμα καθέσ-  
 τηκεν, ἀντεῖπας αὐτὸς τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ Λαζικὴν οἰκειώ-  
 σασθαι, καὶ ὅμως τῷ βούλεσθαι τὴν δίκην ἄτρωτον εἶναι  
 προυργιαίτερον ἔθου σῶφρονα κεκτῆσθαι λογισμὸν ἢ χειρα 470  
 δυνατήν. τοιγαροῦν ἐποιήσω τὴν οὐκ ἀνάγκην ἀνάγκην καὶ τῷ  
 γενναίῳ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐψηφίσω κατὰ σαυτοῦ καὶ νικᾶν

450 τὸ ἄπορον [τὸν πόρον Hoeschel τὸ εὐπορον Bekker μηχανησαμένῳ [μηχανησαμένων X  
 455 ἴδοιεν [ἴοιεν Niebuhr εἴποιεν Hoeschel 463 οὐ τι de Boor [οὔτω codd. οὔτε Niebuhr οὐκ  
 ante οἴοιτο (464) add. Valesius

follows: “We come before you, O King, having succeeded in establishing a secure peace and expecting that we shall not be disappointed in finally receiving full justice from you. When a man has succeeded in settling the present crisis and has acted quickly to his advantage, how can he fail to give thought to the future, which is more important in that it involves a longer time? To have the power to take more yet to refuse to do so is the mark of the greatest kings. For overwhelming force is restrained by wise reflection. The flame of war has been extinguished, and we breathe again. Yet one spark alone remains, I mean Suania, that spark of evil which threatens to become a mighty inferno of enmity. Ward off our apprehensions and end our fears of disaster before they come to pass. The impasse which we could not break<sup>73</sup> we hand over to you to devise what is necessary. For there is one completely sure way to banish war and that is to resign Suania to us, since we are established as the masters of Lazica. For how can the master of the overlord be not master of the subject? Yet neither the Lazi nor the Suani themselves will seek to dispute that Suania was subject to the Lazi from the beginning and that the nominated ruler of the Suani received his authority by the will of the king of the Lazi.”

When he had said this, Peter showed Khosro a list of the earlier Lazic kings and of various rulers of the Suani who had been appointed by the various kings. Then he continued: “Since, O King, justice awards Suania to us, will you not act quickly and gain credit on two counts, both that you were not seen committing an injustice and that you are seen granting as a gift what is due in the eyes of all? For our Emperor would not at all consider that he was wronged if he were to receive what is his own as a gift from you, since that is his view on his possession of Lazica. When we insisted and clearly demonstrated that Lazica had been a Roman dominion for the longest time, you countered that it was yours by right of conquest. Nevertheless, because you wished justice to remain unviolated, you considered wise counsel more important than to hold a strong hand. Therefore, you made a necessity out of what was not, with noble generosity you

ἡξίωσας ἡττημένος τοῦ πρόποντος, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀπεκατέστησας  
 ἡμῖν Λαζικὴν ὥσπερ οἰκεῖόν τι κτῆμα μεταθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 μεταγαγὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. οὐκ ἄλλως δὲ καὶ περὶ Σουανίας ἀντι- 475  
 βολοῦμεν τὸ οἰκεῖον προῖκα λαβεῖν, καὶ χάριν δὲ ὁμολογήσειν  
 ἡμᾶς ὑμῖν τῷ μὴ ἐζημιῶσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον, ὑμᾶς δὲ τῷ κρείττονι τῷ  
 δύνασθαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε δωρεῖσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑμέτερον.

Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεξεν ὧδε· οὕτω δῆτα ψυχὴν λόγων  
 χηρεύουσιν καὶ τοῦ πείθειν ἔρημον εὐροῦσα ἢ τῆς σοφίας 480  
 δύναμις περιφρονοῦσα τὸ ἀσθενὲς καταγωνίζεται, ὥσπερ φάρ-  
 μακον ἐν ἔλκει προσπλαττόμενον καταβιβρώσκει μὲν τὸ νοσοῦν,  
 συναναζωπυρεῖ δὲ τὴν ὑγίαν τῷ κάμνοντι. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ  
 εἶπέ τιςιν, εἶπη δὲ τὸ ἀρμόδιον, οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ οὕτω νικήσει.  
 τοιγαροῦν ἢ σοφία τούτου ἔνεκα τῆς ἰσχύος τῶν ὄπλων κρατεῖ, 485  
 ὅτι πολέμου μὲν δύναμις οὐχ οἷα τε πέφυκε τοῦ πρακτέου  
 <περι>γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ πω καὶ ἑαυτὴν αὐτὴ διαχρήσεται, τὸ δὲ  
 τῆς σοφίας ἀσώματον καὶ φρούριον καθέστηκεν ἑαυτῆς, πρὸς γε  
 καὶ φρουρεῖ τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτήν. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν οὐδὲ αὐτός, ὃ  
 Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτά, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τοσαύτῃ σοφίᾳ τεθραμ- 490  
 μένος ἢ περιεῖναι τοῖς ῥήμασι μεμάθηκας, μεμφθεῖν πρὸς τινος  
 ἔγωγε μὴ πείθειν μαθῶν. πλὴν ὡς ἂν οἶός τε ὦ, κἂν εἰ μὴ τοῖς  
 ῥήμασι τηλαυγῶς, ἀλλ' ὅμως τῷ βουλομένῳ τῆς γνώμης, ὡς  
 ἔνεστιν, ἐν φανερωῖ προθεῖν τὸ δίκαιον. δοίημεν, ὡς ἐδικοιο-  
 λογήσω περὶ Σουανίας, τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὕτως ἔχειν. Λαζικὴν μὲν 495  
 ἐχειρωσάμην, Σουάνοις δὲ οὐδὲ προσέβαλον ἢ μόνη ἀκοῆ, τῷ  
 τὸν Μερμερόην ἡμῖν σημᾶναι ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξιόλογος οὐδὲ μὴν  
 περιμάχητος ἢ χώρα οὐδὲ βασιλικῆς ἔργον ἐκστρατείας, ἀλλ' ἐν  
 ὑπάρχει τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Καύκασον, καὶ ὡς ἔχουσι  
 βασιλίσκον, καὶ ὡς ὁ χῶρός ἐστι Σκυθῶν πάροδος. ἀπεβίω 500  
 Μερμερόης, εἶτα ὁ Ναχόεργαν ὑπῆλθε τῇ στρατηγίᾳ. γέγραφε  
 τοῖνυν ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι τοῦ Καυκάσου  
 τὰς ἀκρωρείας οἰκοῦσι καὶ ὅτι δῆτα κλῶπές τε καὶ λαφυραγωγοὶ  
 καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνοσίων καθεστήκασιν ἐργάται. ἡβου-  
 λόμην οὖν κατὰ σφῶν ἐλάσαι στρατείαν, οἱ δὲ κατορρωδή- 505  
 σαντες ἀντὶ Σουάνων ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ἐντεῦθεν

476 δὲ Hoeschel [σε codd. 477 τῷ μὴ Hoeschel [τὸ μὴ codd. 478 ὑμέτερον Niebuhr [ὑστερον  
 codd. 482 προσπλαττόμενον [προσπαττόμενον de Boor 484 εἶπη de Boor [εἶπη codd.  
 εἶποι Niebuhr 487 περι- add. Niebuhr 489-91 αὐτός . . . τεθραμμένος [αὐτός σε . . . τεθρα-  
 ραμμένον Niebuhr 490 ὥσπερ εἰκὸς [ὅσπερ εἰκότως Dindorf ὅς ante ὥσπερ add. de Boor  
 491 ἢ περιεῖναι Niebuhr [εἶπερ εἶναι codd. ἢ περ εἶναι Hoeschel περιεῖναι Dindorf 492 εἰ μὴ  
 Hoeschel [εἰμὶ codd.

decided against yourself, and you thought to conquer by yielding to what was right: in a word, you handed Lazica over to us as if you were resigning one of your own possessions and transferring ownership to us. Just so, in the case of Suania we ask that we receive what is ours as your free gift, that we give thanks to you that you have not deprived us of our own, and that you thank the Almighty that your power is such that you seem to give as a gift even what is not yours.”

The King replied as follows: “When the power of your wisdom comes upon a mind that lacks reason and the ability to argue persuasively, scorning its feebleness it overwhelms it, just like a medicine which is smeared upon an ulcer and devours the disease, rekindling the health of the patient. For certain men, if justice did not speak, their fine words would, and they would prevail nonetheless. Thus, wisdom overcomes the force of arms for the reason that, whereas the power of war is such that it cannot survive the act of war (unless it feeds on itself), wisdom, having no material existence, protects not only itself but also the man who possesses it. Therefore, O Roman ambassador, no one should blame me for not knowing the art of persuasion, which would be fair only if I had been nurtured in that wisdom through which you have learned how to prevail with words. However, even if I cannot express it in brilliant words, nevertheless, as best as I can, I shall set forth clearly what is in my opinion just.<sup>74</sup>

“To your position on Suania I should counter that the truth is as follows. I had conquered Lazica. I had no designs on Suania. I only heard of it when Mermeroes reported to me that it was one of the peoples around the Caucasus, it had a petty king and was on the Scythian invasion route<sup>75</sup> – the land was of no importance, certainly not worth fighting over, and not a worthy object of a royal expedition. Mermeroes died,<sup>76</sup> and Nakhoergan replaced him as general. The tenor of his report on them was similar, that they lived on the ridges of the Caucasus, that they were actually thieves and plunderers and perpetrators of atrocities and crimes against the gods. I had decided, therefore, to send an army against them, when they in fear became Persians instead of Suani. As a result the land obviously

ἀνήκειν μοι τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἔχειν οὐκ ἄρνοῦμαι. καὶ τοίνυν  
 δηλοῦσιν ὑπακούοντες ἡμῖν ἀσμενέστατα τῷ καὶ τοῖς δούλοις  
 ἄρχεσθαι τοῖς ἡμῶν. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Ζίχ ἐν γράμμασι δηλώ-  
 σαντος, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι Σουανίαν ἐπιζητοῦσι λαβεῖν, τοσοῦτον 510  
 πόρρωθεν ᾤθηθην ὑμᾶς τοῦ δικαίου φῆσαι, καθ' ὅσον οὐ πλησίον  
 ἐγενόμην τοῦ πείθεσθαι τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς. πλὴν ἠττηθή-  
 σομαι τοῦ δυνατοῦ, καθ' ὅσον οἰηθείην περιέσεσθαι, μὴ οὐχὶ  
 ταῦτὰ φρονεῖν τῷ καθ' ὑμᾶς βασιλεῖ.

Ταύτας δῆπουθεν αὐτὰς ἀπεκύησε τῷ νῶ τὰς ἐννοίας ὁ 515  
 Περσῶν βασιλεύς, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ λόγος ἐπέπαυτο πρὸς βραχὺ  
 περὶ Σουανίας αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἐν μεταξυλογίᾳ τινί, περὶ  
 Ἄμβρου τοῦ Ἄλαμουνδάρου τοῦ Σαρακηνοῦ διελεγέσθην ἄμφω,  
 τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτω πως ἀρξαμένου· ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἄμβρος ὁ  
 Σαρακηνὸς οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐπιμέμφεται τῷ Ζίχ καὶ καταβοῆν 520  
 πεποίηται τάνδρὸς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, ἅτε οὐδέν τι ὀνήσαντός γε  
 αὐτόν, ἠνίκα ἐσπενδόμεθα ὡς ὑμᾶς. καὶ ὁ Πέτρος· ἐν οὐδενὶ  
 χρόνῳ πώποτε, ἔφη, ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐκομίσαντο ἐκ Ῥωμαίων  
 οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς Σαρακηνοὶ οὔτε μὴν ἀνάγκη τινὶ οὔτε καθ'  
 ὁμολογίαν τινά, ἀλλὰ δῆτα ὁ πατὴρ Ἄμβρου Ἄλαμούνδαρος 525  
 ἔστελλε δῶρα τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ ὁ γε δεχόμενος  
 ἀντεδωρεῖτό γε αὐτόν. ὅπερ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸ τοιόνδε  
 ἐγίγνετο οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ε' παρωχημένων ἐτῶν.  
 τοῦτο γοῦν διεσώθη τε καὶ διεφυλάχθη Ἄλαμουνδάρῳ τε καὶ  
 ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἦκιστα ὀλίγον. ἐξεπίσταται δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον ὅτι 530  
 οὐχὶ δῆτα ἐρρωμένα φρονῶν ἐς Πέρσας τὰ τοιαῦδε ἔπρασεν  
 Ἄλαμούνδαρος. τοιγαροῦν διεβεβαιοῦτο ὡς εἰ καὶ ὑμεῖς πό-  
 λεμον κινήσοιτε καθ' ἡμῶν, Ἄλαμουνδάρῳ γε ἄπρακτός τε καὶ  
 ἀνενέργητος ἔσται ἢ μάχαιρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἑκατὶ πολιτείας.  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τινὰ διέμεινε χρόνον· νῦν δὲ ὁ σὸς μὲν 535  
 ἀδελφός, δεσπότης δὲ ἐμός, ἔθετο ἐν νῶ ἐμφρονέστατα, οἶμαι, ὃ  
 βασιλεῦ, ἔφη τε ὡς, εἰ βεβαίως ἔχει τὰ πολιτεύματα τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 τί δήποτε ἄρα λυσιτελήσει μοι τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπηκόοις τε καὶ  
 δούλοις προσφθέγγεσθαι Περσῶν, ὡς ἂν καταπρόοιντο τῶν  
 κεκτημένων τὰ πράγματα, ἤγουν πορίζειν τι αὐτοῖς ἢ πορίζε- 540  
 σθαι παρὰ σφῶν; εἰ πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἔλεξεν ὁ βασιλεύς,  
 ἑκατέρωθεν ἐστέλλοντο πρεσβεῖαι, καὶ ἀμοιβαίως ἐφιλοφρο-  
 νεῖσθε δώροις ἀλλήλους, χρῆναι οἶμαι ἄτρωτα εἶναι τὰ ὅσα

514 ταῦτὰ Niebuhr [ταῦτα codd. 524 ὑμᾶς Niebuhr C [ἡμᾶς rel. codd. 532 ὑμεῖς [ἡμεῖς X  
 535 τινὰ . . . χρόνον Hoeschel [τινὶ . . . χρόνον BE τινὶ . . . χρόνῳ MP Dindorf 539 κατα-  
 πρόοιντο Hoeschel [κατὰ πρόην τῷ codd.



belonged to me from that time, and I am not loth to have it. They show that they are most ready to be my subjects by their willingness to be governed by my slaves. Indeed, when the Zikh wrote to me that the Romans sought to recover Suania, I thought that you were as far from asserting what was just as I was from being convinced by the unreasonableness of what I heard. I shall yield to the one who can convince me if I think he has a superior argument, but not if he thinks as your Emperor does.”

When the Persian king had voiced these opinions, he temporarily dropped the subject of Suania, and they began to discuss, in a kind of digression, Ambrus, the son of Alamundar the Saracen. The King spoke first: “Our subject<sup>77</sup> Ambrus the Saracen is extremely critical of the Zikh and has laid a most serious complaint against the man, that when we made a treaty with you the Zikh obtained no advantage for him.” Peter replied, “Never at any time did the Saracens subject to you receive from the Romans a fixed amount of gold, either as a result of compulsion or by agreement. Rather, Alamundar, the father of Ambrus, sent gifts to the Roman Emperor, and when the latter received them he sent gifts in return.<sup>78</sup> This was not done every year, and once there was an interval of five years. But, at any rate, this practice was maintained by Alamundar and ourselves for a very long time. And the Almighty knows that Alamundar did this out of no great goodwill towards the Persians. For it was agreed that if you made war upon us, Alamundar’s sword would remain sheathed and unused against the Roman state. This remained the situation for some time. But now your brother and my master has adopted a policy that I consider, O King, to be very sensible and he says, ‘If the states are steadfast in keeping the peace, what future benefit will I derive from calling upon the subjects and slaves of the Persian king to ignore the interests of their masters and from exchanging gifts with them?’” The king said, “If envoys were exchanged and the parties honoured each other with gifts before the

ἐστέρχθη πρὸ τοῦ.

Ταύταις μὲν οὖν αὐταῖς καὶ περὶ Ἄμβρου ταῖς δικαιο- 545  
 λογίαις ἐχρησάσθην, καὶ αὐθις ἀντελογίζοντο περὶ Σουανίας. ὁ  
 δὲ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· ὀπηνίκα ἔγωγε παρεστησάμην Σκάνδεις τε  
 καὶ Σάραπα καὶ Λαζικήν, ὑμεῖς, ὡς φατε, τηνικαῦτα Σουανίαν ἐν  
 ὑπηκόων εἶχετε μοίρα. ἐνδηλον οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς οὐκ ἐτύγχανον  
 ὄντες ὑπὸ Λαζούς. ἢ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ζῆν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν 550  
 προσεχώρησαν. ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη ἀμοιβαδόν· τοῦτο οὐ γέγονεν,  
 ἐπεὶ ὁ Σουάνος οὐκ ἀπέστη, καθὰ δήπουθεν οὐ δοῦλος ἦν ὁ  
 Λαζός. φημί δὲ ὡς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δούλου ὁ δοῦλος ἀφηνίασεν  
 οὐδαμῶς. τήμερον, ἢ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, δέκα ἤδη παρῳχήκασιν  
 ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐξ οὗ Σουανίαν ἐν κατοχῇ ἐποιησάμην· πρέσβεις 555  
 πολλάκις ἐδεξάμεθά τε καὶ ἐξεπέμψαμεν ὡς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ τί  
 δῆτα ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄντιναοῦν οὐ κεκινήκατε λόγον ἔνεκα  
 Σουανίας; ἐπειδὴ τηνικαῦτα, ἔλεξεν ὁ Πέτρος, καὶ Λαζικῆς  
 κύριος ἐγεγόνεις. καὶ εἶπερ ἔφην ὡς δεῖ παραχωρῆσαί μοι  
 Σουανίας, ἀντέλεξας ἂν· τίνος χάριν; καὶ εἶπερ αὐθις ἔφην· ἐπεὶ 560  
 Λαζικῆς ἐστὶ κατήκοος, ἀπεκρίνω· τίνα γάρ σε γνωρίζομεν  
 Λαζικῆς; καὶ λοιπὸν ἀντερεῖν εἶχομεν τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. τοῦτο  
 φῆς, εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι Σουανία Λαζῶν ὑποχείριος ἦν. εἶπερ  
 ἐν γράμμασιν οἴός τε εἶ τεκμηριῶσαι τὸ τοιόνδε, ἢκιστα ἀπο-  
 τεύξῃ τοῦ δέοντος. καὶ ὁ Πέτρος· οὐ τι μελλήσω, ἀναδιδάξω δέ 565  
 σε τάληθές. ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, ὃ δέσποτα, τότε ἐκράτησε παρὰ  
 Λαζοῖς· ὁ Σουανίας ἡγεμῶν ὑπήκουε τῷ Λαζῷ καὶ ἀνάγραπτός οἱ  
 ἐπεφύκει ἐς δασμοφορίαν, καὶ τοίνυν ἐκομίζετο παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ  
 Λαζὸς καρπούς τε μελιττῶν καὶ δέρρεις καὶ ἕτερα ἄττα. ὀπηνίκα  
 δ' οὖν ὁ Σουάνος ἄρχων ἀπεβίω, ἐχειροτόνει ὁ τοῖς Λαζοῖς 570  
 ἐφροστῶς τὸν διαφυλάξοντα τοῦ ἀποιχομένου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐν  
 τούτῳ γράμμασιν ἐχρήτο ὡς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα τῶν  
 ξυμβεβηκότων πέρι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφῳ ἐπιστολῇ ἐνεκελεύετό  
 οἱ ἐκπέμψαι τὰ σύμβολα τῆς τῶν Σουάνων ἡγεμονίας ὄτῳ μὲν  
 βούλοιτο, Σουάνῳ δ' ὅμως ἀνδρί. τοῦτο τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν 575  
 Θεοδοσίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως χρόνων μέχρι Περόζου τοῦ  
 ὑμετέρου πάππου καὶ Λέοντος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

547 Σκάνδεις E Κάνδεις C [Σκένδεις X 548 ὡς φατε E [οὐ φατὲ X οὐ φατε ὅτι Niebuhr  
 550 ἢ γὰρ ἂν Niebuhr [ἢ γὰρ ἦν codd. εἰ γὰρ ἦν (aut ἦσαν) de Boor 551 προσεχώρησαν  
 Müller [προεχώρησαν codd. 552 οὐ Niebuhr [ὁ codd. 554 ἢ δὲ de Boor [εἶδε(v) codd. εἶπεν  
 edd. 559 δεῖ Niebuhr [σὲ E δὲ X σὲ δεῖ de Boor 569 καρπούς τε μελιττῶν [καρπούς καὶ  
 μελιτῶνας Meinecke 1869 571 ἐφροστῶς [ὑφροστῶς X

peace, I think that these earlier arrangements should be maintained.”

These were the arguments advanced concerning Ambrus. Then they returned to the dispute over Suania. The king said, “When I controlled Scandeis, Sarapa<sup>79</sup> and Lazica, at that time, as you claim, you held Suania subject. It is clear from this that they were not subject to the Lazi. For were it so, they would have come over to us with their masters.” Peter said in his turn, “This did not happen because the Suani, unlike the Lazi, whose slaves they were, did not defect. I mean that the slave of our slave never rebelled.” “Today,” said the king, “ten years have passed since we occupied Suania. We have often received and sent envoys to the Romans. Why have you not used these occasions to raise the issue of Suania?” “Because during this period,” said Peter, “you controlled Lazica. If I had said that you should hand back Suania to me, you would have asked, ‘Why?’ I should have said, ‘Because it is subject to Lazica,’ and you would have countered by asking if we did not know who was the master of Lazica. To this we should have had nothing left at all to reply.” The king said, “You claim that Suania was subject to the Lazi. If you can give written proof of this, you will obtain what is properly yours.” Peter replied, “I shall prove to you the truth immediately. My Lord, the following was the old custom amongst the Lazi. The chief of Suania was subject to the Lazi and was entered amongst their tributaries. From him the Lazi received the products of bees, skins and certain other produce.<sup>80</sup> When the Suanian chief died, the king of the Lazi appointed the successor to the position of the deceased. In the meantime he wrote to the Roman Emperor to inform him of what had happened, and the Emperor wrote in reply authorising him to dispatch the Suanian regalia to whomever he wished, providing only that he were a Suanian. This has been the custom from the time of our Emperor Theodosius to the time of your grandfather Perozes and our Emperor Leo.”

Εἶτα ἐκ τῆς χλαμύδος ὁ Πέτρος ἐν φανερωῷ προκομίζει βιβλίδιον τι, ἐν ᾧ στοιχηδόν τε καὶ διηρημένως ἐδηλοῦντο 580  
 Λαζῶν βασιλεῖς, οἱ Σουάνων ἐχειροτόνησαν ἡγεμόνας. εἶχε δὲ οὕτω τοῦ γραμματείου ἡ δύναμις, εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτω τὰ ῥήματα· οἶδε  
 Λαζῶν βασιλεῖς, οἳ γε βασιλίσκους ἐπέστησαν Σουάνοις, ἐξ οὗ χρόνου Θεοδόσιος τὸ Ῥωμαίων διήνυσε κράτος καὶ Οὐαράνης τὸ Περσῶν ἄχρι Λέοντος αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Περόζου. καὶ 585  
 διεξελθὼν ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη· ἄχρι τούτων ἴσμεν ἐν γράμμασι Λαζῶν τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι ὑπὸ Λαζοῖς ἄρχοντες ἐγένοντο Σουάνων. ὁ βασιλεύς· εἰ ξυγχωρήσομέν σοι τὸ παρὰ σοῦ προκομισθὲν γράμμα ξυναιρόμενον τῇ κατὰ σὲ πολιτεία ἔχειν τὸ πιστόν, ἄρα καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα συμβόλαια πιστευθήσονται δικαιοτάτα; οἶμαι. πλὴν, ἡ δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅπερ ἔφησ, ἔχεται πειθοῦς ὅτι 590  
 δῆτα οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ μὲν οὕτως, οἱ δὲ ἄλλως ἐγένοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν περὶ ἀμφηρίστου διαλεγόμεθα δούλου, εἰ μὲν ἐναργέστατά πως δυνηθείης ἀποφῆναι ὡς πέφυκε σός, λήψη γε αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε οὐχ οἴός τε εἶ πιστώσασθαι, καὶ ἄλλως βούλεται ὁ Σουάνος ὑποτετάχθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἥκιστα 595  
 ἔσομαι ἐμποδών. τούτου περαιτέρω οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν δυνησομαι ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος· οὐχὶ πεύση, ᾧ δέσποτα, πρὸς τοῦ Σουάνου, ὅποι βούλεται εἶναι; ἐξουσιάζει γὰρ αὐτοῦ αὐτός, ὅσον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γε δήπου τῇ μοίρα. ἄθρει δέ, ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς οὐ βούλομαι περὶ Σουανίας τῆς χώρας τι πυθέσθαι πρὸς τῶν Σουάνων, ἐπεὶ 600  
 οὐδὲ ὅσιον οὔτε μὴν ἄλλως δίκαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς ἐν δούλου κινδυνεύεσθαι κρίσει. οἶδε μὲν οὖν οἱ λόγοι προῆλθον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν.

(*Suda* Θ162 = vv.402-404, E491 = vv.412-14, E2331 = vv.425-27, A3339 = vv.432-34, Π1695 = vv.433-34, A2811 et M637 = vv.497-99, M721 = vv.516-18, K480 = vv.520-21, P147 = vv.522-23, Ξ124 = vv.587-88)

581 οἶδε Niebuhr [οἱ δὲ codd. 587 ξυγχωρήσομεν [ξυγχωρήσαιμεν *Suda* Ξ124 590 ἡ δὲ Niebuhr [ἡδε(v), ἡδεν codd. εἶπεν Hoeschel 594 οἴός τε Hoeschel [οἴόν τε codd. εἶ πιστώσασθαι [εἶ πιστώσασθαι BE εἶ πιστήσασθαι M ἐπιστήσασθαι P 598 ὅποι [ότου Cantoclar. 601 τὸ scripsi [τὴν codd. exp. Niebuhr ἐστιν de Boor

## 2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 11)

Ἵτι φησὶν ὁ Μένανδρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς περὶ Πέτρου τοῦ πρέσβεως καὶ Χοσρόου· οἶδε μὲν οὖν λόγοι προῆλθον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἕτερα νοήματα ἐλέχθη Σουανίας πέρι· οὐδὲ μὴν ἀνθ' ἐτέρων ἐτέραις λέξεσιν ἐχρησάμην, ἢ τὸ χθαμαλώτερόν πως ἔστιν ἡ

Then Peter drew out of his cloak a document in which were clearly listed the kings of the Lazi who had appointed the chiefs of the Suani. The following was the sense of the text, if not its exact words: "These are the kings of the Lazi who appointed the princes of the Suani from the time when Theodosius was ruler of the Romans and Varanes of the Persians to the reigns of Leo the Emperor and Perozes."<sup>81</sup> When he had read this out, Peter said, "Until these rulers we have the written record of the kings of the Lazi and the chiefs of the Suani appointed by the Lazi." The king replied, "If we accept the document which you produce supporting the validity of your state's position, will our evidence, too, not be accepted as absolutely reliable?"<sup>82</sup> "Yes." "But," said the king, "what you say only proves that of these kings some were created in one way, others in another. However, since we are now discussing the disputed possession of a slave, if you can demonstrate without doubt that he belongs to you, you shall have him; or if you are unable to prove this yet the Suani are nevertheless willing to be subject to Roman rule, I shall not stand in the way. This is as far as I can go." Peter said, "My Lord, you will not ask the Suani under whom *they* wish to be? If they are given the option, they will choose independence." The king replied, "Look, I do not wish to ask the Suani anything about Suania, since it is neither right nor just to leave the decision about that land to a slave." These were the arguments of both parties.

## 2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 11)

Menander the historian says about Peter the envoy and Khosro: These were the arguments of both parties,<sup>83</sup> and no further proposals were mooted about Suania.

I have made no substitutions of vocabulary except that I have

τῶν λόγων, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τέ μοι, μετέφρασα ἐς τὸ Ἀττικώ- 5  
 τερον. οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε θυμῆρες τὰ εἰρημένα κυρίως καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ  
 ἦκοντα, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μεταφέρειν ἐς ἑτερολογίαν, καὶ  
 τῷ γλαφυρῷ τῶν ῥημάτων οὐχὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐρρέθη, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς  
 ῥητορικῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δύναμιν, μάλιστα καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν  
 οὕτω μεγίστοιν δυοῖν βασιλέοιν καὶ πολιτείαιν ποιουμένῳ μοι 10  
 τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν.

Εἰ δέ γε ἄρα βούλεται τις τὰ ὅσα Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 Πέτρος τῆνικαῦτα ἀκριβολογησαμένῳ ἤστην εἰδέναι, ἀναλε-  
 ξάσθω ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ Πέτρου συναγωγῆς· ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 ἀναγέγραπται ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ὅποσα Χοσρόης καὶ πρέσβεις 15  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν ἔλεξαν τε καὶ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις  
 τῶν φθεγξαμένων εἰρημένα, εἴτε κατὰ θωπείαν τινὰ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν  
 τοῖν μεροῖν τυγχάνουσι λεγόμενα εἴτ' οὖν κατασοβαρευόμενοι  
 σφῶν ἔλεξαν ἅττα ἢ εἰρωνευόμενοι ἢ καὶ ἐπιτωθάζοντες ἢ καὶ  
 ἀποφλαυρίζοντες· καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἐνῆν καὶ ὅπως περὶ τόσου 20  
 πράγματος διαλεγόμενους τοὺς ἀμφοτέρας πολιτείας ἄνδρας  
 εἶπειν, ἐνθένδε ἀναλεκτέον. τεῦχος γὰρ μέγιστον ἐσὸτι τῶν  
 τοιῶνδε πεπλήρωται, οἶμαι, ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ λόγων, εἰ μὴ Πέτρω  
 κεκόμψευται τι τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριν εὐκλείας, ὡς ἂν τοῖς μετέπειτα  
 δειχθεῖη ὡς μάλα ἐμβριθῆς τε ἦν καὶ ἀνάλωτος ἐν τῷ ῥητορεύειν 25  
 τοῦ καταμαλάξαι φρονήματα βαρβαρικὰ σκληρὰ τε καὶ ὀγκώδη.  
 ἅπαντα δὴ οὖν ἐν τῇ περὶ τούτων βίβλῳ ἀναλεγόμενος ὅστισοῦν  
 εὐρήσει· οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε ὑπῆρχεν ἀναγκαῖον οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀρμό-  
 διον ἐν ξυγγραφῇ περιττολογία χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ  
 ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν· ὡς, εἴ γε ἅπαντα ἀνεγραψάμην τὰ ὅσα κατ' 30  
 ἐκείνην γε δῆπου φέρεται τὴν διφθέραν, ἀπέχρησέ μοι ἂν ἢ τῶν  
 σπονδῶν ῥαψωδία ἐς μεγίστης ἱστορίας ὑπόθεσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ἐκεῖθεν ἀρυσάμενος ὅτι χρειῶδες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἔλεξα.

(*Suda* E958 = vv.25-26, Π1406 = vv.25-26)

13 ἀκριβολογησαμένῳ Niebuhr [ἀκριβολογησάμενος cod. 15 πρέσβεις aut πρεσβεὺς cod.  
 25 τε ἦν om. edd. 26 τοῦ *Suda* Π1406 Boissevain [τὸ cod. om. *Suda* E958 τῷ *Suda* Π1406  
 (alt.) et Niebuhr καὶ ante τὸ add. Kuiper 29 καὶ de Boor [τὸ edd. τοῦ vel τῷ Bekker

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 4)

Ἵτι οὐδὲν προέβη περὶ τῆς Σουανίας, ἀλλ' ὁ Πέτρος ἄπρακτος  
 ἀνεχώρησε τῶν Μηδικῶν ὀρίων. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐσπέισατο Πέρ-  
 σαις, καὶ κατέθεντο τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφοτέραι πολιτεῖαι. καὶ οἱ

altered an excessively lowly expression into better Attic (according to my ability). For I did not wish to change the form of the exact words used which, in my opinion, were transmitted to me accurately, nor, by using polished expressions, to communicate the force of the rhetoric rather than what was said. This was especially so since I was describing a treaty between two such important states and their rulers.<sup>84</sup>

If anyone wishes to know exactly everything that the Persian king and Peter said on that occasion, he should read them in Peter's collected writings, where there is written precisely what Khosro and the Roman and Persian envoys said and heard. The exact words of the speakers are reproduced, whether either side spoke with flattery or scorn, with irony, mockery or to slight. In short, all that the spokesmen for both states had to say on this important matter, as well as the manner of their presentation, is to be found there. The text fills a very large volume and is, I think, reliable, except that Peter, for the sake of his own reputation, has placed somewhat too much emphasis upon himself, in order that he appear to posterity as a very effective and convincing speaker who was able to bring around the unyielding and arrogant spirits of the barbarians.<sup>85</sup> Since it is neither necessary nor appropriate that in writing history I become verbose or dwell too long upon one topic, the reader is referred to the full narrative of these matters in Peter's book. For if I wrote down everything which was contained on that parchment, the account of the treaty would suffice for the contents of a very large history. I have, therefore, selected from it what is necessary and have set it down briefly.

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 4)

Peter made no progress over Suania and left the land of the Medes without settling the matter. Nevertheless, he had made a treaty with the Persians. Both states ended hostilities, and the Medes evacuated

μὲν Μῆδοι ἐκ τῆς τῶν Κόλχων γῆς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν· ἀτὰρ ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος ὁ Πέτρος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον 5  
κατέλυσε τὸν βίον.

4 ἐπ' οἴκου de Boog [ἐπ' οἶκον BE ἐπῆκον MP

## 7

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 12)

Ἵτι ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις τῶν δυσμενῶν διπλασιάζεσθαι πέφυκε τὸ ἔχθος.

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 13)

Ἵτι τὸ εὐτυχεῖν οὐς οὐκ ἐχρῆν ὑπόθεσις γίνεται τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν τοῖς μὴ λογισμῶ βεβηκότι χρωμένοις τῇ τύχῃ.

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 14)

Ἵτι φιλοτάραχον χρῆμα ὁ δῆμος καὶ φύσις αὐτῶ ἢ προπέτεια.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 15)

Ἵτι χαλεπὸν ἀμελούμενόν τι χρῆμα καὶ δυσκαταγώνιστον ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος.

1 τι de Boog [τὸ edd. ἀμελούμενος παραχρῆμα Bekker

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 16)

Ἵτι ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξις προερχομένη κατὰ τῶν φύσει δυσμενῶν καὶ οὐ κατὰ τῶν ὁμοδιαίτων ἐνδοξότερον τίθησι τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 17)

Ἵτι οἱ Γότθοι παντελῶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠττήθησαν. καὶ ἔγωγε τὰ τοιάδε ἄγαμαι οὐδαμῶς· χρόνῳ γὰρ συµμεταμορφοῦσθαι πέφυκε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, εὖροις τε σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἱστορίαν τῶν τοιῶνδε χαλεπῶν ἀνάπλεων, γένη τε μέγιστα καὶ πόλεις νῦν μὲν ἐς ἄγαν εὐημερήσαντα, νῦν δὲ ἐς τὸ μὴ εἶναι κατολισθήσαντα παντελῶς. 5  
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιάδε ἢ περιφορὰ νεοχμοῦσα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐπεδείξατο, καὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπιδείξεται αὐθις, καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένη οὐ παύσεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἀνθρωποὶ τε ὧσι καὶ μάχαι.

3 ἅπασαν [ἂν πᾶσαν Bekker



Colchis. Peter returned to Byzantium and died soon afterwards.

7

1. (*Exc. de Sent. 12*)

When one is successful, the hatred felt by one's enemies is doubled.<sup>86</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent. 13*)

That they do not deserve their success is the explanation when those who do not use their fortune with care and rationality fail to adopt the appropriate policies.

3. (*Exc. de Sent. 14*)

The populace loves disturbances and is naturally fickle.<sup>87</sup>

4. (*Exc. de Sent. 15*)

Civil insurrection is a grievous and uncaring thing and hard to put down.

5. (*Exc. de Sent. 16*)

The man who shows bravery against his natural enemies and not against his fellow citizens is made more glorious thereby.

6. (*Exc. de Sent. 17*)

The Goths were totally defeated by the Romans. I am not at all surprised by this. For men's circumstances alter over time, and you will find that almost all history is full of such disasters, the greatest peoples and cities now at the height of their success and now completely obliterated. These and similar phenomena the passage of time with its changes has exhibited before, will exhibit again, and will continue to exhibit as long as mankind and war exist.<sup>88</sup>

7. (*Exc. de Senl. 18*)

“Οτι μέγχι τοσοῦτου δέον πονεῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἐκ τῶν πόνων ὠφελίας ἐν ἀπολαύσει καθεστάναι δύναιτό τις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ οὕτω βιοτεύων, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχει τῶν ἄλλων, ἦττον ἔχει τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

8. (*Exc. de Senl. 19*)

“Οτι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει τῶν πέλας νικήσας οὐδὲν ἦττον ὥσπερ νενικηκόσι τοῖς ἡσομημένοις παραχωρήσει μεγαλαυχεῖν τῷ πρὸς διττὴν αὐτοῦς ἀγωνίζεσθαι δύναμιν.

9. (*Exc. de Senl. 20*)

“Οτι κινδύνων ἑλπίς ἀνευ κινδύνων τίθησι τὸν ἐλπίζοντα τῷ προσηφαίσθαι τῶν δυσχερῶν τῇ δοκῆσει τὰ πράγματα· πολυλάκις γὰρ καὶ τό γ’ ἀληθές ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γενόμενον ἀσφαλές.

## 8

(*Exc de Leg. Genl. 5*)

“Οτι ἐπὶ Ἰουστινῶ του νέου οἱ τῶν Ἀβάρων πρέσβεις παρεγένοντο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὰ συνήθη δῶρα λαησόμενοι, ἅπερ τῷ κατ’ αὐτοῦς ἔθνει Ἰουστινιανός· ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐδίδου· ἦσαν δὲ καλῶδιὰ τε χρυσῶ διαπεποικιλμένα, ἕς τὸ εἶργειν τι τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων ἐπινενοημένα, καὶ κλίῖναι ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἕς τὸ ἄβρότερον ἀνεμμένα. τότε δὴ οὖν οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀβάρων ἕς πείραν ἰέναι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβούλοντο, εἴ γε οὐκ ἄλλως <ἐνεῖη> δῶρα λαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ῥαθυμιά ἐπεντυφᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀμελές αὐτῶν οικεῖον τίθεσθαι κέρδος· καὶ δὴ παρὰ βασιλέα φοιτᾶν ἤξιον. καὶ οὖν τοῦτο ἐφειμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐρμηνέων ὅ τι βούλονται λέγειν, τοιοῖσδε ἐχρήσαντο λόγοις· χρεῶν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, κληρονομοῦντά σε τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦς πατρώους φίλους οὐκ ἄλλως ἦπερ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ ταύτη φαινέσθαι μάλλον διάδοχον εἶναι τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τῷ μηδὲν ἐναλλάττειν ὧν ἐκείνος ἔπραττε περιῶν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνθεξόμεθα γνώμης, καὶ οὐχ ἦττον τὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὄνομα μεταθήσομεν εἰς σέ, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνον εὐεργέτην ἀποκαλέσοιμεν· πρὸς γε καὶ αἰσχυνησόμεθα τῷ πεπονηθέναι καλῶς μὴ τοῖς

8 ἐνεῖη addidi [εἴη Müller οὐδαμῶς ἐξέσται Niebuhr 15 τοῦ A [om. rel. codd. 17-18 μεταθήσομεν εἰς σέ, καὶ [μεταθήσομεν, εἰ σέ καὶ edd.

7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 18)

One should toil so long as it takes to enjoy the fruits of one's labour. For he who does not live in this way, even if he obtains more of other things, enjoys fewer real blessings.

8. (*Exc. de Sent.* 19)

He who conquers by using the strength of his neighbours permits the conquered to glory no less than if they had been victorious, since they were fighting against strength combined.<sup>89</sup>

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 20)

The expectation of danger places the one who expects it out of danger because, through his anticipation of the situation, he takes precautions in advance against his difficulties. For often what happens is conjectured and rendered safe.

## 8

(*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 5)

During the reign of the younger Justin the envoys of the Avars came to Byzantium to receive the usual gifts which the previous Emperor, Justinian, had given to their tribe.<sup>90</sup> These were cords worked with gold which were made to confine what was escaping,<sup>91</sup> and likewise couches and other luxury goods. On this occasion the envoys of the Avars wished to come to try the Emperor and to see whether they would in the same way be able to obtain gifts, make mock of the Romans' inertia and turn their negligence to their own profit.<sup>92</sup> They sought an audience with the Emperor and when this, and also the right to say through interpreters what they wished, was granted them, they spoke as follows:<sup>93</sup> "It is right, O Emperor, that, inheriting your father's sovereignty, you should bring benefits to his friends just as your father did and that, by emending nothing of what he did when alive, you should show yourself truly his successor now he is dead. Just so, we too shall maintain the same attitude and equally willingly we shall speak of your generosity, calling you after him our Benefactor. Furthermore, if we are treated generously, we

ὁμοίοις ἀμείβεσθαι τὸν δεδρακότα. καὶ γὰρ πατέρα τὸν σὸν 20  
 δώροις ἡμᾶς φιλοφρονούμενον ἀντεδωρούμεθα τῷ καὶ δυνά-  
 μενοι μὴ κατατρέχειν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν, ἀλλὰ πλεον ἐνδείκνυσθαι  
 τι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ γειτόνων ὑμῖν βαρβάρους τὴν Θράκην ἀεὶ περι-  
 κόπτοντας ἠφάνισαμεν ἀθρόον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστισοῦν αὐτῶν  
 περιλέλειπται τὰ Θρακῶν ὀρίσματα καταδραμούμενος· δεδίασι 25  
 γὰρ τῶν Ἀβάρων τὴν δύναμιν φιλίως ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὴν Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἀρχήν. πεπείσμεθα δὴ οὖν ὡς ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ καινο-  
 τομήσεις ἡμᾶς τῷ πλεον παρέχειν ἡμῖν ἢ ὁ σὸς ἐδίδου πατήρ·  
 ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤπερ ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθά σοι κατὰ τὸ πλεον  
 ὑπεύθυνοι καὶ μείζονας ἐποφλήσομέν σοι τὰς χάριτας. πάρεσμεν 30  
 οὖν ληψόμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός. γνῶθι γὰρ ὡς ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστι  
 δυνατὸν τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνα σοί τε καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων εὐ-  
 νούστατον ἔσεσθαι πολιτεία, εἴ γε μὴ ἐγχειρισθεῖν πρότερον  
 αὐτῷ τὰ ἐφ' οἷς οὐ κινεῖν ὄπλα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔγνω.

Οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀβάρων πρέσβεις τοιαῦτα διεξῆλθον ἐπαμφο- 35  
 τερίζοντες τῇ γνώμῃ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκουν ἰκετεύειν, τοῦτο δὲ  
 ἀπειλεῖν. ὥοντο γὰρ ὡς ταύτη δεδίζονται τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσουσι  
 τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀναγκασθήσονται Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ὥσπερ ὑπόφοροι εἶναι Ἀβάρων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ 40  
 ψόφον ἠγησάμενος τῶν Ἀβάρων τὰ ῥήματα ἀντέλεξεν οὕτως·  
 προβαλλομένων ὑμῶν σὺν ἰκετεία τὴν μεγαληγορίαν οἰομένων  
 τε τῇ συγκράσει ταύτη τῶν λόγων τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ὑμῖν  
 ἀνύσειν, ἀμφοτέρας, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐκπεπτώκατε τῆς ἐλπίδος· οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ὑποθωπεύοντες ἡμᾶς ἀπατήσετε, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀπειλοῦντες 45  
 ἐκφοβήσετε. πλείονα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ παρέξω τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς  
 τὸ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπηρμένους ὑμᾶς τῷ πρέποντι σωφρονίζειν·  
 ὁ γὰρ μεταρρυθμίζων τοὺς ἀτάκτους τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ὥσπερ  
 παιδεύων τε καὶ ἀνακόπτων τῆς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν αὐθαδιζομένων  
 ὀρμῆς ὀφθήσεται κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐεργέτης ἤπερ ὁ χορηγὸς 50  
 τῆς τρυφῆς, ὃς φιλεῖν μὲν δοκεῖ, προφάσεως δὲ μικρᾶς ἐπι-  
 λαβόμενος τὸν δῆθεν εὐεργετούμενον ἠφάνισεν εὐθέως. ἅπιτε  
 τοιγαροῦν πλείστου πριάμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν κἂν γοῦν ἐν ζῶσι  
 τελεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χρημάτων τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς φόβον  
 εἰς σωτηρίαν εἰληφότες. οὔτε γὰρ δεηθεῖην ποτὲ τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς  
 συμμαχίας, οὔτε τι λήψεσθε παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ καθ' ὅσον ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, 55  
 ὥσπερ δουλείας ἔρανον, καὶ οὐχ, ὡς οἴεσθε, φορολογίαν τινά.

Τοιοῦτον ἐπισείσαντος φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς πρέσ-  
 βεσι τῶν Ἀβάρων, κατεγνώκότες ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων οἱ βάρβαροι

shall be ashamed not to match your actions like for like. When your father lavished gifts upon us, we paid him back both by not invading Roman territory, though we are able to do so, and by performing still more. For we destroyed wholesale the neighbouring barbarians who were continually ravaging Thrace, and none at all of those who survive overrun the borders of the Thracians, since they fear the might of the Avars which is friendly to the Roman Empire. We, therefore, believe that the only innovation which you will make towards us will be to pay us more than your father did, which will bind us to you more closely than to him, since we shall owe you greater thanks. We have come to receive our customary gifts. For you must be aware that our leader cannot be a good friend of yours and of the Roman state unless he first receive that for which he forebore to attack the Romans.”<sup>94</sup>

The Avar envoys made this ambiguous speech, now pleading, now threatening, because they thought that by this means they would frighten and intimidate the Emperor, and as a result the Romans would be compelled to pay tribute to the Avars. But the Emperor considered that the words of the Avars were nothing more than empty bluster, and he replied as follows: “While you beg and boast, thinking by this mixture to obtain what you desire, you have failed in both your objectives, as the saying is.<sup>95</sup> You will neither deceive us with your flatteries nor frighten us with your threats. Yet I shall give you more than my father. Your arrogance has gone beyond what is fitting, and I shall teach you a proper moderation. He who reforms undisciplined spirits and, educating them, as it were, checks their eager rush towards destruction, shall prove to be a greater benefactor than he who supplies the wherewithal for self-indulgence. For although the latter seems to be a friend, he will seize any small excuse to destroy straightway the recipient of his benefits. Depart, therefore, having purchased from us a gift of the greatest value – your lives – and having received, instead of Roman gold, a terror of us which will ensure your survival. I shall never need an alliance with you, nor shall you receive from us anything other than what we wish to give, and that as a free gift for your service, not, as you expect, a tax upon us.”<sup>96</sup>

When the Emperor had in this way frightened the envoys of the Avars,<sup>97</sup> the barbarians realised from his words that he would not

ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξεται σφῶν τῆς πλεονεξίας, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκδοθήσεται ὧν ἐκομίζοντο πρὸ τοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς 60  
 οὐκ ἐπιδραμοῦνται τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν, ἐν δυσθυμίᾳ τε ἐτύγχανον  
 πολλῇ καὶ ἀναλογιζόμενοι ἦσαν ὅποι τὰ παρόντα ἐκβήσεται καὶ  
 ὅποι τύχης αὐτοῖς χωρήσοι τὰ πράγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ μένειν ἐν  
 Βυζαντίῳ ἀνόνητα ἤθελον, οὔτε μὴν ἄπρακτοι ἀπιέναι ἐβού-  
 λοντο. ὅμως δ' οὖν τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῖς αἰρετώτερον ὑπῆρχεν 65  
 ἀπονοστήσαι ὡς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους. καὶ τούτοις ἐνωθέντες ἐς τὴν  
 τῶν Φράγγων χώραν ἀφίκοντο τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν  
 θαυμάσαντες.

60 ἐκδοθήσεται [ἔτι δοθήσεται Bekker ἐπιδοθήσεται Dindorf]

## 9

### 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5)

Ὅτι Ἰουστίνος ὁ ἀνεπιὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ  
 Ἰωάννην τὸν Δομνεντιόλου ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἔστειλε πρεσ-  
 βευσόμενον. παρενεγύησε δέ οἱ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνα-  
 κήρυξιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναγορεύσεως  
 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐν ταυτῷ δέ, εἴ γε 5  
 καλέσοι καιρὸς, καὶ ἀμφὶ Σουανίας κινήσαι λόγους. ταύτην γὰρ  
 οὐπω Χοσρόης ἀπεκατέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καίτοι τῆς Λαζικῆς  
 παραχωρήσας, ἧς ὑπήκοος οὔσα ἡ Σουανία ἐτύγχανεν. ἀλλ' αἱ  
 μὲν πεντηκοντούτιδες σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, ἃς ἔθετο Πέτρος ὁ τῶν  
 περὶ βασιλέα καταλόγων ἡγεμῶν· τὰ δὲ περὶ Σουανίας ἐπ' 10  
 ἀμφιβόλῳ ἦν. Ἰουστίνος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνεκελεύσατο Ἰωάννη,  
 ὡς εἴ γε βούλοιντο Πέρσαι καὶ ὦνιον ἀποδόσθαι τὴν χώραν,  
 ἐτοιμότατα φῆσαι ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ Σουανία ἀξιόλογος μὲν οὐδαμῶς,  
 ὅμως δὲ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσα θέσεως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὀνίνησι τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τῷ μὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἐπιτιθεμένους Πέρσας τὰ τῶν 15  
 Κόλχων ὄρια λυμαίνεσθαι. Ἰωάννης οὖν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρας καὶ  
 ὡς τάχιστα τὴν πορείαν ἀνύσας ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον  
 πόλεσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων φροντίδα θέμενος πολλήν, τοῦτο προ-  
 ειρημένον αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ Δάρας. ἐνταῦθα τὸν

2 Δομνεντιόλου de Boor [Δομνεντιόλου codd. Κομνεντιόλου Labbaeus 3 οἱ Valesius [μοι codd. τοῦ Hoeschel [τῆς codd. 7 ἀπεκατέστησε Bekker [ἀπεκράτησε codd. 8 παραχωρήσας, ἧς Niebuhr [παραχωρησάσης codd. 11 ἐνεκελεύσατο Bekker [ἐνεκαλέσατο X ἀνεκαλέσατο E Ἰωάννη E [Ἰωάννην X 15 δι' αὐτῆς Valesius [διὰ τῆς BE διὰ τοὺς MP

suffer their greed, that they would not be given what they had received before, and that in future they would not attack the Roman Empire without opposition. They fell into great despondency and speculated upon what would be the outcome of the present situation and how their affairs would turn out. For they did not wish to remain in Byzantium to no purpose, nor did they wish to depart empty-handed. But it seemed to them the better of the two evils to return to their tribe, and rejoining their fellows they all went off to the land of the Franks thunderstruck by the Emperor's reply.

## 9

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5*)

At that time Justin, the nephew of Justinian, sent John, the son of Domnentiolus,<sup>98</sup> as envoy to the land of the Persians, to make a clear announcement of Justin's acclamation as Emperor and, if the occasion offered, to broach the question of Suania.<sup>99</sup> For Khosro had not yet returned this territory to the Romans, although he had evacuated Lazica, to which Suania was subject. Although the fifty-year treaty, which Peter, the master of the offices, had made, was in force, the Suanian problem had not been settled. The Emperor Justin told John to say that, if the Persians wished to sell back the territory, he was very willing to buy it. For although Suania was of no value in itself, the strategic position which it occupied made it especially important to the Romans, who feared that the Persians would launch an attack from it and devastate Colchis.<sup>100</sup> John, therefore, left Byzantium, travelled as quickly as he could while taking great care over the necessary business in the cities on the way (as the Emperor had asked), and came to Daras. There he restored the water supply of

κατὰ πόλιν ὀλκὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ὑδροχεῖα ἐπε- 20  
νόησε, καὶ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἄττα τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἀναγκαῖα εἰργάσατο.  
διήγαγε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα τῷ τοῦς ἐν τῇ Νισίβει τῇ πόλει  
πανηγυρίζειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ἑορτὴν, κακ τούτου τὴν πρεσβείαν μὴ  
ὑποδέξασθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης δεχθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν φρουρδίαν 25  
προσαγορευομένην, ὃ ἐστὶν ἑλληνιστὶ νεκυία, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
Νισίβει ἀρχόντων ἐξεπέμφθη σὺν τῇ νομιζομένη τιμῇ πρεσ-  
βεύειν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια Περσῶν, καὶ ἅπαντα, ὧν ἔνεκα ἔσταλτο, ἐν  
δέοντι καταστησάμενος ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης ἐν  
μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν περὶ αὐτῷ ἐκίνησε λόγους. τὰ 30  
γὰρ Σαρακηνικὰ φύλα μυριάδες ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν  
ἐρημονόμοι τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἀδέσποτοι, καὶ <τὰ> μὲν οὖν τῆς  
Ῥωμαίων, ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ τῆς Περσῶν ὑπήκοα πολιτείας. οὕτω δὲ  
διακεκριμένων αὐτῶν, Ἰουστινιανός, μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ  
βασιλικώτατος, τοὺς μηδίζοντας Σαρακηνῶν δώροις ἐδεξιοῦτο 35  
κρατούσης εἰρήνης. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνος ἐμβριθὴς τε ὦν καὶ βαρ-  
βάρων φρονήματι ἤκιστα ὑποχαλῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο  
τοὺς ὅσοι ἐμήδιζον τῶν Σαρακηνῶν. οἱ δὲ (πλεονεκτικώτατον  
γὰρ τὸ φύλον) ἀποκοπὴν τοῦτο ἡγησάμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνέ-  
κειντο Περσῶν μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ ἀνακειμένους. τῷ τοι 40  
ἄρα καὶ Πέτρου ἐκεῖσε πρεσβευσαμένου ὡσπερ τοῖς Σαρα-  
κηνοῖς ὑπευθύνους ὄντας Ῥωμαίους ἔλεγε δεῖν ὁ Χοσρόης  
ἀποδίδοσθαι σφίσι τὸ χρέος. εἶτα καὶ Ἰωάννου αὐτόσε ἀφικο-  
μένου τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο ῥήμασι. δισχυρίζοντο γὰρ πῶς οἱ  
Σαρακηνοί, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, καὶ μὴ καταθέειν τὴν 45  
Ῥωμαίων τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκομίζοντο χρήματα, ἐντεῦθεν τε ἐβιά-  
ζοντο τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης, ὡς ἑώρα σφᾶς οὐ  
κατὰ τὸ δέον τὸ ἐπὶ κλημα ποιούμενους, εἶπεν· εἰ μὲν ἕτερός τις,  
καὶ οὐχὶ Χοσρόης ὁ πάνυ, ξυνεπελαμβάνετο τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐπ-  
εγκαλοῦσι Σαρακηνοῖς, ἦττον ἂν ὑπῆρχε δεινόν. τοσοῦτον δὲ 50  
βασιλέα Περσῶν περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενον τὰ μὴ ἐναντία τῆς  
τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσπαζό-  
μενον, συνηγοροῦντα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀδικεῖν θαυμάσαιμι λίαν  
καὶ ὑπερεκπλαγεῖην. ὅμως δὲ ῥαθυμία τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω,  
Ῥωμαῖος πεφυκώς, ἀναδιδάξω δὲ τὸ πᾶν, καίτοι τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ 55

22 Νισίβει Niebuhr [Νισίβι E Νισίβη B Νισίβη MP 25 φρουρδίαν C [φουρδίαν rel. codd. φρουδία Suda N146 28 ἅπαντα, ὧν Bekker [ἃ πάντων codd. 31 μυριάδες ταῦτα [μυρία δὲ ταῦτα Valesius 32 τὰ add. Müller [τὰ pro καὶ Bekker 34 διακεκριμένων [διακριμένων BE διακρινομένων C 36 Ἰουστίνος Valesius [Ἰουστινιανός codd. 36-37 βαρβάρων [βαρβάρω de Boor 39-40 ἐνέκειντο Niebuhr [ἀνέκειντο codd. 48 μὲν [μὴ X



the city, giving particular attention to the conduits,<sup>101</sup> and dealt with other needs of the inhabitants. He spent ten days there because the people at Nisibis were celebrating a festival and would not receive the embassy.<sup>102</sup>

After the festival, which was called 'Frurdigan' (in Greek, *nekuia*), John was received by the authorities in Nisibis and was sent on, with the customary honours, to make his embassy to the Persian palace. There he performed properly everything for which he had been sent. One day Khosro spoke to him about the Saracens. There are countless Saracen tribes, for the most part leaderless desert-dwellers, some of whom are subject to the Romans, other to the Persians. The Saracens being divided in this way, Justinian, a very generous and noble Emperor, during time of peace bestowed gifts upon those on the Persian side. But Justin, a man who was concerned with his own dignity and who conceded nothing to the feelings of the barbarians, held in contempt the Saracens who were on the Persian side. They – for they are a very greedy people – regarded this as a stoppage of their income and urged the Persian king not to overlook those who depended upon him. When Peter was on the embassy to him, Khosro had said that the Romans, who had an obligation to the Saracens, should pay them what they owed,<sup>103</sup> and on this occasion he used the same words to John, who had come to him. For the Saracens claimed that they received the money to keep the peace and not attack the Roman Empire, and they insisted that this was the truth of the matter. But John, when he observed that they were making an unfounded claim, said, "If it were someone other than the great Khosro who was supporting the unjust accusations of the Saracens, the matter would be less serious. I am amazed and much perturbed that such a mighty Persian king, who lays such importance upon what conforms to the facts of the situation and who, I shall add, is well-disposed to the Romans, lends his support to those bent on injustice. Since I am a Roman, I cannot remain indifferent to this. Although the king does not need a teacher, yet I shall explain the

δεομένου διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰδόσι τῆς διηγήσεως προϊ-  
 ούσης. ὁ γὰρ προεγνωκῶς ἤδη τὰ ὅσα τῷ δικαίῳ ξυνάδει, <εἰ>  
 ταῦτα πάλιν ἀναδιδαχθεῖη, ἐπιρρώσει τῷ ἀδεκάστῳ τὸ συνειδός.  
 Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβευτής, ὃς ἔναγχος παραγενό-  
 μενος ἐβεβαίωσε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐμπειρία λόγων καὶ δεινότητι 60  
 πειθοῦς καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν νῦν ἐπεγκαλούντων Σαρακηνῶν καὶ  
 ἕτερα, ὅσα διημφισβητήθη, οἷος ἐγένετο παρακρούσασθαι. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ῥητορεύειν τε καὶ πείθειν ἡσκημένος οὐδαμῶς ὅμως τῷ  
 περιεῖναι τῇ δίκη τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔξω πρὸς ὑμῶν, τὸ μὴ  
 στέργειν ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων Σαρακηνοῦς, καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς 65  
 ἀδικωτάτους, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ συνοίσοντος τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεύ-  
 μασι τὸ ἀξύμφορον. οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς γὰρ Σαρακηνοὶ (ὅταν δὲ λέγω  
 Σαρακηνοῦς, ἀναλογίζεσθε, ὡς Μῆδοι, τὸ ἀλλόκοτόν τε καὶ  
 παλίμβολον τοῦ ἔθνους) οὗτοι δῆτα οὖν πρὸς βασιλέως Ἰουστι-  
 νιανοῦ δῶρα μὲν λαμβάνειν εἰώθεσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθος αὐτοῖς τῷ τοῦ 70  
 παρέχοντος ἐβεβαιούτο βουλήματι. ὑπερηδόμενος γὰρ τῇ εἰρή-  
 νῃ καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔχρῃν τὸ μεγαλόδωρον ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἐκαίνιζεν ἐκουσίως φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῇ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀναγ-  
 καῖον τὰ πράγματα, ἥπερ ἀκουσίως, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἐποιεῖτο τῶν 75  
 ἀναγκαίων τὴν σύστασιν. μαρτύριον δέ μοι σαφέστατον τοῦ  
 δῶρα τοὺς Σαρακηνοῦς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν, ὡς φασι,  
 κομίζεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήματα, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀντιδωροφορεῖν τὸν  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέα. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι μῆδ' ὄντιναοῦν  
 ἀντερεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ δοίημεν, ὡς Ἰουστινιανὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ 80  
 ξυνθήκας ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο τοῖς χρήμασι, συνεμετρήθη τῷ βίῳ τοῦ  
 δωρουμένου βασιλέως καὶ συνανεπαύσατο τούτου τῇ τελευτῇ τὸ  
 δωρούμενον. οὐ γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔθει, φημί δὲ τὸ πλεον, καὶ  
 νόμῳ μὴ λυσιτελοῦντι, καὶ εἰ πέφυκε βασιλεὺς ὁ τὸ ἔθος  
 ἰσχυροποιήσας ἤγουν νομοθετήσας, πολιτεία καταδικασθή- 85  
 σεται ποτε. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν τοῦ διδόναι τι τὸ λοιπὸν  
 Σαρακηνοῖς, καθ' ὅσον Ἰουστινιανὸς μὲν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους ἠπιώτατος, ὁ δὲ νῦν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς πάντας  
 εἶναι βούλεται φοβερώτατος. οὐ χρεὼν οὖν ταῦτα τοὺς Σαρα-  
 κηνοῦς ὄνειροπολεῖν· οὐ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς  
 ἔλοιτο ποιεῖν. εὐκτὸν δὲ ἡμῖν γενήσεται τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτὸν 90

57 ξυνάδει Hoeschel [ξυναιδεῖ E ξυναιδοῖ X εἰ add. de Boor 58 ταῦτα [ταῦτά de Boor ἀνα-  
 διδαχθεῖη [ἀναδιδαχθεῖς Hoeschel 63 τῷ [πρὸς τῷ Niebuhr τὸ Hoeschel 64 τὸ Niebuhr [τῷ  
 codd. 66 ἡμᾶς [ὑμᾶς Bekker 70 ἔθος Niebuhr [ἔθνος codd. 71 ὑπερηδόμενος [ὑπερει-  
 δόμενος X 74 ἥπερ Valesius [εἶπερ codd. 79 δὲ Bekker [γε codd. 90 ἡμῖν [ὑμῖν Niebuhr

whole situation, aiming my words at an informed audience. For if one who already knows the version that accords with justice has it rehearsed to him again, the sharing of this knowledge will strengthen his impartiality.

“Peter, our predecessor as envoy, who recently came to you and settled the details of the peace, was able through his eloquence and skill at persuasion to refute the charges which the Saracens are now making, as well as other matters under dispute. Although I am not trained to oratory or persuasion, yet through the justice of my cause I shall prevail over the Saracens and obtain from you that you neither favour them (who are utterly in the wrong in this case) over the Romans nor choose what is detrimental over what is advantageous to both our states.

“The Saracens who are your subjects – and whenever I say ‘Saracens’, think, Medes, upon the uncouthness and unreliability of that people – were accustomed to receive gifts from the Emperor Justinian. The practice was established out of the free wish of the giver. Since he loved peace greatly he showed open-handedness even to those to whom it was not necessary. Of his own free will and facing no compulsion, he created a new situation by the excess of his generosity, but he did not act under compulsion (I hesitate to use the word) nor did he create a series of obligations. My clearest proof that the Saracens received this money as a gift and not, as they claim, under agreement, is that they sent gifts in return to our Emperor. No one denies this, I think. And even if we grant that Justinian gave them the money under treaty, the donation ran for the lifetime of the Emperor who gave it and expired at his death. For no state will ever be bound by the practice of one man (I refer to his excess of generosity) or by an agreement that brings no benefit, even if the man who established the practice or made the agreement is a king. We are as unwilling to give anything in future to the Saracens as Justinian was most kindly towards them. The present Emperor wishes to be an object of the greatest fear to all. The Saracens, therefore, should not entertain these dreams, for our Emperor will see fit to do no such thing. Our<sup>104</sup> wish should be that he is willing to keep the peace and

ἐθέλειν ἐρρῶσθαι, καὶ μὴ οἶεσθαι γε αὐτὸν ἔλαττον ἔχειν Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς ἤδη γεγενημέναις σπονδαῖς. ταύτη γὰρ ἀνέξεται μὴ ὄπλα κινεῖν.

Οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔλεξε· καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμία τις ἐφέρετο μνήμη. ἐπιτηρήσας δὲ τῷ δοκεῖν οὐκ ἐργωδῶς ἀμφὶ Σουανίας ἀπέρριψε λόγους ὡς δέον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους αὐτὴν καθεστάναι, εἴ γε καὶ Λαζικῆς ἐπελάβοντο ἐννομώτατα αὐτοί. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς περὶ Σουανίας μὲν λόγους ἔδοξε παραδέχεσθαι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη περὶ ταύτης ἅμα τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Μήδων βουλευσασθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰωάννης λόγους προσήγαγε τῷ Ζίχ, τῷ καὶ Ἰεσδεγουσνάφ, καὶ μὲν οὖν ἑτέροις τισὶ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις ἡγεμόνων. οἱ δὲ ἔλεξαν ὡς ἐτοιμώτατα ἔχοιεν Σουανίας παραχωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτω μέντοι, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματα λήψεσθαι καὶ ὄνιον θέσθαι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν. καὶ πρὸς γε συνθήκας ἄλλας τινὰς δεῖν ἔφασκον γενέσθαι αἰσχρὰς τε καὶ ἀναξίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ βεβαιούσας οὐδαμῶς τὴν περὶ βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου κρατήσασαν δόξαν ὡς ἔστι μάλα ἐμβριθῆς τε καὶ κατηκριβωμένος. Ἰωάννης δὲ τὰ τοιάδε ἀκηκῶς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος στοχαζόμενος γνώμης ἀβουλότατα διεπράξατο. ἔστειλλε γὰρ παρὰ Σουάνους τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα βουλόμενος δεξιώσασθαι, δελεάσαντος οὖν αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῦ Χοσρόου. ἐσκήπτετο δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε καὶ ἐμηχανᾶτο, ὅπως ἔσοιτό γε αὐτῷ ἐς δικαιολογίαν τινά, ὡς αὐτοὶ Σουάνοι καίτοι προτραπέντες οὐκ ἀνάσχετα ποιοῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούειν. ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὅτι οὖν ὤνησαν οἱ πρὸς Ἰωάννου σταλέντες. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπηγγείλατο Χοσρόης στέλλειν πρεσβευτὴν ὡς βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ταῦτα ἅπαντα ἐν δέοντι καταστησόμενον· καὶ ἀνέξευξεν Ἰωάννης ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον.

(*Suda* Y69 = vv.20-21, N146 = vv.25-26, Π375 = v.62, O346 = vv.88-89, A3048 = vv.95-96, E958 et I449 = vv.107-108, A4374 = v.112)

95 τῷ [τὸ Niebuhr 110 ἔστειλλε de Boor [ἔστειλε codd. ἔστειλε edd. 112 οὖν om. de Boor cum *Suda* A4374 115-16 ὅτι οὖν [ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅτι οὖν de Boor 118 ἐν δέοντι Hoeschel [ἐνδέον codd.

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 6)

Ἵτι Ἰουστίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ ἐπύθετο ὡς ἐν Σουανία εἶη πέμψας, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων οὐ προσέθεντο Σουάνοι, ἐχαλέπαινε, οἷα εἰκός. καὶ παραπρεσβείας ἐκρίνετο Ἰωάννης, ἅτε

that he does not consider that the Romans are the losers under the current terms. For only then will he hold back from war.”

These were John's words, and thereafter no mention was made of the Saracens. But he waited for the occasion, and when it seemed good raised the subject of Suania, saying that since the Romans had very justly received Lazica, it too should be subject to them. The Persian king appeared to be receptive to John's words on Suania and he said that he must discuss it with the high Median officials. Afterwards John spoke with the Zikh, Yesdegusnaph, and with certain others of the Persian leaders. They said that they were most ready to cede Suania to the Romans, on condition, however, that they receive money and that the transaction be a sale. They said also that other conditions must be met, which were shameful and unworthy of Roman majesty and designed to undermine the current projection of the Emperor Justin as a very forceful and careful ruler. When John heard these proposals, he gave insufficient thought to the views of the Emperor and acted very unwisely. For he sent to the Suani, wishing to greet their king. Khosro himself had trapped John into such an irregular action. He contrived this so that he could support his own position with the plea that the Suani themselves had rejected subjection to the Romans, even though they had been urged to accept it. For he knew well what success those sent by John would have. After this Khosro said that he would send an envoy to the Roman Emperor to make all these agreements binding. And John returned to Byzantium.

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 6)

When the Emperor Justin learned that John had sent to Suania and that the Suani had refused to join the Roman side, he was naturally enraged. He judged that John had failed in his mission, since he had

οὐ πρὸς τὸ συνοίσειον τῆ πολιτεία διαπραξάμενος. οὐδὲ γάρ  
 χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἔφασκε στείλαι, εἴ γε μὴ τοῦτο ἐνεκελεύσατο οἱ ὁ  
 βασιλεύς, καὶ τούτου δούναι πρόσφασιν Πέρσαις τὸ ἀδικημα  
 5 ξυσκιάζειν καὶ προφέρειν λόγους, ὡς αὐτοὶ Σουάνοι ἀτηνή-  
 ναντο τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν τοιαύτην προσ-  
 δέξασθαι πρόκλησιν, ἢ Σουάνους προτρέψασθαι εἶναι ὑπὸ  
 Ῥωμαίους, ἢ τούτου γε ἔνεκα προσβευτὴν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενέσθαι.  
 10 οὐδ᾽ ἕτερον γὰρ ἐξ ἄμφοιν εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι τῆ πολιτεία ἡγήσατο.  
 Ἰωάννην οὖν περιφρονήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνεπιτη-  
 δείων ἔταξε μοίρα, ἐγνωμάτευσε δὲ ὅπως τὰ ἡμαρτημένα εὐ  
 διαθεῖη.

(*Suda* Π421 = vv.3-4)

5 oi om. X edd.

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Geni. 6*)

ἽΟτι ἡγγέλθη Ἰουστινῷ ὡς ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐξώρ-  
 5 μησεν ὁ Ζίχ προσβευσόμενος τε καὶ διαλεχθισόμενος περὶ  
 Σουάνων, ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ῥήματα ἀποκομίσιων  
 βασιλεῖ, ἔτι τε καὶ τὰ ἐφ' οἷς Ῥωμαῖοι προσεγκαλοῦσιν εὐ  
 διαθησόμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνος ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο ἢ μὴ προσ-  
 10 δέξασθαι τὴν προσβειαν ἢ προσδεχόμενον εἰδέναι τὸν Ζίχ ὡς τὰ  
 κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ἀνυσησῆσεται οὐδαμῶς. καὶ δι᾽ ἑυγκροτηθείσης  
 αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίας, δοκεῖ κατάδηλον γενέσθαι ἔτι ὀδοιποροῦντι  
 τῷ Ζίχ διὰ συλλαβῶν Ἰωάννου, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν τῶν  
 15 δοκηθέντων προσεδέξατο ὁ βασιλεύς. τούτου γενομένου, τὸ  
 γράμμα ἐνεχειρίσθη Τιμοθέῳ τῶν ἅμα Ἰωάννη γενομένων ἐνὶ  
 κατὰ δὴ τὴν Περσῶν πρὸ τοῦ. καὶ οὖν Τιμοθέῳ ἐνεκελεύσατο  
 βασιλεύς ῥήματα μὲν δῆθεν τῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίουσ φιλίας ἀπο-  
 κομίσειαι βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν, ὑπαντιάζοντι δέ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, τῷ  
 20 προσβευτῇ ἐπιδειξαι τὴν Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολήν, ὡς ἂν ἔσοιτο  
 ἐξεπιστάμενος ὁ Ζίχ καὶ σαφέστατα προγινώσκων τὴν βασιλέως  
 βουλὴν. Τιμόθεος οὖν, τοῦτο ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτῷ, παρεγένετο  
 ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις γνοὺς δὲ ὡς οὕτω πάρεστιν ὁ Περσῶν πρεσ-  
 25 βευτής, ἐπορεύετο ὁ γε αὐτίκα πρὸς Χοσρόην. ξυμβὰν δὲ οὕτω,  
 τοῦ Ζίχ δι' ἑτέρας ἀτραποῦ ἐς τὴν Νίσιβιν ἀφικολόμενος ἐκεῖ τε  
 διατριψαντος τῷ διατεθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ἀρρώστως, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ  
 Τιμόθεος πρὸς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀφεθείς ἐπικατέλαβε τὸν  
 Ζίχ ἐπανερχόμενος κατὰ δὴ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἔτι νωσῶδη τὰ τε

11 τῶν ... γενομένων ἐνὶ Valesius [τῷ ... γενομένων ἐνὶ A 12 δὴ Valesius [δὲ A γε Hoeschel  
 19-20 οὕτω, τοῦ Niebuhr [οὕτω τῷ Bekker αὐτῷ τῷ A 22 ἐπικατέλαβε Dindorf [ἐπεί  
 κατέλαβε A

acted contrary to the good of the state. For, Justin said, he should have sent no one since the Emperor had not ordered him to do this, and as a result of his actions he had given the Persians an opportunity to veil their unjust behaviour and to claim that the Suani themselves rejected the Roman Empire;<sup>105</sup> it had not been part of his brief either that he should urge the Suani to submit to the Romans or that an envoy should come to Byzantium on this matter. For Justin held neither action appropriate for the state. The Emperor, therefore, despised John and classed him as an incompetent, and planned how he might repair the damage.

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6*)

It was reported to Justin that the Zikh had set out from Persia as an envoy to discuss Suania, that he would bring the Emperor a warm message of greeting, and that he would settle amicably the Roman complaints. Justin wished either not to receive the embassy or to receive it but make it clear to the Zikh that he would by no means achieve what he desired. He summoned the senate, and it was decided that while he was still on his way it would be made clear to the Zikh through a letter from John that the Emperor would accept none of his proposals. When the letter had been written, it was given to Timotheus, who was one of those who had earlier accompanied John to Persia. The Emperor ordered Timotheus to convey expressions of friendship from the Romans to the Persian king and when, as was likely, he met the envoy on his journey, to show him John's letter so that the Zikh would know clearly in advance the Emperor's position. With these instructions Timotheus travelled to the border. When he learned that the Persian envoy had not yet arrived, he journeyed ahead to Khosro. It so happened that the Zikh had taken another route to Nisibis and was waiting there because he had fallen ill. Meanwhile Timotheus, having been dismissed by the Persian king, caught up with the Zikh, who was still sick, on his return to Nisibis

γραφέντα οί πρὸς Ἰωάννου ἐνεχείρισεν. ὁ δὲ καταμαθὼν ὡς ἐς  
 τοῦναντίον αὐτῶ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἡ ὁδὸς γίνεται καὶ ὡς οὐκ 25  
 αἰσίως οί προβήσεται τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας, δυσθυμία περιπεσῶν  
 καὶ τῆ νόσῳ κάτοχος ὢν κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ  
 Ἰωάννην αὐτίκα συνέβη τεθνάναι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀγγέλλεται ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὡς ἕτερος ἦξι  
 πρεσβευτῆς ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Μεβώδης. οὗτος ἐς τὴν βασι- 30  
 λίδα ἐπορεύετο ἐξωγκωμένος καὶ μάλα βρενθυόμενος καὶ ἐλπίδα  
 ἔχων, ὡς περὶ Σουανίας αὐτῶ κινηθήσονται λόγοι, καὶ ὅτι  
 Πέρσας ἀρέσκουσαι γενήσονται ξυνθῆκαι. ταύτη τῆ διανοία  
 ἐπηρμένος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἦει αὐθαδέστερον ἢ κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν 35  
 θέμενος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. παραγενομένου δέ (βασιλεὺς  
 γὰρ ἤδη ἐπέπυστο Μεβώδου τῆς ἀλαζονείας πέρι, καὶ ὅποια  
 ἄττα ἐλπίζων τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐποιήσατο), τὰς μὲν ἐκ βασιλέως  
 Περσῶν ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι προσρήσεις κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα θεσμόν,  
 περιεφρόνησε δὲ ὅμως τὸν Μεβώδη καὶ ἀπεφλαύριζε μὴδὲ τὴν 40  
 οἴανου ἰσχυροσύνην ὡς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐς τοῦναντίον  
 ἤπερ ἐβούλετο τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας οἱ ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ παράπαν  
 οὐδὲν αὐτῶ ἔλεξε περὶ Σουανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔπειτα ἐξελιπάρει ὁ  
 Μεβώδης τοὺς ἅμα οἱ Σαρακηνοὺς ἐς λόγους ἰέναι τῶ αὐτο-  
 κράτορι. εἶποντο γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα οἰκείῳ τινὶ 45  
 πρεσβευτῇ ταττόμενοι. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φύλαρχος Ἄμ-  
 βρος ἐκπέμψας ὑπῆρχε καὶ ὄγε ξὺν τῶ Μεβώδῃ πρεσβείαν  
 διαλεχθησομένους περὶ ὧν χρημάτων πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐκομί-  
 ζοντο. Μεβώδης οὖν τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῦ περὶ Σουανίας ἀμαρτῶν, ὡς  
 ἂν μὴ πάντῃ ἀπρακτος ἀναχωρήσοι, ἐπιμελέστατά πως ἦντι- 50  
 βόλει τῆς ὡς βασιλέα τυχεῖν εἰσόδου τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς. καὶ  
 τοίνυν ὑπολαβὼν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ· τί γὰρ δῆτα, ἔφη, βούλονται οἱ  
 καθ' ὑμᾶς Σαρακηνοί; ὡς δὲ ἐγκείμενον ἑώρα, κατένευσε μόνῳ  
 εἰσιέναι τῶ ἐκείνων πρεσβευτῇ. ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὡς ἀπαυθαδιαζό-  
 μενος οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο ἄνευ τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ὡς βασιλέα φοιτῆσαι, 55  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἠνίκα παρὰ Ἰουστινιανὸν ξὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἅμα αὐτοῖς  
 τῶν Σαρακηνῶν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὸν οὕτω βούλεσθαι  
 τὸ σύνηθες διασώζοντα ποιήσῃν. ἐντεῦθεν τε εὐπρόσωπον ᾤετο  
 ἔξῃν αἰτίαν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ ἀρμόδια βασιλεῖ διεπράξατο, ὁ δὲ  
 Σαρακηνὸς ἠκιστα ἔγνω τὰ δέοντα· εἶτα κατὰ δὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου  
 ἀντιστραφήσεται τὸ ἐπὶ κλημα. καὶ οὐκ [ἂν] ἄλλως ἀπέβη ἢ 60

30 οὗτος [ὁ δὲ Suda B532 35-37 (βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἤδη ἐπέπυστο . . . ἐποιήσατο), τὰς [βασιλεὺς  
 (ἤδη γὰρ ἐπέπυστο . . . ἐποιήσατο) τὰς de Boor 56 τὸν [τόνδε Hoeschel 60 ἂν exp. Nie-  
 buhr ἢ Niebuhr [τι A ἢ ὅτι Hoeschel



and handed him the letter from John. When the Zikh learned that his journey would have the opposite result to what he wished and that the embassy would not succeed, he fell into a depression, succumbed to his sickness and died. Presently, John died also.

Later, news was brought to Byzantium that another envoy was being sent, whose name was Mebod.<sup>106</sup> He journeyed to the palace full of pride and preening himself, expecting that he would discuss Suania and that the result would be a settlement satisfactory to the Persians. With this inflated opinion he came to Byzantium, having behaved towards all whom he encountered on the way more arrogantly than was proper for an envoy. When Mebod arrived, the Emperor, who had already learned of his pretensions and with what expectations he had come, consented to receive the greetings from the Persian king in the usual manner, but treated Mebod with scorn and contempt and offered him no opportunity at all for discussions. Since the embassy was turning out otherwise than he wished and the Emperor refused to speak to him at all on the subject of Suania, Mebod asked the Saracens who were with him to speak to the Emperor. There were about forty of these in his party on their own embassy. For the chief of the Saracens, Ambrus, had himself sent an embassy along with Mebod to discuss the money which they had received from Justinian. Mebod, therefore, since he had achieved nothing on the issue of Suania, sought most eagerly that the Saracens be granted an audience with the Emperor, lest he return home completely empty-handed. When the Emperor learned this, he asked, "What do your Saracen subjects want?" and seeing Mebod's eagerness, gave permission for the envoy alone to approach him. For he knew that the envoy out of pride would refuse to approach the Emperor without his followers, but just as when the Saracen envoys had come before Justinian with all their companions, he would wish to do the same and maintain the custom. Thus Justin thought that he would be able to argue plausibly that he had acted as befits an Emperor while the Saracen did not know what was proper, and he would be able to throw the blame upon the barbarian.

It turned out just as the Emperor had intended. For the Saracen

βασιλεὺς ἐστοχάσατο. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Σαρακηνὸς ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι τὸ  
 παρεῖναι οἱ μόνῳ ὡς βασιλέα ὑποτοπήσας, καὶ τὸ κρατῆσαν  
 δῆθεν καταλύειν οὐχ αἰρετέον αὐτῷ, ἀπηνήνατο τὴν ἐς βασιλέα  
 πάροδον. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν Σαρακηνὸν τελεώτατα 65  
 περιεφρόνησεν, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεβῶδη παρήγαγε τὰς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ  
 τῶν Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς· ὦ δέσποτα, ἔλεξεν, οὐ πάρειμι συν-  
 επαμύνων, εἴ γε ὁ Σαρακηνὸς ἐπλημμέλησέ τι, ἄλλως δὲ  
 ἀκουσόμενος, ὅπως, εἰ μὲν ἀρμόδια τῷ δικαίῳ λέγοι, μὴ  
 περιόψομαι, εἰ δὲ γε ἐς τοῦναντίον ὀφθήσεται ἀδίκως ἐπεγ-  
 καλῶν, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καταδικαιτήσω τοῦ Σαρακηνοῦ. ὁ βασιλεὺς 70  
 ἐπιτωθάζων· ἦκεις, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχὶ πρεσβευσόμενος, ἀλλὰ  
 δικάσων. ὁ Μεβῶδης αὐτίκα ὄγε τῷ πληκτικῷ τοῦ λόγου  
 συγγέας τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφοινίττετο. τοιγαροῦν παραχρῆμα τὸν  
 αὐτοκράτορα προσειπὼν ἤπερ θέμις οὕτως ἀνεχώρησεν.

Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις αὐθις ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελ- 75  
 θῶν παρητεῖτο λιπαρῶς περὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν εἰσόδου. τοῦ  
 δὲ βασιλέως ἀνανεύοντος, οὐχ ὅσιον ἔφασκεν εἶναι μὴ τὰ ὅσα  
 ἐπετέλει πρὸ τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευόμενος ὁ Ζιχ καὶ ἐμὲ  
 αὐθις ἐπιτελεῖν. οἱ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς Σαρακηνοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ παρὰ  
 βασιλέα ἐγίνοντο. δεῖ οὖν καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἴσων ἐκείνῳ ἀπολαύειν, 80  
 ὡς ἂν μὴ ὡσπερ λελωβημένοι ὧσιν αἱ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ  
 Περσῶν συνθῆκαι. ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ὀργίλως ἔχων· τί οὖν,  
 εἰ καὶ πεφώραται ὁ Ζιχ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἢ καὶ ἐτέρῳ ὄτῳ πλημμελή-  
 ματι τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἀλούς, καὶ σοὶ κατ' ἴχνος ἐκείνῳ ἰτέα; ἢ οὐ  
 ξυναισθάνη βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ διαλεγόμενος; τότε 85  
 κατορρωδήσας ὁ Μεβῶδης περιδεῆς τε γενόμενος πρηνῆς  
 ἔκειτο ἐπ' ἐδάφους, πρὸς ἄρνησίν τε καταφεύγων καὶ ἀναινό-  
 μενος εἰρῆσθαί οἱ τὰ τοιάδε. ταύτη <τῇ> ἀπολογία χρωμένου, ὁ  
 αὐτοκράτωρ ἔδοξεν ὑπάγεσθαι τῇ πειθοῖ ἔλεξέ τε· ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ  
 ἐρμηνεὺς ἡμῖν ἕτερα ἀνθ' ἐτέρων φράσαι. εἰ τοίνυν οὐδὲν 90  
 λέλεκταί σοι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον, ἴσθι τὸ ἐπὶ κλημα ἀπονισά-  
 μενος. οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκοντὶ ἀποπροσποισάμενος τὰ λεχ-  
 θέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὑπε-  
 κρίνατο, καὶ δὴ ἐς τὸ ἠπιώτερον μετηνέχθη, ὡς ἂν μὴ θρασύ-  
 τερός τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ὑπαγόρας ἔσοιτο ὁ Μεβῶδης τῷ ἐς 95  
 ἔννοιαν ἔχειν συνειδέναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῇ τῶν ῥημάτων  
 τραχύτητι.

Οὕτω δὴ οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως παρακρουσαμένου τὴν ὑπό-

considered that it was inappropriate to go before the Emperor alone and that he should not choose to break past practice, and so he turned down the summons. Thereupon Justin held the Saracen in complete contempt and told Mebod the reason. The Persian envoy said, "My Lord, I am not here to join in defending the Saracen if he has given offence. When I hear the details, if his complaints are just, then I shall not desert him, but if, on the contrary, his accusations are unjust, I myself shall condemn the Saracen." The Emperor replied sarcastically, "It seems that you are here not as an envoy, but as a judge." Thrown into confusion by the sting of these words, Mebod blushed scarlet. Then he immediately made the correct salute to the Emperor and withdrew.

A few days later Mebod again came to the palace and asked insistently that the Saracens be admitted. When the Emperor refused, he declared, "It is not right that I in my turn be denied what was granted to the Zikh, the previous envoy to the Romans. For our Saracen subjects were given audience before the Emperor with him. I should receive the same privileges as him lest there be a breach of the agreement between the Romans and the Persians."<sup>107</sup> At this the Emperor flew into a fury and said, "What! If the Zikh had been caught in adultery or some other serious crime, would you have to follow in his steps? Do you realise that you are addressing the Roman Emperor Justin?" Then Mebod took fright and in his panic threw himself face down on the floor and took refuge in denials, claiming that he had said nothing of the sort. When he made this excuse, the Emperor pretended to accept the plea and said, "It seems, then, that our interpreter made a mistranslation. If you said nothing improper, be assured that you have cleared yourself of the charge." In this way the Emperor, feigning ignorance of the words, pretended that he did not understand what had been said by Mebod, and acted in a gentler manner so that Mebod should not become even bolder and more arrogant through learning that the Emperor was aware of the insolence of his words.<sup>108</sup>

When the Emperor had concealed his knowledge in this way,

νοϊαν· οἰμωζέτω, ἡ δὲ ὁ Μεβώδης, καὶ τὰ Σαρακηνικὰ φύλα  
 ἅπαντα καὶ Ἄμβρος αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ πρεσβεία ἡ κατ' αὐτούς· ἐμοὶ 100  
 γὰρ σιγῇ ἔσοιτο ἕκατί τε αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἵποιμί <τι> τὸ λοιπόν.  
 τούτων οὕτω κεκινημένων, πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν  
 Σαρακηνὸν εἶπε κακῶς, καὶ ὡς μεταβολεὺς τε καὶ παλιγκάπηλος  
 ἦκοι. πρὸς τοῖς δ' ἔφασκεν ὡς οὐχ οἶός τε πέφυκε λήσειν ὅτου  
 ἔνεκα βασιλεῖ ἐντευζόμενος ἀφίκετο. φησὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐθέλοι τὰ 105  
 συνήθη χρήματα κομίσασθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ὧν, οἶμαι,  
 κομιεῖται ξυμφορὰς ὁ κατάρατός τε καὶ ἀπολούμενος. γελοιῶδες  
 γάρ, εἰ Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνει, καὶ ταῦτα νομάδων, Ῥωμαῖοί γε ὄντες  
 τεταξόμεθα ἐς φόρων ἀπαγωγὴν. ὁ Μεβώδης· εἶεν, ἔφη, ὦ  
 δέσποτα, εἰ καὶ ἄπρακτον, ὅμως ἀποπέμψεις αὐτόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς· 110  
 καὶ εἰ μὴ παρεγένετο, ὅσον τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀπίτω. καὶ  
 ἐμὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ κέλευσον, ἡ δὲ ὁ Μεβώδης. ἐς τέλος ἐλθούσης τῆς  
 πρεσβείας ἐν τούτοις, τὸν τε Περσῶν πρεσβευτὴν καὶ τοὺς  
 Σαρακηνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀπο-  
 νοστήσοντας. 115

Οὕτω τε ἀπεσιγήθη ἅπαντα τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος νου-  
 νεχεία τὰ ὅσα Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ διεπράξατο οὐ κατὰ τὸ  
 προσῆκον. ὡς δὲ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἔνδον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐγένοντο  
 ἀπήγγειλάν τε τῷ Ἄμβρω τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλὴν περὶ τοὺς  
 μηδίζοντας τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, τότε ὁ Ἄμβρος Καβώση τῷ ἀδελφῷ, 120  
 ὃς Ἀλαμουνδάρω τῷ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Σαρακηνῶν ἡγουμένῳ  
 ἀντικαθιστάμενος ἦν, σημαίνει καταδραμεῖν τὴν Ἀλαμουν-  
 δάρου γῆν. ἦδε δὲ ἡ γῆ ὑπὸ Ἀραβίαν τελεῖ.  
 (Suda B532 = vv.30-31, A3098 = v.39, K527 = vv.69-70, E3969 =  
 vv.72-73)

99 οἰμωζέτω B (-ω P) [οἰμώζετο rel. codd. ἡ δὲ Bekker [ἡ δὲ EM ἤδη aut ἦδε rel. codd.  
 101 τι add. de Boor [τι pro τὸ Hoeschel 107 ἀπολούμενος Niebuhr [ἀπολλύμενος A  
 110 ἀποπέμψεις [ἀπόπεμπον Bekker 112 ἡ δὲ Niebuhr [ἦδε A ἦδε rel. codd.

## 10

### 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 7)

Ἵτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας  
 πρεσβεία τῶν Τούρκων ἀφίκετο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. ὡς γὰρ τὰ Τούρκων  
 ἐπὶ μέγα ἦρθη, οἱ Σογδαῖται οἱ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν Ἐφθαλιτῶν,  
 τηνικαῦτα δὲ Τούρκων κατήκοοι, τοῦ σφῶν βασιλέως ἐδέοντο  
 πρεσβείαν στεῖλαι ὡς Πέρσας, ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπίοντες οἱ 5  
 Σογδαῖται ὄνιον παράσχοιντο τὴν μέταξαν τοῖς Μήδοις. καὶ οὖν

Mebod said, "A curse upon all the Saracen tribes and Ambrus and their embassy. In future may I speak not a word about them, but may I keep my silence." When he said this, the Emperor, too, called a great many more curses upon the Saracen, saying that he was a turncoat and a huckster. "Moreover," Justin said, "he cannot conceal for what purpose he has come to the Emperor. He says that he wishes to receive the usual payment from us, instead of which, I think, the accursed criminal will receive misfortune. It would be laughable if we, the Romans, became tributary to the Saracen race, nomads at that." Mebod said, "So be it, my Lord. But you will let him go, even if empty-handed." The Emperor replied, "As far as I am concerned, I wish he had never come. He can certainly leave." Mebod said, "Dismiss me with him." Thus the embassy was concluded, and the Emperor sent the Persian envoy and the Saracens together back home to their own countries.

In this way the Emperor, by his clever tactics, ensured that the disadvantageous agreements made by John on his embassy were not raised. But when the Saracens reached their own land and reported to Ambrus the attitude of the Emperor towards the Saracens who were subject to the Medes, then Ambrus ordered his brother Kaboses, who lay opposite Alamundar, the leader of the Saracens subject to the Romans, to ravage Alamundar's territory.<sup>109</sup> This territory was on the borders of Arabia.

## 10

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 7)

At the beginning of the fourth year<sup>110</sup> of Justin's reign an embassy from the Turks came to Byzantium. As the power of the Turks increased, the Sogdians, who were earlier subjects of the Ephthalites and now of the Turks, asked their king to send an embassy to the Persians, to request that the Sogdians be allowed to travel there and sell raw silk to the Medes.<sup>111</sup> Sizabul<sup>112</sup> agreed and dispatched

πείθεται ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἀφίησί τε πρεσβευσομένους Σογδαίτας·  
 ἐξηγεῖτο δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας Μανιάχ. ἀφικόμενοι δὴ οὖν παρὰ  
 βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐδέοντο τῆς μετάξης πέρι, ὅπως ἄνευ τινὸς  
 κωλύμης αὐτοῖς προέλθοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας. ὁ δὲ 10  
 Περσῶν βασιλεὺς (οὐδαμῶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε τὰ τοιάδε, ὡς ἂν  
 μὴ ἐνθένδε ἄδεια ἔσοιτο τούτοις τοῖς Περσῶν ἐμβατεύειν  
 ὀρίοις) ἀνεβάλετο ἐς τὸ αὖριον· καὶ μὲν οὖν αὐθις ἀναβολῇ  
 ἐχρῆτο πάλιν ἑτέρα. ὡς δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὸ παρὸν ἀπεκρούετο,  
 των Σογδαϊτῶν ἐκλιπαρούντων τε καὶ ἐγκειμένων, τότε Χοσ- 15  
 ρόης ἐκκλησιάσας ἀνελογίζετο. καὶ οὖν ὁ Κάτουλφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ  
 Ἐφθαλίτης, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως γεγεννημένην  
 βιαίαν μίξιν τῇ γυναικὶ προὔδωκε τὸ ὁμόφυλον τοῖς Τούρκοις,  
 οὗτος γοῦν (μετανάστης γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐγεγόνει τοῦ χρόνου  
 καὶ ἐμήδιζεν ἤδη) παρήνεσε βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν 20  
 οὐδαμῶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὠνήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῆς μὲν καταθέσθαι τιμήματα, θεωμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν  
 πρέσβων ταύτην ἀφανίσαι πυρί, ὡς ἂν μήτε ἀδικεῖν δόξοι μήτε  
 μὴν βούλεσθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐκ Τούρκων μετάξη. καὶ ἡ μὲν  
 μέταξα ἐπυρπολήθη, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ 25  
 γεγεννημένῳ ἦκιστα χαίροντες.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ τὰ ξυγκυρήσαντα ἔφρασαν,  
 αὐτίκα ὄγε καὶ ἑτέρα πρεσβεία ἐχρῆτο ὡς Πέρσας φιλοποιή-  
 σασθαι τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς πολιτείαν βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Τούρ-  
 κων πρεσβεία αὐθις ἀφῆκτο, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἐν τέλει 30  
 Περσῶν καὶ τῷ Κατούλῳ ἐγνωμάτευε, πάντη ἀξύμφορον εἶναι  
 Πέρσαις φιλίαν θέσθαι ὡς Τούρκους· τὸ γὰρ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι  
 παλίμβολον. ταύτη τοι καὶ παρενεγύησε δηλητηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ  
 ἐνίους διαφθαρεῖν τῶν πρέσβων, ὅπως ἀπέποιεν τῆς ἐκεῖσε  
 μετέπειτα παρουσίας. καὶ δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν πρεσβευσαμένων 35  
 Τούρκων τῇ περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν μίξει τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν φαρμάκων  
 αὐτοῦ που τὸν βίον κατέλυσαν πλὴν τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων. θροῦς δὲ  
 ἐφοίτησε Πέρσαις ὡς διώλοντο τῷ πνιγηρῷ τῶν Περσῶν αὐχμῷ  
 τῶν Τούρκων οἱ πρέσβεις, ἅτε τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας θαμὰ νιφετῷ  
 παλυνομένης, καὶ ἀδύνατον ὄν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ κρυμῶδους καταστή- 40  
 ματος βιοτεύειν. ταύτη τοι καὶ ἄλλως ὑποτοπήσαντες, οἳ γε τὴν  
 ἐπιβουλήν διέφυγον, οὕτω ξυμβὰν εἰς τὴν πατρώαν ἐπανελ-  
 θόντες τὰ ἅπερ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ διεψιθύρισαν ταῦτα. ὅμως ὁ

Sogdian envoys, whose leader was Maniakh.<sup>113</sup> When they reached the king of the Persians, they asked that they be given permission to sell the raw silk there without any hindrance. The Persian king, who was not at all pleased by their request, being reluctant to grant free access from there to that area of Persia, put off his reply until the next day and kept postponing it. After a series of postponements, as the Sogdians were pressing insistently for a reply, Khosro summoned a council to discuss the matter. Katulph, the Ephthalite, who, because the king had raped his wife, had betrayed his own tribe to the Turks<sup>114</sup> (and who in the meantime had left them and joined the Medes), advised the Persian king not to return the silk, but to buy it, paying the fair price for it, and to burn it in the fire before the very eyes of the envoys, so that he would not be held to have committed an injustice but that it would be clear that he did not wish to use raw silk from the Turks. So the silk was burned, and the Sogdians returned to their homeland not at all pleased with what had happened.<sup>115</sup>

When the Sogdians told Sizabul what had occurred, he himself sent another embassy to the Persians, since he wished to establish friendly relations between them and his own state. When this second Turkish embassy arrived, the king, after discussion with the Persian high officials and with Katulph, decided that because of the untrustworthy nature of the Scythians<sup>116</sup> it was completely against Persian interest to establish friendly relations with the Turks. At this he ordered that some of the envoys be poisoned, so that henceforth they would refuse to come there. The majority of the Turkish envoys, all but three or four, were murdered by a deadly poison mixed in with their food. A report was circulated amongst the Persians that the Turkish envoys had been killed by the stifling dryness of Persia, because their own land was often covered with snow and they could not survive away from cold weather. Although the survivors of the plot suspected a different explanation, when they returned to their own country they noised about the same version as the Persians.

Σιζάβουλος (ἀγχίνους γάρ τις καὶ δεινός) οὐκ ἠγνόησε τὸ  
πραχθέν, ᾤθη δέ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐδολοφονήθησαν οἱ πρέσ- 45  
βεις. ἔνθεν τοιγαροῦν ἡ δυσμένεια ἤρξατο Περσῶν τε καὶ  
Τούρκων. καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ, ὃς τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν προ-  
ειστήκει, τοιοῦδε καιροῦ συμβουλεύει τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἄμεινον  
εἶναι Τούρκοις ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦς ὄνιον 50  
ἀποκομίζειν τὴν μέταξαν, ὡς γε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεον τῶν ἄλλων  
ἀνθρώπων χρωμένους. ἐτοιμότητα δὲ ἔχειν ἔφη ὁ Μανιάχ καὶ  
αὐτὸς συναπαίρειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τῶν Τούρκων· καὶ ὡς ταύτη  
φίλοι ἔσονται Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Τούρκοι. τούτοις δήπου κατα-  
νεύσας τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν τε καὶ  
ἑτέρους τινὰς ὡς βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευσομένους προσ- 55  
ρήσεις τε ἀποκομιοῦντας καὶ δῶρα μετάξης οὐκ ὀλίγον τι χρῆμα  
καὶ συλλαβάς τινας. [ζήτηι ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιστολῶν.]

Τοιάσδε τινὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιφερόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ ἀπήρ-  
ξατο τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, καὶ δὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πολλὴν διανύσας  
ἀτραπὸν χώρους τε διελθὼν ἐσότι πλείστους ὄρη τε μέγιστα καὶ 60  
ἀγχινεφῆ καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας λίμνας τε καὶ ποταμούς, εἶτα τὸν  
Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυ-  
ζάντιον. καὶ τοίνυν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθὼν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα  
γενόμενος ἅπαντα ἔπραξε τὰ ὅσα ἔπεται τῷ τῆς φιλίας θεσμῷ, τό  
τε γράμμα καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοις, καὶ 65  
ἔδειτο μὴ ἀνονήτους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς ὁδοιπορίας  
ιδρῶτας.

Ἄτὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλεξάμενος διὰ τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὸ  
γράμμα τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἀσμενέστατα προσήκατο τὴν πρεσβειάν.  
τοιγαροῦν ἤρετο τοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἡγε- 70  
μονίας τε καὶ χώρας. οἱ δέ γε ἔφασαν τέτταρας μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δέ γε κράτος τοῦ ζύμπαντος ἔθνους ἀνεῖσθαι μόνῳ  
τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ. πρὸς γε ἔλεξαν ὡς παρεστήσαντο καὶ Ἐφθαλίτας  
μέχρι καὶ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν. πᾶσαν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ,  
τὴν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν <ὑπήκοον> ἐποιήσασθε δύναμιν; πάνυ μὲν 75  
οὖν, ἔλεξαν οἱ πρέσβεις. αὐθις ὁ βασιλεὺς· κατὰ πόλεις ἢ που  
ἄρα κατὰ κώμας ᾤκουν οἱ Ἐφθαλίται; οἱ πρέσβεις· ἀστικοί, ὧ  
δέσποτα, τὸ φύλον. εὐδηλον οὖν, ἢ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἐκείνων  
δήπου τῶν πόλεων κύριοι καθεστήκατε. καὶ μάλα, ἔφασαν. ὁ 80  
βασιλεὺς· ἄρα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξτε ὅση τῶν Αβάρων πληθὺς τῆς

50 ὡς γε Bekker [ὥστε A 51 δὲ Bekker [καὶ A 52 αὐτὸς συναπαίρειν Bekker [αὐτὸν οὖν  
ἀπαίρειν A 62 αὐτὸν post Καύκασον edd. 75 ὑπήκοον addidi sec. de Boor ad loc. ἐποιή-  
σασθε [ἰδιοποιήσασθε aut ᾤκειώσασθε Bekker 77 κώμας Valesius [κώμης A 78 ἢ δὲ  
Bekker [ἦδε aut ἦδη A 80 ὅση Bekker [ὡς ἢ A



Sizabul, however, who was a shrewd and intelligent man, recognised what had been done and realised the truth, that the envoys had been killed by treachery. This was the cause of the hostility between the Persians and the Turks.

Maniakh, the leader of the Sogdians, took this opportunity and advised Sizabul that it would be better for the Turks to cultivate the friendship of the Romans and send their raw silk for sale to them because they made more use of it than other people. Maniakh said that he himself was very willing to go along with envoys from the Turks, and in his way the Romans and Turks would become friends. Sizabul consented to this proposal and sent Maniakh and some others as envoys to the Roman Emperor carrying greetings, a valuable gift of raw silk and a letter.<sup>117</sup> (Look for the letter in the *Excerpts on Letters*.)

Carrying this letter Maniakh set out on his journey. He travelled very many roads and traversed very many lands, over huge mountains reaching near the clouds, through plains and woods, over marshes and rivers. Then he crossed the Caucasus and finally came to Byzantium.<sup>118</sup> When he entered the palace and came before the Emperor, he did everything according to the law of friendship. He handed over the letter and the gifts to those who were sent to receive them and he asked that the toil of his journey not be in vain.

When the Emperor read the letter, written in Scythian,<sup>119</sup> through an interpreter, he most willingly granted an audience to the embassy. He then questioned the envoys about the leadership of the Turks and their location. They replied that they had four principalities, but power over the whole people was vested in Sizabul alone.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, they said, the Turks had conquered the Ephthalites and made them tributary.<sup>121</sup> “You have, therefore,” asked the Emperor, “made all the power of the Ephthalites subject to you?” “Completely,” replied the envoys. The Emperor then asked, “Do the Ephthalites live in cities or villages?” The envoys: “My Lord, that people lives in cities.”<sup>122</sup> “Then,” said the Emperor, “it is clear that you have become master of these cities.” “Indeed,” said the envoys. The Emperor asked, “Tell us how large a multitude of Avars revolted

τῶν Τούρκων ἀφηνίασεν ἐπικρατείας, καὶ εἶ τινες ἔτι παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰσὶ μὲν, ὡ βασιλεῦ, οἷ γε τὰ ἡμέτερα στέργουσιν ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ δῆπουθεν ἀποδράσαντας οἶμαι ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσιν εἶναι χιλιάδας. εἶτα ἀπαριθμησάμενοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἔθνη κατήκοα Τούρκων τὸ λοιπὸν ἠντιβόλουν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἰρήνην τε ξυνεστάναι καὶ 85 ὁμαιχμίαν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Τούρκοις. προσετίθεσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐτοιμότατα ἔχουσι καταπολεμῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας τὸ δυσμενές, ὅποσον ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγελάζονται ἠπειρον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα τῷ λέξει τῷ χειρὶ ὑποῦ ἀνατείνας ὁ Μανιάχ οἷ τε ξὺν αὐτῷ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσαντο μεγίστῳ ἢ μὴν ὀρθογνώμονι 90 διανοία ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι. πρὸς γε καὶ κατέχεον ἀρὰς σφίσιςιν αὐτοῖς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει, εἶ γε οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἀληθῆ τε εἶη καὶ πρακτέα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ φύλον οἱ Τοῦρκοι φίλοι ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ ἄλλως ἐφοίτησαν πολιτεία. 95  
(*Suda* Γ145 = vv.31-32, Π88 = vv.32-33, Θ509 = vv.37-38, Ν436 et Π120 = vv.39-40, Ω116 = vv.48-50)

81 ὑμῖν Niebuhr [ὑμῶν A 88 αὐτοὺς Niebuhr [αὐτάς A 89 τε Niebuhr [γε A

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 7)

Ἵτι τῶν Τούρκων τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων τὸ πάλαι πρεσβεῖαν ποιησαμένων πρὸς Ἰουστίνον περὶ εἰρήνης, ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμψαι πρεσβεῖαν ὡς Τούρκους· καὶ δὴ Ζημάρχῳ τῷ Κίλικι ἔλεγε παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅς τῶν πρὸς ἕω πόλεων τηνικαῦτα ὑπῆρχε στρατηγός. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα 5 αὐτῷ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξηρτυμένα ἦν, ἠνίκα πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἠνύετο τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρίδος περιφορᾶς, περὶ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ παρὰ Λατίνοις Αὐγούστου μηνός, ὁ μὲν Ζήμαρχος ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ Μανιάχῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. 10

3 πρεσβεῖαν [πρεσβείας E πρέσβεις de Boor

## 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 8)

Ἵτι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διανύσαντες οἱ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἐπειδὴ παρῆσαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν τόποις, ὀπηνίκα τῶν ἵππων ἀπέβησαν, τῶν Τούρκων ἔνιοι ὡς ἔοικεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοι, ὦνιον σφίσι προίσχοντο σίδηρον, οἶμαι τῷ ποιήσασθαι ἐνδειξίν τινα, ὡς μέταλλα αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει σιδήρου· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐπόριστόν τι χρῆμα ὁ σίδηρος. ταύτη ἔνεστι 5

2 ἐν τοῖς [αὐτοῖς X 6 ἔνεστι [ἔστι *Suda* K2021 et Y178

from Turkish rule and whether any remain subject to you.” “There are, O Emperor, some who still adhere to us. Those who fled number, I think, around twenty thousand.” Then the envoys enumerated the tribes subject to the Turks and asked the Emperor for peace and an offensive and defensive alliance between the Romans and the Turks. They added that they were also very willing to crush those enemies of the Roman state who were pressing upon their territory.<sup>123</sup> As they were speaking Maniakh and those with him raised their hands on high and swore upon their greatest oath that they were saying these things with honest intent. In addition they called down curses upon themselves, even upon Sizabul and upon their whole race, if their claims were false and could not be fulfilled. In this way the Turkish people became friends of the Romans and established these relations with our state.

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 7)

When the Turks, who had formerly been called the Sacae,<sup>124</sup> sent an embassy to Justin concerning peace, the Emperor decided to send an envoy to the Turks. He ordered Zemarchus the Cilician, who was at the time general in command of the eastern cities, to make ready for this.<sup>125</sup> When everything necessary for a long journey had been made ready, near to the end of the fourth year of Justin’s reign, in the second year of the fifteen-year cycle and around the beginning of the Latin month of August, Zemarchus set out from Byzantium with Maniakh himself and his companions.<sup>126</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 8)

When Zemarchus and his companions had completed a journey of many days, they entered the land of the Sogdians. At this point they dismounted from their horses, and certain Turks, who had apparently been ordered to do this, offered them iron for sale, the purpose of which, I think, was to demonstrate that they had iron mines. For it is said that amongst them iron is not easily obtained. Thus one can

τεκμηριῶσαι ὡς ὑπαινιττόμενοι ἔχειν γῆν σιδηροφόρον τῷ  
τοιῶδε ἐχρήσαντο κόμπω.

Ἔτεροι δέ τινες τοῦ φύλου τοῦ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνα-  
φανέντες, οὓς εἶναι ἔλεγον τῶν ἀπαισίων ἐλατῆρας, ἀγχοῦ 10  
ἦλθον τῶν περι Ζήμαρχον· καὶ τοίνυν ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐ<πεφέροντο  
φορτία ἀράμενοι ἔθεσαν ἐν μέσῳ. εἶτα τοῖς τοῦ λιβάνου κλάδοις  
πῦρ ἀνάψαντες τῇ Σκυθικῇ φωνῇ βάρβαρα> ἄττα ῥήματα  
ὑπεσιθύριζον, ἐπιπαταγοῦντες δὲ κώδωνί τι καὶ τυμπάνῳ  
ὑπερθεν τοῦ φόρτου περιέφερον τὸ φυλλῶδες τοῦ λιβάνου τῇ 15  
φλογὶ λακιζόμενον, καὶ ἅμα γινόμενοι μανιώδεις καὶ ἐμβρι-  
μούμενοι τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπελαύνειν ἐδόκουν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀποτρόπαιοί  
τινες εἶναι καὶ ἀλεξίκακοι ἐδόκουν. ἀποδιοπομπησάμενοι δὴ  
οὖν, ὡς ᾤοντο, τὰ δυσχερῆ Ζήμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν δι' αὐτῆς  
παρήγαγον τῆς φλογός, ᾧ δέ τε ἔδοξαν καὶ σφᾶς ἀφαγνίζειν. 20

Τούτων δὲ ταύτη γεγενημένων ἔπειτα ἐπορεύοντο ζῶν τοῖς  
ἐς τὸ τοιόνδε τεταγμένοις, ἵνα ὁ Χαγάνος αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν ὄρει τινὶ  
λεγομένῳ Ἐκτάγ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι χρυσοῦν ὄρος Ἑλλήν ἀνήρ. καὶ  
τοίνυν αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενοι, ὅπη τηνικαῦτα τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἦσαν αἱ  
διατριβαί, κατὰ δὴ κοιλάδα τινὰ τοῦ προσαγορευομένου Χρυ- 25  
σοῦ ὄρους, ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ περι Ζήμαρχον ἐκεῖσε ἐφοίτησαν, μετά-  
κλητοὶ γενόμενοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ Σιζαβούλου ἦλθον ἐς ὄψιν. ἦν  
δὲ ἄρα ἔνδον σκηνηῆς, καθῆστο δὲ ἐπὶ διτρόχου καθέδρας  
χρυσῆς, ἐλκομένης, ὀπηνίκα ἔδει, ὑπὸ ἵππου ἑνός. προσει-  
πόντες δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, τὰ δῶρα προΐσχοντο· 30  
καὶ τοίνυν οἷς γε τοῦτο ἐν φροντίσι ἦν ὑπεδέξαντο. ἀτὰρ ὁ  
Ζήμαρχος· σοὶ δῆτα, ἔφη, ᾧ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν ἡγεμῶν, ὁ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀγγελιαφόρῳ χρησάμενος ἐμοὶ ἐσή-  
μησεν εἶναι ἐς αἰὶ τὴν τύχην αἰσίαν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐν ἡδονῇ  
ποιουμένῳ σοὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς γε φιλοφρονουμένῳ ἡμᾶς. 35  
ἔστω δὲ σοὶ κρατεῖν αἰὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν καὶ λαφυραγωγεῖν τὸ  
πολέμιον. ἀπέστω δὲ βασκανία τις ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἡμῶν οἷα τε  
οὔσα διαρρηγνύναι τοὺς τῆς φιλίας θεσμούς. ἐπιτήδεια ἐμοιγε  
τῶν Τούρκων τὰ φύλα καὶ ὅσα κατήκοα Τούρκων· ἔξετε δὲ τὴν  
καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἄλλως. τοιαῦτα ἄττα ἔλεξεν ὁ Ζή- 40  
μαρχος· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σιζάβουλος καὶ αὐτὸς προσήρσεσιν ἐχρήσατο  
ὁμοίαις. εἶτα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπησαν ἐς θοίνην, καὶ πανημερία

8 κόμπω [κόπω X 9 τοῦ κατὰ [τὸ κατὰ X edd. 10 ἔλεγον [ἔφασαν *Suda* A2962 ἀπαισίων  
*Suda* l.c. [ἀπουσίων codd. ἀγχοῦ Hoeschel [ἀγχοῖ codd. 11-13 verba in uncis add. *Tour e*  
*Suda* Φ617 14 ὑπεσιθύριζον [ὑπεσιθυρίζετο *Suda* Y408 17 ἀπελαύνειν *Suda* E963 [ἐπε-  
λαύνειν codd. 33 ἀγγελιαφόρῳ Dindorf [ἀγγελοφόρῳ codd. 38 θεσμούς [δεσμούς de  
Boor 39 τὴν [τὰ Niebuhr 42 πανημερία [πανημέριοι Bekker

assume that they made this demonstration to imply that they possessed land that contained iron.<sup>127</sup>

Certain others of their own tribe appeared, who, they said, were exorcisers of ill-omened things, and they came up to Zemarchus and his companions. They took all of the baggage that they were carrying and placed it on the ground. Then they set fire to branches of the frankincense tree, chanted some barbarous words in their Scythian tongue, making noise with bells and drums, waved above the baggage the frankincense boughs as they were crackling with the flames, and, falling into a frenzy and acting like madmen, supposed that they were driving away evil spirits. For in this way some men were thought to be averters of and guardians against evil. When they had chased away the evil beings, as they supposed, and had led Zemarchus himself through the fire, they thought that by this means they had purified themselves also.<sup>128</sup>

When these things had been done in this way, they travelled with those appointed to this task to the place where the Khagan was, on a mountain called Ektag, or 'Golden Mountain' in Greek.<sup>129</sup> When Zemarchus and his companions reached the place where Sizabul was presently staying – in a valley of the so-called 'Golden Mountain' –, having arrived there, they were summoned and immediately came into Sizabul's presence. He was in a tent, sitting upon a golden throne with two wheels, which could be drawn when necessary by one horse. They greeted the barbarian and offered him their gifts, as was the custom, and were received by those whose task it was.

Then Zemarchus said, "Ruler of so many peoples, our great Emperor through me, his messenger, says to you, 'May your fortune always be good and success be with you, who are our friend and well-disposed towards the Roman state. May you always conquer your enemies and make them your plunder. May jealousy, which can destroy the laws of friendship, be far, far away from us. The tribes of the Turks and those subject to the Turks are my friends, and may you think thus about us also.'" This is what Zemarchus said, and Sizabul uttered similar words in reply.

Then they turned to feasting and spent the rest of the day

εὐωχούμενοι διετέλουν ἐν αὐτῇ δήπου τῇ σκηνηῇ. κατεσκευάστο  
 δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὑφασμάτων σηρικῶν τε καὶ διαπεποικιλμένων τοῖς  
 χρώμασιν ἀτεχνῶς. οἶνω μὲν οὖν ἐχρήσαντο, οὐχ ὁμοίῳ δὲ τῷ 45  
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκθλιβομένῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀμπελοφόρος  
 αὐτοῖς ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγχωριάζει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιόνδε γένος·  
 ἐτέρου δὲ τινος βαρβαρικοῦ ἐνεφορήθησαν γλεύκους. καὶ  
 ἀνεχώρησαν ὅποι αὐτοῖς ἡ κατάλυσις ἦν.

Εἶτα ἐς τὸ αὐριον ἐν ἐτέρα τινὶ καλύβη ξυνῆλθον, ἡμφιεσ- 50  
 μενη δὲ καὶ καταπεποικιλμένη οὐκ ἄλλως ἐξ ἱματίων σηρικῶν,  
 ἔνθα καὶ ἀγάλματα διάφορα τῇ μορφῇ εἰστήκει. ὁ δὲ Σιζάβουλος  
 ἐνίζανεν ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ὅλης ἐκ χρυσοῦ. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ μέσον  
 τοῦ ἐνδαιτήματος κάλπεις τε χρυσαῖ καὶ περιρραντήρια, ἔτι τε  
 πίθοι χρυσοῖ. θοινησάμενοι δ' οὖν καὶ αὐθις καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐχρῆν ἐν 55  
 πότῳ εἰπόντες τε καὶ ἀκηκοότες ἀνεχώρησαν.

Τῇ ἐξῆς ἐν ἐτέρα ἐγένοντο διαίτη, ἔνθα ξύλινοι κίονες  
 ἦσαν τινες ἐνδεδυμένοι χρυσῷ, χρυσήλατός τε κλίνη ὁμοίως,  
 ἦντινά γε δήπου καὶ ταῶνες χρυσοῖ τέτταρες ἠώρουν. κατὰ δὲ δὴ  
 τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον τῆς διαίτης ἐπὶ πολὺ παρετέταντο ἅμαξαι, ἐν αἷς 60  
 πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἀργύρου ἐπῆν, δίσκοι τε καὶ κανᾶ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τετραπόδων ἰνδάματα πλεῖστα, καὶ αὐτὰ γε δήπουθεν  
 ἀργυροποίητα οὐδέν τι ἀποδέοντα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν  
 τῷ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμόνι ἐνεστι χλιδῆς. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ζήμαρχον  
 ἔτι ἐκεῖσε ἐνδιατριβόντων, ἔδοξε τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν 65  
 Ζήμαρχον ἅμα εἴκοσι θεραπευταῖς τε καὶ ὀπαδοῖς ἔπεσθαί οἱ  
 ἐκστρατευομένῳ κατὰ Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐπαναστρέφοντας κατὰ δὴ τὴν χώραν τῶν Χολιατῶν ἀναμένειν  
 τὴν Ζημάρχου ἐπάνοδον. καὶ δὴ τῷ πρὸς τῷ πρὸ βῆτ, δώροις τε  
 φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ζήμαρχον καὶ θερα- 70  
 παίνῃ ἐτίμησε δοριαλώτῳ· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων Χερχίρ·  
 καὶ ὁ Ζήμαρχος σὺν τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἐπορεύετο μαχησομένῳ  
 Πέρσαις.

Ἐν ταύτῃ δήπου τῇ πορεία γενόμενοι, ἐν χώρῳ τινὶ  
 καταλυσάντων αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένῳ Τάλας ὑπαντιάζει τῷ Σιζα- 75  
 βούλῳ Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς. καὶ τοίνυν ξυνεκάλεσε παρ' αὐτῷ

45 ἀτεχνῶς [εὐτέχνως Niebuhr, de Boor μὲν [δὲ μὲν codd. δὲ transp. Niebuhr post ὁμοίῳ  
 47 γένος [γάνος Meinecke 1869 50 τινὶ καλύβη [σκηνηῇ Suda Π1026 51 καταπεποικιλ-  
 μένη [καταπεπουκασμένη Suda l.c. 60 παρετέταντο [παρετάττοντο MP 63 τῶν παρ'  
 Hoeschel [τὸν παρ' codd. οὕτω [τοῦτο Hoeschel 64 ἐνεστι [μέτεστι Classen 69 corrup-  
 telam indicavit de Boor qui καὶ δὴ ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πρὸ βῆτ proposuit; sed maiorem corrup-  
 telam et fortasse lacunam suspicor. τῷ del. Hoeschel 71 Χερχίρ [Χερχίς B (fortasse) edd.  
 et Moravcsik (cf. n.136 ad trans.) 76 αὐτῷ Niebuhr [αὐτῷ codd.]

enjoying lavish entertainment in the same tent. It was furnished with silken hangings dyed without skill in various<sup>130</sup> colours. They did not drink wine like ours which is squeezed from the grape, for their land does not support the grape vine, and that species of plant is not native to their area. They drank their fill of another barbarous kind of sweet wine.<sup>131</sup> Then they returned to their lodgings.

On the morrow they met in another hut<sup>132</sup> which was similarly decorated with multicoloured silken hangings. In it stood statues of different shapes.<sup>133</sup> Sizabul sat there on a couch made completely of gold. In the middle of the building were golden urns, water-sprinklers and also golden pitchers. They feasted again, and when they had spoken and heard as much as was necessary during the drinking, they departed.

On the following day they came to another dwelling in which there were gilded wooden pillars and a couch of beaten gold which was supported by four golden peacocks. In front of this dwelling were drawn up over a wide area wagons containing many silver objects, dishes and bowls, and a large number of statues of animals, also of silver and in no way inferior to those which we make; so wealthy is the ruler of the Turks.<sup>134</sup> While Zemarchus and his companions were waiting there, Sizabul decided that Zemarchus with twenty followers and attendants should accompany him as he was marching against the Persians and that the other Romans should return to the land of the Kholiatai<sup>135</sup> to await Zemarchus' return. [Sizabul] . . . and having honoured them with gifts, dismissed them. To Zemarchus he presented a female slave, a war-captive from the people called Kherkhir.<sup>136</sup> And Zemarchus marched off to fight the Persians.

When they were on the march and encamped in a place called Talas,<sup>137</sup> an envoy from the Persians came to meet Sizabul. He invited the Roman and the Persian ambassadors to dine with him.

ἔστιασομένους τούς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ δὴ παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐν τιμῇ πλείονι ἐποίησατο, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπικυδεστέραν ἀνακλῖναι στιβάδα. πρὸς γε καὶ πλείστα ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἦν τοὺς Πέρσας, 80 ἄτε δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄδικα πεπονθῶς, καὶ ὡς τούτου ἔνεκα ἔρχεται πολεμήσων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν πρεσβευτής, τοῦ Σιζαβούλου συντονώτερον ἐπεγκαλοῦντος, περιφρονήσας τὸν νόμον τῆς σιωπῆς τὸν ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν, ἐπιτροχάδην ἤρξατο διαλέγεσθαι τοῦ Σιζαβούλου γενναίως τὰ ἐπικλήματα 85 ἀπωθούμενος, ὡς καὶ θαυμάσαι τοὺς παρόντας τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς αὐτοῦ ὀργῆς, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος τὸν νόμον πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀκολάστοις ἐχρήσατο. ἐν τούτοις ἀπαλλαγέντων, ὁ μὲν Σιζάβουλος παρεσκευάζετο τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας <στρατείαν>.

Τῷ τοι ἄρα τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ζήμαρχον μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ὡς 90 ἐνήν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἐμπεδώσας, ἀφῆκεν αὐθις ἀπονοστήσοντας, ἕτερον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῖς συναποστείλας τῷ τὸν πρότερον λεγόμενον Μανιάχ τεθνάναι. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτῆ Ταγμὰ αὐτῷ, ἀξίωμα δὲ Ταρχάν. οὗτος δὴ οὖν ἐστάλη ὑπὸ Σιζαβούλου ὡς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευσόμενος, 95 καὶ μὲν οὖν σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ τοῦ ἤδη ἀποικομένου παῖς, φημὶ δὴ τοῦ Μανιάχ, κομιδῆ μειράκιον, ὅμως δὲ τὸ πατρῶον διαδεξάμενος γέρας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν μετὰ τὸν Ταγμὰ Ταρχάν κληρωσάμενος ἀξίαν· οἶμαι δὲ τῷ ἐπιτηδειότατόν τε καὶ εὐνοῦστατον γενέσθαι τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ τὸν Μανιάχ τοῦ πατρώου τὸν παῖδα τυχεῖν 100 ἀξιώματος.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Σιζάβουλος διαφῆκε τοὺς περὶ Ζήμαρχον, ἐπικαταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πρότερον ἀφεθέντας Ῥωμαίους, οὗ ἦν ξυντεθειμένον αὐτοῖς. καὶ τοίνυν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γεγόμενοι τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὁδοιπορίας ἀπήρξαντο. καὶ δὴ καταλελοιπότες τὴν 105 πρωτεύουσαν πόλιν τῶν Χοαλιτῶν διὰ φρουρίων ἐπορεύοντο. (*Suda* E3658 = vv.5-6, K2021 et Y178 = vv.6-8, A2962 = vv.9-10, Φ617 = vv.11-14, Y408 = vv.13-14, Π772 = vv.14-15, Λ57 = vv.15-16, E963 = vv.15-17, A3615 = vv.17-18, Π1026 = vv.50-51, Π1273 = vv.53-54, H416 = v.59, X340 = vv.63-64, Θ226 = vv.70-71, E2425 = vv.78-80)

83 ἐπεγκαλοῦντος [ἐπεκαλοῦντος C 88 ῥήμασιν post ἐχρήσατο add. de Boor 89 στρατείαν addidi sec. de Boor 91 πρὸς ... φιλίαν Niebuhr [περὶ ... φιλίας codd. 94 ἐκεῖνον Niebuhr [ἐκεῖνων codd. πρεσβευτῆ M [πρεσβευτὴν rel. codd. 97 κομιδῆ [νομιδῆ (-i -ei) BPM 98 γέρας Niebuhr [γῆρας codd. 99 τῷ Valesius [τὸν P τὸ rel. codd. 106 Χοαλιτῶν [Χολιατῶν edd.



When they arrived, Sizabul treated the Romans with greater esteem and had them recline on the more honourable couch. Moreover, he made many complaints against the Persians, saying that he had suffered wrongs at their hands and on this account was going to war against them. While Sizabul was vehemently making his accusations, the Persian envoy ignored the custom of silence which prevailed amongst them at their feasts and began rapidly to argue back, bravely refuting Sizabul's charges, and those present were astounded at the measure of his rage, since he abandoned custom and used many intemperate expressions. Under these circumstances they departed, and Sizabul prepared his attack on Persia.<sup>138</sup>

After this he summoned Zemarchus and his companions, reaffirmed the friendship that existed towards the Romans, and sent them away on their journey home. With them he sent another envoy, since the former one, Maniakh, had died. His successor's name was Tagma, and his title was Tarkhan.<sup>139</sup> He, then, was sent by Sizabul as envoy to the Romans, and with him the son of the deceased Maniakh. Although he was a very young lad, he had been given his father's title and ranked immediately after the Tarkhan Tagma. In my opinion the boy received his father's title because Maniakh had been very friendly and loyal to Sizabul.

When Sizabul dismissed Zemarchus and his companions, they caught up with the Romans who had been sent away earlier at the place where they had been told to wait. They joined up and began their journey home, and leaving the first city of the Kholiatai, they travelled through fortresses.

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 8)

Ὅτι διαθρυλληθὲν κατὰ τὴν Τουρκίαν, ὅσοι ἀγχίθυροι ἦσαν, ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἐνδημοῦσι πρέσβεις καὶ ὡς πορεύονται τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἅμα πρεσβεία Τούρκων, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνη ἐθνῶν ἡγεμὼν ἐδήλωσε τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ξὺν ἰκετεία ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σφετέρου τινὰς ἀποστείλαι ἔθνους ἐπὶ θέαν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς 5 πολιτείας· καὶ τοίνυν ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐφίετο. καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ προεστῶτες ἐθνῶν ταῦτα ἐζήτουν· ὁ δὲ οὐδενὶ ξυνεχώρησε τῶν πάντων ἢ μόνον τῷ τῶν Χλιατῶν ἡγεμόνι. καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτον παρειληφότες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου ποταμοῦ Ὠήχ καὶ ἀτραπὸν διανύσαντες οὐδαμῶς ὀλίγην ἐγένοντο κατὰ δὴ τὴν 10 λίμνην τὴν ἄπλετον ἐκείνην καὶ εὐρεΐαν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ζήμαρχος ἐνδιατρίψας ἡμέρας τρεῖς στέλλει Γεώργιον, ὃς ἀνεΐτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἐπιτομωτέρων συλλαβῶν ἀπαγγελίαν, προδηλώσοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ Τούρκων ἐπάνοδον.

Καὶ οὖν ὁ Γεώργιος ἅμα Τούρκοις δέκα πρὸς τοῖς δύο 15 ἀπήρξατο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὁδοῦ ἀνύδρου τε μάλα οὔσης καὶ πάντῃ ἐρήμου, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐπιτομωτέρας. ὁ δὲ Ζήμαρχος κατὰ δὴ τὸ ψαμαθῶδες τῆς λίμνης παροδεύων ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ δύο δυσβάτους τέ τινας χώρους παραμειψάμενος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὰ 20 ρεῖθρα τοῦ Ἰχ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δαίχ, καὶ διὰ λιμνῶν ἐτέρων αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἀτίλαν· πάλιν ὡς Οὐγούρους, οἱ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν ἀπήγγειλαν ὡς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ λάσια τέσσαρες χιλιάδες Περσῶν ἐπιτηροῦσι προλελοχισμένοι, ὡς ἂν χειρώσωνται παριόντας αὐτούς. ταύτη τοι ὁ τῶν 25 Οὐγούρων ἡγούμενος, ὃς διέσωζεν ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Σιζαβούλου τὸ κράτος, πληρώσας ὕδατος ἀσκούς παρέσχετο τοῖς περὶ Ζήμαρχον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν ὅθεν ὑδρεύσονται διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἰόντες. εὖρον δὲ καὶ λίμνην, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὕδροστάσιον ἀφίκοντο ἐς ἐκείνας τὰς λίμνας, ἐν αἷς ἐπιμιγνύμενος 30 ἀπόλλυται ὁ Κωφὴν ποταμός. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ τοῦ χώρου πέμπουσι διοπτῆρας προδιασκεψομένους εἴ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ Πέρσαι ἐνεδρεύουσιν· οἱ δὴ ἀνιχνεύσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν μηδένα ἰδεῖν. ὅμως ξὺν μεγίστῳ φόβῳ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀλανίαν, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον δεδιότες τὸ φῦλον τῶν Ὀρομουσχῶν.

(*Suda* Y65 = vv.26-30)

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 8)

When the news had spread through the land of the Turks to the nearby tribes that envoys from the Romans had arrived and that they were returning to Byzantium with a Turkish embassy, the leader of these tribes begged Sizabul that he be allowed to send some of his own people to see the Roman Empire. Sizabul agreed, but when other tribal leaders sought this also, he consented to none of the requests except that of the leader of the Kholiatai. The Romans received him across the river Oekh and having travelled for a long distance, came to that enormous, wide lake.<sup>140</sup> Zemarchus rested there for three days and sent off George, whose task was to convey a brief letter informing the Emperor that they were returning from the Turks.

George set off for Byzantium with twelve Turks by a route that was waterless and wholly desert, but shorter.<sup>141</sup> Zemarchus travelled along the sandy shore for twelve days and when he had skirted some difficult terrain<sup>142</sup> came to the river Ikh, then to the Daikh and, after passing some other lakes, to the Attila.<sup>143</sup> Then they came to the Ugurs,<sup>144</sup> who told them that in a wooded area by the river Kophen<sup>145</sup> four thousand Persians were waiting in ambush to take them prisoner as they passed. Therefore, the leader of the Ugurs, who maintained Sizabul's authority there,<sup>146</sup> filled skins with water and gave them to Zemarchus and his companions so that they might have something to drink while they crossed the desert. They came upon a lake and when they had passed this great body of water, they reached those lakes into which the river Kophen empties. From this place they sent forward scouts to see if the Persians were really lying in wait for them. They searched out the area thoroughly and reported that they could see no one. Nevertheless, they proceeded with great trepidation to the land of the Alans, because they greatly feared the tribe of the Oromuskhi.<sup>147</sup>

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 9)

Ὅτι γενόμενοι ἐν Ἀλανία παρὰ Σαρῶσιον τὸν ἐκείνη ἡγεμόνα  
καὶ ἅμα τοῖς ἐπομένοις Τούρκοις ἐσφοιτῆσαι βουλόμενοι, ὁ  
Σαρῶσιος τὸν μὲν Ζήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους ἐδέξατο  
ἀσμένως, τοὺς δὲ δὴ πρέσβεις τῶν Τούρκων ἔφασκε μὴ πρό- 5  
τερον τῆς ὡς αὐτὸν εἰσόδου τυχεῖν ἢ καταθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα.  
τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἄμιλλα αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο περὶ τούτου ἐπὶ ἡμέρας  
τρεῖς, καὶ Ζήμαρχος ἦν τῶν φιλονεικουμένων διαιτητής. τέλος  
ἀποθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα οἱ Τούρκοι, ὡς Σαρωσίῳ ἐδόκει, ὡς αὐτὸν  
ἐσεφοίτησαν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σαρῶσιος παρενεγύησε τοῖς περὶ Ζή-  
μαρχον διὰ τῆς τῶν Μιυσιμιανῶν ἀτραποῦ ἦκιστα ἰέναι, τῷ κατὰ 10  
τὴν Σουανίαν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνεδρεύειν· ἄμεινον δὲ εἶναι διὰ τῆς  
λεγόμενης Δαρεινῆς ἀτραποῦ οἴκοι ἀποχωρεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἔγνω  
ὁ Ζήμαρχος, διὰ τῆς Μιυσιμιανῆς ἔστειλεν ἀχθοφόρους δέκα  
μέταξαν ἀποφερομένους ἀπατήσοντας Πέρσας τῷ προεκπεμφ-  
θῆναι τὴν μέταξαν καὶ προτερῆσαι τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐκ τούτου τε 15  
ὑποτοπῆσαι ὡς ἐς τὸ αὔριον παρέσται καὶ ὁ Ζήμαρχος. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἀχθοφόροι ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες, Ζήμαρχος δὲ διὰ τῆς Δαρεινῆς  
παρεγένετο ἐς Ἀσιλίαν, τῇ Μιυσιμιανῇ χαίρειν εἰπὼν ἐς τὰ  
εὐώνυμά τε ἐάσας αὐτήν, ἢ ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν ἐπιθήσεσθαι οἱ  
Πέρσαι. καὶ ἦκεν ἐς τὸ Ῥογατόριον, εἶτα κατὰ δὴ τὸν Εὐξεινον 20  
Πόντον, εἶτα ναυτιλία χρησάμενος ἐς Φάσιν ποταμόν, πάλιν ἐς  
Τραπεζοῦντα· οὕτω τε δημοσίῳ ἵππῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον παρὰ βασιλέα  
εἰσελθὼν ἔφρασε τὸ πᾶν. Ζημάρχω μὲν οὖν ἐν τοιοῖσδε ἔληξεν ἡ  
πορεία καὶ ἀποπορεία ἐπὶ Τούρκους.

(*Suda* K549 = vv.4-5, M1114 et X167 = v.18, E2306 = vv.19-20)

10 Μιυσιμιανῶν [Μινδιμιανῶν edd. 14 ἀποφερομένους [ἐπιφερομένους Niebuhr, de Boor  
19 ἐπίδοξοι [ἐνδοξοι *Suda* E2306 21 εἶτα del. Niebuhr χρησάμενος Hoeschel [χρησά-  
μενοι A

## 11

## (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 10)

Ὅτι Ἀβάρων καὶ Φράγγων σπεισαμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῆς  
εἰρήνης ἐμπεδῶτατα ἐχούσης, ἐσήμηεν ὁ Βαιανὸς Σιγισβέρτω  
τῷ τῶν Φράγγων ἡγεμόνι οἷα λιμῷ πιεζομένης αὐτῷ τῆς  
στρατιᾶς, καὶ ὡς χρεῶν εἴη βασιλέα καθεστῶτα καὶ πρὸς γε  
αὐτόχθονα μὴ περιδεῖν στράτευμα ἐνσπονδον. ἔφασκε δὲ ὡς, εἴ 5  
γε ἐπιρρώσει τῶν Ἀβάρων τὸ στράτευμα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, οὐ

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 9)

When they came to the land of the Alans and wished, together with the Turks who were with them, to be granted an audience with their ruler Sarosius, he gladly received Zemarchus and his companions but refused to admit the Turkish envoys until they had disarmed.<sup>148</sup> They argued about this for three days until Zemarchus acted as referee in the dispute. Finally, the Turks laid down their weapons, as Sarosius wished, when they came before him. Sarosius advised Zemarchus and his companions not to take the road through the land of the Miusimians because the Persians were lying in wait for them in Suania; it would be better for them to make a detour home by the road called Dareine. When he learned this Zemarchus sent ten porters carrying silk through Miusimia to deceive the Persians into thinking that the silk had been sent ahead and was travelling first along the road, so they would assume that he would appear on the next day. When the porters had left, Zemarchus travelled through Dareine to the land of the Apsilii, leaving Miusimia, where the Persians were thought to be lying in ambush, behind on the left. Zemarchus reached Rogatorium, then came to the Black Sea, where he took ship to the river Phasis, and took another ship to Trapezus.<sup>149</sup> He took the public post to Byzantium, came before the Emperor and told him everything. Thus ended the journey of Zemarchus to the Turks and his return.<sup>150</sup>

## 11

(*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 10)

When the Avars and the Franks had made a treaty and ratified the peace, Baian told Sigisbert, the leader of the Franks, that his army was suffering from hunger and that Sigisbert, as king and a native of the country, should not ignore the plight of the army which was his ally. He said that if he gave the army of the Avars supplies so that it

πλέον ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ ἐνδιατρίψει, εἶτα ἀπαλλαγῆσεται. ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγελτο τῷ Σιγισβέρτῳ, παραχρῆμα ὄγε ἄλευρά τε ἔστειλε τοῖς Ἀβάροις καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἷς καὶ βόας.

7 ἐνδιατρίψει Hoeschel [ἐνδιατρίψειν A

## 12

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 11*)

Ὅτι Ἀλβούιος ὁ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων μόναρχος, οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπέληγεν ἢ πρὸς Κονιμουνδον ἀπέχθεια, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ᾤετο δεῖν καταστρέψασθαι τὴν τῶν Γηπαίδων ἐπικράτειαν, ταύτη τοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς τὸν Βαιανὸν ἐς ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἠντιβόλουν μὴ περιδεῖν σφᾶς ὑπὸ Γηπαίδων τὰ ἀνήκεστα πεπονθότας, μάλιστα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἄγαν ἐχθίστων Ἀβάροις συμμαχοῦντων τοῖς Γήπαισιν. ἐδίδασκον δὲ ὡς οὐ κατὰ τοσοῦτον πρὸς Γήπαιδας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναρρίψουσι καθ' ὅσον Ἰουστίνῳ μαχῆσονται, βασιλεῖ τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνει ἐς τὰ μάλιστα δυσμενεστάτῳ γε ὄντι, ὃς παρωσάμενος τὰς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μητραδέλφου σπονδὰς πρὸς Ἀβάρους ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγενημένας τῶν εἰωθότων ἐστέρησεν. προσετίθεσαν δὲ ὡς, εἴ γε ἔσοιντο ἅμα Λογγιβάρδοις, ἀκαταμάχητοι γενήσονται πως, καὶ ὡς καταστρεφόμενοι Γήπαιδας τοῦ τε πλούτου σφῶν ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων κοινῇ κρατήσουσι χώρας, καὶ ὡς ἡ Σκυθία τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς εὐημεροῦσί γε ἐς αἰεὶ, καὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ Θράκη αὐτῆ ἔσται εὐεπίβατος, καὶ ἀπλῶς ξὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐκ γειτόνων ὀρμώμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταδραμοῦνται, καὶ ὡς ἄχρις αὐτοῦ γε δήπου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐλάσουσιν. ἔφασκον δὲ οἱ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων πρέσβεις ὡς καὶ συνοίσει τοῖς Ἀβάροις τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀσπασσθαι μάχην· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι προτερήσουσι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καθελοῦσι τὴν Ἀβάρων δύναμιν, ὅπου καὶ γῆς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

9 ἀναρρίψουσι Dindorf [ἀναρρίψωσι A

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 12*)

Ὅτι ὁ Βαιανὸς τοὺς τῶν Λογγιβάρδων πρέσβεις δεξάμενος ἐδόκει τούτους περιφρονεῖν τῷ βούλεσθαί γε αὐτὸς κερδαλέωτερον θέσθαι ὡς αὐτοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν· καὶ πῆ μὲν τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, πῆ δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι μὲν προίσχετο, μὴ βούλεσθαι δέ.

2 αὐτὸς Bekker [αὐτὸν A 3 αὐτοὺς Niebuhr [αὐτῆ A 4 τὸ Hoeschel [τῷ A

could regain its strength, it would remain there for no more than three days and then depart. When this message was delivered to Sigisbert, he immediately sent to the Avars wheatflour, vegetables, sheep and cattle.<sup>151</sup>

## 12

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 11)

Alboin, the king of the Lombards, did not set aside his hatred for Cunimund but thought that he should use every means to destroy the power of the Gepids.<sup>152</sup> He, therefore, sent envoys to Baian inviting him to make an alliance. When the envoys arrived, they asked him not to ignore those who had suffered terribly at the hands of the Gepids, especially since the Romans, the Avars' worst enemies, were allied to the Gepids. They told him that he would not so much be making war on the Gepids as fighting against Justin, an Emperor who was extremely hostile to the Avars, who had terminated the agreement which his uncle Justinian had made long ago with the Avars, and who had deprived them of their customary payments. They added that if they joined the Lombards, they would be invincible, and when they had annihilated the Gepids, they would together be masters of their wealth and land. Furthermore, when this success had been achieved, Scythia and Thrace itself would thereafter be accessible to them.<sup>153</sup> In short, since they were starting out from neighbouring territory, they would be able effortlessly to ravage the land of the Romans and penetrate to Byzantium itself. The envoys of the Lombards declared that it would be to the advantage of the Avars to launch a war against the Romans. Otherwise, the Romans would act first and use every means to destroy the power of the Avars, wherever in the world they happened to be.

### 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 12)

When Baian received the envoys of the Lombards, he decided to toy with them since he wished to make an alliance with them that was more to his advantage. Now he claimed that he could not join them, now that he could but was unwilling. When, in short, he had used

ξυνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα τρόπον ἀπάτης τοῖς δεομένοις 5  
 ἐπισείσας ἔδοξε μὲν πείθεσθαι μόλις, οὐκ ἄλλως δὲ ἢ <εἰ> τὸ  
 δεκατημόριον τῶν τετραπόδων ἀπάντων, ὅσα παρὰ Λογγι-  
 βάρδοις ὑπῆρχεν, αὐτίκα κομίσαιντο, καὶ ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο  
 καθυπέρτεροι, ἥμισυ μὲν τῆς λείας ἔξουσιν αὐτοί, τὴν δὲ τῶν  
 Γηπαίδων χώραν εἰς τέλος. ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐχώρουν 10  
 Γήπαισι πολεμήσοντες.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθετο Κονιμοῦνδος, λέγεται δείσας ὡς καὶ  
 αὐθις παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστίνον ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν  
 ἤττον ἢ πρότερον ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου ἰκέτευε, καὶ  
 πάλιν τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ τὴν εἴσω Δράου ποταμοῦ χώραν ἐπηγγέλ- 15  
 λετο δώσειν, αἰδῶς τε αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ἤδη περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 ὁμωμοκότα ἅπαξ καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις οὐχὶ ἐγκαρτερήσαντα. διὸ δὴ  
 καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος εὖ εἰδῶς τε καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος τοῖς  
 φθάσασιν, ὡς Κονιμοῦνδῳ ἔνεστι πίστεως οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν, ἀνή- 20  
 νασθαι μὲν οὔτι ᾤετο χρῆναι τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, ἀναβολῇ δὲ ὁμως  
 παρεκρούσατο τοῦ βαρβάρου τὴν αἴτησιν· ἔφη γὰρ ὡς διεσκε-  
 δασμένα τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ ὑπάρχει στρατεύματα, ξὺν σπουδῇ δὲ ὡς  
 οἶόν τέ ἐστιν ἀθροίσας αὐτίκα ἐκπέμψοι. ἀκήκοα δὴ περὶ  
 Κονιμοῦνδου καὶ τοιάδε, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ πιστά· λίαν γὰρ ἀναιδὲς 25  
 ὑπῆρχε τὸν παρασπονδήσαντα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ  
 πάλιν. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ Λογγίβαρδοι τηνικαῦτα ἐπρεσβεύ-  
 σαντο παρὰ Ἰουστίνον, καὶ ὅτι Γήπαιδας τῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίου  
 ἀγνωμοσύνης πλεῖστα ὅσα κακηγορήσαντες τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων  
 μὲν θηρώμενοι συμμαχίαν ἤνυσαν οὐδὲν, κατεπράξαντο δὲ ὁμως 30  
 πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως μηδετέρους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπολαῦσαι ἐπι-  
 κουρίας.

(*Suda* E2560 = vv.5-6)

6 εἰ add. Niebuhr 12 ἐπύθετο Niebuhr [ἐπέιθετο A

### 3. (*Suda* E2310)

Μένανδρος· οἱ δὲ Ἄβαροι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κίνησιν  
 ἐβούλοντο ἤχον ἐγεῖραι ξυμμιγῆ τε καὶ ἄγριον, ἔτι τε οὖν ξὺν τῷ  
 ἀλαλάγματι ἐπιδουπήσαι τοῖς τυμπάνοις, ὅπως ἂν ἐς τοσοῦτον  
 αὐτοῖς ὁ κτύπος ἐξαρθείη, ὡς καταπλήξαι τε καὶ δεδίξεσθαι τὸ 5  
 Ῥωμαϊκόν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ προέγνω ὁ Βῶνος, προαφηγήσατο τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀθρόω μὴ καταπλαγῆναι, ἀλλὰ  
 προανατυμποῦντας ὅπερ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἐθίζεσθαι τῇ δοκῆσει  
 καὶ τῷ μήπω παρόντι πρὸς τὸ ἐσόμενον· καὶ ὅταν αἴσθιοιτο τὸν

2 ἐβούλοντο [ἐβάλλοντο GVM ἔτι τε οὖν [καὶ Δ150 3-4 ὅπως ... ἐξαρθείη om. Δ150



every trick upon his petitioners, he gave the appearance of agreeing reluctantly and only on condition that the Avars received immediately one tenth of all the livestock that the Lombards possessed and that, if they prevailed, they should have half the booty and all the land of the Gepids. This was agreed, and they prepared to make war on the Gepids.

When Cunimund learned this it is said that in fear he again sent envoys to the Emperor Justin and begged him to aid him in his danger no less then before. He again said that he would hand over Sirmium and the land south of the river Drave feeling no qualms that he had already sworn to do this and had not kept his oaths.<sup>154</sup> The Emperor Justin, therefore, knew well from the evidence of the past that Cunimund was not to be relied upon. He did not, however, think that he should break off the alliance but countered the request of the barbarian with procrastination. He said that the Roman forces were scattered but he would bring them together as quickly as he could and send them on.

I, too, have heard this report about Cunimund, but I do not believe it. It would be too shameless for one who had broken the treaty to repeat his request. It is said that the Lombards also at this time sent an embassy to Justin and, violently attacking the Gepids for their high-handed behaviour towards the Romans, pressed for an alliance with the Romans. In this they failed, but they did persuade the Emperor to agree that neither side should receive Roman help.

### 3. (*Suda* E2310)

At the beginning of the battle the Avars intended to raise a wild cacophony and to howl and beat their drums, raising such a noise as to stun and terrify the Romans. When Bonus learned of this in advance, he explained it ahead of time to the soldiers, so that they should not be terrified of the sudden noise but by imagining what awaited them should through their expectation become accustomed to what was going to happen. When they heard the beating of the

πάταγον τῶν τυμπάνων, ἀντιπαταγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἀσπίσι καὶ  
ἐπαλαλάζειν τὸ ἐνυάλιον καὶ παιωνίζειν καὶ τοῖς ὑδροχόοις 10  
ἀγγείοις, ξυλίνοις οὖσιν, ἐπικτυπεῖν.  
(Suda Δ150 = vv.2-4)

11 ἐπικτυπεῖν [ἐκτυπεῖν V

#### 4. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 13)

Ἵτι Βαιανὸς ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγούμενος, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ τὸ Σίρμιον  
ἠβούλετο πολιορκήσῃν, Βιταλιανόν τε τὸν ἑρμηνέα καὶ Κομι-  
τᾶν εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς. ἄμφω γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ Ἰουστίνος ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ἤδη στείλας ὑπῆρχεν ὡς αὐτὸν αἰτήσοντα αὐτοῦ, ὡς  
ἂν ἅττα διαλεχθεῖη γε αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν 5  
πρέσβων θεσμὸν εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς.

4 αἰτήσοντα Niebuhr [αἰτήσαντος A 5 ἅττα Dindorf [ἅττα B ἅττα M ἅττα rel. codd. ἅττα  
ἐγκαλοῖη διαλεχθεῖη Niebuhr

#### 5. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 14)

Ἵτι ὁ Βαιανὸς μετὰ τὴν τειχομαχίαν στέλλει τινὰς ἀμφὶ τῆς  
εἰρήνης διαλεχθησομένους. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἐν Σιρμίῳ ἀνὰ τὸ  
ἠλίβατον τοῦ βαλανείου, ὃ δῆτα τῷ δήμῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἀνειμένον,  
ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἐνιζάνοντες καὶ  
ἐν ἀπόπτῳ καταδοκοῦντές τε καὶ θεώμενοι, εἴ που ἐπήλυσις 5  
ἔσται βαρβαρική, ὡς κατενόησαν τοὺς τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀγγελια-  
φόρους ἤδη προσιόντας, τῷ μήκει τῆς ἀτραποῦ ἀποπλανηθέντες  
καὶ οὐπω κατεγνωκότες το ἀκριβὲς ὑπετόπησαν εἶναι πληθὺν  
Ἀβαρικήν, ἐδήλωσάν τε αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ σημεῖον καθεῖλον. ὁ δὲ  
Βῶνος πρὸς τοῦτο δυσχεράνας σαφέστερον ἔσπευσε καταμαθεῖν 10  
τάληθές. γνοὺς δὲ ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς Ἀβάρους καὶ βούλεσθαι οἱ  
ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι, ἐξέπεμψε καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ποιησομένους τὰς  
καταλλαγὰς ἐς τὰ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους. ἔτι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἔλκους  
περιώδυνος ἦν, καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἰατρὸς οὐκ εἶα τὸν στρατί-  
αρχον ἐν φανερωῖ γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. εἰκὸς γὰρ μηδὲ 15  
<εἰδέναι> ἔφασκε τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς ἐβλήθη. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο  
κατάδηλον ἔσται αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνάγκη μὴ ὑποκρύπτειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ  
ὑπόνοια γένηται σφίσι τοῦ ἀποβεβιωκέναι αὐτόν. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ  
ἕτεροι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἦλθον διαλεχθησόμενοι καὶ οὐχὶ αὐτός,  
ὑπενόησαν ὡς διώλετο ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐθέλειν ἔφασκον 20  
ἐν συνουσίᾳ γενέσθαι. τότε ὁ Θεόδωρος τοῦ συνοίσοντος εὖ

drums, they in reply beat upon their shields, raised the battle cry and the victory song, and struck their water canteens which were made of wood.<sup>155</sup>

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 13)

When Baian, the leader of the Avars, was intent upon the siege of Sirmium, he threw Vitalian, the interpreter, and Comita in chains. The Emperor Justin had sent both men to him to request that he discuss certain matters with them. He imprisoned them in contravention of the universally recognised rights of ambassadors.<sup>156</sup>

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 14)

After the assault upon the walls Baian sent envoys to discuss peace. Some of the inhabitants of Sirmium were stationed as usual on the roof of the public bath to keep watch on the enemy. As they were keeping out of sight waiting and watching for any barbarian attack, they noticed the Avar messengers approaching. Since they were misled by the distance and unable to see clearly, they guessed that they were a force of Avars and immediately called this out, raising the alarm. Bonus was uneasy at this and took care to get a clearer report. When he learned that there were only a few Avars and that they wished to deliver a message, he sent men to parley with them outside the walls. He was still in great pain from his wound, and the doctor Theodorus would not allow the general to appear before the enemy, saying that they probably did not know that he was wounded; if, however, this did become known to them, then it must not be concealed lest they suspect that he had died. When others, and not Bonus, came to discuss peace, the Avars did suspect that the general was dead and said that they wanted him at the meeting. Thereupon Theodorus wisely adopted the better course and declared that the

μάλα στοχασάμενος ἔλεξεν ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ χρεῶν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ ἔξω ἰέναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐς ὄψιν γίνεσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ φαρμάκῳ τινὶ τὸ ἔλκος περιστείλας ἀφίησιν αὐτόν.

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Καὶ δὴ προελθὼν ὁ Βῶνος ἀγχοῦ τε τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενος ἐφάνη σφίσι. τότε οἱ πρέσβεις τοιάδε ἀμοιβαίῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἔφασαν· ταῦτα ἡμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐκέλευσε δεσπότης· μή μοι μέμψιν τινὰ ποιήσασθε πόλεμον ἀραμένῳ· ὑμεῖς γὰρ πρῶτοι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου δεδώκατε. πολλοῖς γὰρ πόνοις ὀμιλήσας καὶ ἀποδημίας οὐχ ἦκιστα ποιησάμενος μόλις ἐχειρωσάμην ταυτηνὴ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀφείλεσθέ με βιαίως αὐτήν. πρὸς τοῖς καὶ τὸν Οὐσδήβαδον τῷ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἀνήκοντά μοι νόμῳ ἔχετε λαβόντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὕβρεις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πικρὰς ὁ καθ' ὑμᾶς κατέχεέ μοι βασιλεύς, οὐ μόνον ἅπαξ ἢ δῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, τῶν δεόντων τε οὐδὲν ἠβουλήθη διαπράξασθαι. εἰ τοίνυν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμῶν ἠδίκημένος τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐχρησάμην, οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχω μεμπτέος. καὶ νῦν οὖν, εἴ γε βούλεσθε περὶ σπονδῶν τε καὶ εἰρήνης ἡμῖν θέσθαι λόγους, ἐτοιμότατα ἔχομεν, ἐν ὑμῖν τε κείσθω προτιμῆσαι τὸ συνοῖσον καὶ τὰ εἰρηναῖα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἐλέσθαι.

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Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Βῶνος· πρότερον μὲν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠρξάμεθα πολέμου· οὐδὲ γὰρ καθ' ὑμῶν ἠλάσαμεν, ἐς τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν σὺ κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἤλασας, λοιπὸν δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο χρήματά σοι ἐπιδοῦναι· τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κατὰ σὲ πρέσβεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησεν αὐθαδιζόμενον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν δήπου τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἐξωγκωμένον ῥήματά τε ὑπερήφανα σημάναντα καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως καθυπέρτερα, τηνικαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἄτε ἀγχίνους ἐπετέλεσε τὰ οἰκεῖα. καὶ τὸ νῦν δὲ ἔχον ἡμέτερόν ἐστιν ὡς βασιλέα στείλαι οὐς ἂν σὺ βουληθείης πρέσβεις τοὺς βεβαιώσοντας τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. μηδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν εἶναι νόμιζε κἂν γοῦν φθέγξασθαί τι, μήτι γε καὶ ἐτέρως <ἢ> καθὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι.

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Ταῦτα Βῶνου εἰρηκότος, εὖ ἔχειν ἔδοξε τῷ Βαιανῷ τὰ ῥήματα. ἐσήμανε δὲ αὐθις· ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐς ὀμαιχμίαν ἐπόμενά μοι ἔθνη αἰσχύνομαι, αἰδῶς τέ με ἔχει, εἴ γε πάντῃ ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσω μηδὲν τι ὀνήσας ἑμαυτόν, ὡς ἂν μὴ οὖν δόξω μάτην πεποιηκέναι καὶ ἀκερδῆ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, βραχέα μοί τινα

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general should be concealed no longer but should go before the city into the sight of the barbarians. And he anointed the wound with a medicine and let him go.

Bonus went before the city, approached the barbarians and showed himself to them, and the envoys exchanged the following messages: “The lord of the Avars has ordered us to say to you the following: ‘Do not blame us at all for starting the war. You caused it. After enduring many labours and wandering far, I had barely taken possession of this land when you took it from me by force. In addition, you have taken from me Usdibad<sup>157</sup> who was mine by right of conquest. Moreover, your Emperor had poured upon me many bitter insults not once or twice but repeatedly, and he had refused to do any of the things which he ought. If, having suffered these wrongs at your hands, I have turned to arms, I am in no way to be blamed. But now, if you wish to speak with us of a treaty and of peace, we are most ready. It is for you to look to your own advantage and choose peace over war.’”

To these words Bonus replied, “First, we did not begin the war, nor did we attack you. On the contrary, you attacked Roman territory. Furthermore, the Emperor had decided to give you money and handed it to envoys to you. But when he learned of your arrogance, your boasting beyond the usual barbarian posturing and your words with their insolent threats far beyond your powers, he, being a shrewd man, did what was appropriate. Now what we have to do is to send to the Emperor those envoys whom you choose to make peace. You must realise that it is not in our power to say, and certainly not do to, anything without our Emperor’s agreement.”

This is what Bonus said, and his words met with Baian’s approval. He replied, “I am shamed and dishonoured before the tribes who follow me in alliance if I should withdraw from this place having achieved nothing at all and having brought myself no profit. In order that I shall not appear to have made the assault to no purpose and benefit, send me some small gifts. For when I passed

πέμψατε δῶρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σκυθία περαιωθεῖς οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν ἔκομισάμην, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ κἀντεῦθεν ἤκιστα ὠφελήθηντα με ἀπελεύσεσθαι.

Βῶνῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι γε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν (ἦν δὲ ὁ τῆς πόλεως μέγιστος ἱερεὺς) ἔδοξεν εὐλογον μὲν εἶναι τὸ 65  
 προτεινόμενον· οὐδὲ γὰρ πλείστα ἐβούλετο κομίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι δίσκου ἐνὸς ἀργυροποιήτου καὶ ὀλίγου χρυσίου, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἀμπεχονίου Σκυθίου. πλὴν ἐδεδίεσαν οἱ περὶ Βῶνον ἰδιοβουλῆσθαι καὶ οὐχὶ γνώμη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἅπαντα διαπράξασθαι. ἀντεσήμαναν τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ ὡς· νῦν ἔχομεν βασι- 70  
 λέα φοβερὸν τε καὶ ἐμβριθέστατον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεξόμεθα οὐδὲ ὅσα οἶόν τέ ἐστι διαλαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελέσαι αὐθαιρέτως, ἄλλως τε δὲ ἡμεῖς, ἅτε ἐν ἐκστρατεύματι τυγχάνοντες, οὐκ ἐπιφερόμεθα χρημάτων περιουσίαν, ἢ μόνον στρατιωτικὴν ἐφεστρίδα, ἦν γε 75  
 δήπου καὶ περιβεβλήμεθα, ἔτι τε τὰ ὄπλα. δωροφορῆσαι δὴ οὖν τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγουμένῳ ἐξ ὧν ἐνταῦθα ἤκομεν ἔχοντες εὐτελῶν, ἄθρει, ὦ Χαγάνε, μὴ καὶ ὕβρις πέφυκέ τις. ἀξιότιμον δέ, καθὰ ἔφην, ὡδὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν· τὰ γὰρ τιμαλφέστερα τῶν ἐφοδίων ἡμῖν ἐν ἑτέροις ὑπάρχουσι τόποις καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτω ἡμῶν. εἰ οὖν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοκράτωρ φιλοφρονήσεται σε δώροις, οὐκ 80  
 ὀκνήσομεν δήπου καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγηθότες τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπόμενοι ταῦτά διαπράξασθαι, καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τέ ἐσμεν, ὥσπερ φίλῳ προσφερόμενοι καὶ ὁμοδούλῳ.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Βαιανὸς σὺν ὄρκῳ ἠπέιλησεν ἢ μὴν στράτευμα ἐκπέμψειν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμούμενον. καὶ 85  
 δὴ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατάδηλον αὐτῷ πεποιηκότος, ὡς ἐξέεται μὲν οἱ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἂν δυνήσοιτο, εἰδέναι δὲ ὡς οὐ πάντως ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν στελλομένων ἔσται ἢ ἐπιδρομή, αὐτὸς ἔφη ὅτι· τοιοῦτους ἐπαφήσω τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ὡς, εἰ καὶ συμβαίῃ γε σφίσι θανάτῳ ἀλῶναι, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ συναίσθησιν. καὶ δὴ 90  
 παρεκελεύσατο δέκα χιλιάδας τῶν Κοτριγούρων λεγομένων Οὐννων διαβῆναι τὸν Σάον ποταμὸν καὶ δηῶσαι τὰ ἐπὶ Δελματίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν πάσῃ κατ' αὐτὸν πληθυῖ διελθὼν τὸν Ἴστρον ἐς τὰ τῶν Γηπαίδων διέτριβεν ὄρια.

(*Suda* E2178 = vv.5-6, A3252 = vv.17-18, X1653 = vv.41-42, E3875 = vv. 73-75)

65 εὐλογον M<sup>1</sup> [εὐλογος rel. codd. 68 Σκυθίου [σηρικοῦ Bekker 74 ἢ μόνον [πλὴν γε δὴ *Suda* E3875 75 δήπου [δὴ *Suda* l.c. 80 σε Dindorf [σοι A 82 ταῦτά scripsi [ταῦτα A 92 ἐπὶ [περὶ Dindorf

through Scythia I brought nothing, and it is impossible for me to leave here too without some gain.”

This proposal seemed reasonable to Bonus and those with him, who included the archbishop of the city. For Baian did not wish to receive much, no more than a silver plate, a small amount of gold and a Scythian tunic.<sup>158</sup> However, Bonus and his advisers were afraid to take a personal initiative and do anything without the consent of the Emperor. They, therefore, replied to him as follows: “Now we have an Emperor who is terrible and very stern, and we do not dare to do anything, even what might escape his notice, without permission. Furthermore, since we are on campaign, we have with us no amount of money and only the military cloaks which we wear and our weapons. Consider, O Khagan, the insult – to give gifts to the leader of the Avars from amongst the worthless things that we have brought with us. We have nothing, as I have said, worthy of such a man. If, therefore, our Emperor gives you gifts, we shall not hesitate, but, gladly following our Emperor’s lead, shall do the same to the extent we are able, since we shall be enriching a friend and fellow slave.”

Baian, infuriated by these words, swore that he would dispatch an army to ravage Roman territory. When the general pointed out to him that although he could do what he could, the attack would not turn out wholly to the advantage of those sent on it, he replied, “I shall send against the Roman lands those who, if they happen to be destroyed, shall cause me no pain.” He ordered ten thousand of the so-called Kutrigur Huns to cross the river Save and devastate the land towards Dalmatia.<sup>159</sup> He crossed the Danube with all the force under his command and established himself in the territory of the Gepids.<sup>160</sup>

## 6. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 9)

Ὅτι ὁ Βαϊανὸς ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμὼν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο  
 πρεσβεύσασθαι καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν λόγους προσαγαγεῖν. τὸν δὲ  
 Βιταλιανὸν ἐζήτηι χρυσίον οἱ παρασχεῖν, ὡς ἂν μὴ λεηλασία  
 χρήσοιτο κατὰ δὴ τὸν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας καιρόν. ὁ δὲ ἰδιοβουλήσας  
 καὶ εἰληφῶς ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ὑπάρχου νομίσματα οὐ μείον 5  
 ἢ ὀκτακόσια παρέσχετο τῷ Βαϊανῷ. ταῦτη τοι καὶ ἔστειλε τὸν  
 Ταργίτιον ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγούμενος, ξὺν τῷ καὶ Βιταλιανὸν τὸν  
 ἔρμηνα, τῷ βασιλεῖ λέξοντας ὥστε τὸ Σίρμιόν οἱ ἐνδοθῆναι καὶ  
 τὰ συνήθη χρήματα, ἅτινα οἱ Κουτρίγοροι καὶ Οὐτίγουροι πρὸς  
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐκομίζοντο βασιλέως, οἷα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τῷ φύλῳ 10  
 τούτῳ καθελόντος· πρὸς τοῖς καὶ Οὐσδίβαδον τὸν Γήπαιδα.  
 ἔφασκε γὰρ τοὺς Γήπαιδας ἅπαντας αὐτῷ ἀνήκειν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταπολεμηθέντας.

Ἀφικομένων δὴ οὖν τῶν πρέσβειων κατὰ δὴ τὴν βασιλίδα  
 πόλιν παρελθόντων τε ὡς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἔφη ὁ Ταργίτης· ὦ 15  
 βασιλεῦ, πάρειμι σταλαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ παιδός· πατήρ γὰρ αὐτὸς  
 ἀληθῶς Βαϊανοῦ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δεσπότης. πέποιθα δὴ οὖν ὡς  
 ἐπιδείξασθαι προθυμηθείης τὴν περὶ τὸν παῖδα στοργὴν τῷ  
 διδόναι τὰ τοῦ παιδός. οὕτω τοίνυν ἐχόντων ἡμῶν, τάχα δὲ σοῦ  
 καὶ ὑμῶν, ἄρα οὐχὶ παραχωρήσεις αὐτῷ τῶν γερῶν; οὐ γὰρ ἐς 20  
 ἀλλότριον οὔτε μὴν πολέμιόν τινα τὰ διδόμενα μεταθήσεις  
 σχεδόν, οὐδὲ μεταβήσεται τῶν παρεχομένων ἢ κυριότης, ἢ  
 πάλιν εἰς σὲ ἀναδραμεῖται διὰ τοῦ παιδός, εἴ γε παράσχοις αὐτῷ  
 τὰ ἐφ' οἷς ἤκω, τὴν τε πόλιν τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ τὰ χρήματα κατ'  
 ἔτος, ὅσα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τοῖς Κουτραγούροις καὶ 25  
 Οὐτιγούροις ἐδίδου, οἷα Βαϊανοῦ τήμερον δεσπύζοντος τούτων  
 γε δήπου τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἔτι καὶ Οὐσδίβαδον τὸν Γήπαιδα καὶ τοὺς  
 περὶ αὐτόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἀντερεῖ τις ὡς οὐχὶ πεφύκασιν  
 ἀνδράποδα Βαϊανοῦ. ταῦτα ὁ Ταργίτης ἔλεξεν.

Ἄταρ ὁ βασιλεὺς· οὐ πρεσβευσόμενος ἦκεις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ 30  
 Ταργίτα, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ἡμᾶς τεκμηριώ-  
 σασθαι βουλόμενος τῶν Ἀβάρων τοὺς τρόπους. εἰ γάρ, ὡς φατε,  
 δοίημεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσα τοῖς πρώην Οὔννοις, οἴκτω μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ  
 φόβῳ, τῷ μὴ ἐθέλῃν αἷμα ἐκχεῖν, Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδίδου, γελοῖόν  
 γε ἂν εἶη, καὶ οἷς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπονέμειν δεῖ καὶ οἷς 35  
 ἀντιτάττεσθαι, φανώ<νται> μὲν οἱ αὐτοί, ὅποτε οἱ δέιλαιοι



6. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 9)

Baian, the leader of the Avars, decided to send an embassy and discuss a treaty. He demanded that Vitalian give him gold so that he not turn to pillaging during the period of the truce. Vitalian, acting on his own initiative,<sup>161</sup> took no less than eight hundred *nomismata* from the prefect of Illyricum, which he handed over to Baian. Thereupon the leader of the Avars sent Targitius with Vitalian the interpreter to tell the Emperor to give him Sirmium and the money which the Kutrigurs and the Utigurs had customarily received from the Emperor Justinian, since he had conquered these tribes. In addition, he sought Usdibad the Gepid, claiming that all the Gepids were his subjects since they, too, had been conquered by him.

When the envoys reached the capital and came before the Emperor, Targites said, "I am here, Emperor, on a mission from your son. For you are truly the father of Baian, our master. I am sure that you are eager to show your love for your son by giving him the son's portion. Since these are our views (and perhaps the views of yourself and your people), will you not yield to him what he deserves? It is not a foreigner or an enemy to whom you will hand over what you give. Moreover, the ownership of it will not change, since it will revert to you through the son if you hand over to him what I have come for: the city of Sirmium, the yearly payments which the Emperor Justinian used to give to the Kutrigurs and Utigurs (since today Baian is the master of all these tribes), and also Usdibad the Gepid and his followers (since no one will deny that they are slaves of Baian)."

These were the words of Targites. The Emperor replied, "It seems to me, Targites, that you have come not as an envoy, but to reveal to us in our ignorance the ways of the Avars. If, as you suggest, we were to give you what Justinian earlier gave to the Huns – out of pity not fear, because he did not wish to shed their blood –, it would be a cause of jest. Furthermore, when the wretched Kutrigurs and

Κοτράγηροί τε καὶ Ουτίγουροι, οὓς διαβεβαιουῖσθε πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κομίζεσθαι χρήματα, τοῦτο μὲν φυγόντες ἡμᾶς, τοῦτο δὲ πεπ-  
 τωκότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ἄρδην ἠφανισμένοι. τί οὖν  
 παράσχοιμεν ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ἠσσωμένων; ἀλλ' οὐ τῆ φύσει ξυνάδει 40  
 τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ κρατεῖν ἅμα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκρατημένων  
 ἑτέροις χρήματα καταθεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἀποχρῶν, εἰ φανείημεν  
 ἅπαξ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν ἔστερημένοι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ εἰς  
 συνήθειαν ἔλκειν τὴν ἀφροσύνην οἴεσθε δεῖν. τί οὖν ποιοῦμεν  
 τὸν Οὐσδίβαδον; ὑμῖν ἀποδοίημεν; οὐχ οὕτω πεφύκαμεν ἠλίθιοι 45  
 ὥστε τὰ ἡμέτερα καταπροέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα βαρβάροις καὶ  
 λυμαιομένοις τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία. ὁ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ  
 βασίλειον ἀναδεδεγμένος κράτος Γήπαιδας ἐπήλυδας ὄντας  
 εἰσεποιήσατο καὶ χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀπένειμε τὴν περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον,  
 εἶτα καὶ πολέμου κινηθέντος αὐτοῖς ὡς Λογγιβάρδους, ὡσπερ 50  
 εἰκός, ξυνεπελαβόμεθα τοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς οἰκείοις, καὶ ἂν  
 ἐκράτουν οἱ Γήπαιδες τῆ Ῥωμαίων χειρὶ, εἴ γε μὴ ἀνδρα-  
 ποδώδεις ὠφθησαν καὶ τῷ τῆς γνώμης δολερῷ τοὺς εὐεργέτας  
 ἐλύπησαν. ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἡμῖν ἀσύγγνωστα οὐ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξε μετελθεῖν τοὺς ἀγνωμονήσαντας, οἷς ἔνεστι μὴ 55  
 ἀντιτεθεῖν τὰς τιμωρίας ἰσορρόπους τοῖς πλημμελήμασι,  
 μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν περιδεῖν, ὡς ἂν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐς τὸ παντελὲς  
 διαφθαρῆσιντο. εἰ τοίνυν ἄλλως οὐκ ἔχει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶπερ ἡμεῖς  
 ἐπεγκαλεῖν ἄξιοι καθεστήκαμεν, ὅτι τοὺς ἡμῖν ἀνήκοντας ἔχετε  
 Γήπαιδας, ἀντέστραπται καθ' ἡμῶν τὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ὑμεῖς 60  
 μὲν γὰρ τὸν Οὐσδίβαδον, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γήπαιδας ὑμᾶς τοὺς  
 λοιποὺς εἰσπράξοιμεν. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 σωφρονίζειν ἐτάχθημεν τὸ ἀνόητον, οὐ μὴν ἀνόητοί τινες εἶναι  
 νομίζεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τὸ Σίρμιον ἐγχειρίσωμεν βαρβάροις; οὐκ  
 ἀρκέσει γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ περιεῖναι μέχρις ὄπλα κινεῖν οὐ βούλοιντο 65  
 Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀλλ' ἔρεῖς, ὦ Ταργῖτα, ὅτι διαβήσεται Ἴστρον ὁ  
 Χαγάνος, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἐβρον, καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης  
 αὐτοβοεὶ παραστήσεται πόλεις. ἀλλὰ προφθάσουσιν αἱ Ῥω-  
 μαϊκαὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτὸν ἀφαιρήσονται, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ σκευαγωγήσουσι τὰ Ἀβάρων. καὶ οὐ παυσόμεθα 70  
 καταβάλλοντές τε καὶ χειρούμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἐφυβρίση τὸ βάρ-  
 βαρον. λυσιτελήσει δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁ πόλεμος.  
 Ἀβάρων γὰρ τῶν νομάδων τε καὶ ἐπηλύδων καθεστάναι φίλους  
 τῆς ὡς αὐτοὺς δυσμενείας βαρύτερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ φιλίας  
 ὑπούλου καθεστῶσης. κρεῖσσον ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ οὐχὶ ταῖς 75

Utigurs, who you assert receive money from us, are completely eliminated either by flight from us or by destruction at our hands, it will become clear that those upon whom we must bestow our largesse and those whom we must face in battle are identical. Why, then, should we give to you what belonged to the defeated? It is a strange thing indeed to conquer and at the same time to hand over the money of the conquered to others. It is not enough that we seem once to have acted unwisely. You think that we should turn foolishness into a habit.<sup>162</sup>

“What, then, do we do about Usdibad? Give him to you? We are not so stupid as to abandon what we have, especially to barbarians who are bringing harm to our state. Our predecessor as Emperor took in the Gepids when they came to him and gave them land around Sirmium.<sup>163</sup> When war broke out between them and the Lombards, we, as was right, aided our own, and with Roman help the Gepids would have won had they not shown their slavish nature and angered their benefactors with their treachery. For they in return laid unforgivable plots against us. However, the Romans decided not to punish them for their ingratitude (for no punishments can match their crimes), but to look the other way while they were totally destroyed by others. Since this is now the situation, while we are justified in complaining that you hold the Gepids who are our subjects, our complaints have been turned back against us. You demand Usdibad, but we demand the rest of the Gepids from you.

“From the very beginning it has been the Romans’ mission to teach good sense to those who lack it, and not to be thought to lack it ourselves. Shall we hand over Sirmium to barbarians? Will you not be satisfied merely to survive so long as the Romans refrain from taking up arms? You, Targites, will say that the Khagan will cross the Danube and then the Hebrus and will take the cities of Thrace without a blow. But the might of the Romans will move first and deprive him of his hopes and plunder the Avars’ possessions. We shall not cease crushing and destroying as long as barbarian arrogance lasts. War rather than peace shall profit the Romans. It is more painful to be the friends of the Avars – nomads and foreigners – than their enemies, since their friendship is treacherous. It is better to suffer wounds to our bodies rather than to our spirits. Let bows and

ψυχαῖς φέρειν τὰ τραύματα. πρὸς ταῦτα, ὦ Ταργίτα, καὶ τόξα καὶ ἵπποι καὶ μυρίαὶ δυνάμεις ὀπλιτῶν ἔστωσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχία τοῦ συνοίσοντος αἰρετώτερον.

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μεγαληγορία τε χρησάμενος πολλῇ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀφῆκε τοὺς πρέσβεις, πρότερον Βῶνω 80  
τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐν γράμμασι πλείστα ἐπιμεψάμενος ὅτι γε ὅλως <ὡς> αὐτὸν τοιάδε προῖσχομένους ἔστειλεν ἐς Βυζάντιον, πρὸς γε καὶ σημήνας ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ πολεμιστήρια ὄργανα ἐπισκευάζειν, σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος ὡς ξυγκροτηθήσεται ὁ πρὸς Ἀβάρους πόλεμος καὶ μάλα αὐτίκα. καὶ δὴ ὁ Βῶνος, ἐπεὶ 85  
τὸ βασιλείον ἀνελέξατο γράμμα, τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηρτύετο.

82 ὡς add. Hoeschel [αὐτῷ de Boor 83 ἔργου Hoeschel [ἔργον codd. ἔχεσθαι [ἔσεσθαι C  
84 ἐπιστάμενος [ἐπιστάμενον X edd.

### 7. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 15)

Ἵτι αὐθις ἦλθε Ταργίτιος βουλόμενος πρεσβεύσασθαι ὡς βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνά τε ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἤκουσε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν τὸ Σίρμιον ἐβούλετο πρὸς Ῥωμαίων κομίσασθαι ἅτε οἰκείον ὄν αὐτῷ κτῆμα, ἐξότε τὰ τῶν Γηπαίδων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέφθαρτο πράγματα, ἔτι τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, 5  
ἄπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοῖς Οὐννοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐδίδου· καί, οἷα μηδὲν εἰληφότων αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων ἐτῶν, ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ Ταργίτιος εἰσπράττειν ἠξίου οὕτω τε λοιπὸν τὰς ἐνιαυσιαίας συντάξεις ἐρρωμένας κατατιθέναι Ῥωμαίοις. πρὸς γε καὶ τὸν Οὐσδίβαδον ἐζήτει οἷα προσήκοντα τῷ τῶν δορι- 10  
λήπτων αὐτῷ θεσμῷ. καὶ ἕτερα δέ τινα προεβάλλετο ὁ Ταργίτιος ὑπερηφανίας ἀνάπλευα, ὧν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο ὁ βασιλεὺς· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ τε λεγόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεφλαύριζε καὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλικῶς ἐχρῆτο τοῖς ῥήμασιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν διάφοροι πρεσβεῖαι φοιτήσασαι, ὡς 15  
διηνύσθη πλέον οὐδέν, διαφῆκε τὸν Ταργίτιον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰρηκῶς αὐτῷ στέλλειν ἐκεῖσε Τιβέριον αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαλεχθησόμενον καὶ βεβαιώσοντα τὰ ἕκαστα.

4 ἐξότε Bekker [καὶ ὅτι A 6 Ἰουστινιανὸς Müller [Ἰουστίνος A 10 ἐζήτει [ἐξήτει Bekker

### 8. (Exc. de Sent. 21)

Ἵτι καὶ αὐθις ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἠγούμενος ταῖς πρώην ἐχρήσατο ἀπειλαῖς. καὶ ἐπειδὴ κομπάζων καὶ μεγαλορήμων ἐσὸτι ὑπάρχων οἷός τε οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐκδειματῶσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους (οὔτοι

horses and huge forces of infantry be made ready, Targites. For peace is not to be preferred to our advantage.”

With these extremely high-spirited words the Emperor dismissed the Avar envoys. He had already sent a letter to the general Bonus censuring him heavily for actually sending on to him at Byzantium men who carried such proposals. Furthermore, since he knew well that hostilities with the Avars would break out immediately, Justin told him to take care to make ready all the weapons of war. And Bonus, when he read the letter from the Emperor, made all preparations for war.

7. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 15)

Targitius came again wishing to be granted an audience with the Emperor and made the same proposals and received the same reply as before. Baian wished the city of Sirmium to be given to him as his own possession because he had destroyed the kingdom of the Gepids, and also the money which Justinian paid every year to the Huns. Because they had not received this for the previous years, Targitius asked that he receive all of it in a lump sum and that in future the Romans make the agreed yearly payments. He, moreover, demanded Usdibad as belonging to him by right of capture. Targitius added other demands full of arrogance, all of which the Emperor dismissed.<sup>164</sup> For Justin poured scorn on his words and replied to him like a king.

When a number of audiences had been held on these matters, since nothing was achieved, the Emperor dismissed Targitius telling him that he would send to the Avars Tiberius, the commanding general, to discuss everything and to make an agreement on each issue.

8. (*Exc. de Sent.* 21)

The leader of the Avars repeated his earlier threats. When despite his boasts and his big words he was unable to frighten the Romans (for

γὰρ δὴ πρὸς οἷς οὐκ ὀρρωδία τις αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκηψε . . . , ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
καὶ ἀπεφλαύριζον καὶ περιεφρόνουν τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ 5  
καὶ κομπωδεστέραις ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἀντιλογίαις) . . .

4 lacunam statuit Boissevain 6 lacunam statui

### 13

#### 1. (Exc. de Sent. 22)

Ἵτι μεμίσηται τυραννίς, κἄν ἀντίπαλος εἶη ὁ τυραννούμενος.

εἶη [αιεὶ Bekker

#### 2. (Exc. de Sent. 23)

Ἵτι τῇ κακηγορία ἔνεστιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιχαιρεκάκῳ οὐση  
ἀόκνως περινοστεῖν τε καὶ ὑπευρύνεσθαι. τὸ ἑαυτῆς οὖν ἐπι-  
τελοῦσα ἐφοῖτα ψιθυρίζουσα κατὰ τούτου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεφώλευε  
τοῖς ὡσί, τὸ ἀστάθμητόν τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτον τούτου ἐκτραγω-  
δοῦσα, οἱ ταύτη οἰκήτορες (φύσει γὰρ τοῖς οὐπῶ παροῦσιν 5  
<ἔχθρον τὸ> ὑπήκοον) ἤχθοντο, καὶ περιέφερον ἐν στόματι τὸν  
ἠγεμόνα ἅτε ἀνοσιουργόν.

2 ὑπευρύνεσθαι Mai [ἀνευρύνεσθαι Boissevain (ex incert. lect.) ὑπερευφραίνεσθαι van  
Herwerden ὑπευφραίνεσθαι Dindorf ὑπερυνᾶσθαι Müller 6 ἔχθρον τὸ add. Boissevain

#### 3. (Exc. de Sent. 24)

Ἵτι ὁ ἱστορικός φησι Μένανδρος περὶ Ἰσαοζίτου τοῦ ἐν  
Περσίδι σταυρωθέντος· ἐγὼ δὲ πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσὸτι  
ἀγασθεὶς ἐν νῶ ἐβαλόμην ὡς καὶ ἄξιον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπευτῇ τῷ  
βαρβάρῳ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ ἐπίγραμμα λέξαι. καὶ δὴ λέλεκταί μοι τὸ  
ἐπίγραμμα ὧδε· 5

ἦν πάρος ἐν Πέρσησιν ἐγὼ μάγος Ἰσαοζίτης  
εἰς ὅλοην ἀπάτην ἐλπίδας ἐκκρεμάσας.

εὐτε δὲ πυρσὸς ἔδαπτεν ἐμὴν πόλιν, ἦλθον ἀρῆξαι,  
ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Χριστοῦ πανσθενέος θεράπων.

κείνῳ δ' ἐσβέσθη δύναμις φλογός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης 10  
νικηθεὶς νίκην ἦνυσα θειοτέρην.

6 Ἰσαοζίτης [Ἰσβοζήτης Anth. Pal. 1,101 10 δ' ἐσβέσθη Anth. Pal. 1.c. [δὲ συνέσθη  
cod. φλογός [πυρὸς Anth. Pal. 1.c.

#### 4. (Exc. de Sent. 25)

Ἵτι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰσαοζίτης, παραινούντων αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένον  
ὄντα ἐς τὰ πάτρια μεταθεῖναι νόμιμα καὶ σώζεσθαι, ἔφη μετα-  
μελεῖσθαι οὐχ ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο ἔγνω σωτηρίας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔγνω

they, upon whom fear did not descend . . . , rather they scorned and disparaged the barbarian and, indeed, replied in yet more boastful terms) . . . .<sup>165</sup>

### 13

#### 1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 22)

Tyranny is hated, and he who is ruled by a tyrant will be our enemy.<sup>166</sup>

#### 2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 23)

It is characteristic of slander, which rejoices greatly in its neighbour's misfortunes, that it stalks about without hesitation and insinuates itself far and wide. True to its character, therefore, it went around whispering against this man. When it had settled in people's ears, exaggerating his unreliability and strangeness, the inhabitants of the place (since by nature a subject <hates> those who have not yet arrived) grew angry and noised it around that the governor was a wicked man.<sup>167</sup>

#### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 24)

The historian Menander says about Isaozites, who was crucified in Persia: When I learned of this and because I admired the man, I decided to write an hexameter epigram worthy of this servant of God, though he was a barbarian. My epigram is as follows:

Once I, Isaozites, was a magus amongst the Persians,  
 Hanging my hopes upon a deadly delusion.  
 When fire was devouring my city I came to its aid,  
 And a servant of Christ came too. All-mighty  
 He quenched the force of the flame, but I,  
 In defeat won a holier victory.<sup>168</sup>

#### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 25)

When Isaozites was on the cross and they were urging him to return to his ancestral rites and save himself, he said that he regretted not that he had learned to find salvation in this way, but that he had

ὄψέ. ταῦτα ἔλεγε γλιχόμενος κατὰ τὸ ἀπαραίτητόν τε καὶ  
καρτερόν τῶν αἰκίων ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν στεφάνων τὰ ἀκήρατα 5  
ἀναδεῖσθαι νικητήρια, καὶ ἠξίου τὸ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνόνητον τοῦ  
βίου ἔκοντι ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐπὶ ῥητῶ μισθῶ τινι τοῦ διαβιῶναι ἐς  
αἰί.

5 αἰκίων scripsi (sec. Boissevain qui legit . . . των vel αιτιων) [οὐρανίων Mai ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν  
Boissevain [ἐκ .. διὰ παλαιῶν Mai ἑκατόν δὲ παλαιῶν van Herwerden καὶ ἀπαλαιωτῶν  
Kuijper ἀκήρατα [ἀκήρατα edd. 7 ἔκοντι ἀποτίθεσθαι Boissevain [δοκεῖν τίθεσθαι Mai

### 5. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 16)

Ἵτι ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αἴτια ἐγένοντο τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ  
Περσῶν, τὸ δέ γε μᾶλλον ἀναπετρῶσαν Ἰουστίνον ὄπλα κινήσαι  
κατὰ Περσῶν τὸ ἔθνος οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐγένοντο. οἶδε γὰρ ἐσ-  
βάλλοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον, ἔστειλαν δὲ καὶ ὡς  
Ἵουστίνον πρεσβείαν ἐφ' ᾧ συνεκπολεμῶσαι γε αὐτὸν Πέρσαις, 5  
κοινηῇ τε καθελεῖν ἐξαιτοῦντες ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς δυσμενεῖς καὶ τὰ  
Τούρκων μᾶλλον ἀσπάσασθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τῇ μὲν Ῥωμαίων, τῇ  
δὲ Τούρκων ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐν μέσῳ τὰ Περσῶν διαφθαρῆναι.  
ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένος Ἵουστίνος ῥαδίως ᾤετο τὴν  
Περσῶν καταστρέψεσθαι δύναμιν καὶ ἐς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ξυνελάσειν. 10  
καὶ οὖν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐν βεβαίῳ ἔξειν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς Τούρκους  
φιλίαν ἅπαντα παρεσκευάζετο.

(Suda Π1893 = vv.4-5)

10 καταστρέψεσθαι Hoeschel [καταστρέψασθαι A

## 14

### 1. (Exc. de Sent. 26)

Ἵτι ἢ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων ὄρμη πλέον πέφυκε τὸ  
ἀναχαιτίζον τοῦ παρορμῶντος ἔχειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν πληθὺς  
ᾧσιν οἱ ἐς προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐθέλοντες ἀφιέναι.

### 2. (Exc. de Sent. 27)

Ἵτι περὶ Προκοπίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ δικηγόρου φησὶν ὁ  
Μένανδρος· οὐ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δυνατόν οὐδέ γε ἄλλως πέφυκε  
θυμῆρες τοσαύτη λόγων ἀκτῖνι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θρυαλλίδα ἀντ-  
ανασχεῖν. ἀρκέσει δέ μοι ἐν μικροῖς ἐγκαλινδεῖσθαι τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ  
καὶ τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ ἔπεσθαι ποιητῇ ἠλίθιόν τινα καὶ παράφρονα 5  
εἶναι φάσκοντι τὸν ἐς τοὺς κρείσσονας ἀμιλλώμενον.

3 ἑαυτοῦ [ἑμαυτοῦ van Herwerden



learned late. He said this in the fervent expectation that through his merciless, agonising torments he would win for himself the immaculate trophy of victory made from the ancient crowns, and he had decided willingly to cast off this short and vain existence for the sure reward of eternal life.<sup>169</sup>

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 16)

There were many other reasons for the war between the Romans and the Persians, but it was the nation of the Turks which most encouraged Justin to open hostilities against the Persians. For they attacked the land of the Medes and laid it waste, and sent an embassy to Justin to urge him to join them in their war against the Persians. They asked him that he show his friendship to the Turks by joining them in destroying the common enemy. In this way, with the Turks attacking from one direction and the Romans from another, the Persians would be destroyed. Aroused by these hopes, Justin thought that the power of the Persians would easily be overthrown and brought to nothing. He, therefore, made every preparation to keep the friendship of the Turks towards him as firm as possible.<sup>170</sup>

## 14

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 26)

The undertaking of the greatest enterprises more often causes disappointment in the one who undertakes them, especially if there is a large number of people who wish him to go off to confront a manifest danger.<sup>171</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 27)

Menander says about the historian and advocate Procopius: I am not able, nor do I wish, to hold up my candle before such a beam of eloquence as his. I shall be satisfied to busy myself in my own little enterprise and hearken to the poet of Ascra when he says that the man who competes against those who are stronger is a fool and out of his wits.<sup>172</sup>

## 15

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 17)

Ἵτι αὐθις οἱ Ἄβαροι πρεσβεῖαν ἔστειλαν ὡς Ῥωμαίους καί, περὶ ὧν πολλάκις, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπήκουον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (οὐ γὰρ Ἰουστίνον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἤρεσκε), τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦ Ἀψίχ ἐς πρεσβεῖαν ἐληλυθότος ξυνήρεσε Τιβερίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀψίχ παρασχεθῆναι γῆν 5  
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἵνα κατοικίξασθαι μέλλοιεν οἱ Ἄβαροι, εἴ γε τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρχόντων λήψονται τοὺς παῖδας ὀμηρεύοντας. καὶ οὖν τὰ τοιάδε Τιβέριος ἐσήμηνε βασιλεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι οὐτι ἐδόκει τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι λυσιτελέσ· οὐκ ἄλλως δὲ εἰρηνεύσειν ἔφασκεν, εἴ γε μὴ αὐτοῦ 10  
 δῆτα τοῦ Ἀβάρων ἡγουμένου λάβοι τῶν παίδων τινὰς ἐς ὀμήρους. Τιβερίῳ δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐδόκει· ἐγνωμάτευε γὰρ ὡς, εἴ γε τῶν παρὰ Σκύθαις ἀρχόντων λήψονται τοὺς παῖδας, οἷα εἰκός, βουλευομένου τοῦ Χαγάνου τὰ ξυντεθειμένα παρώσασθαι, οὐ συγχωρήσειν ποτὲ τῶν ὀμηρευόντων τοὺς πατέρας. Τιβέριος 15  
 μὲν τοιαῦσδε ὑπῆρχε γνώμης, βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐδόκει· ἀλλὰ γὰρ δήπου καὶ ἐνεμέσιζε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιάρχαις τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλλομένοις, συλλαβαῖς τε ἐχρήτο ὡς αὐτοὺς διαγορευούσας ὡς δέοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅτι γε δήπου <τοῖς> Ῥωμαίοις οὐχὶ ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ὁ βίος, ἄλλως 20  
 δὲ ὡς φιλοπόλεμοί τε εἰσι καὶ φερέπονοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἔριδος ἐνίκα, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἠπειλεῖτο, Τιβέριος ἐσήμηνε Βώνῳ ἐν γράμμασι φυλάξασθαι τὰς διαβάσεις τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

(*Suda* A82 = vv.20-21)

11 Ἀβάρων Niebuhr [Ῥωμαίων A 12 ταῦτα [ταυτὰ Niebuhr 19 διαγορευούσας [διαγορευούσαις Bekker 20 τοῖς addidi ex *Suda* A82: τοῖς δὲ Ῥ. lac. post βίος indicant Niebuhr et Müller, ἐστὶν add. Hoeschel

2. (*Suda* A2053)

Καὶ Μένανδρος· κατιόντων τῶν Ἀβάρων κατ' ὀλίγους, οἱ στρατηγοὶ γνώμη ἐχρῶντο παραχρῆμα ἐπιθέσθαι σφίσι, κακ τοῦτου ἀνάρροπον τιθέναι τὴν τῶν Ἀβάρων κατάρασιν.

3 τούτου AM [τούτων GTF

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 28)

Ἵτι μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦτταν λέγεται ὡς τηνικαῦτα ἀγγελίαις ἐχρήσατο ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων στρατιάρχης ὡς Τιβέριον· καὶ ὁ σταλεὶς ἀγγελιαφόρος ἔλεξεν τί δὴ τὴν ὀλιγοχειρίαν

## 15

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 17)

Again the Avars sent an embassy to the Romans on the same issues as often before, and the Romans refused to listen to them because the Emperor Justin was not so inclined.<sup>173</sup> Finally, when Apsikh came as envoy, Tiberius and Apsikh's party agreed that the Romans would provide the Avars with land to live on if they received the sons of their leading men as hostages. Tiberius recommended these terms to the Emperor, but the Emperor did not think them to the Romans' advantage. He said that he would only make peace if he received some of the sons of the Avar leader as hostages. Tiberius disagreed, for he argued that, if they took the sons of the leading men amongst the Scythians, it was likely that, should the Khagan wish to break the agreements, the fathers of the hostages would object. This was Tiberius' view, but the Emperor thought otherwise. He was indignant at his generals who were delaying the fighting and he wrote telling them that they should show the barbarians that the Romans had not turned to a life of easy luxury, but were eager for war and ready to bear toil. When the arguments for fighting prevailed and war was imminent, Tiberius wrote to Bonus telling him to guard the crossings of the river.<sup>174</sup>

2. (*Suda* A2053)

While the Avars were descending in small groups, the generals decided to attack them immediately and by this means to push back the Avar descent.<sup>175</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 28)

It is said that after the defeat of the Romans the general of the Avars at that time sent a message to Tiberius. The messenger who was sent said, "Why, I ask you, when you are weakened by your small

νοσοῦντες πρὸς Ἀβάρους φημί καὶ Σκύθας πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν  
 ἐτολήσατε, ἢ οὐχ ὑμῖν γράμματά τε καὶ διφθέραι εἰσίν, ὅθεν 5  
 ἀναλεγόμενοι γνώσεσθε ὡς ἀκαταγώνιστα τε καὶ ἀμαχώτατα τὰ  
 φύλα τὰ Σκυθικά; Τιβέριον δὲ φάναι ἀμοιβαίῳ . . .

4 ἐξενεγκεῖν van Herwerden, Boissevain [ἐπενεγκεῖν Mai 7 post ἀμοιβαίῳ deest unum  
 folium

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 29)

. . . εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον.

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 18)

Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Ἀβάρων, ἠττηθέντος Τιβερίου τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ, μετὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας συνήρесе πρεσβεύσασθαι ὡς τὸν  
 Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ δὴ Τιβέριος ξυναπέστειλε τῇ πρεσ-  
 βείᾳ Δαμιανὸν ταξίαρχον ἐσήμηνέ τε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἅπαντα τὰ 5  
 ξυνενεχθέντα, καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλεται τὸ Ἀβαρικόν. καὶ ἐσπεί-  
 σαντο τελέως Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἄβαροι.

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 19)

Ὅτι τῶν Ἀβάρων σπεισαμένων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπερχομένων, οἱ  
 Σκαμάρεις ἐγχωρίως ὀνομαζόμενοι ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἀφείλοντο  
 ἵππους τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐτέραν ἀποσκευήν. τούτου ἕνεκα  
 πρεσβείαν ἔστειλαν αὐθις ὡς Τιβέριον, τῶν κεκλοφόντων πέρι 5  
 ἐπιμεμφόμενοι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἀφαιρεθέντα ἀνακομίσασθαι βουλό-  
 μενοι. καὶ δὴ ἀνερευνηθέντες οἱ τὴν κλοπὴν εἰργασμένοι ἐν  
 φανερωῖ τε γενόμενοι, μοῖράν τινα ἀπεκατέστησε τοῖς Ἀβάροις.

## 16

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 20)

Ὅτι τοῦ δεκάτου ἔτους ἀνυσθέντος τῶν πεντηκοντουτίδων  
 σπονδῶν, μετὰ τὴν σφαγὴν Σουρήνα, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Περσῶν  
 βασιλεὺς στέλλει Σεβόχθην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἐς πρεσβείαν ὡς  
 Ἰουστίνον τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν ἐν Περσαρμενία μὲν ξυνενεχθέντων  
 ἄγνοιαν δῆθεν ὑποκρινόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ τὸ συντεταγμένον 5  
 Ῥωμαίους κατατιθέναι χρυσίον βουλόμενος, οἷα δὴ τῆς δεκα-  
 ετίας περαιωθείσης, ἧς τὰ χρήματα ὑφ' ἐν ἐκομίσαστο, εἶτα  
 ἐμπεδώτατα ξυνεστάναι τὴν εἰρήνην, καθά που ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐν  
 ταῖς ξυνθήκαις. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐτάραξε Χοσρόην  
 αἰσθόμενον ὡς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων πρὸς πόλεμον ὄρμητο τὰ 10

numbers compared with the Avars and the Scythians, did you dare to give battle? Do you not have writings and records from which you can read and learn that the tribes of the Scythians are impossible to defeat and conquer?" Tiberius said in reply . . . .<sup>176</sup>

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 29)

. . . to be serviceable.

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 18)

After the victory of the Avars and the defeat of the general Tiberius, a truce was made and it was agreed that an embassy would be sent to the Emperor of the Romans. Tiberius sent with the embassy the tribune Damianus, informing the Emperor of all that had happened and what the Avars wanted, and at last a treaty was made between the Romans and the Avars.

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 19)

When the Avars had made a treaty and were returning home,<sup>177</sup> the *scamars*, as they are called locally, ambushed them and stole horses, silver and other goods.<sup>178</sup> Because of this they again sent an embassy to Tiberius complaining of the theft and demanding the return of what had been taken. The perpetrators of the theft were tracked down and identified,<sup>179</sup> and Tiberius returned a part of the goods to the Avars.

## 16

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 20)

At the end of the ten years of the fifty-year peace, after the murder of the Surenas<sup>180</sup> the king of the Persians sent Sebokhth, a Persian, as envoy to the Emperor Justin.<sup>181</sup> He feigned ignorance of what had happened in Persarmenia, and besides he wanted the Romans to pay over the agreed amount of gold (since the ten years had elapsed for which the money had been paid in one sum) and to reconfirm the peace on the terms of the treaty.<sup>182</sup> First, Khosro was greatly troubled since he was aware that the Roman Emperor was inclined to reject

εἰρηναῖα παρωσάμενος, ἐδεδοίκει τε μή πως ἐκ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς ἐπίθοιτο [τε] αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἤκιστα φροντίδα ἐτίθετο εἰς ἔσχατον γῆρας ἐληλακῶς καὶ ἤδη ἐκλελυμένος ταῖς ὀρμαῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστε ἐρρῶσθαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ὡσπερ ἀμέλει πατρῶον κτῆμα τοῖς γε αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἀσάλευτά τε καὶ 15 ἄτρωτα καταλιπεῖν.

Σεβόχθην μὲν οὖν Ἰουστίνος φοιτήσαντα ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οὔτι μάλα προσίετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως, ἠνίκα εἰσῆλθε κατὰ δὴ τὸ εἰωθὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προσκυνήσων, χαμαὶ ῥίψαντος ἑαυτόν, οὕτω ξυμβάν, ὁ πῖλος, ὃς ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον 20 Πέρσαις ἐπέκειτο, ἐς τοῦδαφος ἔπεσεν. τούτῳ αἰσῖω τινὶ συμβόλῳ χρησάμενοι οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ δῆμος ταῖς κολακείαις τὸν βασιλέα ἐπτέρωσαν, ὡς ὅσον οὐπω ὑποπεσεῖται γε αὐτῷ ἢ Περσίς. τῷ τοι ἄρα Ἰουστίνος ἐπηρμένος τε ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ μετεωρίζετο τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰ κατὰ νοῦν ῥᾶστα ἐκβήσεσθαι οἰόμενος. 25 Σεβόχθην δὴ οὖν ἀγγείλαντα ἐφ' οἷς παρεγένετο ὁ βασιλεὺς περιεφρόνησέ γε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἄνδρα. ἔφη τοιγαροῦν ὡς αὐτὸν ὡς ἡ φιλότης χρήμασι βεβαιουμένη οὐκ ἀγαθὴ (αἰσχροὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀνδραποδώδης ὠνητὴ τε ἢ τοιάδε)· φιλίαν δὲ τὴν ἰσόρροπὸν τε καὶ οὐχὶ κερδαλέαν 30 ὀρίζεσθαι, ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸ βέβαιον παραπέπηγε φύσει τινί. πρὸς τοῖσδε ἀνεπυνθάνετό γε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μήτι καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς Ἀρμενίας βούλοίτο διαλέγεσθαι. Σεβόχθης δὴ οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο ἀκηκοέναι μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέα ὡς ἀνὰ τὰ ἐκείνη βραχεῖά τις ἐγένετο ταραχῇ, στείλαι δὲ ὅμως τινὰ τὸν δυνάμενον ἐν κόσμῳ 35 θέσθαι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὸν θόρυβον καταπαύσοντα. Ἰουστίνος δὲ Περσαρμενίους προφανέστατα ἔφη εἰσδέξασθαι Περσῶν ἀποχωρήσαντας, καὶ οὐ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς ἀδικουμένους οἷα δὴ ὁμογνώμονας τὰ εἰς θεόν. Σεβόχθης δὴ οὖν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀγχίνους τε ἅμα καὶ νομίζων τὰ περὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ καθὰ 40 νομίζουσι Χριστιανοί, ἐπιμελέστατά πως ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου μὴ κινῆσαί τι τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, ἐν νῷ δὲ βαλέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἄδηλον πρᾶγμα καὶ οὔτι ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς εἰωθότα χωρεῖν, καὶ ὅτι δὴ, εἴ γε οὕτω τύχοι, καὶ κρατούντων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τοῦναντίον αὐτοῖς περισταίῃ τὰ τῆς νίκης. ἐσιόντες γὰρ ἐς τὴν 45 Περσῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ὁδοιπορίας ἐλαύνοντες εὐρήσουσιν ἅπαντάς γε δήπου περὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ περ αὐτοὶ ἐσπουδακότας· ὡς, εἴ γε ἔλοιντο τοὺς τοιούσδε ἀποκτινύναι, οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐτοὶ ἄλλιν ἠττηθήσονται. οὐ δῆτα οὖν χρεῶν κατὰ

peace and resort to war, and he feared that in consequence of his huge preparations he might launch an attack. Furthermore, now that he had come to extreme old age and had lost his taste for war, he was especially eager to preserve the peaceful conditions and leave them to his sons like a paternal inheritance, unshaken and undisturbed.

When Sebokhth came Justin proved not amenable to him, especially since, when he entered to make the customary obeisance to the Emperor, as he threw himself on the ground the cap which he wore on his head after the Persian manner happened to fall on to the floor. The high officials and the rest, taking this as a good omen, flattered the Emperor and excited him to think that Persia would soon submit to him. Thus Justin's hopes were raised and he was elated by the thought that all would very readily turn out as he planned. When Sebokhth delivered the messages for which he had come, the Emperor scorned him and treated the man as nothing. He told him that a friendship secured by money was not good (for such a thing when bought was shameful and servile) and that an equal, and not one-sided, friendship was defined as one in which the durability was naturally inherent.

Justin also inquired of the envoy whether he wished to discuss their part of Armenia. Sebokhth replied that his king had heard that there was a small disturbance there and that he had sent someone who could put an end to the trouble and bring the area to order. Justin declared very baldly that the Persarmenians had revolted from the Persians, he had received them and because they were his co-religionists he would not stand by and watch them ill treated. Sebokhth, who was amongst the Persians both a shrewd man and a believer in the God of the Christians, most anxiously begged the Emperor Justin not to disturb at all the present orderly situation. He said that the Emperor should reflect that war was such an uncertain thing and did not usually proceed in a predictable manner and that even if it did so turn out and the Romans prevailed, the aftermath of their victory might turn against them. For if they entered Persian territory and penetrated a very long way into it, they would find that all held the same religious beliefs as they, and so, if they chose to kill such people, they themselves would in their turn be vanquished.

Χριστιανῶν τοὺς ὁμοδόξους θήγειν τὰ ξίφη. 50  
 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς οὕτω λίαν ὀμαλοῖς τε καὶ ἐπεικέσι λόγοις  
 Ἰουστίνος οὐκ ᾔετο χρῆναι ἔσεσθαι πειθήνιος. ἔφη δὲ ὡς, εἴ γε  
 πειραθείη δάκτυλον ἓνα κινηθῆναι βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, πῆχυν  
 αὐτὸς κινηθήσεται, καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Περσῶν ἐλάσοι· θαρρεῖν τε ὡς,  
 εἰ πρὸς πόλεμον ὀρμήσοι, καθελεῖ τε Χοσρόην καὶ αὐτὸς 55  
 βασιλέα χειροτονήσοι Πέρσαις. οὕτω τοίνυν ὑπερόρια εἰπὼν  
 ἀπέπεμψε Σεβόχθην.

2. (*Suda* O916)

Μένανδρος· ταύτη τοι τῆς κατὰ Νισίβιος πολιορκίας οὐ μέλον  
 αὐτῷ.

1 τῆς κατὰ [καὶ τῆς Kuster

## [17]

[(MS. Paris grec 1140A, fol.58v-59)

Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἰουστίνου τοῦ νέου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ σεπτόν τε  
 καὶ ἀκήρατον ἤχθη ξύλον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῇ Ἀπα-  
 μείᾳ ἀδελφοὶ δύο· τῷ μὲν Ἀ[δε]λφίος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ἦτις αὐτῷ ἢ  
 προσηγορία ἦκιστα ἔγνων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνώνυμος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς  
 Αἰλίας ἐγένετο, ὁ δ' Ἀλφίος ἐτύγχανεν ἱερέων. καὶ ποτε τῆς 5  
 Ἀπαμείας οὗτος ἀπάρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ᾔχετο τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 ὀψόμενος. ὡς δὲ τὸν ὀμαίμονα εἶδε τε καὶ συνωμίλησε, ἠξίωσέ  
 τε αὐτὸν δοῦναι μερίδα ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξύλου. ὁ δὲ τὴν αἴτησιν  
 ἐκπληροῖ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ παγέντα Χριστὸν ἀπαράβατον ὄρκον  
 ποιήσας μήτινα τὸ μυστήριον ἐξιπεῖν. λαβὼν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ 10  
 ἀρχιερέως τὸ περὶ τοὺς πόδας ξύλον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀνέκαμψεν.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μέντοι ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τοῦ  
 ζωοποιοῦ ξύλου στέλλει μὲν ὀνόματι Ζήμαρχόν τινα τὸν  
 θησαυρὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ ἀπαγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀπαμέων  
 λαὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ξίφη τε ἀπεγύμνουσιν καὶ τόξα ἐτείνοντο καὶ 15  
 βάλλειν ὅσον οὐπὼ ἠλπίζοντο. γνωρίζει ταῦτα Ζήμαρχος τῷ  
 κρατοῦντι· καὶ ὁ κρατῶν λίαν ἐπήνεσέ τε αὐτοὺς τοῦ σκοποῦ,  
 ἐπεσφράγισε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ζημάρχῳ περιέχουσαν οὕτως·  
 γέγραφας ἡμῖν ὡς οἱ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν οἰκοῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἱερώτατον ξύλον, ἱερόν ἀνεδέξαντο 20  
 πόλεμον. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· ἴσθι οὖν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ



Christians should not sharpen their swords against fellow-believers.

Justin, however, did not intend to be restrained by these very fair and reasonable words. He said that if the Persian king were to try to move one finger, he would move his arm and invade Persia; and he was confident that if he made war he would destroy Khosro and himself give a king to the Persians. With these unrealistic threats he dismissed Sebokhth.<sup>183</sup>

## 2. (*Suda* O916)

Since for this reason he had no interest in besieging Nisibis.<sup>184</sup>

### [17]

[(MS Paris grec 1140A, fol.58v-59)

In the time of Justin the younger the august and immaculate wood was brought to Byzantium in the following way.<sup>185</sup> There were at Apamea two brothers, one whose name was Alphius, the other whose name I do not know. The unnamed brother became bishop of Aelia, while Alphius became a priest. Once Alphius left Apamea and went to Jerusalem to see his brother. When he saw his brother and spoke with him, he begged that he give him a piece of the holy wood. He fulfilled his request but made him swear by a binding oath by Christ who was nailed on it not to reveal the secret to anyone. Receiving from the archbishop the wood around where the feet were nailed, he returned to his native city.

Later, when the Emperor heard about the life-giving wood, he sent a man named Zemarchus to bring the treasure to the capital.<sup>186</sup> When they heard this, the people of Apamea unsheathed their swords, and their bows were aimed and ready to shoot. Zemarchus reported this to the Emperor and he greatly praised their intent. He sent to Zemarchus a letter under his own seal which said as follows: "You have written to me that the inhabitants of Apamea, to prevent the removal of the most holy wood amongst them, have undertaken a holy war;" a little later, "Know, therefore, from the praise we have

βουλόμεθα ζῆν ἐξ ὧν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐπηνέσαμεν. εἶτα· διχῆ διελὼν τὸ ἀκήρατον ξύλον, ἥμισυ μὲν ἔκπεμψον κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἥμισυ δὲ κατάλιπε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐῶαν ὑπηκόοις ἡμῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν τὸ ὅλον καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ 25 το πᾶν· ἥμισυ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θεός. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα. Ζήμαρχος δὲ ἅπαντα ἔπραττε τὰ γραφόμενα· καὶ τὸ μέντοι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Βυζαντίδα ἐστέλλετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀπαμεία ἐλείπετο.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, Ἀπάμεια ἀλοῦσα ὑπὸ Περσῶν, ἱερεὺς 30 τις τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐν φρέατί τινι κατακρύπτει τὸ ξύλον, ὡς μὴ γενέσθαι δορυάλωτον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. οὗτος δὲ αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαγόμενος ἠδυνήθη ἀμωσγέπως κατάδηλον ποιῆσαι Μάγνῳ οὐ ἀποκέκρυπται· Μάγνος δὲ Οὐαράνη ἐσήμανεν ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων τὰς οἰκήσεις ποιουμένῳ τῇ πόλει. αὐτὸς δ' ἐρευνήσας καὶ τὸ 35 ποθούμενον εἰς χεῖρας λαβὼν πρὸς βασιλέα εἰς πόλιν ἀπέστειλεν.]

Βιβλίου β΄.

## 18

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 21)

Ὅτι ἐπεὶ Ἰουστίνος τὰς φρένας παρεκόπη καὶ Τιβέριος ἀνεδέξατο διοικεῖν τῆς πολιτείας τὰ πράγματα, ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν αὐτὸς τε Τιβέριος καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Σοφία ὅπως διάθοιντο τὰ τῶν πολέμων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔλυσε τὸ ἄπορον σφῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ὡς τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα στείλας Ἰάκωβον, ὃς τὰ Περσικὰ 5 ῥήματα τῇ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ διασαφηνίζειν ἠπίστατο. συννοήσας γὰρ ἐς ἔσχατον ὡς νῦν ἐλπίδος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατολισθήσαντες ἠδιστον μὲν ἂν ἔχοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰαίσοῦν ξυνθήκαις διαλυῖσαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν θαρρῆσαι πρεσβείαν τινὰ στείλαι διὰ τὸ οὐκ εὐπρόσωπον εἶναι τὸν ἀρξάμενον πολέμου ἀπάρξασθαι καὶ 10 ἰκετείας· προτερήσας οὖν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τὴν αἰσχύνην προανεῖλε καὶ τῷ κατεπτηχότι τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν ἐπενόησε πρόφασιν, ὡς ἂν ἔλθοιεν ἐς λόγους αἰτησόμενοι μεθ' ἰκετηρίας εἰρήνην. στέλλει τοίνυν Ἰάκωβον ἄμεινόν πως βουλευσάμενος, ὡς οὐ πώποτε ἂν εὐκλεέστερον Πέρσαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους 15 κατάθοιντο πόλεμον· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐνδώσειν Ῥωμαίους, ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσωσι Πέρσαι αὐτοί.

1 Τιβέριος [Τιβέριον edd. 1-2 ἀνεδέξατο [ἀνεδείξατο Niebuhr 5 τὸν Β<sup>1</sup> [τῶν rel. codd. 7 ἐς ἔσχατον ὡς [ὡς ἐς ἔσχατον Niebuhr 9 θαρρῆσαι [θαρρήσειαν Bekker

lavished upon them in our letter how much we wish them to live in contentment;” and then, “Divide the immaculate wood into two, send one half to the capital and leave the other half with our subjects in the East. In this way both we and they shall have the whole. For God cannot be cut in two.” Thus the Emperor’s letter. Zemarchus did everything that was written. Half of the wood was sent to Byzantium and the other half was left at Apamea.

Later, when Apamea was captured by the Persians,<sup>187</sup> a priest of the people there hid the wood in a well so that it should not be captured by the Persians.<sup>188</sup> Although he was taken prisoner, he was able in some way or another to inform Magnus where it was hidden. Magnus informed Varanes, one of the distinguished men living in the city. He made a search, found what he was looking for and sent it to the Emperor at Byzantium.<sup>189]</sup>

Book 6<sup>190</sup>

## 18

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 21)

When Justin went out of his mind and Tiberius took over the administration of the state, Tiberius and the Empress Sophia were at a loss how to manage the war.<sup>191</sup> The Persian king removed their difficulty by sending to the Roman Emperor Jacob, who was able to deliver the Persian message in Greek.<sup>192</sup> Khosro realised that the Romans, whose hopes had fallen to their lowest point, would be very pleased to end the war on any terms, but that they did not venture to send an embassy since for the aggressor to ask for negotiations would cause a loss of face. By acting first the Persian king removed their disgrace beforehand, and while they shied away from an initiative he devised for them an excuse to communicate and beg for peace. He, therefore, sent Jacob, having determined that it was the best time for the Persians to end the war with the Romans on the most favourable terms they would ever get. For he thought that the Romans would give whatever the Persians wished.

Ἡ δὲ σταλεῖσα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς Ἰουστίνον ἐπιστολὴ οὔτε τῆς ἡλικίας ἦν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, μειρακιώδης οὔσα παντοίως, οὔτε δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς οἶμαι ἐμφρονεστάτου. ἕτερον γὰρ 20 τὸν ὄντιναοῦν ἀπαυθαδίζεσθαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου ἦν· ἐκείνον μέντοι οὐ βρενθῦεσθαι ἴσως ἐχρῆν οὐδὲ ὑπαγόραν τινὰ εἶναι καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον. ἡ γὰρ ἐπιστολὴ ὕβρεων τε μεστή καὶ ὄνειδισμοῦ καὶ μεμεθυσμένων ῥημάτων ὑπῆρχεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ὑπερηφανίας τε ἦν καὶ ἀλαζονείας πλήρης· εἰσάγεται δ' οὖν 25 Ἰάκωβος, οὐ μὴν ὡς Ἰουστίνον ἄτε νοσώδη τυγχάνοντα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς τὴν βασιλίδα, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴ ξὺν Τιβερίῳ ἅπαντα ἐπραττεν. ἀναλεξαμένη τοίνυν τὸ γράμμα ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ αὐτὴ στέλλειν τὸν πρεσβευσόμενον ὡς βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ ἀμφὶ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν κεινημένων διαλεχθησόμενον. στέλλεται δ' οὖν Ζαχαρίας, ἐν 30 τοῖς βασιλείοις καταταττόμενος ἰατροῖς, ἐπιφερόμενος γράμμα ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος.

Λόγος ς'.

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 10)

Ὅτι ἡ βασιλὶς Σοφία Ἰουστίνου <Ζαχαρίαν> πρέσβιν στέλλει ὡς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἰατροῖς καταταττόμενον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενος τεσσαρακονταπέντε χιλιάδας χρυσοῦ νομίσματος παρασχὼν τίθεται τὰς ξυνθήκας ἀνὰ τὴν ἕω ἐνιαυσιαίας, ὡς ἂν ἔσοιτο ἐκεχειρία. ἐν 5 τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ ἔφασκε σταλήσεσθαι πρὸς τῆς βασιλίδος μέγιστον πρεσβευτὴν τὸν τελεώτερά πως περὶ ἀπάντων διαλεχθησόμενον ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσοντα, τυχὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως μεταβαλόντος ἐς τὸ ἔρρωμένον. οὕτω μὲν τὰς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποιησάμενος σπονδὰς περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἕω 10 Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας, οὐ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ, καταθέμενος δῆπουθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνου ἕνεκα με' χιλιάδας χρυσῶν νομισμάτων ἐπανῆκεν. ἐμπεδωθέντων δὲ ἄρα τῶν τοιούτων, Εὐσέβιος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταστέλλεται.

1 Ζαχαρίαν add. Niebuhr 5 ἕω ἐνιαυσιαίας, ὡς [ἕω, ἐνιαυσιαία ὡς de Boor

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 11)

Ὅτι δὴ στέλλεται κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν πρεσβευτῆς Τραιανὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πατράσι τελῶν καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ κοιαιστόρος διέπων ἀρχὴν, ἣν οἶμαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναζητεῖν ὧδε

The letter which was sent from him to Justin did not reflect the years of the Persian king (for it was in a wholly juvenile manner) nor was it, in my opinion, the letter of a very sensible man. It would not have been out of place for another to wax haughty, but he should not have boasted and acted the vulgar braggart. For the letter was full of violent and emotional language and reproaches and full of arrogance and boasting.

Jacob was given an audience, not with Justin, who was sick, but with the Empress, who at this time managed everything with Tiberius. When she read the letter she said that she herself would send an envoy to the Persian king to discuss all the points at dispute. Zacharias, one of the palace physicians, was sent bearing a letter from the Empress.<sup>193</sup>

## Book 6

### 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 10)

The Empress Sophia, the wife of Justin, sent <Zacharias>,<sup>194</sup> one of the court physicians, as envoy to the Persian king Khosro. When he arrived there offering 45,000 gold *nomismata*, he made a one-year agreement for a truce in the East. He said that during this period the Empress would send a major embassy with full authority to discuss everything and to end the war if it should also happen that the Roman Emperor in the meantime recovered his health. Thus, Zacharias made a one-year truce in the Roman dominions of the East (but not in Armenia), paid over the 45,000 gold *nomismata* for this concession alone, and departed.<sup>195</sup> When this agreement had been ratified, the general Eusebius was recalled to Byzantium.<sup>196</sup>

### 3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 11)

Trajan was sent as envoy to the land of the Persians.<sup>197</sup> He had the rank of patrician and held the office of quaestor (which, I think, is

λελέχθαι Ῥωμαίοις. ξυναπεστάλη δὲ καὶ Ζαχαρίας, οὐ ἔναγχος  
 ἐμνήσθην, ἐφ' ᾧ, εἰ μὲν οἰοί τ' ἔσονται, ἅμα ἐμπεδῶσι κατὰ τὴν 5  
 τε ἑώραν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἐντὸς τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐκεχειρίαν. ἐν  
 τοσοῦτῳ ξυνέλθοιεν ἐξ ἑκατέρας πολιτείας ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις οἱ  
 διαλύσουσι τὰ ἀμφίβολα, βουλευσαιντό τε καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ  
 καταθήσουσι τὰ ὄπλα ἐς τέλος· εἰ δέ γε μὴ οὕτω προχωροίη,  
 τοῖς γοῦν πρὸς ἥλιον οἰκοῦσι τὴν τοιάνδε ἐκεχειρίαν παντὶ 10  
 τρόπῳ ποιήσασθαι. παραγενόμενοι τοίνυν οἱ πρέσβεις πρὸς  
 βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τε καταστάντες ἐλεξάτην τοιάδε.  
 [ζῆτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγοριῶν.]

Πολλῶν δὲ κεκινημένων λόγων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Περσῶν  
 μακροτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἰεμένων ἄχρι τε ε' ἐνιαυτῶν 15  
 βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τριετηρίδας εἶναι  
 βουλομένων τὰς σπονδάς, τέλος οὔτ' ἴσχυσαν οἱ πρέσβεις καθὰ  
 ἐπετέτραπτο σφᾶς ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας, ἐπὶ <τε> ε'  
 ἐνιαυτοὺς εἶναι ἐρρωμένας συνήρесеσεν ἀμφοτέρῃα πολιτεία, κατὰ  
 δὴ τὴν ἕω μόνον, τριάκοντά τε χιλιάδας νομισμάτων χρυσῶν 20  
 κατατιθέναι Ῥωμαίους ἕτει ἑκάστῳ. ζυνήρесе δὲ τὰ τοιάδε, εἰ  
 βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιψηφίσοιτο.

(Suda K2533 = 2-4)

4 παρὰ ante Ῥωμαίοις Suda K2533 5 οἰοί τ' Hoeschel [οἰοί (sic) codd. 6 ἐν [ὡς ἂν ἐν Bekker 7 οἱ Niebuhr [ὅ codd. 10 ἀνίσχοντα post ἥλιον add. de Boor 17 οὔτ' [οὐκ Niebuhr 18 τε add. de Boor [δὲ Niebuhr

#### 4. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 12)

Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ Τιβερίῳ ἤδη τὰ τῆς πολιτείας περιεκέχυτο πράγ-  
 ματα, Τραιανός τε καὶ Ζαχαρίας τῷ πρέσβει ὡς αὐτὸν ἐγεγρά-  
 φεσαν μὴ βούλεσθαι Πέρσας ἄχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν ποιήσασθαι τὰς  
 ξυνθήκας, πενταετηρίδας δὲ εἶναι μᾶλλον. καὶ ὅς οὐκ ἐπινεύσας 5  
 (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤρесе μακροτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν)  
 ἐσήμαινε ὡς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα μὲν ἄχρι δύο ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς  
 τοιάσδε βεβαιῶσαι σπονδάς· εἰ δέ γε ἀδύνατα ἔχοιεν, περαιτέρω  
 μὴ ἀνέξεσθαι ἢ τριετίας. σταλείσης δὴ οὖν ὡς τοὺς πρέσβεις τῆς  
 τοιαῦσδε ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ δὴ ἀναλεξαμένων ὅ τι ἐδήλου τὸ  
 γράμμα, Μεβῶδου ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀφικομένου ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Δάρας 10  
 ὁρίοις αἰσθομένου τε ὡς ταῖς ἤδη ὑπὸ Τραιανοῦ καὶ Ζαχαρίου  
 δοκιμασθείσαις σπονδαῖς οὐ στέργουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπαφίησι τὸν

8 ὡς τοὺς πρέσβεις scripsi [ὡς τοῖς πρέσβεσι codd. ὡς del. Niebuhr ὡς εἰκὸς de Boor  
 11 αἰσθομένου de Boor [αἰσθανομένους C αἰσθομένους cett. codd. αἰσθανομένου Niebuhr

named from the Latin for 'investigate'). Zacharias, whom I have mentioned above, was sent with him. Their mission was to obtain, if they could, a truce of three years throughout the East and Armenia. During this period representatives from both states would meet on the border to resolve the disputes and deliberate upon the means by which hostilities would be completely ended. If they were unable to achieve this, they were to use every means to make such a truce for the inhabitants of the East. When the envoys came to the Persian king and were given an audience, they said the following: [see in the *Excerpts on Public Speeches*].

After much discussion, since the Persians proposed that peace be established for a longer period and that the truce be made for five years while the Romans wished the agreement to be for three, the envoys finally dropped their insistence that the treaty be struck on the terms which they had been given. It was agreed that both states would observe a truce for five years and that the Romans would each year pay 30,000 gold *nomismata*. This agreement was conditional upon ratification by the Roman Emperor.

#### 4. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 12)

When the affairs of the state had been taken up by Tiberius,<sup>198</sup> Trajan and Zacharias the envoys wrote to him that the Persians were unwilling to make a three-year agreement, but wanted it to be for five years. This he rejected, since he did not wish to make a longer treaty, and he told them preferably to make the agreement for two years and, if this were impossible, not to accept one for more than three years. When the letter to this effect had been sent to the envoys and they had read its contents, Mebod, who had come to the border near to Daras for this purpose, when he learned that the terms accepted by Trajan and Zacharias were rejected by the Romans, sent Tan-

Τανχοσδρῶ κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ ὃς ἀθρόον ἐπιδραμῶν ἐνέπρησε τὰ ὅσα πλησιόχωρα τοῦ Δάρας, ἕως ἐπέισθη Μεβώδης δέξασθαι τὰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας τῶν χρυσῶν νομισμάτων ἀν' ἔτος τῆς τριετηρίδος ἕνεκα εἰρήνης, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἑκατέρας πολιτείας εἰς ἓν ξυνιόντας βουλευσασθαι ὅπως δεῖ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι τελῶς. προνοία δὲ δὴ τινι στοχαζόμενος τοῦ συνοίσοντος τὰ τοιάδε ἐπετέλει ὁ Καῖσαρ· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὡς ἄχρι ἐνιαυτῶν τριῶν ἀποχρῶσα αὐτῷ ἔσται ἡ παρασκευὴ Πέρσαις τε ἀξιόμαχος ἀναφανήσεται. ξυνησθάνοντο δὲ καὶ Πέρσαι τῆς τοιαύσδε προμηθείας τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου ἕνεκα γίνεται αὐτῷ ἀναβολὴ ἢ προορωμένῳ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅπως ἐς τὸ δέον αὐτῷ προπαρασκευασθήσονται αἱ δυνάμεις. κατεφρόνουν δὲ ὅμως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἅτε ἀναμαχήσασθαι οὐ δυναμένων, εἰ καὶ πλείων αὐτοῖς ἐνδοθεὶ χρόνος.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακωχὴ ἐγεγόνει ἀνὰ τὴν ἕω, μετενήνεκτο δὲ ἅπας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ὁ θόρυβος, ἄλλου ἄλλα αὐτῆς διακληρωσαμένων, ἦρος ἀρχομένου συνέστη πόλεμος.  
(*Suda* Π1114 = vv.1-2, Δ1327 = vv.11-13, Θ413 = vv.28-30)

13 Τανχοσδρῶ *Suda* Δ1327 [Ταχοσδρῶ codd. 18 δεῖ [δὴ X 22 ξυνησθάνοντο Niebuhr [ξυνιστάνοντο codd. 26 πλείων Niebuhr [πλέον codd. 28 μετενήνεκτο [μετήνεκτο *Suda* Θ413 29 ἄλλου ... αὐτῆς [ἄλλων ... αὐτοῖς *Suda* l.c.

##### 5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 22)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ εἰσβολὴν ἐς Ἀλβανίαν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὁμήρους λαβόντες Σαβείρων καὶ Ἀλανῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἦκον ἐς Βυζάντιον. ἀφικομένους δὲ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν ἐνδεδωκότων ἑαυτοὺς Ἀλανῶν τε καὶ Σαβείρων ὁ Καῖσαρ δέχεται ἐπιεικῶς καὶ πάνυ φιλανθρώπως, πυθόμενός τε παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅποσα χρήματα αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, δεδωκώς τε ἐξουσίαν σφίσιν ἐς ὅσον ἠβούλοντο ἐξᾶραι τῇ ψευδολογίᾳ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τῷ κόμπῳ τάληθές ἐπικαλύψαι, διπλάσια τούτων ἔγωγε παρέξω, ἔφη, τοῖς τε ἐν τέλει ὑμῶν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦσθησάν τε οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐδόκουν χάριν εἶδέναι τῷ κρείττονι ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο. ἠγγελλον δὲ ὡς ὁ Σαβεῖρ ἀπέστη οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὀλίγα τε φροντίσας τῶν ὁμήρων Πέρσαις προσετέθη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πρέσβεσιν αὐθις ἐν συνουσίᾳ γενόμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ ὅσα ἀρμόδια διελέχθη καὶ ἔφη τοὺς τε



khosdro<sup>199</sup> to attack the Roman domains. He immediately overran and burned the territory close to Daras until Mebod was persuaded to accept the 30,000 gold *nomismata* each year for the three-year peace on the understanding that during this period the high officials of both states would meet to discuss how the hostilities might be completely ended.<sup>200</sup> When the Caesar made this payment he was looking with a certain forethought to his own advantage, since he knew that within three years his forces would be sufficient and able to face the Persians. The Persians, too, were aware of the Caesar's plan, for they realised that he wanted the respite only because he was looking to the future and to his preparation of adequate forces. Nevertheless, they were contemptuous of the Romans, thinking that they would not be able to match them in battle, even if they were given more time.

When a truce had been made in the East and all of the hostilities had been transferred to Armenia, which was partitioned between the two sides, at the beginning of spring the fighting began.<sup>201</sup>

##### 5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 22*)

During the reign of Tiberius Caesar the generals of the Romans invaded Albania, took hostages from the Sabirs, Alans<sup>202</sup> and other tribes, and came to Byzantium.<sup>203</sup> When the envoys of the Alans and Sabirs who had surrendered arrived at Byzantium, the Caesar received them in an appropriate and kindly manner and he asked them how much money the Persian king gave to them. Although he gave them the opportunity to hide the truth by their exaggerations and by lying to inflate the amount as much as they wished, he said, "I shall give double this amount, both to your leaders and to yourselves." At this the barbarians were overjoyed and appeared to give thanks to God that they had become subjects of the Romans. They reported<sup>204</sup> that the Sabirs had revolted shortly afterwards and, taking no account of their hostages, had joined the Persians. The Caesar, therefore, again met with the envoys and said what was appropriate: that he would be most generous to those who came over

προσχωροῦντας αὐτῷ ἔκοντι μάλα εὐεργετήσιν, τοὺς δέ γε οὐ βουλομένους καὶ ἄκοντας ἔξιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα βία καὶ δυνάμει.

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 13)

Ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ στέλλει Θεόδωρον τὸν Βάκχου πρεσβευσόμενον ὡς βασιλέα Περσῶν, τῷ δοκεῖν μὲν ὁμολογήσοντα χάριτας ἀνθ' ὧν τὸν μέγιστον Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε Τραιανόν, ἠνίκα ἔναγχός γε δήπου τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο πρεσβείαν, ἔκπαλαι τὸ τοιόνδε νομισθὲν ὡς 5 ἀμφοτέρας πολιτείας, ὥστε μετὰ τοὺς μεγάλους πρέσβεις στέλλεσθαι ἐτέρους ἥσσανας τῆς τῶν μεγίστων πρέσβειων ἀποδοχῆς τε ἕκατι καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. ἅμα δὲ ἐνετείλατό οἱ διαλεχθῆναι ὡς ἐτοιμότατα ἔχοι κατὰ τὸ ἤδη ἐμπεδωθὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς ἔω 10 στεῖλαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντας γνωματεύσοντας ξὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπεμφθησομένοις ἡγεμόσι Περσῶν ἀμφὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ ἀμφίβολα διευκρινήσοντας.

Θεόδωρον μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενον βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν καταλέλοιπεν ἐν τῷ Δάρας τῇ πόλει τοὺς τε τὸν ἄνδρα ἄξοντας, ἐγκελευσάμενος, ἔνθα ἂν μάθοιεν τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, ἐπικατα- 15 λαβεῖν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰ εἰθισμένα ἐπὶ πρεσβευτῇ πράσσω ἀναβολῇ χρήσοιτό τι. ἅμα γὰρ ἠβούλετο καὶ πολέμοις ὀμιλεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν πρεσβείαν· ταύτη γὰρ ἐκφοβήσιν ᾤετο ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους. τῷ τοι ἄρα τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν διανύσας διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου Ἄρρεστῶν κλίματος καὶ τοῦ Μαρεπτικῶν ἀφίκετο ἐν 20 Περσαρμενία, οὐκ οἰομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὕτω γε δήπου θᾶπτον ἤξειν αὐτόν. εἰωθότων γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀμφὶ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Αὐγούστου κληρωσαμένου μηνὸς ἀναφαίνεσθαι κατὰ δὴ τῆς Περσῶν 25 Ἄρμενίας καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὸν πόλεμον συγκροτεῖν, προτερήσας αὐτὸς εἰσήρρησεν αὐτόθι. ξυνηνέχθη τοιγαροῦν ἅπαξ προκατειλημμένους καὶ ἐφυστερήσαντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν σφᾶς διαπράξασθαι ἐν καιρῷ. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ στράτευμα ξυνήθροιστο τὸ Ῥωμαϊκόν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν περὶ Κοῦρ- 30 σον καὶ Θεόδωρον τοὺς <στρατηγούς> στρατιῶται, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ἀπήγγελλον ὡς νεμεσᾶ τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι δὴ

15 ἐγκελευσάμενος Bekker [ἐγκαλεσάμενος codd. 27 ἐφυστερήσαντας Niebuhr (ex ἐφ' ὑστερήσαντας E) C [ὑφυστερήσαντας X ἀφυστερήσαντες Dindorf ἐφυστερήσαντας de Boor 30 <στρατηγούς> στρατιῶται de Boor [στρατιώτας codd. στρατηγούς Bekker 31 ἀπήγγελλον [ἀπήγγελο Bekker

to him willingly, but those who were unwilling he would subdue by force of arms.

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 13)

The Caesar Tiberius sent Theodorus the son of Bacchus as envoy to the Persian king.<sup>205</sup> His apparent purpose was to render thanks for the high honours lavished upon the major Roman envoy, Trajan, when, shortly before, the king had received his embassy. (It was a long-standing custom for both states that after major envoys other lesser ones should be sent to give thanks for the receipt and friendly treatment of the major envoys.) At the same time Theodorus was told to declare that Tiberius was very ready, as they had already agreed, to send to the frontier of the East high Roman officials to discuss peace with leading men of the Persians sent by Khosro and to examine the points at dispute.

When Theodorus arrived at the border, the Persian king had left men at the city of Daras to escort him, in order that he encounter no delay while performing his ambassadorial office. He wished at the same time to take part in the campaign and to receive the envoy. For by this means he thought to terrify the Romans greatly. Khosro, therefore, marched through the regions named for the Arresti and the Mareptici and came to Persarmenia.<sup>206</sup> The Romans did not expect him to arrive so quickly, since it had previously been the practice of the Persians to appear in Persian Armenia around the end of the month named August and then to open hostilities. Now Khosro came there earlier. The result of this was that once the Romans had been taken by surprise and had reacted late, they were unable to do anything in time for the whole year.

The Roman army had not yet been mustered. The forces with the generals Kurs and Theodorus had been told by the generals that the Caesar was vexed and angry because, when they had invaded

ἐσβαλόντες ἐν Ἀλβανία μὴ ἀνέστησαν ἀπαξάπαντας Σαβείρους  
 τε καὶ Ἀλβανούς, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὀμήροις πεποιθότες ἐξεχώρησαν,  
 κατεγνώκότες τε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πείρας, τῷ ἀφηνιάσαι αὐτίκα ἀπὸ  
 Ῥωμαίων τὸν Σαβεῖρα, ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὸ δέον ἐπεπράχεσαν, 35  
 παρώφθη τε ὑπὸ σφῶν τὸ συνοῖσον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ἐκ μετα-  
 μελείας αὐθις ἐλάσαντες ἐν Ἀλβανία <εἰς> πρεσβείας ἦγον  
 τοὺς Σαβείρους τε καὶ Ἀλβανούς, πανοικία σφᾶς μετοικίζοντες  
 ἐς τὰ τῆδε τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ, ὡς λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ  
 διαιτᾶσθαι χώρα. ἔτι οὖν Θεόδωρός τε καὶ Κούρς ἐν τούτοις 40  
 ἐνησχολημένοι ἐτύγγανον. εἶτα ἐγκελευσαμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος  
 Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸν μεταφοιτῆσαι καὶ ἐν  
 Ἀρμενία γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἠγησόμενον τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲν ἤττον  
 καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐπὼ παρῆν τῷ σημῆναι τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὸν  
 Καίσαρα ὁψὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσασθαι, πρὸς 45  
 γε καὶ τῆς συνήθους διανομῆς τοῦ χρυσίου τοῖς ἐφοῖς κατα-  
 λόγοις γεγενημένης οὐκ ἐπικαίρως, ἀλλὰ δῆτα ἐφυστερησάσης.  
 ἐπ' ἀδείας οὖν οὕτω πως καὶ ἀκονιτι ἐλάσαντος ἐν Περσαρμενία  
 Χοσρόου, μηδενός οἱ ἀντικαθισταμένου, οἱ μὲν δασμοφόροι τῆς  
 ἤττονος Ἀρμενίας οὔτε ἐχρήσαντο φυγῇ ἐκλελοιπότες τοὺς 50  
 ἀγροὺς οἶγε, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια ξυνεκόμιζον τῷ  
 στρατῷ. προβαίνοντι δὲ Χοσρόη ἀνὰ τὰ πρόσω οἱ ἐν τῷ κλίματι  
 Μακραβανδὸν καὶ Ταραννῶν ἠκιστα ἔμμενον, ὡς μηδένα πάμπαν  
 μήτε ἄνθρωπον μήτε μὴν ὑποζύγιόν τι ὀφθῆναι. ἄτε γὰρ  
 πολεμίου βασιλέως ἐπελθόντος ἀπέδρασε πᾶν τὸ γεηπονοῦν, 55  
 καὶ πάντη τὰ ἐκείνη ἐχῆρευεν ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρᾶσαι  
 βουλόμενον μηδὲν τι τῶν πάντων ζώων <ἦν> ἐντυχεῖν.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Βάκχου ἐφοίτησεν ὡς αὐτόν,  
 ἐδέξατό τε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ξυνόμιλός οἱ ἐγένετο ἡμερώτατά πως,  
 τὸν μὲν Καίσαρα δι' εὐφημίας ἄγων φάσκων τε ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν 60  
 ὡς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνην (μηδὲ γὰρ γεγονέναι τῆς  
 ἔχθρας <καὶ λύσεως> τῶν σπονδῶν αἴτιον)· Ἰουστίνον <δὲ>  
 τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τοῦναντίον λέγων κακῶς. εἶτα ἐς τὰ πρόσω  
 ἦλαυνε διὰ τῆς καλουμένης Βασιανῆς, ἐπομένου οἱ καὶ  
 Θεοδώρου· ἐσβάλλει τε ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἀρμενίαν κατὰ Θεο- 65  
 δοσιούπολιν, λήγοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔαρος· ὥστε κατὰ ταῦτόν

32 ἐσβαλόντες [ἐμβαλόντες C ἀπαξάπαντας Suda A2330, A2906 et Σ10 [ἀπαντας codd.  
 37 εἰς addidi [πρεσβείας uncis incl. Müller πρὸς βίαν ἦγον vel βία προσῆγον de Boor  
 41 ἐγκελευσαμένου Dindorf [ἐγκαλεσαμένου codd. 47 ἐφυστερησάσης [ἐφυστερησάσης  
 de Boor ἀφυστερησάσης Dindorf 49 ἀντικαθισταμένου [ἀντικαθεσταμένου X 54 τι [τε X  
 56 θηρᾶσαι E [γηρᾶσαι X edd. ἀγοράσαι βουλομένων Müller 57 ἦν add. Müller 59 πως  
 iterum post ἐγένετο X 62 καὶ λύσεως add. Dindorf [λύσεως pro ἐχθρας scripsit Niebuhr δὲ  
 add. Bekker 66 λήγοντος C Hoeschel [λέγοντος rel. codd. κατὰ ταῦτόν Bekker [κατ'  
 αὐτόν codd.

Albania, they had not removed all the Sabirs and Albani together but had withdrawn trusting to their hostages.<sup>207</sup> They had learned from this experience (because the Sabirs had immediately revolted from the Romans) that they had acted inappropriately and not to advantage. Therefore, regretting their action, of course, they again invaded Albania, compelled the Sabirs and Albani to treat with them, and transplanted the whole population to our side of the river Cyrus, so that in the future they would be living on Roman territory.<sup>208</sup> Theodorus and Kurs were still busy with these operations. Furthermore, although the Caesar had ordered the general of the East, Justinian, to leave and go to Armenia to take command of the war, because the Caesar had only recently given this order to him Justinian had not yet arrived and did not take control of affairs in time.<sup>209</sup> In addition, the regular payment of gold for the eastern legions did not arrive on schedule, but was late.

Therefore, since no one opposed him, Khosro invaded Persarmenia in complete security and without a struggle. The peasantry of lesser Armenia did not take to flight and abandon their fields, but even brought what supplies they had to the army. When Khosro advanced further, the peasants of the regions of Makrabandon and the Taranni did not remain, so that nothing, neither man nor animal, was to be seen.<sup>210</sup> For when the enemy king was approaching, all the farmers fled and the whole area was emptied of its population. Even when Khosro wished to hunt, he could find no game at all.

Meanwhile, Theodorus the son of Bacchus reached Khosro, who received him and conversed with him in a very affable manner. He spoke well of the Caesar and said that he wanted peace and friendship with him (for he was not the cause of the hostility and the breaking of the treaty). In contrast, he was critical of the Emperor Justin. Then, with Theodorus accompanying him, he advanced through the region called Bassiane and at the end of spring he attacked Roman Armenia towards Theodosiopolis.<sup>211</sup> The result was that messengers sent to report that the Persian king had unexpectedly

ξυνενεχθῆναι τούς τε ἀγγελιαφόρους ἀφικέσθαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
 τοὺς δηλώσοντας, ὡς ἀπροσδόκητα ἐπέστη τῇ Ῥωμαίων Ἀρ-  
 μενία βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν καὶ ὅσον οὐπω προσενεχθήσεται  
 Θεοδοσιούπολι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε παρεῖναι.

70

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐς τὸ Ἀρα-  
 βησσῶν ἐπικεκλημένον χωρίον ἀμφὶ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τοῦ  
 ἄστεος, τὸ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα αὐτό γε δήπου τὸ  
 συναθροισθὲν ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον περὶ τὸ κλίμα τὸ καλούμενον  
 Συναγόμενον, ἐς ὑπώρειάν τινα ὄρους. ἀτὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης αὐτοῦ  
 που περὶ Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπ' ὄψεσι Θεοδώρου ἐξέταττε τὰς  
 ἰππικὰς δυνάμεις ἐς λόχους τε καὶ φάλαγγας διακρίνων τε καὶ  
 μετακοσμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον διελαύνων ἐνδεικνύμενος ἦν,  
 οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τινός, ὡς ἔτι ἔρρωται αὐτῷ καὶ σφριγᾶ τὸ  
 σῶμα. διενοιεῖτο δὲ πως Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐκπολιορκῆσαι· ἔν-  
 νοια γὰρ οἱ ἐσεφοίτησε μὴ οἶόν τε ἔσεσθαι ἂν ἄλλως τὴν  
 Περσῶν Ἀρμενίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ μὴ πω ὀχυ-  
 ρωτάτην ἐσὸτι Ῥωμαίων χειρώσοιτο πόλιν ἐκεῖσέ τε καθεδού-  
 μενος ἀνασώσεται τὴν ἐς τοῦπίσω λοιπὸν ἐγκαταλελειμμένην  
 Περσαρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. τοιγαροῦν ἀναμφιβόλως εἶχε  
 Θεοδοσιούπολιν αἰρήσειν. ὥστε ὑποφαίνων τε καὶ αἰνιττόμενος  
 ὡς ἀλώσεται γε αὐτῷ πάντως ἢ πόλις, ἤρητο Θεόδωρον ὁποῖα δὴ  
 κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀνάλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλις, τὸ Δάρας ἢ δῆτα ἢ  
 Θεοδοσιούπολις· ὡς, εἴ γε οὕτως ἀσφαλεστάτην (ἐδήλου δὲ τὸ  
 Δάρας) ἐξεῖλε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν οὐχ οὕτως ἰσχυρὰν παραστή-  
 σοιτο Θεοδοσιούπολιν; Θεόδωρος μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο ἐμφο-  
 νέστατά πως, ἀνάλωτον εἶναι ἐκείνην φήσας τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐς  
 ἀεὶ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, πρὶν ἢ  
 Θεόδωρον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀφεθῆναι, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀγχοῦ Θεοδοσιου-  
 πόλεως, κατενόησε τὴν πόλιν εὖ μάλα καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐς τὰ  
 πολέμια παρασκευασμένην.

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Καὶ τινων μεταξὺ γενομένων ἀφήσι βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν  
 Θεόδωρον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐλευσόμενον, ἐν γράμμασι μὲν κατά-  
 δηλον ποιήσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὡς ἦδεται καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ εἰρήνῃ, καὶ  
 ὡς, εἰ πρὶν ἐκστρατεύοι ἀφίκετο Θεόδωρος, οὐδὲ ἐξετάξατο ἂν  
 αὐτὸς οὐδέ γε ἐκίνησε τὰς δυνάμεις. νῦν δὲ ἀκλεῆς αὐτῷ εἶναι  
 δοκεῖ ἐκστρατευσασμένῳ ἤδη διαλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα· τοὺς γὰρ  
 ἀνθρώπους ἢ τοῦ κερδαλέου γε ἕκατι ἢ δόξης ὀρεγομένους  
 ἅπαντα πράσσειν. ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ ὡς ἀπονοστήσας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα

100

attacked Roman Armenia and was almost at Theodosiopolis, arrived at Byzantium at the same time as the king himself arrived at Theodosiopolis.

When Khosro arrived there he encamped to the south of the city in a region called for the Arabessi, while the Roman army, such as had been mustered, was encamped at the foot of a mountain to the north of the city in a region called 'The Narrows'.<sup>212</sup> Then by Theodosiopolis, as Theodorus watched, Khosro drew up his cavalry, arranging it in order by squadrons and phalanxes, and, pretending that he had no particular motive, he himself appeared on horseback as if his body were still in full health and strength. He was planning how he might capture Theodosiopolis, since he realised that he could not regain Persian Armenia and Iberia unless he took possession of the strongest of the Roman cities and, establishing himself there, protected Persarmenia and Iberia in its rear. For this reason he was determined to take Theodosiopolis and, as an implicit declaration that the city would certainly fall to him, he asked Theodorus which city, Daras or Theodosiopolis, seemed to him to be the more difficult to take. (That is to say, if he had taken such an impregnable city – meaning Daras –, how much more easily would he take the weaker Theodosiopolis.) Theodorus, however, made a very clever reply, saying that Theodosiopolis was impregnable because it was forever defended by God. Before he dismissed Theodorus, the Persian king, when he came close to Theodosiopolis, realised that the city really was very well prepared for war.<sup>213</sup>

After some intervening incidents the Persian king sent Theodorus away to return to Byzantium, dispatching a letter to the Caesar to the effect that he too wanted peace and, if Theodorus had arrived before he set out, he would not have drawn up his forces nor would he have ordered them to march. But now that he had set out on campaign he thought it disgraceful to disband his army, since the men did everything either for gain or out of hope of glory. He said, however, that when he returned home he would send to the border of

ἐκπέμψοι τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους αὐτῷ ἄρχοντας ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς ἕω 105  
 διαλεχθησομένους τε καὶ διαθήσοντας τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἅμα  
 τοῖς ἐκπεμφθησομένοις Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 ἐσήμανε τῷ Καίσαρι. ἐκλιπαροῦντος δὲ αὐτὸν Θεοδώρου ὥστε  
 ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εἰσβολὴν, ἔδοξεν ἐπινεύειν, εἴ γε ἄχρι λ' ἡμερῶν  
 ἀγγελία φοιτήσοι ὡς αὐτὸν σταλεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰ 110  
 δέοντα βουλευσαμένου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θεόδωρον ἀφῆκεν, ὡς ἔγνω  
 μήτε ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν οἶόν τε ὄν αὐτῷ ἐξελεῖν,  
 μήτε γε μὴν πολιορκία τε καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἔσεσθαι οἱ ἐς τὸ  
 λυσιτελεῖς ἀποπειραθῆναι τοῦ τείχους (ξυνελεύσεσθαι γὰρ ἐν  
 τοσοῦτῳ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς δυνάμεις) καὶ δὴ ἀφῆκε τὴν Θεοδοσιού- 115  
 πολιν.

(Suda X123 = vv.1-4, E1267 = vv.25-26, A2330, A2906 et Σ10 =  
 vv.31-33, E1676 = vv.111-12)

112 ὄν Niebuhr [ὄντα codd. om. Suda E1676 114 ξυνελεύσεσθαι Cantoclar [ξυνελέσθαι  
 codd.

## 19

Πρεσβεία ἐκ τοῦ ὀγδόου λόγου Μενάνδρου

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 14)

Ὅτι περὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας,  
 μικρῷ πρότερον ἢ τάδε ξυνενεχθῆναι τὰ περὶ Χοσρόην, πρεσ-  
 βεία ἐστάλη αὐθις ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὡς Τούρκους, Οὐαλεντίνου ἐς  
 τοῦτο χειροτονηθέντος· εἰς δὲ οὗτος τῶν βασιλείων ξιφηφόρων.  
 καὶ οὖν ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐπετέθη ἡ πρᾶξις, ἄρας ᾗχετο σὺν τοῖς κατ' 5  
 αὐτὸν ὀπαδοῖς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ Τούρκοις ῥ' πρὸς τοῖς ἕξ.  
 ἐνεδήμουν γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα Τοῦρκοι κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤδη ἐκ  
 πολλοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ σφετέρου ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι ἐκπεμφθέντες ἔθρους.  
 ἐνίους μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν Ἀναγκάστης ἐνταῦθα ἐπεκόμισεν ἐς  
 πρεσβείαν ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος, τινὲς δὲ ἅμα Εὐτυχίῳ τὴν ἄφιξιν 10  
 ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτύγχανον κατὰ  
 τὸ Βυζάντιον διατρίβοντες μετ' αὐτοῦ δῆτα Οὐαλεντίνου πρό-  
 τερον ἀφιγμένοι (δὶς γὰρ Οὐαλεντίνος ἐπρεσβεύσατο ὡς Τούρ-  
 κους), ἄλλοι δὲ σὺν Ἡρωδιανῷ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἅμα Παύλῳ τῷ  
 Κίλικι, ὡς ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων ξυναθροισθῆναι Σκύθας ἄνδρας 15  
 ἐκ τοῦ φύλου τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων Τούρκων ἐξ πρὸς τοῖς ῥ'· οὓς δὴ  
 ἅπαντας ἀναλαβὼν Οὐαλεντίνος ἀπῆρε τοῦ βασιλείου ἄστεος.

Χρησάμενος δὲ ταῖς ταχυπλόοις τῶν ὀλκάδων διὰ τε



the East officials who were close to him to discuss and settle details of the peace with leading men sent by the Romans. This was his message to the Caesar. When Theodorus begged him to abandon the assault, Khosro decided to agree providing that within thirty days a message came to him from the Caesar with the necessary proposals.<sup>214</sup> When Theodorus had departed, Khosro, since he realised that he could neither take the city by storm nor would it profit him to besiege it and to attempt the wall with his engines (for in the meantime the Roman forces would have gathered), withdrew from Theodosiopolis.

## 19

### Book 8

#### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 14)

In the second year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar,<sup>215</sup> shortly before the above transactions with Khosro took place, another embassy was sent from the Romans to the Turks. Its leader was Valentinus, who was one of the imperial bodyguard.<sup>216</sup> When he was given this assignment, he set out on his journey with his attendants and, in addition, one hundred and six Turks. At that time Turks, who had been sent by their various tribes on various occasions, had been in Byzantium for a long while. Some Anankhast, when he had come to Byzantium on an embassy, had brought there with him;<sup>217</sup> some had come to the capital with Euty chius; others staying there had arrived with Valentinus himself on an earlier occasion (for he went twice as envoy to the Turks); and still others had come with Herodian and with Paul the Cilician. From all of these embassies there had collected at Byzantium one hundred and six Scythians of the people called the Turks, and Valentinus took them all with him when he set out from the capital.<sup>218</sup>

Taking fast merchant ships he travelled via Sinope and

Σινώπης καὶ Χερσῶνος, ἢ ἐς τὴν ἀντικρὺ ἠϊόνα τοῦ ἡλίου  
 ἀνατολῶν πέφυκεν ἰδρυμένη, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄπατούρας, ἔτι τε 20  
 καὶ διὰ Φούλων, κατὰ δὴ τὸ ψαμαθῶδες τῆς . . . παρέθει τὰ ὄρη  
 τῆς Ταυρικῆς τὰ νεύοντα ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν. ἐκεῖνα δὴ οὖν τὰ ἐκ  
 τῶν λιμναίων ὑδάτων περιθεόμενα πεδία οἷ γε ἀμφὶ Οὐαλεντῖνον  
 ἵπασάμενοι καὶ ἑτέρους δὲ πλείστους δονακῶδεις τε καὶ  
 λοχμῶδεις ἔτι τε καὶ ὑδατῶδεις διεληλυθότες χώρους, οὐ μὴν 25  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀκκάγας (ὄνομα δὲ γυναικὸς  
 ἀρχούσης τῶν ἀνὰ τὰ ἐκείνη Σκυθῶν χειροτονηθείσης τηνι-  
 καῦτα ἐς τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἄγαναίου, ὃς ἐκράτει τοῦ φύλου τῶν  
 Οὐτιγούρων), ὡς δὲ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, πολλαῖς ἀτραποῖς ὁμιλή-  
 σαντες καὶ δυσχωρίαις παρεγένοντο ἔνθα τὰ πολεμικὰ σύμβολα 30  
 τοῦ Τουρξάνθου ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα· οὗτος δὲ εἰς τῶν παρὰ Τούρ-  
 κοῖς ἡγεμόνων. ἐν ὀκτῶ γὰρ μοίραις διεδάσαντο τὰ ἐκείνη  
 ἅπαντα, οἷς γε τοῦ φύλου τῶν Τούρκων ἔλαχε προεστάναι·  
 Ἄρσίλας δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παλαιτέρῳ μονάρχῳ Τούρκων.

Ὁ γοῦν Οὐαλεντῖνος παρὰ τὸν Τούρξανθον ἀφικόμενος, ὃς 35  
 πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὑπαντιάζων ἐτύγχανε τοῖς ἐκεῖσε  
 παραγενομένοις, εἶτα συνησθῆναι φράσας τῷ Καίσαρι Ῥω-  
 μαίων (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀφῖκτο ἐκεῖσε προσφθεγξόμενος τοὺς  
 προεστῶτας τοῦ φύλου τῶν Τούρκων, Τιβερίου ἤδη ἐς τὸ τῶν  
 Καισάρων ἀναβεβηκότος κράτος), πρὸς τοῖς καὶ ὡς ἂν ἢ 40  
 φιλοφροσύνη οὐχ ἦττον ἐν βεβαίῳ ἔσοιτο καὶ αἰ μεταξὺ  
 Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Τούρκων προελθοῦσαι σπονδαί, ἃς ἔθεντο  
 Σιλζιβουλός τε καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ζημάρχου πρώτου  
 ἐκεῖσε φοιτήσαντος, ἠνίκα ἐσήμανεν ὁ Σιλζίβουλος ὡς ὁ  
 Ῥωμαίων φίλος οὐχ ἦττον καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος καὶ ὁ δυσμενῆς 45  
 ὁμοίως, καὶ ὅπως τὰ τοιάδε ἄτρωτά τε καὶ ἀπαράσπαστα μένοι.  
 τῷ τοι ἄρα ἐπειδὴ τηνικαῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι Πέρσαις ἐπολέμουν, ἐπὶ  
 τῇ προσρήσει ἔφη Οὐαλεντῖνος δέον εἶναι ἐν καιρῷ καὶ αὐτὸν  
 ἐπιθέσθαι Πέρσαις.

Ταῦτα πρεσβεύοντος αὐτίκα ὁ Τούρξανθος· ἄρα οὖν οὐχὶ 50  
 ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, οὗτοι ἐκεῖνοί ἐστε Ῥωμαῖοι, δέκα μὲν γλώτταις, μιᾷ

19 ἢ ἐς τὴν ἀντικρὺ ἠϊόνα de Boor [ἢ ἐστιν ἀντικρὺ ἢ ἰόνα codd. Ἡϊόνος con. Hoeschel ἢ ἐστιν ἀντικρὺ Ἡϊών, ἣτις ἐπὶ τῶν Müller ἢ ἐστιν ἀντικρὺ Σινώπης <καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰστρου στομάτων πρὸς τῶν ἰσημερινῶν> Niebuhr 20 Ἄπατούρας [Εὐπατορίας? (vid. n.219 ad trans.) 21 Φούλων de Boor {φύλων codd. τὸ Hoeschel [τῆς codd. post ψαμαθῶδες τῆς lac. indicant codd. [Ματώτιδος Λίμνης in lac.? (vid. not. cit.) 23 οἷ post οἷ γε add. E καὶ add. P 29 Οὐτιγούρων Niebuhr [Οὐτιγούρων BE Ἰουτιγούρων MP 31 Τουρξάνθου Niebuhr [Τουρξάθου X Τουρζάθου EC (Τουρξάνθου in mg.) 42 ἔθεντο [ἔθετο X edd. 45 δυσμενῆς [δυσμενῆς δυσμενῆς de Boor 46 τοιάδε [τοιαῦτα C ἀπαράσπαστα [ἀπερίσπαστα edd. 47 Πέρσαις Suda Π2799 et Σ413 [Πέρσας codd. 50 Τούρξανθος [Τουρξάθος C 51 γλώτταις edd. [γλώττας (-σας) codd.

Cherson (which is situated on the western coast [of the Crimea]) and by Apatura and Phouloi, and crossing the sands of . . . , he passed the mountains of Taurice which stretched out to the south.<sup>219</sup> Valentinus and his companions rode across those plains covered with marsh water, crossed tracts of reeds, shrubs and swamp, and passed through the region called Akkagas, which is the name of the woman who rules the Scythians there, having been appointed at that time by Anagai, chief of the tribe of the Utigurs.<sup>220</sup> In short, they travelled by many roads and difficult ways and came to the war camp of Turxanthus, who was one of the leaders of the Turks.<sup>221</sup> The ruler of the Turkish people had divided up all the land there into eight parts. The senior ruler of the Turks was named Arsilas.<sup>222</sup>

When Valentinus came before Turxanthus, who was the first of the leaders whom those travelling there met, he bade him rejoice with the Caesar of the Romans (for he had come there to address the leaders of the Turkish people when Tiberius had been elevated to the rank of Caesar). He also asked that they reconfirm just as strongly the friendship and the earlier treaty between the Romans and the Turks, which Silzibul and the Emperor Justin had made when Zemarchus first came there. On that occasion Silzibul had declared that the friend of the Romans was his friend and their enemy his enemy and that this should be unbreakable and inviolable. Therefore, said Valentinus in his address, since at this time the Romans were at war with the Persians, Turxanthus, too, should attack the Persians at the right time.

When the envoy had made his speech, Turxanthus said, "Are you not those very Romans who use ten tongues and lie with all of

δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπάτη; καὶ ἅμα λέγων ἐπέβυσε τοῖς δέκα δακτύλοις  
 τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. εἶτα ἔλεξεν αὐθις· ὥσπερ νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' ἐμὲ  
 στόματι δάκτυλοί εἰσι δέκα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι 55  
 πλείοσι κέχρησθε γλώσσαις· καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐμὲ ἀπατᾶτε, τῇ δὲ  
 ἄλλη τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνδράποδα τοὺς Οὐαρχωνίτας· καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ῥημάτων τε ποικιλία καὶ τῷ δολερῷ τῆς διανοίας  
 εἰρωνευόμενοί τε καὶ ὑποθωπεύοντες αὐτὰ μὲν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ  
 κεφαλὴν ὡσθέντα τῇ βλάβῃ περιφρονεῖτε, ὑμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ 60  
 λυσιτελὲς ἐκπορίζετε. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἡμφι-  
 εσμένοι τὸ ψεῦδος ἤκετε ὡς ἐμέ, καὶ ὁ στείλας ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἠκιστα  
 πέφυκεν ἀπατεῶν. καὶ ὑμᾶς μὲν διαχειρίσομαι παραχρῆμα καὶ  
 οὐκ ἐς ἀναβολήν· ὀθνεῖον γάρ τι καὶ ἔκφυλον ψεύδεσθαι  
 Τούρκῳ ἀνδρὶ. ὁ δὲ καθ' ὑμᾶς βασιλεὺς ἐκτίσει μοι δίκας ἐν 65  
 δέοντι, ἐμοὶ μὲν φιλίας ἐχόμενα διαλεγόμενος, τοῖς δὲ δὴ  
 Οὐαρχωνίταις τοῖς ἡμετέροις δούλοις (ἐδήλου δὲ τοὺς Ἀβά-  
 ρους) ἀποδράσασι τοὺς δεσπότης γενόμενος ἔνσπονδος. οἱ μὲν  
 Οὐαρχωνῖται, ἅτε κατήκοοι Τούρκων, ἡνίκα βούλομαι, ὡς ἐμὲ  
 ἤξουσι καί, εἴ γε τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ ἰπείαν ἐσαθρήσουσι μάλιστα ὡς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκπεμφθεῖσαν, ἐς τὰ κατώτατα φεύζονται τῆς γῆς· 70  
 ἀντιβλέποντες δὲ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ φονευθήσονται ξίφεσι,  
 μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ταῖς ὀπλαῖς καταπατηθήσονται τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 ἵππων καὶ δίκην ἀπολοῦνται μυρμηκῶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν  
 Οὐαρχωνιτῶν ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐν βεβαίῳ.

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τί δῆτα ἄρα τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ πρέσβεις 75  
 διὰ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὁδοιποροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἄγετε, ὡς  
 ἐμὲ φάσκοντες μὴ εἶναι ἐτέραν ἀτραπόν, δι' ἧς αὐτοῖς ἔσται ἡ  
 πορεία; ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιτελεῖτε, ὡς ἀπέποιμι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας  
 ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεῖα. πλὴν ἔγωγε ἐξεπίσταμαι  
 μάλα ἀκριβῶς ὅποι τε ὁ Δάναπρις ποταμός, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ 80  
 Ἴστρος ἔνθα καταρρεῖ καὶ ἵνα ὁ Ἐβρος, ὀπόθεν τε ἐπεραιώ-  
 θησαν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τὸ ἡμέτερον δουλικὸν οἱ Οὐαρχωνῖται.  
 οὐκ ἄγνωῶ τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς δύναμιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὑποκέκλιται πᾶσα ἡ  
 γῆ, ἀρχομένη μὲν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου πρώτων ἀκτίνων, κατα-  
 λήγουσα δὲ ἐς τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἐσπέρας. ἐσαθρήσατε, ὦ δεῖλαιοι, 85  
 τὰ Ἀλανικὰ ἔθνη, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ φύλα τῶν Οὐνιγούρων, οἳ γε  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ θαρραλέοι τέτινες ὄντες καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ πίσυνοι δυνάμει  
 ἀντετάξαντο μὲν τῷ ἀκαταμαχίτῳ των Τούρκων, οὐκ ἀπώναντο

them?" As he spoke he placed his ten fingers in his mouth. Then he continued, "As now there are ten fingers in my mouth, so you Romans have used many tongues. Sometimes you deceive me, sometimes my slaves, the Uarkhonitai. In a word, having flattered and deluded all the tribes with your various speeches and your treacherous designs, when harm descends upon their heads you abandon them and take all the benefits for yourselves. You envoys come to me dressed with lies, and he who has sent you deceives me equally. I shall kill you immediately and without delay. To lie is foreign and alien to a Turk. And your Emperor shall pay me due penalty, for he has spoken words of friendship to me while making a treaty with the Uarkhonitai, our slaves (he meant the Avars) who have fled their masters. When I wish it, the Uarkhonitai shall come to me as subjects of the Turks. If they as much as see my horsewhip sent to them, they will flee to the lowest reaches of the earth. If they face me, they shall perish, as is proper, not by the sword but trampled under the hooves of our horses, like ants. For the Uarkhonitai, this you can be sure of.<sup>223</sup>

"As for you, Romans, why do you take my envoys through the Caucasus to Byzantium, alleging that there is no other route for them to travel? You do this so that I might be deterred from attacking the Roman Empire by the difficult terrain. But I know very well where the river Danapris flows, and the Danube and the Hebrus, and from where our slaves, the Uarkhonitai, crossed into Roman territory.<sup>224</sup> I know your strength. For the whole world is open to me from the farthest East to the very western edge. Consider, wretches, the Alan nation and also the tribe of the Unigurs.<sup>225</sup> Full of confidence and trusting in their own strength they faced the invincible might of the

δὲ τῶν ἐλπίδων. ταύτη τοι καὶ ὑπακούουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν μοίρα  
καθεστήκασι δούλου.

90

Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν τῷ Τουρξάνθῳ ἐκεκόμπαστο· ὑπαγόρας  
γάρ τις ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀλαζονεῖα χαίρων. ὁ δὲ Οὐαλεντίνος ἀκηκοὼς  
ἔλεξεν ὧδε· εἰ μὴ χαλεπώτατόν πως καὶ ἀνιαρόν ὑπῆρχεν, ὃ  
Τούρκων ἡγεμών, καὶ παντὸς ὀλεθριώτερον θανάτου τὸ τεθ-  
νάσαι ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ σοῦ, ζῶσαν δὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν  
κακηγορίαν περινοστεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ μὴ πώποτε πραχθέν,  
καινοτομούμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ, τῇ πράξει τὴν μαρτυρίαν διασαφη-  
νίζεις ἔμελλεν ὡς ἀπέκτεινας ἄνδρας πρέσβεις, καὶ τὸ τῇ ἀκοῇ  
καὶ μόνῃ φοβερόν ἔργῳ δειχθήσεται φοβερώτερον, εὐξαίμην ἂν  
τῷ κατὰ σὲ ξίφει τήμερον τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν  
ψευδολογία χαίρειν ἀκηκοὼς τὸν κατ' ἐμὲ βασιλέα, τοῦτο δὲ  
ψευδομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πρέσβεις. διὸ δὴ ἐκλιπαροῦμεν πραό-  
τερον ἡμῖν προσβλέψαι καὶ ὑποχαλᾶν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὸ λίαν  
ὀξύθυμον φιλανθρώπῳ καταμαλάττειν, ἔτι γε μὴν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν  
πρέσβεων πείθεσθαι νόμῳ. εἰρήνης γὰρ ἔσμεν ἐργάται καὶ  
πραγμάτων ὀσίων ταμίαι καθεστήκαμεν. ἄλλως τε δεῖ σὲ καὶ τῆς  
πατρώας κληρονομοῦντα γῆς τε καὶ τύχης καὶ τοὺς πατρώους  
διαδέχεσθαι φίλους καὶ ὡσπερ ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κτῆμα  
πατρῶον εἶναι, ὅποτε καὶ Σιλζίβουλος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς αὐθαίρετα  
προσδραμὼν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία, τὸ φιλορῶμαιος μᾶλλον ἢ  
φιλοπέρσης <εἶναι> ἠσπάσατο. μεμένηκε τοιγαροῦν ἡμῖν τὰ  
τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς πατρὸς ἄχρι καὶ νῦν ἄφθαρτά τε καὶ ἀσάλευτα, καὶ  
δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐχόμενοι φιλοφροσύνης διατελοῦμεν ἡμεῖς. οὐκ  
ἄλλως δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς, εὖ οἶδα, τῷ βεβαίῳ στήσεται·  
ὀρθότατα γὰρ διάνοια προσφερομένη πρὸς τὸν πέλας καὶ μὴ  
ἐκτραπεῖσα τοῦ πρέποντος οὐκ ἀγνωμονηθήσεται τῷ ἀδήλῳ τῆς  
ψυχῆς ἀνταλλάγματι.

95

100

105

110

115

Οὕτω δὲ Οὐαλεντίνου εἰρηκότος, ὁ Τούρξανθος ἔφη ὡς·  
δέον ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ἀφιγμένους, ὧς Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐν μεγίστῳ τε πένθει  
εὐρόντας ἐμέ (ἀρτιθανῆς γάρ μοι Σιλζίβουλος ὁ πατήρ), κατα-  
χαράττειν τὰ πρόσωπα ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐπομένους τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἰσχύοντι νόμῳ. καὶ δὴ αὐτίκα Οὐαλεντίνος  
καὶ ὅσοι γε αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν τοῖς αὐτῶν ξιφιδίοις διεχαρά-  
ξαντο τὰς σφᾶς αὐτῶν παρειάς. τότε δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πενθίμων  
ἡμέρα τέτταρας δοριαλώτους Οὔννους δεσμώτας ἀγαγὼν κατ-

125

89 ἡμῖν Niebuhr [ὑμῖν codd. 94 ἡγεμών [ἡγεμόν Bekker 103 τὸ Hoeschel [τῷ (τῶ) codd. 106 ταμίαι Valesius [ταμία E ταμεία X 111 εἶναι add. Niebuhr ἡμῖν [ὑμῖν edd. 112 ὑμᾶς [ἡμᾶς edd. 116 ἀδήλῳ E et Exc. de Sent. 30 [ἀδείλῳ X 117 ψυχῆς [τύχης Bekker 123 αὐτῶν Niebuhr [αὐτῶν codd. 123-24 διεχαράξαντο Niebuhr [διεχαράξαν τε codd.

Turks. But their hopes were dashed, and so they are our subjects and are numbered amongst our slaves.”

Thus bragged Turxanthus. For he was an arrogant man who loved to boast. When Valentinus heard this speech he said, “If, O leader of the Turks, it were not the most cruel, grievous and terrible death of all that we die at your hands, if the infamy would not live on and travel through all mankind, if this innovation of yours, never perpetrated before, would not in the doing provide the clear proof that you have killed men who are envoys, if an act, terrifying merely to speak of, would not appear more terrifying in deed – then today I should beg to meet death by your sword, since I have heard it said that my Emperor rejoices in deceit and his envoys are liars. We beg you, look more mildly upon us and abate your rage, temper your angry spirit with kindness and obey the law protecting envoys. We are agents of peace and ministers of what is holy. Furthermore, since you have inherited your father’s lands and his estate, you ought also to accept his friends and regard them, too, as a paternal possession. For your father Silzibul of his own volition took the side of our state and preferred to be a friend of the Romans than a friend of the Persians. Therefore, your father’s relations with us have remained unharmed and inviolate right to the present, and we ourselves maintain the same friendly feelings. I know well that your relationship will be equally firm. For the man who thinks most rightly, inclining towards the one close to him<sup>226</sup> and adhering to what is proper, does not act unfairly out of some obscure change of feeling.”<sup>227</sup>

When Valentinus had spoken thus, Turxanthus said, “Since, Romans, you have come here and found me in the greatest sorrow (for my father, Silzibul, is recently dead),<sup>228</sup> you must follow the custom which prevails amongst us for the dead and slash your faces with daggers.” Immediately Valentinus and his companions slashed their own cheeks with their own daggers.<sup>229</sup> Then, on one of the days of mourning Turxanthus brought for his departed father four bound

οιχομένῳ ἤδη τῷ πατρί (δόγια δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ γλώττῃ προσαγορεύουσι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι νόμιμα), τούτους δὴ οὖν τοὺς δειλαίους ἐς μέσον ἀγαγὼν ἅμα τοῖς πατρώοις ἵπποις τῇ βαρβάρῳ ἐνεκελεύετο φωνῇ ἐκεῖσε ἀπιούσιν ἀναγγεῖλαι Σιλζιβούλῳ τῷ πατρί, ὀπόσῃν αὐτῷ . . .

130

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τῆς πατρώας ταφῆς ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ Τούρξανθος, ἕτερα πλείστα ὅσα διαλεχθεὶς Οὐαλεντίνῳ εἶτα ἀφῆκεν ἐς τοὺς ἐνδοτέρῳ ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τούρκων, ἔτι τε καὶ ὡς τὸν αὐτοῦ ὄμαιμον τὸν λεγόμενον Τάρδου ποιούμενον τὰς διαίτας κατὰ δὴ τὸ Ἐκτέλ ὄρος· δύναται δὲ τὸ Ἐκτέλ χρυσοῦν. ἐκεῖσε τοίνυν κατὰ τὸ Ἐκτέλ ὄρος ἀπιόντος Οὐαλεντίνου, ἠπέιλησεν ὁ Τούρξανθος ἢ μὴν αὐτίκα ἐκπολιορκήσῃν τὴν Βόσπορον. ἀρξαμένων τοιγαροῦν . . . παραχρῆμα ὄγε σὺν πλείστη δυνάμει Τούρκων ἐξέπεμψε τὸν Βώχανον καθαιρήσοντα Βόσπορον, Ἀναγαίου ἤδη περὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε στρατοπεδευομένου σὺν ἑτέρᾳ δυνάμει Τούρκων.

135

140

(*Suda* Π2799 et Σ413 = vv.44-49, E208 = vv.57-58, O84 et E719 = vv.63-64, E659 = vv.64-65)

126 δόγια E [δόγια rel. codd. 129 ἀναγγεῖλαι [ἀναγγεῖλας E 130 ὀπόσῃν E [ὀπόσον M ὅπως ἦν Cantoclar 133 αὐτοῦ Niebuhr [αὐτοῦ codd. 137 ἢ Hoeschel [ἢ codd. 138 lacunam indicavi [corruptelam indicant edd. 140 Ἀναγαίου Hoeschel [Ανγαίου codd.

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 14)

Ὅτι ἐν ᾧ ἡ πόλις [καὶ] ὁ Βόσπορος ἦλῳ, οἱ πρέσβεις ἔτυχον παρὰ Τούρκους οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κάκ τούτου γέγονε δῆλον ὡς Τούρκοι ἐξεπολεμήθησαν Ῥωμαίοις. τῷ τοι ἄρα καὶ τοὺς σταλέντας, ἐν οἷς Οὐαλεντίνος ὑπῆρχε, κατέσχευεν ὁ Τούρξανθος ἐφουβρίζων τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποφενακίζων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κακῶς χρώμενος, εἶτα οὕτως ἀφῆκεν.

5

1 ὅτι om. E καὶ del. Niebuhr 2 Τούρκους [Τούρκοις Niebuhr 3 ἐξεπολεμήθησαν [ἐξεπολεμώθησαν Classen, de Boor

## 20

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 23)

Ὅτι τῶν στρατηγῶν δηούντων τὴν Περσῶν Ἀρμενίαν, ἐν τούτῳ παρεγένετο Ναδῶης, ἐς τὴν λεγομένην σμικρὰν χειροτονηθεὶς πρεσβείαν, πρὸς Χοσρόου ἐκπεμφθεὶς· ὃς τῆς διὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βάκχου πρεσβείας ἔδοξεν ἀμοιβαίαν ἀποκομίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου ἀγγελίαν, κυρίως δὲ ὡς ἐτοιμότατα ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς στεῖλαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας κατὰ δὴ τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἕω, ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ

5



Hunnic captives (they call the rites for the dead *dogia* in their own language) and, placing these wretched men in the middle with his father's horses, in his barbarian tongue he bade them go there and tell his father Silzibul how great to him . . . .<sup>230</sup>

When Turxanthus had completed his father's burial rites, he spoke with Valentinus many more times and then sent him off to the Turkish leaders of the interior, especially to his brother named Tardu,<sup>231</sup> who had his dwelling on mount Ektel (Ektel means 'Golden').<sup>232</sup>

When Valentinus was leaving for mount Ektel, Turxanthus swore that he would presently lay siege to Bosphorus.<sup>233</sup> Therefore, when . . . had<sup>234</sup> begun he immediately sent Bokhan<sup>235</sup> with a very large force to capture Bosphorus. For Anagai was already camped in the area with another force of Turks.<sup>236</sup>

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 14)

When the city of Bosphorus was taken,<sup>237</sup> the Roman envoys were close to the Turks.<sup>238</sup> From this it was clear that the Turks had been provoked to war with the Romans. Therefore, those who had been sent, amongst whom was Valentinus, were detained by Turxanthus, insulted, mocked and otherwise ill-treated, and then sent away.

## 20

### 1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 23)

While the generals were ravaging Persian Armenia, Nadoes arrived, who had been sent by Khosro on a so-called minor embassy.<sup>239</sup> He was apparently bringing a message from Khosro in response to the embassy of Theodorus the son of Bacchus,<sup>240</sup> but in reality he indicated that the Persian king himself was very ready to send high officials to the borders of the East to meet together with represen-

γενόμενοι τοῖς ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπεμφθησομένοις σκοπήσοιέν τε καὶ διασκέψοιντο ὅπως χρῆ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι, ἀνακρινόμενου τούτου πρώτου τίς ἄρα πολιτεία τῆς λύσεως τῶν πεντηκοντουτίδων σπονδῶν αἰτία ἐγένετο. ὣτινί γε δήπου ἐμφρονέστατά πως ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ τυγχάνοντι βασιλεῖ Περσῶν αὐτὸς ἔτι νέος ὢν καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας Χοσρόου παῖς καθεστῶς ἔτοιμος εἶη ἐφ' ὅπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἡγήσοιτο ἔπεσθαί οἱ, καί, εἴτε τὰ ξίφη βούλοιτο εἴτε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἀκολουθήσειν. 10 15

Ἀποπέμψας οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε τὸν Ναδῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστειλε κατὰ τὴν ἐψάν τοὺς εὖ διαθήσοντας τὰ ἀμφίβολα, ἐς ταὐτὸν συνελευσομένους τοῖς Περσῶν ἡγεμόσιν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ σταλέντες Θεόδωρος ὁ Πέτρου, ὃς τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καταλόγων πρὸ τοῦ γενόμενος ἡγεμῶν 20 τηνικαῦτα τῶν βασιλεῖ ἀνειμένων προειστήκει θησαυρῶν, οἱ γε ἀπὸ τῆς δασιλείας τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορεύονται φωνῇ (λαργοὺς γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸ δασιλῆς ὀνομάζουσιν), Ἰωάννης τε καὶ Πέτρος, ἄμφω τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων τετιμημένῳ ἀξία, πρὸς γε καὶ Ζαχαρίας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καταταττόμενος ἰατροῖς. οἱ δὲ 25 γενόμενοι ἐς Κωνσταντίναν πόλιν τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνέμενον ἐλευσόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐς τὰ περι Νίσιβιν καὶ τὸ Δάρας Μεβῶδην τὸν Σανναχοερύγαν, ὃ δὴ τὸ κῦρος τῶν περι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπέθηκε Χοσρόης. κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν χρόνον καὶ Ἀστέριος, εἷς τῶν βασιλείων διαιτητῶν, οὓς δὴ ἀντιγραφείας 30 ἀποκαλέσοις, δοριάλωτος ὢν ἀνηρέθη ὑπὸ Χοσρόου φωραθεὶς ὡς κρύβδην ἐγεγράφει βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιθέσθαι κεκακωμένοις νῦν Πέρσαις.

Μεβῶδου δὲ ἀφικομένου ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις, ἄμιλλα μὲν τις γέγονε πρότερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ Ζαχαρίᾳ 35 περι τοῦ ὅποι δέον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ξυνέλευσιν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουσαν ἐν τοῖς τελοῦσιν ὑπὸ τὸ Δάρας χωρίοις οἷα δὴ οἰκείοις καθεστῶσι ξυνκροτεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀτὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔφασκον, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς τῷ θεσμῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεκλίθη, οὐκ ἄπο τρόπου καὶ τὰ ὅσα γε ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμόζειν 40 αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐ δέον ἐκεῖσε ξυνιέναι, οἷα μὴ καθεστῶτων ὀροθεσίων. μετὰ γοῦν ταῦτα, οὕτω δοκοῦν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι, ξυνῆλθον ἐν τῷ δὴ λεγομένῳ Ἀθραήλων· πρὸς τοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἄρχοντες πολιτείας ἀμφοτέρας. καὶ τοίνυν προυτί-

9 τίς ἄρα πολιτεία Hoeschel [τῆς ἄρα (ἀρα) πολιτείας A 22 λαργιτίωνες post φωνῇ conl. de Boor 22-23 λαργοὺς . . . τὸ δασιλῆς [λαργοὺς . . . τοὺς δασιλεῖς Niebuhr λαργούμ . . . τὸ δασιλῆς Dindorf 39 et 41 αὐτοῖς scripsi [αὐτοῖς A

tatives of the Romans to consider and investigate how to end hostilities, providing they first established which state was responsible for breaking the fifty-year treaty. To this the Caesar made a very sensible reply, that since the king of the Persians was an older man while he was still young and, being in his prime, was a son to Khosro, he was ready to defer to him in what he thought best and follow his lead whether he chose war or peace.

Having dismissed Nadoes with this reply, shortly afterwards the Caesar himself sent to the East men well-suited for settling the disputes to meet with the Persian high officials. He sent Theodorus the son of Peter, who had formerly been master of the offices but who was presently in charge of the treasures controlled by the Emperor, which are named in Latin from the word for 'abundance' (the Roman word for 'abundance' is *largoi*), John and Peter who were of consular rank, and also Zacharias who was one of the court physicians.<sup>241</sup> When they arrived at Constantina, a city of Mesopotamia, they waited for Mebod Sannakhoerugan to come from Khosro to the vicinity of Nisibis and Daras.<sup>242</sup> Khosro had given him full power to make peace. (At this time Asterius, one of the imperial judges called 'respondents', who had been taken prisoner, was put to death by Khosro because he had been caught secretly writing to the Roman Emperor urging him to launch an attack now when the Persians were in difficulties.<sup>243</sup>)

When Mebod arrived, first there was an argument between him and the party of Theodorus and Zacharias over where they should meet. The Romans wished to hold the meeting in the territory of Daras on the ground that it belonged to them. But the Persians said that the city had come into Persian hands by conquest and it was not an unreasonable claim that the neighbouring territory went along with it.<sup>244</sup> They might not, therefore, meet there since their task was not to settle boundaries. After this both sides came to agreement and they met at the place called Athraelon, and with them the local governors of both states. The latter put forward what complaints

θεσαν ἄς γε δήπουθεν ᾤοντο κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰς πολιτείας ἔχειν 45  
 αἰτίας, ὡς τῆς ἐτέρας τὴν ἐτέραν ἄδικά τε καὶ οὐχ ὅσια  
 εἰργασμένης παρασπονδησάσης τε καὶ πόλεμον ἄδικον ἐλο-  
 μένης. πλείστων δὲ ὄσων ῥημάτων ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν, ὡς πη  
 ἔτυχεν, ἐρριμμένων, χύδην τε προσουσῶν τῶν δικαιολογιῶν τῷ  
 ἕκαστον ἐθέλειν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτεία, οἷα εἰκός, εὐνούστατον 50  
 ἑαυτὸν ἀποφῆναι, τέλος ἐς δημηγορίαν πρῶτοι Ῥωμαῖοι κατ-  
 ἔστησαν.

45 ἄς Bekker [ἄς A 48 ὄσων Hoeschel [ὄσον A 49 ἐρριμμένων Hoeschel [ἐρριμμένον A  
 ἀπερριμμένων de Boor

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 24)

Ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις ξυνελθόντες τε καὶ εἰς ἓν γενόμενοι κατὰ δὴ τὰ  
 ὅρια τῆς ἕξ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρας πολιτείας τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπως βεβαιω-  
 θῆναι δέον διασκεψόμενοι, γλαφυρά τε καὶ ποικίλα ῥήματα  
 ἕκαστοι ἀπορρίψαντες εἰπόντες τε καὶ ἀκηκοότες τὰ ὅσα χρεῶν,  
 τυχὸν καὶ τὰ ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν, τέλος ξυνῆκαν οἱ πρέσβεις περὶ μὲν 5  
 τοῦ διαρραγῆναι τὰς σπονδὰς τίς αἴτιος καὶ οὐ, τὸ τοιόνδε  
 σιγηθῆναι, διερευνησάμενοι δὲ τρόπον ὅτῳ ἐμπεδωθήσεται τὰ  
 εἰρηναῖα τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ αἱ ἀμφήριστοι πολιτεῖαι κατάθωιντο τὰ  
 ὄπλα. εὐθύς οὖν Μεβῶδου κατὰ τὰς πρώην ξυνθήκας, αἱ γε  
 ξυνέστησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τὰς τριάκοντα 10  
 χιλιάδας τῶν νομισμάτων φήσαντος χρῆναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῇ  
 πολιτεία Περσῶν κατατιθέναι ἂν ἔτος, ἔτι γε μὴν ἀποχωρῆσαι  
 Περσαρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβηρίας, πρὸς δέ γε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὅσοι  
 γε αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀποδοθῆναι βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν  
 χρησομένῳ σφίσι ταῖς προσηκούσαις ποιναῖς, τὸσαῦτα τοῦ 15  
 Μεβῶδου κατατείναντος, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, τὸ τοιόνδε  
 ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρεγγυηθὲν αὐτοῖς, αὐτίκα οἷγε τοῦτο αὐτὸ  
 οὐδὲ τοῦνομα προσίεσθαι ἔφασαν τῆς εἰρήνης, εἴπερ ἐπὶ  
 συντελείᾳ τινὶ καὶ ἄτε ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν Πέρσαι ἐλπίζοιεν  
 Ῥωμαίους ἔξειν τοῦ λοιποῦ· μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι τοῦ τοιοῦδε τὸν 20  
 Καίσαρά τι παρασχέσθαι μήτε μὴν ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὦνιόν τι  
 χρῆμα πρίασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. οὕτω δὴ γὰρ εἰ ἔσοιτο, οὐτι εἶναι  
 μόνιμον οὐδὲ βεβαίαν. χρῆναι τοίνυν Ῥωμαίων ἔλεγον οἱ  
 πρέσβεις πρότερον τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἀπειπεῖν οὕτω τε ἐφ' οἷς δέοι τὰ  
 τῆς εἰρήνης προιέναι διασκεψασθαι. 25

Καὶ αὐθις ἕκατι τοῦ τοιοῦδε τερθρείας λόγων ἀπερριμ-  
 μένης πολλῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν, καὶ οὐκ ὑποχαλώντων ἐν

they had against the subjects of the other state, each side alleging that the other had committed unjust and criminal acts, had broken the treaty and had begun unjustified hostilities. When, as it happened, a very large number of these statements had been made and a mass of counter claims had been put forward (since each speaker naturally wished to show himself most diligent on behalf of his own state), at last the Romans made the first formal address.<sup>245</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 24*)

The envoys of both states came together and met at the borders of the East to investigate how peace might be secured. They made various polished speeches and both said and listened to what was relevant and at times what was not. At length the envoys agreed to abandon the discussion of who was guilty of breaking the treaty and who was not and to explore the means through which peace might be secured and the warring states end their hostilities. Mebod immediately said that, in accordance with the earlier treaty made in the time of the Emperor Justinian, the Romans should make to the Persian state the yearly payment of thirty thousand *nomismata*, evacuate Persarmenia and Iberia, and hand over those responsible for the revolt to the Persian king who would inflict upon them the appropriate penalties.<sup>246</sup>

When Mebod made these proposals, the Roman envoys, as they had been instructed by the Caesar, immediately replied that this could not be called a peace if the Persians hoped to receive payment from the Romans and to have them as tributaries, as it were. The Caesar would not agree to pay any of this money nor would he buy peace like some merchandise. For if this were the case, peace would be neither stable nor long-lasting. First, said the Roman envoys, Mebod should drop his demand and thus explore on what terms the cause of peace might be advanced.

Immediately both sides entered a long argument on this issue.

ἀρχῆ τῶν Περσῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰς ἀνέκαθεν τριάκοντα χιλιάδας τοῦ  
 χρυσοῦ νομίσματος ἢ προσάπαξ ὡς χρῆ μέγα τι καταθέσθαι  
 δικαιολογουμένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἔδοξεν ὁ Μεβώδης ἐπιδεικ- 30  
 νύναι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως γράμμα ἄρτι  
 σταλέν, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο ὡς χάριν τῆς πρὸς Καίσαρα φιλίας  
 ἀνέξοιτο καὶ χρημάτων ἐκτὸς ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας ἀναρρῶσαι τὴν  
 εἰρήνην. τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα διεθρυλήθη πόλιν,  
 ἅπαντες ἀνεπτερώθησάν τε καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ ὅσοι 35  
 ἕτερος ὄμιλος ἤδη ἀργήσειν τὰ ξίφη καὶ ἐμπεδώτατα καθέξειν  
 τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ Περσαρμενίας τε καὶ δὴ  
 Ἰβηρίας αὐτῆς ἐτοιμότητα εἶχε παραχωρῆσαι Πέρσαις, σαφέσ-  
 τατα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς οὐπώποτε ἐνδώσοιεν τοσαύτης ἑστερη-  
 μένοι χώρας, οὐδέ γε εἰ τελέως κατολισθήσοι καὶ ἐξίτηλα 40  
 ἔσοιτο τὰ πράγματα Περσῶν. τοὺς μέντοι γενεάρχας Περσ-  
 αρμενίων, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τῷ γένει σφῶν ἠνωμένους, καὶ  
 ἀπλῶς τὸν ὄντιναοῦν, οἱ γε αὐτομολήσαντες ἦσαν ὡς Ῥωμαίους,  
 οὔτε ἐκδώσειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐτέρως ἐμπεδώσειν ἔφασκε τὴν  
 εἰρήνην, εἴ γε μὴ ἄδεια ἔσοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις Περσαρμενίων 45  
 τε καὶ Ἰβήρων τὴν σφετέραν ἐκλιπόντας ἀνασκευάσασθαι ἐς  
 τὴν Ῥωμαίων. λόγον γὰρ οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐποιεῖτο πολὺν ὁ Καῖσαρ  
 τῶν ὁμωσομένων ὑπὸ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς Περσ-  
 αρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς μεταχωρήσασιν Ἰβήρων. ὠμωμόκει γὰρ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ὡς καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ἀνακινήσειν 50  
 τρόπον, ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὴν γε δήπου τὴν θρεψαμένην σφᾶς  
 ποιήσεται ὑποχείριον· εἰ δέ γε ἄχρι τέλους οὔτι ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς  
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνθέξειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως  
 καὶ τοὺς τῷ αἵματι σφίσι προσήκοντας, ξυνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν τοὺς  
 ὅσοι βούλονται Ῥωμαϊκῆς μετασχεῖν πολιτείας, οὐπώποτε 55  
 ποιήσεσθαι ἐκδότους.

Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἠδεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς, ὡς ἂν  
 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐκστήσοιντο τῆς Περσῶν Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβη-  
 ρίας, ἐξουσίαν δὲ αὐτὸς προσνέμοι, ὅποι ἐθέλουσιν οἱ τῆδε 60  
 οἰκήτορες ἰέναι, οὔτι ἄπο τρόπου γε, οἶμαι. ἠπίστατο γὰρ, πλὴν  
 ὀλιγίστων τῶν ἐν τέλει, οἱ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἤρξαν, ὡς οὐδεὶς  
 Περσαρμενίων καὶ Ἰβήρων πόθῳ τῆς θρεψαμένης, ὅς φύσει τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐνιζάνει τε καὶ προσπέπηγεν, ἀνασκευάσοιτο ἐς τὴν  
 ὀθνεῖαν· ἄλλως τε καὶ ἅμα ἤλπιζε τοῦ πολέμου λωφήσαντος ἐν  
 δέοντι θέσθαι τὰ περὶ Περσαρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβηρίας. αἶδε γὰρ 65

Initially the Persians did not soften their position but argued that the Romans should either pay the thirty thousand *nomismata* mentioned above or make one large payment. Finally, however, Mebod decided to show them a letter which had recently been sent to him by his king, which stated that, out of friendship for the Caesar, Khosro was willing to make peace on equal terms without any monetary payment. When news of this spread through the capital, all, both the authorities and the rest of the populace, became excited and thought that the swords would be put away and peace firmly established, since the Caesar, too, was very ready to hand over Persarmenia and Iberia to the Persians. For he saw very clearly that if they were deprived of this considerable tract of territory, the Persians would never give up, even if their power were utterly weakened and attenuated. He declared, however, that he would surrender neither the princes of the Persarmenians, nor their relatives, nor, indeed, anyone at all who had willingly come over to the Romans, and, moreover, that he would make peace only on condition that those of the Persarmenians and Iberians who wished to leave their country and migrate to the Roman Empire should be free to do so. For the Caesar laid great store by the oath of the Emperor Justin<sup>247</sup> to those of the Persarmenians and Iberians who had come over to him. The Emperor had sworn that as far as he was able he would use every means to bring their native land under his control, but if he proved unable to bring the war to a conclusion, he would never hand over those who had raised the revolt, their blood relatives and, in short, all those who wished to come over to the Roman Empire.

The Persian king decided to accept these terms: that the Romans evacuate Persian Armenia and Iberia and that he permit the inhabitants of these regions to go wherever they wished. And, in my view, he did this with good reason. For he knew that, with the exception of a very few of those in office who had initiated the revolt, none of the Persarmenians and Iberians, out of love for their native land, which is an indelible part of mankind's nature, would migrate to foreign parts.<sup>248</sup> Furthermore, he also hoped that when the war was ended the situation in Persarmenia and Iberia would be set right.

αὐτῷ αἰ χῶραι πάμποροί τε ὑπῆρχον καὶ πλεῖστα ἐσὶ ἐδασμοφόρου.

Τοιγαροῦν διὰ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον καταθέσθαι. προσῆλθε δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι διανοεῖσθαι, ὡς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν μηδεμία ὑπολείποτο τοῦ πολέμου αἰτία, τῆς Περσαρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἕκατι τὴν πόλιν τὸ Δάρας παρὰ σφῶν ἀντιλήψεσθαι, ἥκιστα μὲν τοῦ κερδαλέου χάριν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τι τὸ Δάρας ἢ πόλις ἐς ἕτερόν τι ὄνησιφόρος ἢ τῷ ἀσφαλέστατα ἔχειν καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐφάσ ὥσπερ τι ἔρυμα προβεβλήσθαι. ἅμα οὖν τὸ ἀτύχημα ἀκέσασθαι βουλόμενος τῷ ἀπειληθέναι Ῥωμαίους τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μηδὲ ἓνα σπινθῆρα τοῦ πολέμου καταλιπεῖν ἐθέλων, ἔγνω ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ Δάρας ἢ χρήμασιν ἤγουν ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τινί.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρῆναι ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας τὴν εἰρήνην προελθεῖν, πρὶν ἢ διακριθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ πόλεμον, ἐδόκει καὶ ξυνέθεντο Πέρσαι. μελλόντων δὲ ὅσον οὐπω παραχωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῦ Δάρας ἢ οὐδενὸς ἤγουν ὀλιγίστης χρυσίου ποσότητος, εὐδὴλον ὄν πρότερον ἀφισταμένων Ῥωμαίων Περσαρμενίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τοιάδε οἱ ἐξ ἑκατέρων διαλεγόμενοι πρέσβεις, γέγονε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ ξυμπλοκὴν, ἐν ἣ προσπταίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐς τὸ ἦττον ὠλίσθησαν. διὸ δὴ τῶν Περσῶν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπηρμένων, ὁ σφῶν βασιλεὺς ἔφασκεν ὅλως περὶ τὸ τὴν πόλιν τὸ Δάρας ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις μὴ ἐνδέξασθαι λόγον τινά. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου θεσμὸν βία καὶ δυνάμει ἐξελεῖν καὶ προσκτήσασθαι τὸ Δάρας ἀπισχυρίζετο· τοὺς δὲ γε Ῥωμαίους Περσαρμενία τε καὶ Ἰβηρία ἐπιστῆναι παρασπονδήσαντας, πρὸς δὲ γε καὶ ἀφηνιάσαντας τοὺς ταύτη οἰκοῦντας ἀπὸ Περσῶν ὑποδέξασθαι. καὶ τοίνυν αὐθις ὁ βάρβαρος θρασὺς τε καὶ ὑσαύχην ἦν, καὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσιν ἐβρενθύετο μέγα ἠπειλήσέ τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέρατος τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἤδη ξυνεστῶσης ἐκεχειρίας, ἧς ἐντὸς ἐδόκει τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνὰ τὴν ἔω ἐρρῶσθαι, τὰ ὄπλα κινήσειν, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν γε δήπου τὴν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα χώραν ξυγκροτήσειν τὸν πόλεμον πρότερον κατατιθέμενον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνακωχῆς δεδομένον χρυσίον, ἠνίκα Ζαχαρίας ὁ ἰατρὸς καὶ τότε ἐμπεδώσας ὑπῆρχεν. ἔφασκε δὲ τὰ χρήματα ἀποδώσειν κατὰ τοσοῦτον, καθ' ὅσον ἐνέλιπε τῇ τριετίᾳ· εἶτα οὕτως πολέμου ἀπάρξεσθαι αὐθις.



For these lands were highly productive and brought him a very large income. For these reasons the Persian king was willing to end the war on these terms.

The notion came to the Caesar that in return for Persarmenia and Iberia the Romans should receive the city of Daras, so that no cause for war should remain in future. He did not look to profit from this, since the city of Daras brought no advantage except in so far as it was very well fortified and stood as a bulwark for the Roman East. Wishing, therefore, to repair the Roman losses through the recovery of their own possession and to eliminate the sole remaining spark for war, he proposed that Daras be restored either in return for money or through some other means.<sup>249</sup>

The declaration, and the Persian agreement, that peace must come on equal terms, had been made before the fighting in Armenia had ended. The Persians were also on the point of yielding Daras to the Romans, either for nothing in exchange or for a very small sum, after it had become clear that they had evacuated Persarmenia and Iberia. But while the envoys were discussing this matter, the battle was fought in Armenia, and in it the Romans suffered a heavy defeat and their hopes were badly dashed.<sup>250</sup> As a result of this success Persian morale soared, and their king absolutely refused to hear any proposal for the surrender of the city of Daras to the Romans. He asserted strongly that he had taken Daras by force of arms under the international rules of war, while the Romans had meddled in Persarmenia and Iberia in contravention of the treaty and in addition had given refuge to those inhabitants of the area who had defected from the Persians.<sup>251</sup> The barbarian, then, was again emboldened and arrogant, and because of his successes turned to boasting and great threats that even before the end of the three-year truce which was already in force (and within which it was agreed that peace should be made in the East) he would open hostilities and invade the eastern provinces, having first returned to the Romans the gold which had been paid for this truce at the time when the physician Zacharias had made it. Khosro said that he would pay back money in proportion to what remained of the three years and then he would attack again.

Ταύτην οὖν Μεβώδου οἶα δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως Περσῶν ἀπαγ-  
 γείλαντος τὴν γνώμην, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες παραβή- 105  
 σεσθαι μὲν οἶδε τὰς ξυνθήκας ἥκιστα ἔλεγον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ξυντε-  
 τάχθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐξεῖναι θατέρῳ βουλομένῳ τῶν μερῶν ἢ τοῦ  
 χρυσίου παντὸς ἤγουν μοίρας τινὸς ὡς τὸν παρασχόμενον  
 ἀναδραμούσης διαρρηγνύναι τὰς σπονδὰς. ὅμως δ' οὖν περὶ  
 τούτων αὐθις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἀλλήλοις Μεβώδης τε καὶ Ζαχαρίας 110  
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυνερχομένῳ διελεγέσθην, ἐκοινολογοῦντό τε καὶ  
 προτίθεσαν τὰ ὅσα ἄμφω τῷ ἄνδρῳ ᾧοντο χρῆναι εἰρῆσθαι·  
 ἐπειρῶντό τε ἄτερος ἐτέρου ὅπως ξυνέλθοιεν ἐς καταλλαγὰς αἰ  
 πολιτεῖαι. καὶ Μεβώδης μὲν ἰσχυρότατά πως ἀπομνύμενος ἦν,  
 ὡς βούλεται τῷ Καίσαρι χρησιμώτατα ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι καὶ 115  
 μὲν δὴ ἐπιτηδειότατός οἱ εἶναι· Ζαχαρίας δὲ, εἰ οἶόν τε εἶη  
 λαθραϊότατα καὶ ἥκιστα ἐξεπισταμένου τινὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
 τοῦ Δάρας ῥητόν τι παρασχέσθαι χρυσίον. Ζαχαρίας δὲ ἔφασκε  
 τὰ τοιάδε, ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἐς τὸ  
 ἐμφανές, οὐδὲ μὴν ἐτέρου ἐξεπισταμένου τινὸς ἢ Μαυρικίου τοῦ 120  
 Παύλου ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐνούστατα ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντος, ὅς  
 ἐν τῷ τότε τὸν βασιλείον ἰθύνειν ἐκληρώσατο λόγον, ὥστε  
 ἀμέλει μὴδὲ πρὸς τῶν βασιλείων γραφῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦδε  
 γεγράφθαι τῷ μάλα ἐν παραβύστῳ εἶναι τὰ βεβουλευμένα τῷ  
 Καίσαρι. γράφει δ' οὖν Ζαχαρία, ὡς εἰ ἐπινεύσοι Μεβώδης 125  
 λύτρα δῆθεν τοῦ Δάρας τὸν βασιλέα κομίσασθαι Περσῶν, αὐτῷ  
 πεισθήσεται ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα καταθήσειν, καὶ δὴ οὐκ ἐς  
 ἀναβολήν. ταῦτα τοίνυν Ζαχαρίου, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀναφανδόν,  
 ὑπαινιττομένου δὲ ὅμως τῷ Μεβώδῃ, οὐδὲν ὄγε ἔφασκε περὶ  
 τούτου ἐπιτετράφθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν, οὐδὲ μὴν 130  
 ἀνέξεσθαι ὅλως ἐπὶ χρήμασι μεταθεῖναι τὸ Δάρας. διεβεβαιοῦτο  
 <δὲ> ἔμπης καὶ ὄρκους τισὶν ἐπετίθει τὸ πιστόν, ὡς, νῦν εἰ  
 προέλθοιεν αἱ ξυνθήκαι, ὕστερον αἰτοῦντι τῷ Καίσαρι δώσειν  
 ὥσπερ ἐξαίρετόν τι δῶρον τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν τὴν πόλιν.  
 πρόδηλος οὖν ἦν ἐντεῦθεν μὴ ἐρρωμένα φρονῶν τῇ Ῥωμαίων 135  
 ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ πόρρω τῆς ἀληθείας φθεγγόμενος βουλόμενός τε  
 Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀμαχητὶ ὑπαναχωρῆσαι τῆς Περσαρμενίας καὶ  
 Ἰβηρίας, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀμφὶ τοῦ Δάρας αἰτεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελ-  
 μένων ἥκιστα τυγχάνειν, εἶτα τὴν ἐν ὑστέρω βουλήν, καθὰ

When Mebod reported this position as that of the Persian king, the Roman officials denied that they had broken the terms of the agreement and pointed out that in it there was no provision which allowed either party, should he wish it, to break the truce upon return of all or part of the gold.<sup>252</sup> Nevertheless, Mebod and Zacharias conferred together in private on these issues. They set out the proposals that each of them thought should be made, each asking the other how the two states could be reconciled. Mebod asserted most strongly that he wished to provide an agreement that was very advantageous to the Caesar, saying that he was very well-disposed towards Tiberius. Zacharias asked whether it were possible to hand over an agreed sum of gold for the city of Daras in absolute secrecy and with the knowledge of no one.<sup>253</sup> Zacharias asked this confidentially and on instruction from the Caesar, and no one else was privy to this approach except for Maurice the son of Paul, who was especially well-disposed towards the Caesar and on this occasion acted as imperial secretary, so that, to protect the secrecy of the Caesar's plan, the instructions were not even written out by the imperial scribes.<sup>254</sup> The Caesar wrote to Zacharias that if Mebod confirmed that the Persian king would accept a ransom for Daras, he would agree to pay Khosro the money without delay. When Zacharias put this proposition, not directly but by implication, Mebod said that he had received no brief from the king of the Persians on this and that he would absolutely refuse to hand over Daras for money. Nevertheless, he did assert, and confirmed his assertion with oaths, that if the treaty were made now, later at the request of the Caesar the king of the Persians would give him Daras as a special gift. From this it was clear that Mebod was not mindful of the interests of the Roman Empire, but he was lying and intending that the Romans should evacuate Persarmenia and Iberia without a fight and should finally ask for Daras and not receive their request. Then the 'intent for later', as they call such a past promise, would

δήπου τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐκεῖνό φησι, μὴ ἔχειν ἰσχύν, ὥσπερ καὶ 140  
 Σουανίας πέρι ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἠπατήθη Πέτρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζίχ.  
 ὁμοίως οὖν καὶ ὁ Μεβώδης ἠβούλετο δράσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα  
 Ζαχαρίαν ἐσὸτι ἐμφρονέστατον, καὶ οὐχ οἶόν τε ὄν αὐτῷ  
 παρακρούσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐτράπετο, ὡς ἂν  
 τρόπῳ τῷ ἀπάτη περιέλθοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπὶ χρόνον γάρ τινα 145  
 ξυνήει ἐς ταῦτό τοις ἀμφὶ Ζαχαρίαν ἐλπίδας ὑποστρωννύς, ὡς  
 ἔσοιτο εἰρήνη, καὶ ὡς ἐπινεύσοι ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐνδοῦναι  
 Ῥωμαίους τὸ Δάρας, ταύτη οἰόμενος ἐκλύσειν τὴν ἐς τὸν  
 πόλεμον προθυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

Καὶ οὖν ἐν τοιοῖσδε τριβομένου τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τῶν ἐξ 150  
 ἑκατέρας πολιτείας πρέσβων περὶ ταῦτα ἐνησχολημένων, οὕτω  
 τε φερομένου τοῦ ἔφου πολέμου ἐπ' ἀδήλοις, κατὰ δὲ τὸ  
 τέταρτον ἔτος Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου Καίσαρος βασιλείας ἐν  
 τῇ Θράκῃ ξυνηνέχθη τὸ Σκλαυηνῶν ἔθνος μέχρι που χιλιάδων  
 ἑκατὸν Θράκην καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ λήσασθαι. 155

141 πρὸ τοῦ [πρώτῳ edd. 146 ἐλπίδας [ἐλπῖσι edd. ἐλπῖδα Bekker

### 3. (*Suda* E962)

Μένανδρος· ὁ δὲ Τανχοσδρώ, ὁ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατηγός, οὐχὶ  
 ἐλέφαντάς τε καὶ ἀγροίκων ὄμιλον καὶ ἕτερα ἄττα φόβητρα  
 κόμπῳ μὲν ἀρμόδια, ἐνεργὰ δὲ καὶ ἐμβριθῆ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς  
 μαχιμωτάτους τε καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀγείρας πλήθους τε ἀγεν-  
 νοῦς ἀντάλλαγμα, τοὺς τὰ πολέμια δεινοὺς ἀποκρίνας. 5

(= *Suda* T89)

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 31)

Ὅτι ἐλπίδι τοῦ νικᾶν τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος, τῆς ἀδήλου  
 ῥοπῆς ἀναλογισάμενος τὸ σφαλερόν, ἕξει τὴν αὐτοῦ δόκησιν  
 ἀβουλίας ὑπόθεσιν.

2 αὐτοῦ Niebuhr [αὐτοῦ cod.

### 5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 32)

Ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 συναδικοῦνται καὶ φίλων, ὡς εἰκός, ὑφ' ἑτέρων πασχόντων  
 κακῶς.

### 6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 33)

Ὅτι οὐχ ὅστις ἀντεπιβουλεύει τοῦ δικαίου κατόπιν ὀφθήσεται,  
 ἀλλ' ὅς ἐπιβουλεύει τῶν χαλεπῶν ὑπόθεσις γίνεται.

have no force.<sup>255</sup> This was how in the earlier negotiations Peter had been deceived by the Zikh over Suania,<sup>256</sup> and Mebod wished to do likewise. However, when he saw that Zacharias was altogether very shrewd and that he was unable to delude him, he tried another tack in order by some means to cheat the Romans. For a time he met with Zacharias and his companions and raised their hopes that there would be peace and that the king of the Persians would agree to surrender Daras to the Romans. By this means he thought to weaken the Caesar's resolve to go to war.

While time was passing and the envoys of both states were engrossed in these discussions and the status of the war in the East remained unclear, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius Constantine Caesar<sup>257</sup> it happened in Thrace that the nation of the Slavs to the number of 100,000 devastated Thrace and many other areas.

### 3. (*Suda* E962)

Menander: Tankhosdro, the general of Khosro, did not bring together elephants and a crowd of yokels and other such scarecrows, which are good for display but of no utility or effectiveness at all. Rather, he collected the most warlike and best-armed men, choosing those most skilful in war and substituting them for the lower-class rabble.<sup>258</sup>

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 31)

Whoever out of hope of victory desires to accomplish more, if he thinks upon the danger of an unpredictable turn of events, will view his own desire as a source of folly.<sup>259</sup>

### 5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 32)

Men are not only injured themselves but also share suffering when their friends too, as is likely, are injured by others.

### 6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 33)

He who forms a counter-plot will not be thought to do less than justice, but he who institutes a plot is a source of evil.

## 7. (Exc. de Sent. 34)

Ὅτι ἀφιλοπρωτεία μόνη καὶ φθόνου κατάλυσις τὰ καιριώτατα συνιστᾶ.

## 8. (Exc. de Sent. 35)

Ὅτι τὸ εὐδαιμον οὐκ ἐξ αὐτομάτου τινὸς ἐπιρρεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐτυχίας οἱ πόνοι γονεῖς· ὅθεν καὶ ἡδυτέρα τις ἢ ἐκ τῶν πόνων ἀπόλαυσις.

Λόγος —

## 21

## (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 15)

Ὅτι κεραϊζομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Σκλαβηνῶν, καὶ ἀπανταχόσε ἀλλεπαλλήλων αὐτῇ ἐπηρτημένων τῶν κινδύνων, ὁ Τιβερίος οὐδαμῶς δύναμιν ἀξιομαχὸν ἔχων οὐδὲ πρὸς μίαν μοῖραν τῶν ἀντιπάλων, μήτι γε καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν, οὔτε μὴν οἶός τε ὦν πολέμοις σφίσιν ὑπαντιάζειν τῷ ἀνὰ τοὺς ἐφόους πολέμους τὰς 5 Ῥωμαίων τετράφθαι δυνάμεις, πρεσβεύεται ὡς Βαϊανὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἀβάρων τηνικαῦτα οὐ δυσμενῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἄλλως δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία χαίρειν ἐθέλοντα δῆθεν εὐθύς ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς αὐτοῦ Τιβερίου βασιλείας. ταύτη 10 τοι καὶ πείθει γε αὐτὸν κατὰ Σκλαβηνῶν ἄρασθαι πόλεμον, ὡς ἂν ὁπόσοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δηοῦσι τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνθελκόμενοι κακοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι τε βουλόμενοι τῇ πατρῷα κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον παύσαιντο μὲν τοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν λεηλατεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀναδέξονται.

Τοῦ Καίσαρος τοίνυν τὴν τοιάνδε ὡς αὐτὸν στείλαντος 15 πρεσβείαν, οὔτι ἠπειθήσεν ὁ Βαϊανός. ἐκπέμπεται δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἰωάννης, ὃς δὴ τῶν νήσων διήνυε τὴν ἀρχὴν τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς Ἰλλυρίδας ἰθύνειν ἔλαχε πόλεις. οὗτος παραγενόμενος ἐν Παιονία τῇ χώρᾳ μετήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐτόν τε τὸν Βαϊανὸν καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀβάρων δυνάμεις, ἐν ταῖς δὴ λεγομέναις 20 ὀλκάσι μακραῖς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ διαβιβάσας πλήθη· καὶ λέγεται ἀμφὶ τὰς ξ' χιλιάδας ἰπέων θωρακοφόρων ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων διαπορθμευθῆναι. ἐνθένδε αὐθις διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν διαγαγὼν, εἶτα ἐς τὴν Σκυθῶν ἀφικόμενος, ἔμπαλιν διελθεῖν παρεσκεύασε τὸν Ἴστρον ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀμφιπρύμναις τῶν νεῶν. ἐπειδὴ 25

7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 34)

Only freedom from ambition and the abandonment of jealousy can contrive the most timely course of action.

8. (*Exc. de Sent.* 35)

Success does not come spontaneously. Rather, hard work is the begetter of true good fortune. Hence the success won by toil is the sweetest.

Book —

## 21

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 15)

Greece was being plundered by the Slavs, and a succession of dangers was threatening there on all sides.<sup>260</sup> Since Tiberius did not have a force strong enough to resist even a part of the invaders (and certainly not the whole horde of them) and since he was unable to face them in battle because the Roman armies were occupied with the wars in the East, he sent an embassy to Baian, the chief of the Avars. At the time he was not hostile towards the Romans, and, indeed, from the very beginning of Tiberius' reign had wished to be friendly with our state. Tiberius, therefore, persuaded him to make war on the Slavs, so that all of those who were laying waste Roman territory would be drawn back by the troubles at home, choosing rather to defend their own lands. Thus, they would cease to plunder Roman territory, preferring to fight for their own.

The Caesar, then, sent this embassy to him, and Baian agreed to his request. John, who at this time was governor of the isles and in charge of the cities of Illyricum,<sup>261</sup> was sent to assist him. He came to the land of Pannonia and transported Baian himself and the Avar forces to Roman territory, ferrying the multitude of barbarians in the so-called 'large transports'. It is said that about sixty thousand armoured horsemen were brought across to Roman territory. From there Baian crossed Illyricum, reached Scythia and prepared to re-cross the Danube in the so-called 'double-sterned' ships.<sup>262</sup> When he

δὲ ἐπεραιώθη ἐς τὸ καταντικρὺ τοῦ ρείθρου, παραχρῆμα τὰς τε κώμας ἐνεπίμπρα τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν καὶ ἐσίνετο τοὺς ἀγρούς, ἤγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἅπαντα, οὐδενός πω τῶν ἐκεῖσε βαρβάρων θαρρήσαντός οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἐς τὰ λάσια δὲ καὶ κατηρεφῆ τῆς ὕλης καταπεφευγόντων.

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Ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἀβάρων κίνησις κατὰ Σκλαβηνῶν <ἐγίνετο> οὗτι γε μόνον τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔνεκα πρεσβείας καὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι τὸν Βαϊανὸν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτίσαι χάριν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτό γε αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχθιστοι ὑπῆρχον ἰδίας ἕκατι δυσμενείας. ἔστειλε γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸν Δαυρέντιον καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἔθνους ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγούμενος σφᾶς τε ὑπακούειν κελεύων Ἀβάρους καὶ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσεσθαι ἀναγράφτους. Δαυρίτας δὲ καὶ οἱ γε ξὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τίς ἄρα, ἔφασαν, οὗτος πέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου θέρεται ἀκτίσιν, ὃς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπήκοον ποιήσεται δύναμιν; κρατεῖν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῆς ἀλλοτρίας εἰώθαμεν, καὶ οὐχ ἕτεροι τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς. καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν βεβαίῳ, μέχρι πόλεμοί τε ὥσι καὶ ξίφῃ. οὕτως ἀπαυθαδισαμένων τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως καὶ οἱ Ἀβαροὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι μεγαληγορίαις. εἶτα ἐκ τούτου προπηλακισμοὶ καὶ ὕβρεις, καὶ ἅτε βάρβαροι τῷ σκληρὰ τε καὶ ὀγκώδη φρονήματα ἔχειν τὴν ὡς ἀλλήλους ἀνεσόβησαν ἔριν. καὶ οἱ Σκλαβηνοὶ τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίλον οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἐγχαλινῶσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀφιγμένους πρέσβεις ἀναιροῦσιν, ὡς ἐτέρωθεν ἀμέλει ἔκπυστα γενέσθαι ταῦτα Βαϊανῷ. τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν κατὰ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπὶ κλημα ποιούμενος ἐκ πολλοῦ ὁ Βαϊανὸς καὶ ὑποκρύφιον ἔχων ὡς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἔχθος καὶ ἄλλως ἀσχάλλων, ὅτι αὐτῷ ὑπήκοοι οὐκ ἐγένοντο, μήτι γε πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀνήκεστα πεπονθέναι, καὶ ἅμα μὲν χάριν εἰδέναι βουλόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, ἅμα καὶ πολυχρήματον τὴν χώραν εὐρήσειν οἰόμενος, ἅτε ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Σκλαβηνῶν <πεπορθημένης>, τῆς δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς γῆς πρὸς ἑτέρου τινὸς τῶν πάντων ἔθνῶν οὐδαμῶς, . . .

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(Suda O171 = vv.20-21, A1756 = vv.24-25, E995 comprehendit vv.20-21 et 24-25, A209 = vv.25-29, A1841 = vv.37-38, A2323 = vv.45-47)

31 ἐγίνετο add. Niebuhr post Καῖσαρ (v.34) transp. Müller 39 οὗτος Hoeschel [οὕτως codd. 45 τῷ [τὰ X 56 πεπορθημένης add. Niebuhr ἑτέρου Hoeschel [ἕτερον codd. 57 lacunam indicavi.



gained the far bank, he immediately fired the villages of the Slavs and laid waste their fields, driving and carrying off everything, since none of the barbarians there dared to face him, but took refuge in the thick undergrowth of the woods.

The Avar attack on the Slavs arose not only out of the embassy from the Caesar and the desire of Baian to return a favour to the Romans in exchange for the great generosity which the Caesar had shown to him, but also because Baian was hostile to them out of a personal grievance. For the leader of the Avars had sent to Daurentius<sup>263</sup> and the chiefs of his people ordering them to obey the commands of the Avars and to be numbered amongst their tributaries. Dauritas and his fellow chiefs replied, "What man has been born, what man is warmed by the rays of the sun who shall make our might his subject? Others do not conquer our land, we conquer theirs. And so it shall always be for us, as long as there are wars and weapons." Thus boasted the Slavs, and the Avars replied with a like arrogance. After this came abuse and insults,<sup>264</sup> and because they were barbarians with their haughty and stubborn spirits, a shouting match developed. The Slavs were so unable to restrain their rage that they slew the envoys who had come to them, and Baian received a report<sup>265</sup> of these doings from others. As a result he nursed his grievance for a long time and kept his hatred concealed, angered that they had not become his subjects not to mention that he had suffered an irreparable wrong at their hands. Moreover, thinking both to win favour with the Caesar and that he would find the land full of gold, since the Roman Empire had long been plundered by the Slavs, whose own land had never been raided by any other people at all

...<sup>266</sup>

## 22

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 25)

Ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔστειλε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν χρυσίον συχνὸν ἄχρι κεντηναρίων τριάκοντα, ἅτινά γε δήπου Παμφρόνιος ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως πατήρ, ἐκομίσατο, ἐκ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης κατὰ δὴ τὴν βασιλίδα τηνικαῦτα ἀφιγμένος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ δεήσεις τῷ Καίσαρι προσαγαγεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐκτετρυχωμένη ταῖς 5 τῶν Λογγιβάρδων ἐπιδρομαῖς ἐπαμῦναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Περσικὸς ἅπαντα ἦν καὶ ἐνέκειτό γε ὅλος, ἐκεῖσε στρατιὰν οὐχ οἴός τε ἦν ἐκπέμπειν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἅμα τῇ ἕω καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν πολεμητέα γε αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐδόκει. χρήματα δὲ ἄλλως ἐπέδωκε Παμφρονίῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τινὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Λογγι- 10 βάρδων ἔθνους, εἴ πῶς γε ἔσται αὐτῷ δυνατά, πείσοι τοῦ κέρδους ἰμείραντας μεταβαλέσθαι ὡς Ῥωμαίους ξὺν τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμει, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἕω πολεμησεῖοντας καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεία ἐπικου- 15 ρῆσαι. ἀπειθούντων δὲ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων, οἷα εἰκός, τὴν ἑτέραν ἰέναι, καὶ τινὰς τῶν Φραγγικῶν ἡγεμόνων διὰ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως ἑταιρίσασθαι καὶ ταύτη ἐκλειῆναί τε καὶ ἐκτριῖψαι τῶν Λογγιβάρδων τὴν δύναμιν.

17 ἐκλειῆναι [δὲ λεῆναι Hoeschel γε λεῆναι Müller

Λόγος —

## 23

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 16)

Ὅτι ἠνίκα Τραιανὸς καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ βασίλειος ἱατρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐτίθεντο, παρ' ἕκαστον τηνικαῦτα τῶν ὀπωσοῦν προϊ- ὄντων λόγων ἢ καὶ γραφομένων ἐν ταῖς ξυνηθείαις, εἴ γε Τραιανὸς ἢ Ζαχαρίας ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Πέρσαι ἔπρασσον οἷγε οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ξυνομολογεῖν, Μεβῶδου τηνικαῦτα ἢ σιωπᾶν καὶ 5 μόνον τὸ προσταττόμενον δέχεσθαι κελεύοντος ἢ τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπειλοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἐπαφήσειν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπι- δεικνύντος τὸν Ταναχοσρῶ τηνικαῦτα τοῖς ὀρίοις ἐφεστηκότα τῆς ἐφάας, καὶ δὴ τέλος ἐπαφέντος καὶ πλείστας ὄσας κώμας τε καὶ ἀγροὺς ἐμπρήσαντος, ἕως οἷ γε ἀμφὶ Τραιανὸν αὐτοῖ τὸ 10 χρυσίον ἤκον κομίζοντες τῶν σπονδῶν, καὶ τοσαύτη δήπου χρησαμένου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑβρεὶ Μεβῶδου ὡς μηδὲ ἀξιῶσαι τὰ

8 Ταναχοσρῶ [Τανχοσδρῶ Müller

## 22

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 25)

Caesar sent to Italy a large amount of gold, about three thousand pounds, in the care of Pamphronius, who held the rank of patrician. At this time he had come to the palace from Old Rome to beg the Caesar to mount an expedition to defend Italy which was exhausted by the Lombard raids. Since the Persian war demanded all his attention and was his sole concern, he was unable to send an army there, nor did he think that he should fight in the east and the west at the same time. Nevertheless, he gave Pamphronius money, in order that, if he were able, he might persuade some of the leaders of the Lombard people, out of desire for gain, to come over to the Romans with their followers. Thus, they would cease to trouble Italy and, if they were willing to fight in the east, they could aid the Roman Empire. If, as was likely, the Lombards turned him down, he should try another route and use the money to buy the alliance of some of the Frankish chiefs, and by this means to wear down and wipe out the power of the Lombards.<sup>267</sup>

Book —

## 23

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 16)

At the time when Trajan and Zacharias, the imperial physician, were negotiating over the truce, as the terms were brought forward for discussion item by item either as verbal or as written proposals, if Trajan or Zacharias refused to accept the Persian position, in every case Mebod told them to be silent and simply accept the proposal or threatened to send that man against them. For while the discussions were proceeding he made it clear that Tankhosdro<sup>268</sup> was stationed at the border of the East. Finally, he was told to attack and he burned a large number of villages and fields, until Trajan's party came with the gold for the truce. Mebod behaved in such a haughty manner

εἰρηναῖα χρήματα ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις κομίσασθαι, ἐγκελεύ-  
 σασθαι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν Νίσιβιν ἀποσῶσαι, ἕτερα τε οὐκ  
 ἀνεκτὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσίου παράληψιν καταυθαδισαμένου τε 15  
 καὶ ἐπεντροφήσαντος αὐτοῖς, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸ περι-  
 ελθεῖν καὶ δεηθῆσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους Χοσρόης ἐλπίσας, εἴ γε  
 καταπροτερήσοι τὸν τῆς ἐφόδου καιρὸν τῶν σπονδῶν ἀφρον-  
 τιστήσας, ἢ καὶ δράσειν ἴσως τι μέγα, καὶ καταπλαγέντα τὸν  
 Καίσαρα τελέως τῆς Περσῶν Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῶν 20  
 ἐκείνη χωρίων ἀποστήσεσθαι, παρὰ πολὺ τὴν τῆς ἕω δῆωσιν τῆς  
 Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Ἰβήρων προσχωρήσεως ἡγούμενον (ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπέπυστο Χοσρόης παρασκευάζειν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ  
 μάλιστα πολλὴν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἤδη στέλλειν κατὰ τὴν ἐφάν  
 ἰπαγωγὸς ὀλκάδας) ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ αἱ τριετηρίδες σπονδαὶ 25  
 τελευτήσεσθαι ἔμελλον, πρὸ ἡμερῶν δήπου μ' ἐπαφίησι κατὰ  
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων τοῦ Δάρας ἐς τὴν μέσσην τῶν  
 ποταμῶν στρατιὰν ἰπικὴν ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσι χιλιάδας, ἧς περὶ τὰς  
 ἰβ' μὲν ἦσαν Πέρσαι θυρεοφόροι τε καὶ ἰπποτοξόται, Σαρα- 30  
 κηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Σαβεῖροι <περὶ τὰς ἡ' οἷς ἡγεμόνα ἐχειροτόνησε  
 Μεβῶδη τὸν> σὺν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ  
 προελθεῖν τὴν εὐγενῆ εἰρήνην διασκεπτόμενον. ὃ δὴ καὶ  
 μάλιστα ἀλαζονείας τε καὶ ἀναισχυντίας οὐ μικρὰν προσῆψε τῷ  
 Χοσρόῃ δόξαν τὰς τε ξυνθήκας οὕτω πως ἀναίδην οὐκ ὀκνή-  
 σαντι ξυγγεῖαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγης πρὸς τὸ πέρας αὐτῷ ἐνδαψιλευ- 35  
 ομένης παραδρομῆς ἡμερῶν, καὶ ὅτι γε τὸν αὐτόν, ἅτε δὴ  
 ἐπεγγελῶν Ῥωμαίοις, ἅμα τε καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης διαλεχθησόμενον  
 ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις ἐχειροτόνησεν καὶ ἅμα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χωρίοις, ἐν  
 αὐταῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν ταῖς ἡμέραις, πολέμου τε καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ  
 σπονδῶν συγχύσεως αἴτιον. τοῦτον δὴ οὖν τὸν Μεβῶδη βουλευ- 40  
 μάτων τε ἡγούμενον καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντι κῦρος ὀπλίσας  
 ἐξέπεμψε, πρὸς γε καὶ Σαπῶν τὸν Μειράνου ἀνδρὸς οὐκ  
 ἀγεννοῦς ἀπενεγκάμενον δόξαν.

(Suda E2058 = vv.14-16)

30-31 περὶ τὰς ἡ' οἷς ἡγεμόνα ἐχειροτόνησε Μεβῶδη τὸν add. de Boor [ῶν ξυμπάντων  
 ἤρχον οἱ Niebuhr 32 εὐγενῆ de Boor [ἐν γένει codd. εἰρήνην Niebuhr [ὄρεινήν  
 codd. διασκεπτόμενον [διασκεπτόμενοι edd. 34 ἀναίδην [ἀναίδειν BE

[2. (Suda M294)

Οὗτος δὲ προχειρίζεται στρατηγὸς τῆς ἐφάας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου  
 Καίσαρος. ὃς Μαυρίκιος ἐν πολέμοις μὲν καὶ ἀγῶσιν οὐκ  
 ἐντεθραμμένος, ἔμφρων δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ἐμβριθῆς καὶ κατηκριβω-  
 μένος, ξυγκεράσας τε ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἄμφω τὰ ἐναντίως ἔχοντα

towards the Romans that he did not consent to receive the money for the peace on the border, but ordered the Romans to bring it themselves to Nisibis; and when he accepted the gold many of his actions towards them were unbearably arrogant and boorish.<sup>269</sup> Later, Khosro hoped that, if he made light of the truce and brought forward the date of his attack, either the Romans would find themselves in the same difficulties as before<sup>270</sup> or he would achieve a resounding success and the Caesar, in terror and reasoning that the devastation of the East far outweighed the defection to him of the Persarmenians and Iberians, would completely abandon Persian Armenia, Iberia and the neighbouring regions. At the same time he had learned that the Caesar was preparing a very large army and was already sending horse transport-ships to the East. Therefore, shortly before the expiry of the three-year truce (forty days, in fact)<sup>271</sup> he sent against Roman territory in Mesopotamia adjacent to Daras an army of about twenty thousand cavalry, of which about twelve thousand were Persian shield-bearers and mounted archers <and about eight thousand were> Saracens and Sabirs.<sup>272</sup> <He gave the command of them to Mebod, who> was negotiating with the Roman officials over the making of an honourable peace. This earned for Khosro a considerable reputation for arrogance and impertinence, not only because he did not scruple to break the truce so shamelessly – and that with only a few days before it ran out – but also because, as if to mock the Romans, he appointed the same man both as peace negotiator at the border and, in the same region and during the same days, as the one who would break the truce and bring war and turmoil. Therefore, he sent out to war as commander-in-chief Mebod, the architect of this policy, and also Sapoës, the son of Meairanos,<sup>273</sup> a man with a reputation for bravery.

[2. (*Suda* M294)

Maurice. He was made general of the East by Tiberius Caesar. Although he had not been trained in war and conflict, he was intelligent, serious and perceptive. He combined in himself the two

ἀλλήλοις, ὄγκον φρονήματος καὶ πραότητα, πάσης ὑπεροψίας 5  
 τε καὶ ὀφρῦος ἐλεύθερα. τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα τὸν Μαυρίκιον ὄντα ἢ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμονία παραλαβοῦσα ἀνέδειξε πως εὐκλε-  
 ἔστερον τῇ πείρᾳ.]

(*Suda* O22 = vv.4-5)

5 πραότητα [πραότητος G 6 ἐλεύθερα [ἐλεύθερον GVM ἐλευθέραν Bernhardy

### 3. (*Suda* A3080)

Μένανδρος· οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπετάφρουν τὸ πρότερον οὔτε 5  
 μὴν ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ πάμπαν τὸ τοιόνδε εἶχον πρότερον, ἢ Μαυ-  
 ρίκιον τὸν Παύλου ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ ἐφ' οὗ πολέμου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄγε  
 τὴν στρατηγίαν εἶχεν, ἡγεμονεύουσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν ἀτραποῦ, τὸ τοιόνδε ῥαθυμία παροφθὲν ἐς τὸ δέον 5  
 ἐπανήγαγε. Ῥωμαῖοις γὰρ μὴ βουλομένοις ἦν τὸ χρῆμα καὶ εἰς  
 λήθην κατώλισθε. πόνος γὰρ ὄγκω πολέμιος.

3 ὄγε scripsi [ὄτε codd. om. Müller 6 βουλομένοις GITM [βουλόμενον rel. codd.

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 36)

Ἵτι, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὶν ἢ Μαυρίκιον ἡγεμονεῦσαι τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὰ 5  
 κατὰ τῶν δασμοφορούντων ἀδικήματα ἔσφηλε Ῥωμαίους. ταύτη  
 τοι καὶ κατὰ τινα θεήλατον ὀργὴν τὰ δοκηθέντα οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπέσκηψεν ἐς τοῦναντίον. φιλεῖ γὰρ πως τὸ θεῖον  
 τοῖς ἄδικα πεπραχόσιν οὔτι οἰομένοις τὰς ποινὰς ἐπιφέρειν, ὡς 5  
 ἂν τῷ παραλόγῳ τῶν ἀποβάντων σωφρονίζοιεντο πλέον.

### 5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 26)

Ἵτι οἱ Μῆδοι δεδιότες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβολὴν κατὰ τῆς 5  
 Περσῶν ὅσον οὐπω ἐσομένην καὶ ἐπανιόντες τὸ λεγόμενον  
 Θαυννάριος φρούριον, χηρεῦον Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπικουρίας, ἐν  
 κατοχῇ ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν μηδὲν τὸ  
 παράπαν τῆς ἀναισχύντου τῶν σπονδῶν ξυγχύσεως ἄξιόν τι 5  
 πορισάμενοι, μήτε μὴν μέγα τι Ῥωμαίους βλάψαντες, ὡς ὑπωπ-  
 τεύθησαν τὴν ἀρχήν.

5 σπονδῶν Niebuhr [Περσῶν A

### 6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 27)

Ἵτι Ταχοσδρῶ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν Χοσρόου 5  
 βουλήν, ὡς Μεβῶδης ἀναπετρώσας αὐτὸν εἶη μὴ μείναι τὸ πέρασ

1 Ταχοσδρῶ Valesius [τὰ χοσδρῶ A Ταχοσδρῶ Müller

opposites, high-mindedness and gentleness, both free from arrogance and hauteur. Such was Maurice when he became general, and his tenure of office increased his reputation further.]<sup>274</sup>

3. (*Suda* A3080)

Before Maurice, the son of Paul, took command of the war in the East, the Romans did not build a ditch and were completely ignorant of the technique. But when he held the command which set him on the path to the throne, he made them do again what they had neglected through laziness. Since the Romans had not wished to do it, it had been forgotten. For to those who are unwilling hard work is an enemy.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 36)

It seems that before Maurice took over command of the army, the Romans failed because they mistreated their subjects. For this reason and because of some divine anger their plans were not brought to completion, but, on the contrary, came to nothing. For it is the practice of God to chastise those who have done wrong when they are not expecting punishment, so that when things turn out contrary to expectations they may learn greater moderation.<sup>275</sup>

5. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 26)

The Medes, fearing that the Roman attack would take place immediately, retreated to the fort called Thaunnarios, which had been abandoned by its Roman garrison, and occupied it. They then returned home, having achieved nothing at all to justify the shameful breach of the truce and having caused no great damage to the Romans, as had been feared at the beginning.<sup>276</sup>

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 27)

When Tankhosdro himself learned of Khosro's plan, that Mebod had convinced him not to wait for the expiry of the three-year truce

τῶν τριετηρίδων σπονδῶν, αἶ γε ἀμφὶ τῆς ἔω ἐμπεδωθεῖσαι ἐτύγχανον, καὶ ὅτι οὕτω δοκοῦν αὐτῷ ἀναμφιβόλως ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν τε Μεβώδην καὶ Σαπώην τὸν Μαιράνου κατὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἔω τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας, εἴτε προστεταγμένον οἱ τοιάδε ἐκ Χοσρόου εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τοῦτο σκοπῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει δευτέραν ἀφείς ἄγκυραν, ἐκτραπείς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κιθαρίζον ὥρμησε καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἀνατολῇ χώρας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίας ἐμβολῶν, διπλῆν ἐκεῖσε τὴν ταραχὴν ποιησόμενος. 5 10

7 ἐφ' [ἀφ' Hoeschel

7. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 28)

Ὅτι πολιορκούντων Ῥωμαίων τὸ Χλωμάρων καὶ προσβολὰς ἐν κύκλῳ ποιουμένων τὰς τε ἐλεπόλεις μηχανὰς περιστησάντων, πρὸς δέ γε καὶ ὑπονόμους ἔνερθεν ὑπορυττόντων ἐς τὸ ἀφανές, στέλλει Βιγγάνης ὡς Μαυρίκιον τὸν τε τοῦ φρουρίου ἀρχιερέα (Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τῆς Ἀρζανηνῆς ἅπαντες) ταύτη τοι ὡς αἰδοῦς ἀξιωθησόμενον πρὸς Ῥωμαίων Χριστιανῶν ὄντων τὸν προεστῶτα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, <καὶ> ἱκετεύειν ἐπέτρεψε τῷ μυσταγωγῷ εἰληφότητας ὀπόσος ἦν αὐτοῖς χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἀπαναστῆναι καὶ μὴ πέρα πονεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐνδώσειν ποτὲ Βιγγάνου τὸν ἥλιον ὀρῶντος τοὺς ὅσοι γε ἐς τὸ Χλωμάρων εἰσὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἑαυτούς, προσμενόντων τε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Χριστιανῶν ἔσεσθαι τὸ διαφθειρόμενον πλῆθος, καὶ ἀσεβήσειν Ῥωμαίους πρὸς θεὸν περιορῶντας ἀναιτίως τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολλυμένους. ταῦτα Βιγγάνης ἐδήλου. 5 10

Μαυρίκιος δὲ πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ πρὸς ἱκετεῖαν ἀφιγμένοις, πίστεις τε εὐνοίας πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως εἰληφώς, ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσε Βιγγάνη ὡς, εἴπερ ἑαυτὸν ἐνδώσοι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀξιωματός τε μείζονος ἤπερ ἐφ' οὗ νῦν ἐστὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἀξιωθήσεται πρὸς Ῥωμαίων, κτήσεώς τε διπλασίας καὶ ἄλλης εὐπορίας γενήσεται κύριος. καὶ ἕτερα δέ, ὀπόσα ἦν ἐφολκά, εἰπὼν ἀφήσιν αὐθις ἔνδον τοῦ φρουρίου γενέσθαι τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ Βιγγάνης εὐνούστατα ἔχων ὡς βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείαν, ἔτι γε μὴν τῷ χώρῳ πίσυνος, ἤκιστα ταῖς μεγίσταις ὑποσχέσεσι Μαυρικίου τὰ ὧτα ὑπέσχε καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὢν οὐκ ἀφηνίασε τοῦ πρέποντος, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δουλείαν τιμιωτέραν ἠγήσατο πλοῦτου. στέλλει δὲ αὐθις τὰ ἐς ἀγιστεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνειμένα, περιρραντήριά τε καὶ ἐκπώματα 15 20 25



which was in force in the East and that the king had told Mebod himself and Sapoës the son of Mairanos to attack the Roman dominions in the East, then, whether on orders from Khosro or on his own decision, he cast the second anchor, as it were,<sup>277</sup> turned away from Citharizon and attacked the Roman territory in the East from the direction of Armenia, in order to double the turmoil in that area.<sup>278</sup>

7. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 28)

When the Romans were besieging Chlomaron,<sup>279</sup> making assaults on the circuit-wall, bringing up artillery to take the place and also secretly digging mines underground, Binganes sent the bishop of the fort to Maurice (all the inhabitants of Arzanene are Christians) in the belief that the leader of Christ's priests would gain the respect of the Romans since they are Christians. He told the divine to beg them to take all the gold and silver they had, lift the siege and toil no further. For while Binganes lived, none of those in Chlomaron would surrender to the Romans. If they persisted in the siege, it was a multitude of Christians that would be destroyed, and thus the Romans would be acting impiously towards God if they allowed those within to perish for no good reason. This was Binganes' message.

Maurice made many tempting suggestions to the bishop and those who had come with him to plead and, when he had received a promise of support from the bishop, told him to say to Binganes that, if he surrendered to the Romans, he would receive from them a higher rank than he now held amongst the Persians, twice as much property and other wealth besides. Having made other enticing proposals also, he sent the bishop and his companions back into the fort. But Binganes, being extremely loyal to the Persian king and his country and trusting in the strength of the fort, refused to listen to Maurice's very great promises and, though a barbarian, did not swerve from the right course of action, holding that his old allegiance was more honourable than riches. He, therefore, sent again to Maurice, dispatching the sprinklers, chalices and other very precious

καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τιμαλφέστατα σκεύη, ὡς Μαυρίκιον, καθάπερ ἀμέλει λύτρα τοῦ φρουρίου ταῦτα ὑποδέχεσθαι ἀντιβολῶν τὴν 30  
πολιορκίαν καταλύσοντα. ἀτὰρ ὁ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἐθεάσατο, οὐ προσήκατο, καίτοι ἐρίτιμα τυγχάνοντα· ἤξειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὐ τὰ ἱερὰ σκυλεύσων οὔτε μὴν Χριστῷ μαχησόμενος, ἀλλὰ σὺν Χριστῷ πολεμήσων καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξαιρησόμενος τοὺς 35  
ὁμοδόξους πρὸς τῶν οὐκ ὀρθὰ φρονούντων Περσῶν. εἶτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἔλεξε τῷ ἱερουργῷ ὅσα ἐχρῆν, συνεχώρησέ τε αὐθις εἴσω γενέσθαι τοῦ φρουρίου. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆκε τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν ἐς τὸ ἰθὺ τῆς γνώμης ἐφθέγγετο, ἐς τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν τὰ Περσῶν ἐπεφώρατο ἀσπαζόμενος, ξυλλαμβάνεται μὲν ὄγε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ, αὐθις 40  
<δὲ> ἐγκελευσαμένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἶχοντο τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

41 δὲ add. Niebuhr

8. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 17)

Ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἕτερόν τι προστίθησι τῷ δεδομένῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα θεῷ κεχαρισμένον· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δορικτήτων Περσῶν, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τέλει, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ τῷ βασιλείῳ γένει ξυνημμένοι ἦσαν, ἔστειλε Χοσρόη δωροφορήσας. εἶτα πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τῷ τοιῷδε ἐξέπεμψε Ζαχαρίαν τε αὐθις 5  
τὸν βασιλείον ἱατρόν, ἅτε πολλάκις χρησιμώτατά τε καὶ εὐνούστατα ἐξυπηρετησάμενον ταῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον πρεσβείαις. τοῦτον δὴ οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα τῇ λεγομένη ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἀξία διακοσμήσας ἐχειροτόνησε καὶ πάλιν, καὶ δὴ πρεσβευσόμενον ἀφῆκεν, οἷα δὴ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην 10  
γενέσθαι ξυνωθήσαντος, σὺν τῷ καὶ Θεόδωρόν τινα ἕνα τῶν βασιλείων μαχαιροφόρων ἀξίωμα καὶ αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦ περιθείς. τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρῳ πρεσβευσομένῳ ἀπονείμας Χοσρόη ἐξέπεμψεν, ἔγραψέ τε ἐπεικειίας ἀνάπλεα ῥήματα. ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· 15  
ἐγὼ καὶ βούλομαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ διὰ τὸ θεόσδοτον οὐσαν ἀσπάζομαι, καὶ ὥσπερ φύσει τινὶ προσιζάνει μοι τὰ τῆς φιλίας ὑμῶν. τοιγαροῦν ἐτοίμως ἔχω τῆς Περσαρμενίας τε πάσης ἀφίστασθαι καὶ Ἰβηρίας, οὐ μὴν τῶν βουλομένων ἡμῖν ὑπακούειν Περσῶν Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Ἰβήρων. ἀναδίδωμι δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄφουμῶν φρούριον καὶ τῆς Ἀρζανηνῆς ὑμῖν παραχωρήσω τὸ 20  
Δάρας μόνον ἀντὶ τοσοῦτων ἀνακομιζόμενος πρὸς ὑμῶν. ταῦτα Τιβέριος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Χοσρόη σημήνας ἐφῆκε Ζαχαρία τε καὶ

vessels consecrated to the worship of God and begging him to accept them as ransom for the fort and to raise the siege. But when the general saw these objects, he refused them, although they were very valuable. For, he said, he had not come to plunder holy objects or to wage war on Christ, but with Christ's help to fight and to free those of his own faith from the Persians with their erroneous beliefs. Then he spoke secretly with the prelate upon what must be done and allowed him to return within the fort. When, finally, the barbarian priest came out again, he had nothing relevant to say and, to the contrary, was caught favouring the Persians. He and his companions were, therefore, arrested and, at the command of the general, the Romans turned to the siege.<sup>280</sup>

8. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 17)

Tiberius<sup>281</sup> made yet another decision, one particularly pleasing to God. For many of the Persian prisoners-of-war whom the Romans held, especially those of rank, of whom some were even related to the king, he sent to Khosro as a gift. Then he dispatched envoys for this purpose, including yet again Zacharias, the imperial physician, since he had often rendered very useful and loyal service on the embassies over this war. When he used Zacharias again as envoy (on an embassy which Zacharias himself had strongly advised), he bestowed upon him the rank of ex-prefect and sent with him a certain Theodorus, one of the imperial bodyguard, whom he raised to the rank of general.<sup>282</sup> When he sent these two men as envoys to Khosro, Tiberius also wrote him a very reasonable letter. The drift of this letter was: "I want peace, both because I revere it as a gift from God and because there is within me a natural friendship towards you. I am therefore willing to surrender to you all of Persarmenia and Iberia, excepting only those Persarmenians and Iberians who wish to remain my subjects. I also cede the fortress Aphumon and shall hand over to you Arzanene,<sup>283</sup> wishing to receive from you in exchange for all of these only Daras." Along with this message to Khosro, the Emperor Tiberius gave Zacharias and Theodorus the power of major envoys

Θεοδώρω καὶ μεγίστων πρέσβειων ἔχειν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς ἂν οἰοί τε ἔσονται διατιθέναί.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔτι σχομένω σταλέντε ἄνδρε, 25  
 οὕτω παρασχόν, καὶ Χοσρόης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καταπλαγείς  
 τοῖς ξυμβεβηκόσι προφθάσας ἐκπέμπει ὡς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτο-  
 κράτορα πρεσβευτήν, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου ἤδη  
 ὅς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, τοῦνομα 30  
 Φερογδάθης, οὐχ ἥττον καὶ αὐτὸς φιλανθρωποτάτους ἐν ἐπι-  
 στολῇ διακομίζων λόγους πρὸς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, ἐν ἣ  
 ἐγγράπτο ὧδε· εἰ μὲν τὸ δίκαιον ποιῆσαι βουλευθείης, ὡ  
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῦ, καλῶς ἂν πράξεις τούς τε τὴν ἀποστασίαν  
 τῆς Περσαρμενίας βουλεύσαντας γενεάρχας ἐκδιδοὺς ἡμῖν 35  
 ὑφέξοντας ποινὰς ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τε τῆς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀναρτηθησομένους, διδοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν συμβᾶσαν  
 ζημίαν Πέρσαις. εἰ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐναντίως ἔχεις, πρᾶξαι γοῦν τὸ  
 φίλοις πρόπον· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ ξυνδραμεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐθις  
 τοὺς ἑκατέρας ἄρχοντας πολιτείας τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ἂν 40  
 δύναιντο, μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων διαθησομένους· εφ' ᾧ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 προελθεῖν, ἀνακωχὴν γενέσθαι τινά.

Ἔδε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ Χοσρόου ἐδήλου ἐπιστολή· πλείστων δὲ  
 ἡμερῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν διαγενομένων ἐν ταῖς ἐν μέσῳ  
 συνουσίαις Τιβερίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Φερογδάθου τοῦ Περ- 45  
 σῶν πρεσβευτοῦ, γράφεται μὲν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν  
 Ζαχαρία τε καὶ Θεοδώρω τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐνδιατρίψαι κατὰ τὴν  
 ἔω καὶ οὔτι μάλα ἐν σπουδῇ θέσθαι δηλῶσαι σφῶν αὐτῶν τὴν  
 παρουσίαν βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν, πρὶν ἢ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος  
 ἀφεθείη Φερογδάθης ὁ Περσῶν πρεσβευτής. προελθόντων δὲ 50  
 καὶ <κε>κινημένων ἐσὸτι πλείστων λόγων, ἐκπέμπει τὸν  
 Φερογδάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις, οἷς δὴ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ  
 ἐγγράφει διὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβειων. ἐκεχειρίαν δὲ οὔτι ᾤετο  
 δεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἐνδιδόναι Πέρσαις· ἀποχρῆν γὰρ 55  
 ἔφασκε τῷ βουλομένῳ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ μὴ διὰ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου  
 πλείονος ἀπάτης προμηθευομένῳ παρασκευῆς ἀφορμὴν καὶ δύο  
 μηνῶν ἢ τριῶν παραδρομῆν. καὶ οὖν ἀπῆρεν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε ὁ  
 Φερογδάθης ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.

27 τῶν [τὸν Bekker 37 γοῦν EC [μὲν X 50 καὶ <κε>κινημένων edd. [καὶ κινημένων codd. κεκινημένων de Boor 52 ᾤετο [ᾤεται E 53 χρόνον edd. [χρόνου codd.

### 9. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 18)

Ἵτι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Πέρσαι ξυνεστήσαντο ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ μὴ

to make peace on whatever terms they could.

After this, the two men were sent off, and it so happened that while they were on their way Khosro, the king of the Persians, was stunned by what had happened<sup>284</sup> and acted quickly, sending also an embassy to the Roman Emperor. At the beginning of winter the Persian envoy named Ferogdath arrived bearing a letter from the Persian king with words of equal amity. In the letter was written: "If, O Emperor of the Romans, you wished to do what is just, you would do well to hand over to us those princes who counselled the revolt of Persarmenia in order that, on the border between the Romans and the Persians, they suffer the penalty of gibbeting; you would also pay compensation to the Persians for what happened as a result. If you reject this, at least do what is proper for friends. That is, the high officials of both states must again meet at the border to agree amongst themselves, as best they can, upon the details of peace. Let a truce be made to expedite this."

This was the message of Khosro's letter; and while the Emperor Tiberius and the Persian envoy Ferogdath were spending very many days meeting together in the capital, a letter was sent to the envoys Zacharias and Theodorus as they were travelling outwards on their embassy telling them to wait in the East and make no haste to reveal their presence to the Persian king until Ferogdath, the Persian envoy, had been dismissed from the capital. When many discussions had been held and progress had been made, the Emperor dismissed Ferogdath with the terms which he had earlier made in writing through the Roman envoys. He did not propose to grant the Persians a truce for a very long time, since, he said, a period of two or three months was sufficient for one who wanted peace and did not intend to use a longer time deceitfully for beginning war preparations. With these terms, therefore, Ferogdath left Byzantium.

9. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 18)

The Romans and the Persians would have made peace, had not

Χοσρόης ὄχετο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ Ὀρμίσδας ὁ Χοσρόου, ἀνοσιουργὸς ὄντως ἀνὴρ, τὴν κίδαριν ἀνεδήσατο. οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐκ ἄλλως, πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐκυρώθη, ἅτε Χοσρόου ἔτι περιόντος Ζαχαρίαν τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ἐσφοιτῆσαι ἐς τὴν 5 Περσῶν πρεσβευσομένους (οὐπὼ γὰρ τὴν τῶν Σύρων παραμειψάμενοι ἦσαν) καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐνηλλάγη πρεσβείας. διὸ καὶ ἐκ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς γράμματα ἐστάλη ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. γινῶναι μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τὴν Χοσρόου τελευτήν, ὅμως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα οὐκ 10 ἄλλως φρονεῖν ἐτοίμως τε ἔχειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη Χοσρόη γραφεῖσι καταλῦσαι· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀφεθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ὡς ἂν ἐγχειρίσωσι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ. προσημῆναντες τοίνυν οἱ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις σὺν τιμῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ εὐφημίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐγένοντο πόλιν· ἐν θαύματί τε 15 μεγίστῳ ἐποιοῦντο Πέρσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τοὺς δοριαλώτους φιλανθρωπίαν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ στέλλει αὐθις τοῦ ἥρος ἀρχομένου Μαυρίκιον κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀποκαραδοκῆσοντα τὸ ἐσόμενον, ἐγκελευσάμενός οἱ, πρὸς 20 ὅπερ ἂν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τραπῆ, ὑπαντιάζειν τε καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς ἑκατέραν τῶν πραγμάτων ῥοπήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν, καθὰ βασιλεῖ ἐδόκει, ἀνὰ τὴν ἔω ἔμενε τὸ πρακτέον ἐπιτηρῶν· προϊόντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὰ ἦθη Περσῶν ἐπειγομένων τε θεάσασθαι τὸν ἄρτι τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ ἐπιβεβηκότα οἰομένων 25 τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τεύξεσθαι τιμῆς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σπουδαζομένων οὐτι ἀποτεύξεσθαι (οἷα μετὰ τοσαύτην νίκην πράους τε καὶ πάσης αὐθαδειίας ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐπικομιζόμενοι λόγους· καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον ἄχρι ῥημάτων αὐτῷ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἔργοις ἐπιδεικνυμένου, τῷ τοσοῦτους δοριαλώτους τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτοὺς ἐπαναγαγεῖν), τούτων ἐλπιζόντων γε αὐτῶν κυρῆσαι ἀναμφιβόλως, 30 ἐς τοῦναντίον ξυνέβη ἅπαν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέσον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν τις παρὰ Πέρσαις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἐξυπηρετουμένων, οὓς, εἴ τις τῇ Λατίνων χρήσοιτο φωνῇ, ἀσηκρῆτις 35 προσαγορεύσειεν, ὑπαντιάσας εἶρετο σφᾶς ὃ τι βούλοιντό τε καὶ ὃ τι ἤκοιεν καὶ ὁποῖαν ἀποκομίζοιεν ἀγγελίαν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν οἱ γε ἀμφὶ Ζαχαρίαν τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ὠδε ἀπεκρίναντο, ὡς τὰ

Khosro left this life and his son, Hormisdas, a truly wicked man, assumed the crown.<sup>285</sup> I think it had been decided that Zacharias and Theodorus would proceed to Persia on their embassy in exactly the same way as if Khosro were still alive (for they had not yet left Syria), and nothing in the brief of the Romans had been changed. Thus, from the Emperor, too, there was sent a letter to the effect that they should continue their journey with the same terms. He told them that although he had in the meantime learned of Khosro's death, his attitude towards his son was the same, and he was prepared to end the war on the terms that he had already written to Khosro; furthermore, the envoys were to deliver to the Persian king the captives who had been freed. The Roman envoys, therefore, sent ahead to announce their arrival and were received at the city of Nisibis with much honour and praise. The Persians were greatly impressed by the Roman generosity over the prisoners-of-war.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of spring the Emperor Tiberius again sent Maurice to the East to keep a close watch on what would happen. He ordered him to meet whatever course of action the Persian king should decide upon and to make preparations for either eventuality. Maurice, as the Emperor had instructed, waited in the East looking out for what must be done.<sup>286</sup>

As the envoys proceeded into the land of Persia they were eager to see the newly-enthroned king and they expected that they would be accorded the highest honour and that they would not fail to obtain what they sought since, after such a great victory, they were bringing words from the Roman Emperor which were mild and devoid of all boasting (and his friendliness towards Hormisdas extended not only to words, but, more importantly, he showed it by deeds through his returning so many captives to the Persians). But, while they expected to achieve their aims without difficulty, everything turned out to the contrary.

First, in the middle of their journey they were confronted by one of those amongst the Persians who assist in royal and public business (called *a secretis* in Latin), who asked them what they wanted, why they had come and what message they carried. The companions of Zacharias and Theodorus replied that they were to

τοιάδε τῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις μαγίστρῳ, καθὰ τοῦτον καλοῦσι 40  
 Ῥωμαῖοι, ρητέον, καὶ οὐχὶ αὐτῷ. ταῦτα εἰπόντες εἶχοντο τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ. ἐξ ἐκείνου ἦκεν ἕτερός τις ἐκ Περσῶν, ὃς ἔτριβε τὴν  
 ὁδοιπορίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαμέλλειν ἐποίει βραδυτῆτος χρώμενος  
 ἐπινοίαις ἰέναι τε ἐς τὰ πρόσω μὴ συγχωρῶν. σταθμοῖς τε γὰρ  
 πλησιαιτέροις καὶ παρασάγγαις ὀλίγοις ἐχρήτο <ἐς> ἄλλοτε 45  
 ἄλλους χώρους περιφέρων τε καὶ ἀποπλανῶν, κάκ τούτου τὰ  
 κάκιστα σφίσι προεδήλου καὶ ἐδείκνυ τῇ περὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν  
 πλάνη οὐδέν τι φιλοφροσύνης ἐχόμενον ἢ τῆς προσηκούσης  
 αἰδοῦς πρέσβειν. ἦν δὲ τὸ πραττόμενον ἐξ ἐπιβουλής τε καὶ  
 μελέτης, ὥστε ἐπισχεῖν σφᾶς ὅσον ἂν χρόνον οἰοί τε ὧσιν, ἐν 50  
 τούτῳ τὴν κατὰ δύνάμιν ποιησομένους τοῦ πολέμου παρα-  
 σκευὴν τὰ ἐπιτήδειά τε συναθροίσοντας ἀποτεθησόμενα κατὰ  
 δὴ τὸ ὅσον οὐπὼ ἀναγκαῖον ἐς Νίσιβίν τε καὶ τὸ Δάρας τὰς  
 πόλεις, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆδε  
 φρούρια ἀνάπλευα θέσθαι τῶν ἐδωδύμων, ὡς ἀκρίδος οὕτω 55  
 ξυμβὰν καταδηλησαμένης τοὺς ἐκείνη καρπούς, καὶ ἅμα ἐρημω-  
 θέντων κατὰ τὴν προλαβοῦσαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδρομὴν ἀπάντων  
 τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα χωρίων, λιμοῦ τε σφοδροτάτου τοῖς ἐκεῖσε  
 ἐνσκήψαντος· πρὸς δέ γε ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ στρατολογῆσαι, ἅτε  
 πολεμησεῖοντος ἐς τὸ ἐμβριθὲς τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν. 60

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβούλευτο, μόλις μετὰ πλείστας  
 ὅσας ἡμέρας ἐδόθη τοῖς πρέσβειν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἐσφοιτῆσαι.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καθὰ τῇ συνηθείᾳ ἐδόκει, θοινησάμενοι καὶ τὸ  
 ἐκ βασιλέως γράμμα ἐγχειρίσαντες, πρὸς γε καὶ τοὺς δορια-  
 λώτους ἀποδεδωκότες, ἐνθένδε ἀνεχώρησαν φιλοφροσύνης μη- 65  
 δὲν ὀτιοῦν εὐρηκότες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὁ παρὰ Πέρσαις τῆς αὐλῆς  
 ἡγεμῶν καὶ Μεβῶδης ἐπυνθανέσθην τὴν δύνάμιν τῆς πρεσβείας.  
 τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων ὅτι δὴ περὶ εἰρήνης ἦκοιεν πρεσβευσόμενοι,  
 αὐτίκα οἷγε οὐδὲ προσίεντο τοὺς περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν λόγους  
 φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐπιτετράφθαι τι τοιόνδε, ἀλλὰ συλλαβὰς ἀπο- 70  
 δόντας ἀντιλαβεῖν χρῆναι καὶ ὡς θᾶττόν γε δήπου τῆς Περσῶν  
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ἐν φανερωῖ τοίνυν ποιησαμένων τὴν ἐφιεῖσαν  
 αὐτοῖς τοῦτο κέλευσιν, ἐγνώσαν ἐν βραχεῖ ὅ τι δύναται ἢ  
 ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῆς  
 πρεσβείας ἄπασαν, ὡς ἔτοιμος εἶη κατασβεννύναι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ 75  
 πολέμου χαλεπὰ καὶ τὴν περιμάχητον αὐτοῖς Ἀρμενίαν ἄπασαν  
 ἀμαχητὶ ἐνδοῦναι, παραχωρῆσαι δὲ σφίσι καὶ Ἀρζανηνῆς

45 ἐς add. de Boor 52 συναθροίσοντας Müller [συναθροίζοντας codd. 60 ἐς [ὡς E 66 εὐ-  
 ρηκότες Niebuhr C [εἰρηκότες rel. codd. 70 τοιόνδε Hoeschel [τοιούτου δὲ codd. δὲ del.  
 de Boor 72 ἀπαλλαγῆναι Niebuhr [ὑπαλλαγῆναι codd.



tell this to the Persian *magister* (as the Romans call him) and not to him. Saying this, they continued on their way.<sup>287</sup> After him came another Persian, who slowed down their journey and made them loiter by intentionally proceeding slowly and refusing to allow them to press ahead. He halted at stations that were very close together, having covered only a few parasangs, and at various times led them into different regions off their path. Thus, he showed them the greatest ill-will and, by leading them astray, demonstrated neither the friendship nor respect due to ambassadors.<sup>288</sup> This was done with purpose and hostile intent, in order to detain the envoys as long as they were able, during which time the Persians would be preparing for war as fully as they could, collecting supplies to be stored in the cities of Nisibis and Daras and laying up food-stocks in the forts both on the far side and on this side of the Tigris. For at the same time as the earlier Roman incursion had desolated all of the region, a plague of locusts had destroyed the crops there and the inhabitants were suffering from a very severe famine. In addition, time was needed to raise an army, since the Persian king was determined upon a strong effort in the war.

Since these were the Persians' plans, the ambassadors were grudgingly allowed to enter the palace only after very many days. First, as was customary, they were feasted, they delivered the Emperor's letter and handed over the captives. Then they departed, having found no sign of friendship at all. On the next day, the Persian chief minister of the palace<sup>289</sup> and Mebod asked the competence of the embassy. When they replied that they had come to treat for peace, the Persians refused to listen to their proposals on this, saying that they had been given no such instructions: having delivered their letter, the envoys would receive a reply and should quit Persian territory as speedily as possible. Since the envoys had now explained their brief, the Persians had quickly learned both the contents of the letter of the Roman Emperor and the whole purpose of the embassy: that the Emperor was ready to put an end to the hardships of the war, to surrender to the Persians without a struggle all of the part of Armenia over which they were fighting, to yield to them Arzanene

ἀντιχαριζόμενος τοῦ Δάρας τὸ Ἄφουμῶν φρούριον.

Ἐδέξατο μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐθις αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, τραχύτητι δὲ χρώμενος πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν φιλανθρώπως γεγραμμένων οὔτε ἀποστήσεσθαι ἔφη πώποτε τοῦ Δάρας, οὐ μᾶλλον γε ἢ τῆς Νισίβιος ἢ Σιγγάρων, ἅπερ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἀπισχυρίζετο ἔχειν Πέρσας, οὔτε μὴν ἐλαττώσειν τι τῶν πατρῶων κτημάτων, ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, ἐς αὔξησιν αὐτὰ ἐνεγκεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταλελειμμένα φυλάξειν. Χοσρόην μὲν γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἔφη ὡς· εἴ γε περιῆν, ἴσως τὸ τοιόνδε ἔπραξεν ἂν καὶ τὸ Δάρας ἐφῆκε Ῥωμαίοις. τῷ γὰρ προσκτησαμένῳ τι καὶ τοῦτο ἀποβεβληκότι οὐχ οὕτως αἰσχρόν· αἰσχύνη δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καταπροέσθαι τὰ πατρῶα. ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς διὰ Μεβόδου πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησε κατάδηλον ὡς· ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονοῦντες ἀξιοῦσι πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀνακομίζεσθαι τὸ Δάρας; ποῖον νενικηκότες πόλεμον; ποίοις ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι τροπαίοις; ποῖ δῆτα καθυπέρτεροι γενόμενοι Περσῶν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπειρίας δραξάμενοι τοῦ Ταχοσδρῶ καὶ περιαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς ἄλλοτε ἄλλους χώρους, ἐπειδὴ περιπλανωμένου ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ἐκείνου εἰς Ἀρζανηνὴν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀρζανηνῆς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἀδειαν ἔσχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταδραμεῖν τὴν ἕω Περσῶν· τῷ τοι ἄρα βρενθύνονται ἴσως καὶ μεγαλαυχοῦσιν ὑποτοποῦντες ἐν ἐλάττονι μοίρα τὰ ἡμέτερα κείσθαι. ἴστωσαν οὖν, ἔφη, Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνέξομαι τῆς εἰρήνης, εἰ μήπω κατατιθέναι μέλλοιεν καὶ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐκομιζόμεθα χρήματα ἂν ἔτος.

Τοσαύτη μεγαληγορία χρησαμένου Ὀρμίσδα μόλις ἀφείθησαν Ζαχαρίας τε καὶ Θεόδωρος ἄχρι τριῶν ἤδη φθινόντων μηνῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐνδιατρίψαντες πάντων τε τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντες. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀέρα καθαρὸν ἀναπνεῦσαι, οὐ μὴν προκῦψαι ἐκ τοῦ τέγους, ἵνα ἐνδιαιτώμενοι ἦσαν, ξυνεχώρουν οἷς ἢ φυλακῇ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀνειμένη ἐτύγχανεν, τό τε δωμάτιον αὐτὸ ζοφῶδές τε ἦν καὶ ἀδιάπνευστον καὶ ὥρα θέρους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀναρμόδιον, ὡς δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα εἰρκτήν. τοῖς τοιοῖσδε τοίνυν δεινοῖς ἐκτετριμμένους διαφῆκαν πολλῶ δυσκολώτερον αὐθις πρὸς τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτοῖς χρησάμενοι, ὡς μήτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀποχρῶν σφίσι μεταδιδόναι τρίβειν τε τὸν χρόνον καὶ μακροτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πορείαν ἐργάζεσθαι. μιᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν σφᾶς ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω, τῇ ἐφεξῆς

87 ἐφῆκε [ἀφῆκε Niebuhr 94 Ταχοσδρῶ [Τανχοσδρῶ Müller 101 βασιλέως Hoeschel [βασιλέα codd. 105 ἐλθόντες Niebuhr [ἐλθόντων codd. 108 ἀδιάπνευστον Niebuhr [διάπνευτον codd. ἀδιατύπτων Suda X473 109 ἀναρμόδιον [ἀνάρμοστον Suda l.c.

also and to exchange the fortress of Aphumon for Daras.

The Persian king gave the envoys a second audience and reacted harshly to each of the friendly proposals in the letter. He said that he would never abandon Daras, any more than he would Nisibis or Singara, which places also, he stressed, the Persians had taken from the Romans.<sup>290</sup> Nor would he diminish his father's possessions. If he could, he would increase them; if not, he would preserve what had been left him. Of his father, Khosro, he said, "If he had lived, perhaps he would have done this and handed Daras to the Romans. For it is no shame for one who has acquired something to give it away. But in the eyes of all men it is disgraceful to abandon one's inheritance." Having said this, he again addressed them through Mebod: "What are the Romans so proud of that they think to receive Daras from us? What war have they won? Of what trophies can they boast? Where have they beaten the Persians? The Romans seized upon Tankhosdro's ineptitude, lured him from one place to another, and were able to invade the Persian East without opposition, while he wandered from Armenia to Arzanene and from Arzanene to Armenia. Perhaps this is why the Romans boast and preen themselves, thinking that our state has been reduced. Let the Romans know," he said, "that I shall never consent to peace unless they are also willing to pay the yearly payments that we received from the Emperor Justinian."

When Hormisdas had made this arrogant reply, Zacharias and Theodorus were finally dismissed, having spent almost three months there and having suffered all manner of discomforts. For the guard assigned to the envoys did not allow them to breathe fresh air or even put their heads out of the building where they were lodged. Their lodging itself was dark and poorly ventilated and particularly unsuitable for the summer, so that it actually seemed like a prison. When they had been worn out by these bad conditions, the Persians dismissed them and harassed them far worse on their return trip. For they supplied them with provisions insufficient for their needs, forced them to delay and made their journey very long. They led them forward for one day's journey and on the next led them back by

δι' ἐτέρας ἀτραποῦ ἐς τοῦμπαλιν ἐπανῆγον, ἕως πολλῶν ἀνι- 115  
 αρῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναπλήσαντες, ὡς καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀμέλει νόσω  
 βαρυτάτη περιπεσεῖν, ἐξώθησαν τῆς Περσῶν.

Ἄφικομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίας παρὰ βασιλέα Ῥω-  
 μαίων καὶ παρὰ τὴν πάντων ἐλπίδα προσπεσούσης (οὐ γὰρ ᾤθηθη 120  
 πώποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ μικροῖς οὕτω καὶ λίαν συμμέτροις τὴν  
 εἰρήνην μὴ προσδέξασθαι), Μαυρικίῳ μὲν εἰκότως ἐσήμαινεν  
 ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸν προχωροῦντα τρόπον, καὶ τὰ  
 ἄλλα περιεσκόπει, ὡς ἂν ἀμηγέπη οἶός τε ἔσοιτο βοηθηῖσαι τοῖς  
 πράγμασιν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ εἶχε κακῶς τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ  
 γὰρ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐπεποίητο. 125  
 (*Suda* X473 = vv.107-109)

117 ἐξώθησαν [ἐξεώθησαν MP ἐξώσθησαν Hoeschel 121 προσδέξασθαι Dindorf [προσ-  
 δέξασθαι codd. 124 οἱ Dindorf [οἱ codd. τῷ Bekker

#### 10. (*Exc. de Sent.* 37)

Συνεστηκότος γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς δεδιότος, καιροφυλακοῦντος δὲ εἴ πη  
 διασπασθεῖεν καὶ δώσοιεν αὐτοὶ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐφόδου καιρὸν  
 ἀσύμφορον (ἔδοξε δὲ τισὶ τοὺς ἅμα πάντας ἀπροσμάχους νομι-  
 ζομένους, τούτους κατὰ τὴν πολεμίαν διαιρεθέντας εὐεπιχειρή- 5  
 τούς ποιῆσαι) . . . .

1 συνεστηκότος Boissevain [ἀφεστηκότος Mai 2 Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς [Ῥωμαϊκῆς <δυνά-  
 μως> Bekker 4 δὲ [δὴ Boissevain

#### 11. (*Exc. de Sent.* 38)

Ὅτι εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν ὀκτακοσίων λευκῶν ἵππων ὑπὸ Ἀζαρέφθου  
 ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς θρίαμβον ἀχθέντων φησὶν ὁ ἱστορικὸς Μέν-  
 ανδρος· ταῦτά μοι ἢ ἀβουλία καὶ ἢ καταφρόνησις ἤλικα  
 ἐργάζονται κακὰ παραστῆσαι βουλομένῳ λέλεκται, καὶ ὡς ὁ  
 θεός, ἠνίκα ἂν οὐ ξυνεπιλαμβάνηται, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα εὖ 5  
 βεβουλεῦσθαι περιάγεται ἐς τούναντίον, καὶ ὡς ἄγαν χαλεπὸν  
 καὶ πολιτείαν διαφθεῖραι δυνάμενον τὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀνήκοον.  
 Μαυρίκιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι  
 ἐδόκει, καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἀνθρώπῳ προέγνω τὰς ἀδήλους  
 τῶν πράξεων ἀποβάσεις, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἀκοσμία 10  
 τῷ μὴ φυλάξαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰρημένα τε καὶ παρεγγυηθέντα ἐς  
 ἔσχατον κινδύνου τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤλασε πράγματα. καὶ οὐχ ἢ  
 σταλεῖσα μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κατὰ τε τὸ Δούβιον καὶ

another path, until they had so distressed them that they both fell seriously ill. Then they sent them out of Persia.

When the Roman Emperor received this news, which fell short of the hopes of all (for it was never expected that the Persians would reject a peace with such minor and very fair conditions attached), he properly ordered Maurice to prepare for the war in the appropriate way and he himself sought whatever other means he could to help in the circumstances. Furthermore, the army was well-disposed towards him because he had paid them.

10. (*Exc. de Sent. 37*)

When the enemy's army had gathered, it was afraid of the size of the Roman force. It therefore waited for the Romans to disperse and offer an opportunity to attack and cause them damage, since some of the Persians thought that, while they would be difficult opponents when united, they would be easier to attack when scattered over hostile territory.<sup>291</sup>

11. (*Exc. de Sent. 38*)

Speaking of the eight hundred white horses captured by Azarephth and displayed in triumph, the historian Menander says: I have recorded these matters since I wish to demonstrate what great evils are caused by folly and arrogance and to show that when God is not on one's side he brings what seems a well-thought-out plan to failure, and that the disobedience of subordinates is a very dangerous thing which can ruin a state. Maurice, the Roman commander, seemed to have laid his plans well and, as far as a man could, to have taken precautions against unforeseeable developments. But the indiscipline of the other generals and their failure to follow his orders brought the Romans into the gravest danger. For it was not merely that the army sent by the general against Dubius and Iberia met with

Ἰβηρίαν ταῦτα ἐδυστύχησε στρατιὰ μόνον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μαυρίκιος ἀπαθῆς κακῶν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ κάκεϊνος ἐς τελευταίας 15  
διωλίσθησεν ἐλπίδας, ὅμως διεσώθη μόλις.

16 διεσώθη [an δὲ ἐσώθη ? Boissevain

## 12. (Exc. de Sent. 39)

Ἵτι ἢ τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἀναβολὴ τὸν προσδοκήσαντα  
ῥαθυμότερον διατίθησιν.

1 ἀναβολὴ [ἀνάγκη edd. προσδοκήσαντα [προσδοκῶντα edd.

## 24

### (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 29)

Ἵτι Ἰταλία ὑπὸ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἐπεπόρθητο.  
διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης  
ἅμα ἱερεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ προεστῶτος [τῆς] ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἱερῶν  
πεμφθέντων τινῶν, παρεγένοντο πρεσβευόμενοι ὡς τὸν αὐτο-  
κράτορα τοῖς ἐκεῖσε μέρεσιν ἐπαρκέσαι. ἀλλ' ὁ Περσικὸς 5  
πόλεμος ἐν Ἀρμενία τε κατὰ ταῦτὸν καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑῶν  
ξυνεστηκῶς τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπολήγων, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ  
μείζονα δυσχερῆ ἐκτεινόμενος, οὐδεμίαν ἀξιόλογον συνεχώ-  
ρησε στρατιὰν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα οὐδὲ μὴν ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς  
ἐκεῖσε πράγμασι δύναμιν στείλαι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων 10  
τε καὶ ἐνδεχομένων στρατεύματι ξυναγείρας ἔστελλεν ὁ βασι-  
λεὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐτίθετο ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ σπουδὴν, εἴ πως  
τινας τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ Λογγιβάρδων ἔθνους δεξιώσεται  
δώροις ὑποπείθων καὶ μεγίστας ἐπαγγελλόμενος χάριτας, ἥδη  
τε πλείστοι τῶν δυνατῶν μετετίθεντο ὡς Ῥωμαίους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ 15  
αὐτοκράτορος ὠφέλειαν προσδεχόμενοι.

3 τισι post ἱερεῦσι add. de Boor τῆς del. Niebuhr 13 δεξιώσεται [δεξιώσεται Dindorf

## 25

### 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 30)

Ἵτι Βαιανὸς ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων Χαγάνος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀφορμῆς ἢ  
σκήψεως λαβόμενος οὐδὲ ψευδῆ γοῦν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰτίαν  
ἀξιώσας τινὰ συνθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τόδε ὁμοίως τὸ ἔτος  
Ταργίτιον πρὸς βασιλέα στείλας, ὡς τὰ συνταχθέντα κομίσειτο

these reverses while Maurice suffered no ill effects, but Maurice himself was reduced to desperate straits and barely escaped.<sup>292</sup>

12. (*Exc. de Sent. 39*)

If what is expected is delayed, he who is waiting is made to relax.

## 24

(*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 29*)

Italy had been almost entirely devastated by the Lombards. Therefore, men were sent from the senate of Old Rome together with priests dispatched by the archbishop of Rome and they came as envoys to the Emperor to ask him to defend the lands there. However, the war with the Persians was raging both in Armenia and in the East, and not only was it not abating but was causing even greater difficulties. The result was that the Emperor was unable to send a considerable army or any force that was adequate for the situation there. Nevertheless, the Emperor did send a small army from the men whom he had available and he made great efforts to win over some of the leaders of the Lombards by approaching them with gifts and promising them very great rewards. Very many of the chiefs did accept the Emperor's generosity and came over to the Romans.<sup>293</sup>

## 25

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 30*)

When in this year<sup>294</sup> Baian as usual sent Targitius to the Emperor to receive the agreed payment (which was eighty thousand *nomismata* per year) and when Targitius had returned to him with the gold and the merchandise which he had bought with some of the money, then

τῶν χρημάτων (ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ χιλιάδες ὑπῆρχον εἰς ἔτος 5  
 ἕκαστον νομισμάτων), ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε ἄλλον φόρτον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν  
 χρημάτων ἐνεπορεύσατο, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἔχων ἐπανῆκεν ὡς  
 αὐτόν, ἐκεῖνος ἀναισχυντότατα καὶ βαρβαρώτατα ἄφνω παρα-  
 λύσας τὰς συνθήκας, ἅς πρὸς Τιβέριον τῆς Καίσαρος ἐπιβάντα  
 τύχης εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πανστρατιᾷ κινήσας 10  
 ἀφικνεῖται κατὰ δὴ τὸν Σάον ποταμὸν μεταξὺ Σιρμίου πόλεως  
 καὶ Σιγγηδόνης. καὶ γεφυροῦν ἐπεχειρεῖ τὸν ῥοῦν, ἐπιβουλεύων  
 μὲν Σιρμῖω τῇ πόλει καὶ παραστήσασθαι ταύτην βουλόμενος,  
 δείσας δὲ μὴ διακωλυθεῖν πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐπιφυλατ-  
 τόντων ἐν Σιγγηδόني καὶ τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου πεῖράν τε καὶ 15  
 ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς διαπλευούσαις τὸν ποταμὸν ναυσὶν  
 ὑπειδόμενος, βουλόμενός τε πρὸ <τοῦ> τὴν βουλὴν ἐς τὸ  
 φανερόν ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ ἐγχείρημα τελεώσασθαι, πλοῖα συναγεί-  
 ρας κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Πανωνίαν εἰς τὸν Ἴστρον πολλὰ βάρεα, καὶ  
 οὐ κατὰ λόγον τῆς ναυπηγικῆς τέχνης, ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων 20  
 μακρὰς συμπηξάμενος στρατιώτιδας ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς  
 ἐπιβιβάσας ὀπλίτας ἐρέτας τε οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικῶς  
 τε καὶ ἀνωμάλως ταῖς κώπαις τύπτοντας τὸ ὕδωρ, κινήσας  
 ἀθρόον ταῖς τε ἐπακτρίσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ  
 πάσης τῆς Ἀβάρων στρατιᾶς πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Σιρμιανῆς πορευό- 25  
 μενος νήσου, παραγίνεται κατὰ τὸν Σάον ποταμὸν.

Διαταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις Ῥωμαίων  
 καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρημα συννοησάντων, τοῦ τε ἐν Σιγγηδόني στρα-  
 τηγοῦ Σήθου τοῦνομα στείλαντος πρὸς τὸν Χαγάνον καὶ  
 ἐπερωτῶντος ὃ τι δὴ καὶ βουλόμενος, εἰρήνης βεβαίας τε καὶ 30  
 φιλίας συνεστῶσης αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, πρὸς τὸν Σάον  
 ἀφίκετο ποταμὸν, ἅμα δὲ λέγοντος ὡς οὐ περιόψεται γεφυροῦν  
 ἐπιχειροῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ποταμὸν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος ὅλως τοῦ  
 αὐτοκράτορος· οὐ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τι μηχανώμενος ἔφη βού-  
 λεσθαι πηγνύναι τὴν γέφυραν, ἄλλως δὲ κατὰ Σκλαυηνῶν 35  
 χωρεῖν, καὶ διαπεραιούμενος τὸν Σάον ἐπιβαίνων τε ἐς τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων αὐθὶς τὸν Ἴστρον διαβήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν, πλοίων  
 αὐτῷ πολλῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος ἐς τὴν διάβασιν  
 παρασκευαζομένων· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρότερον πρὸς χάριν τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως πρᾶξαι καὶ πολλὰς αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας ἐκ 40  
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς Σκλαυηνοῖς δεδουλωμένων ἐλευθέρως αὐθὶς  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδοῦναι. νῦν δὲ ὑβρίσθαι μὲν ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐ

17 ὑπειδόμενος Müller [ὑφειδόμενος A ὑπιδόμενος Dindorf πρὸ <τοῦ> Niebuhr [πρὸς A  
 πρὶν Valesius 21 συμπηξάμενος Hoeschel [ἀμπηξάμενος A 30 δὴ Hoeschel [δεῖ A  
 37 Ῥωμαίων Dindorf [Ῥώμη A



the Khagan of the Avars, without seeking an excuse or a pretext or even troubling to invent a false charge against the Romans, suddenly with a most barbarous lack of shame broke the treaty which he had made with Tiberius immediately after he had become Caesar.<sup>295</sup> With his whole army he came to the Save between Sirmium and Singidunum and began to bridge the river, having as his object the city of Sirmium, which he wished to capture.<sup>296</sup> Fearing that he would be prevented from bridging the river by the Romans who were guarding Singidunum and being wary of their long expertise and skill with the ships that sailed on the river, he wished to complete his undertaking before his designs became known. Therefore, he brought together on the Danube in Upper Pannonia many huge ships and he built large troop-transports not according to shipwrights' standards but from what was available on the spot. He loaded them with many soldiers and oarsmen, who rowed not in rhythm but in a barbarously uncoordinated manner, and sent the vessels *en masse* down the river,<sup>297</sup> while he with the whole of his army marched by way of the island of Sirmium<sup>298</sup> and reached the river Save.

The Romans in these cities were thrown into consternation, and, when they realised what the aim was, the general at Singidunum,<sup>299</sup> whose name was Sethus, sent to the Khagan and asked him what his purpose was in coming to the river Save while there was a firm peace and friendship between him and the Romans. He also said that if he tried to bridge the river absolutely without the Emperor's permission, he would not stand idly by. The Khagan replied that he wished to build the bridge not with any designs against the Romans, but in order to attack the Slavs. When he had crossed the river and reached Roman territory, he would again cross the Danube against the Slavs if the Roman Emperor had a large number of vessels ready for him for the crossing. He pointed out that he had done this earlier to please the Roman Emperor and had freed and returned to the Romans many tens of thousands of captives from Roman territory who were in slavery amongst the Slavs. Now, he said, he had been

βουλομένων τὸ συνταχθὲν τηνικαῦτα τέλος παρὰ σφῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατατιθέναι, καὶ πρέσβεις δὲ Ἀβάρων σταλέντας πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι, διὰ ταῦτά τε ἵκειν ἕς τὸν Σάον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσε δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Σῆθον σταλησομένου· δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ αἰτήσοντα παρασκευάσαι κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον αὐτῷ τὰ πλοῖα διαπεραιούσθαι μέλλοντι κατὰ Σκλαυηνῶν, ὁμνύειν τε ἔλαγεν ἔχειν ἐτοιμῶς τοὺς νομιζομένου· μεγίστους παρὰ τε Ἀβάροις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκους, ὡς οὐδεμίαν τινα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἢ κατὰ τῆς Σιρμίου πόλεως μηχανώμενος βλάβην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Σκλαυηνῶν ἐφόδῳ τὴν γέφυραν βούλοιο πῆξασθαι.

Ταῦτα οὐ πιστὰ μὲν οὔτε Σῆθῳ αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν Σιγγηδόνι ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίοις· ὅμως δὲ οὔτε παρασκευὴν ἰκανὴν ἔχειν οἰόμενοι, στρατιωτῶν τε ὀλίγων αὐτοῖς παρόντων καὶδρομάδων νεῶν πολλῶν οὐ παρουσῶν, οἷα τῆς κινήσεως ταύτης ἐξαιφνης τε καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως γενομένης, ἅμα τε τοῦ Χαγάνου δι-  
 απειλεῖν ἀρξάμενου καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ταῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συντεθειμέναις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐμμένοι συν-  
 θήκαις, κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολέμιων Σκλαυ-  
 ηνῶν χωρῶν οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ ἔργου τῆς γεφυρώσεως· εἰ δέ τις  
 θαρρήσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐν γούν ἀφείναι βέλος κατὰ τῶν ἐπιχει-  
 ρούντων πηγνύναι τὴν γέφυραν, γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐτοὶ τῆς  
 αἰτίας τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν ἤρξαντο καταλύσεως, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἄτε ἐκπολεμώσαντας αὐτοὺς τὸ Ἀβάρων ἔθνος μὴ μέμφεσθαι ὅτι  
 ἂν παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἠγεμονία πάθῃ. ταῦτα δείσαντες οἱ ἐν  
 Σιγγηδόνι τοὺς ὄρκους γούν αὐτὸν ὁμνύναι προεκαλοῦντο. καὶ  
 ὡς παραυτίκα τοὺς τε Ἀβαρικοὺς ὦμνυεν ὄρκους ξίφος σπασά-  
 μενος καὶ ἐπαρασάμενος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Ἀβάρων ἔθνει παντι  
 ὧς, εἰ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τι μηχανώμενος γεφυροῦν βουλεύοιτο τὸν  
 Σάον, ὑπὸ ξίφους μὲν αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ Ἀβάρων ἄπαν ἀναλωθεῖη  
 φύλον, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἀνωθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 θεὸν πῦρ ἐπαφήσειν, καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὄρη καὶ τὰς ὕλας αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν Σάον ποταμὸν ὑπερβλύσαντα συγκαλύ-  
 ψειν αὐτοῦς, τοιαῦτα βαρβαρικῶς ἀπομοσάμενος ὁ Χαγάνος·  
 νῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὄρκους ὁμνύναι βούλομαι. καὶ ἅμα  
 ἤτει παρ' αὐτῶν, τί δὴ πιστόν τε καὶ σεβάσιμιον ἔχειν νομίζοιεν,  
 καθ' οὗ τοὺς ὁμνύντας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν, ἣν ἐπιπορκοῖεν, οὐκ  
 ἐκφουδέσθαι. παραχρῆμα οὖν ὁ τῆς Σιγγηδόνο·ς πόλεως τὴν

80

70

75

65

60

55

50

injured by the Slavs who had refused to pay him the yearly tribute due from them and had killed the Avar envoys sent to them.<sup>300</sup> For these reasons he had come to the Save. To this end he told Sethus to receive envoys from him and send them on to the Emperor in order that they might ask him to make ready the vessels on the Danube for the Khagan since he intended to cross over to attack the Slavs. He said that he was ready to swear the oaths that were the strongest amongst the Romans and the Avars that he was not planning any harm to the Romans or the city of Sirmium but that he wished to construct the bridge for an attack upon the Slavic nation.

These assurances were believed neither by Sethus nor by the Romans in Singidunum. However, they did not consider that they had an adequate force since they had few soldiers available and many of the swift warships were absent because the movement of the Avars had happened suddenly and unexpectedly. Moreover, the Khagan was beginning to threaten and aver that he himself was abiding by the terms of the peace with the Romans and that he would not cease to work on the bridge since he was proceeding against the Slavs, the enemies of both himself and the Romans. Furthermore, if any Roman dared to hurl one weapon against those working to build the bridge, they should be clear that they were the first to break the treaty and, since as a result they would have provoked the Avar nation to war, they could not complain at whatever the Roman Empire suffered at their hands.

Having these fears, the authorities in Singidunum asked Baian to swear the oaths. He immediately drew his sword and swore the oaths of the Avars, invoking against himself and the whole Avar nation the sanction that, if he planned to build the bridge over the Save out of any design against the Romans, he and the whole Avar tribe should be destroyed by the sword, heaven above and God in the heavens should send fire against them, the mountains and the forests around fall upon them and the river Save overflow its banks and drown them. Thus were the barbarian oaths sworn by the Khagan. "Now," he said, "I wish to swear the Roman oaths," and he also asked what they held to be a sure and binding guarantee that if one who swore by it broke his oath, he would not escape the wrath of God. The archbishop of Singidunum, through those who were acting

ἀρχιερωσύνην διέπων τὰς θεσπεσίας βίβλους αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὰς ἀγγελίας διακομιζόντων <ἐνεχείρισεν>· καὶ ὃς δολερῶτατά πως ἐπικρυψάμενος τὸν νοῦν ἀνίσταται τε ἐκ τῆς καθέδρας καὶ σὺν φόβῳ δῆθεν πολλῶ καὶ σεβάσματι ταῦτα προσποιησάμενος δέχεσθαι καὶ προσκυνήσας προθυμότητα ὦμνυ κατὰ τοῦ λαλήσαντος τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις διφθέραις ῥήματα θεοῦ μηδὲν <τῶν> εἰρημένων παρ' αὐτοῦ διαψεύσεσθαι. δέχεται τοιγαροῦν ὁ Σῆθος τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις καὶ ἀποστέλλει εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα Τιβερίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.

Ἔως δὲ οἱ τε πρέσβεις τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ὁδὸν διήνυον, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔμελλε ταῦτα ἀκούσεσθαι, ὁ Χαγάνος ἐν μέσῳ διαμελλήσας οὐδὲν πάση σπουδῇ καὶ πολυχειρία, συμπάσης αὐτῷ τῆς Ἀβάρων ὡς εἰπεῖν στρατιᾶς συμπονούσης, ἐγεφύρου τὸν ποταμόν, <τὴν γέφυραν τελεσ>θῆναι βουλόμενος πρὶν ἢ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αὐτοῦ συννοήσας τὸ βούλευμα διακωλύειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἐπιχειρήσοι.

82 ἐνεχείρισεν add. Hoeschel 86 ὦμνυ de Boor [ὄμνυ A ὄμνυσι Niebuhr 87 τῶν add. Niebuhr 94 <τὴν γέφυραν τελεσ>θῆναι scripsi (cf. v. 18) [θῆναι A πέρας ἐπιτεῖναι Niebuhr φθάσαι Dindorf

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 31)

Ὅτι ἀφικομένων τῶν πρέσβεων τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐς τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ αἰτούντων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρασκευάσαι τὰς ναῦς τῷ Χαγάνῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον διαβησομένη κατὰ Σκλαυηνῶν (θαρροῦντα γὰρ ἤδη τὸν Χαγάνον ἐς τὴν φιλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυράν τε ἐς τὸν Σάον ἐργάζεσθαι ποταμόν καὶ βούλεσθαι τοὺς κοινούς ἐχθρούς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων Σκλαυηνοὺς ἐκτρίψαι), ταῦτα ἀπαγγειλάντων, εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ Χαγάνου διέγνω σαφῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς τὴν πόλιν τὸ Σίρμιον ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενος ἐργάζοιτο τὴν γέφυραν ἀποκωλύσαι βουλόμενος τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰσκομιδὴν, ὅπως λιμῶ παραστήσοιτο τὴν πόλιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποχρώσας δαπάνας ἐς αὐτὴν προαποθέμενος, τῇ συνεστώσῃ πρὸς Ἀβάρους εἰρήνῃ θαρρῶν), ἀπορῶν δὲ στρατιᾶς, οὔτι λέγω πρὸς τὴν Ἀβάρων δύναμιν ἀντιταξομένης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀλιγίστης ὅλως ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, πάντων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ μέσῃ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐνησχολημένων, ἀπεπροσποιεῖτο δῆθεν ὡς οὐ συννοήσας τὸ βουλευθὲν τῷ Χαγάνῳ, ἔφασκε δὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Σκλαυηνῶν αὐτοὺς χωρῆσαι πολλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας δηούντων, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τὸν καιρὸν Ἀβάρους

as intermediaries, immediately proffered him the holy books. He, most treacherously concealing his intent, stood up from his throne, pretended to receive the books with great fear and reverence, threw himself on the ground and most fervently swore by the God who had spoken the words on the holy parchment that nothing of what he had said was a lie. Thereupon Sethus received his envoys and sent them off to the Emperor Tiberius in the capital.

While the envoys were still on the road to the imperial city and the Emperor was still to hear the news, the Khagan meanwhile did not relax his efforts but with all zeal and a large workforce (for the whole Avar army, as it were, joined in the work) continued to build the bridge over the river, wishing <the bridge to be completed> before the Emperor should learn of his plan and attempt to stop what he was doing.

## 2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 31)

The envoys of the Avars reached the capital and asked the Emperor to make ready the ships for the Khagan and the Avar army which would cross the Danube to attack the Slavs. They said that the Khagan, enthused with friendship towards him, was building a bridge on the river Save and wished to destroy the Slavs, the common enemies of himself and the Romans. When they delivered their message, immediately the Emperor realised clearly the aim and intent of the Khagan, that he was building the bridge because he wished to take Sirmium and wanted to cut off the transportation of supplies so that he might starve the city into surrender. (Trusting in the peace treaty with the Avars, Tiberius had not laid up adequate supplies in the city.) The Emperor did not have an army available – I do not mean an army capable of opposing the Avar horde, since he lacked even a tiny force – because all the military units were occupied with the war against the Persians in Armenia and Mesopotamia. He, therefore, pretended that he did not recognise what the Khagan was planning and said that he too was eager that they attack the Slavs, who were causing much damage to the Roman Empire. However, this was not a good time for the Avars to make an attack, since the

συμφέροντα, Τούρκων ἤδη περὶ Χερσῶνα ἐστρατοπεδευμένων καὶ ταχεῖαν αἴσθησιν αὐτῶν, ἦν τὸν Ἴστρον διαπεραιωθῶσι, δεξομένων. ἀλλὰ ἐπισχεῖν γὰρ νῦν εἶναι καλὸν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν διάνοιαν γνώσεσθαι Τούρκων, ὅποι δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ἔννοιαν ἔχοιεν, καὶ ταύτην δῆλην ποιήσειν τῷ Χαγάνῳ. 25

Ταῦτα οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Ἀβάρων πρεσβευτὴν ἐξεπίτηδες πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως συμπεπλασμένα, καὶ ὡς τὸν ἀπὸ Τούρκων αὐτοῖς προβαλλόμενος φόβον ἐφέξειν ἤλπιζε τῆς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦς. ἔδοξε δ' οὖν πείθεσθαι καὶ συνετίθετο πάντως ἐπισχῆσιν τὸν Χαγάνον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ μάλιστα ἐνάγων αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ παροτρύνων ἐς τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν δῶρα ἐφ' οἷς ὑπέσχετο πολλὰ κομισάμενος ἐξώρμησε τῆς βασιλίδος· καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν αὐτὸν διοδεύοντα μετὰ τῶν προπεμπόντων ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τῶν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν Σκλαυηνῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι. 30 35

Οὐ πολλαὶ δὲ διέδραμον ἡμέραι, καὶ παραυτίκα ἕτερος ἦκεν ἐκ τοῦ Χαγάνου σταλείς ἐς τὴν βασιλίδα πρεσβευτής, Σόλαχος τοῦνομα, ὃς εἰσόδου πρὸς βασιλέα τυχῶν φανερώτατα ἤδη καὶ μετὰ γυμνῆς τῆς ἀναιδεΐας ἔφη ὧδε· ὡς ὁ Σάος μὲν ἤδη διαπέφρακται ποταμὸς γεφυρωθεὶς ἠλίθιον τι νομίζω διαβεβαιούσθαι· τὸ γὰρ προδηλότατον ἐν εἰδόσι λέγειν ψόγος τῷ λέγοντι· καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ Ῥωμαίους ἐπαρκέσαι Σιρμίῳ τῇ πόλει, μήτε τροφῆς μήτε μὴν ἐτέρας τινὸς βοηθείας διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσπλευσομένης, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοσαύτη Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκοιτο πληθὺς ὡς δυνάμει καὶ βίᾳ τὴν τε τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀπελάσαι στρατιὰν καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν γέφυραν. χρῆναι γοῦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδαμῶς ἐκπολεμῶσαι μιᾶς ἔνεκα πόλεως εὐτελοῦς, μᾶλλον δὲ χύτρας (ταύτη γὰρ αὐτῇ δῆπουθεν ἐχρήσατο τῇ λέξει), Ἀβάρους τε καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀβάρων Χαγάνον, ἀλλ' ἐξαγαγόντα σφύους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας τε καὶ οἰκήτορας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τῶν φέρεσθαι δυναμένων κτημάτων, παραχωρῆσαι τῷ Χαγάνῳ τῆς πόλεως γυμνῆς τε καὶ ἐρήμου τὸ λοιπὸν καθεστῶσης. δεδοικέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ νῦν μὲν ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐμμένειν προσποιοῖντο Ῥωμαῖοι συνθήκαις, μέχρι τὸν κατὰ Περσῶν διάθωιντο πόλεμον, διαθέμενοι δὲ μετέπειτα πανστρατιᾷ κατὰ Ἀβάρων χωρήσοιεν, ἐτοιμότατον ἐπιτείχισμα ταύτην γε δῆπου τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ οὔτε ποταμῷ μεταξὺ μεγίστῳ οὔτε μὴν 40 45 50 55

Turks were encamped at Cherson and they would quickly hear if the Avars crossed the Danube. It would be better if they withdrew and postponed their assault. He himself would shortly learn the intentions of the Turks and where they proposed to attack, and he would pass on this information to the Khagan.

The Avar envoy was aware that this story had been purposely put together by the Emperor, who hoped by confronting them with fear of the Turks to divert them from their object. The envoy, who was the major advocate continually urging war with the Romans, seemed to go along and agreed to refer the whole matter to the Khagan. He departed the capital with many gifts for what he promised to do. But it happened that while he was crossing Illyricum with his small Roman escort he was killed by Slavs who were raiding the area.

Only a few days had passed when suddenly another envoy from the Khagan, whose name was Solakh, arrived at the capital. When he was granted an audience with the Emperor he declared boldly and with a complete lack of shame, "I think it is a waste of words to inform you that the river Save has now been cut by a bridge. To inform those who know of what is very clear to them merely brings blame upon the speaker. Since in future food or any other assistance cannot be brought to the city of Sirmium by river, there is no strategy which will protect the Romans there unless a Roman army comes large enough to drive the Avar army away by force and break the bridge. The Emperor ought not make war upon the Avars and the Khagan of the Avars over one worthless city (or rather 'a jar', which is the expression he used), but should withdraw from it unharmed all the soldiers and civilian occupants together with all of their movables and leave the city stripped and deserted for the Khagan. The Khagan fears that at present the Romans are pretending to adhere to the peace treaty only until they settle the war with the Persians. When they have settled that, then they will throw their whole army against the Avars, having Sirmium as a very suitable bridgehead against them and being separated by no river or any other obstacle. For it is

60 ἐτέρα τινὶ δυσχωρία παντελῶς διειργόμενοι. σαφές τε εἶναι καὶ  
 φανερώτατον ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ καλῷ τῷ Ἀβάρων, εἰρήνης τῷ αὐτο-  
 κράτορι πρὸς αὐτοὺς σταθερᾶς συνεστῶσης, τηλικαῦτα περὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν τὸ Σίρμιον ὠκοδομήσατο τείχη. χαίρειν μὲν γὰρ  
 ἔφασκε τὸν Χαγάνον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος στελλο-  
 65 μένοις αὐτῷ παρὰ βασιλέως δώροις· καλὸν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν κτῆμα  
 καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ μὲν οὖν ἐσθῆτα σηρικὴν· ἀπάντων  
 δ' οὖν ἀξιοκτετότερον εἶναι τούτων καὶ τιμιώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν,  
 περὶ ἧς φοβούμενον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναλογιζόμενον, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ  
 τῶν εἰς τὸν φθάσαντα χρόνον κατ' ἐκείνην δῆπου τὴν χώραν  
 ἐπελθόντων ἔθνῶν τοιοῦτοις δώροις Ῥωμαῖοι προδεδεάσαντες  
 70 τέλος ἐς καιρὸν ἐπιθέμενοι πανωλεθρία διέφθειραν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 στήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, οὐ δώροις, οὐκ ἐπαγγελίαις, οὐχ  
 ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν πάντων, πρὶν ἂν τὴν πόλιν τὸ Σίρμιον χειρωσά-  
 μενος τὴν Σιρμιανὴν ἄπασαν οἰκειώσῃται νῆσον, ἣν δικαιοτάτα  
 καὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ Γηπαίδων πρότερον κτῆμα γενομένην, 75  
 αὐτῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀβάρων πολεμηθέντων, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ  
 κτήματα κατὰ τὸ εἶκος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρμόζειν.

Ταῦτα ἐτάραξε μὲν, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν δεινῶς ὑπὸ τε ὀργῆς  
 καὶ λύπης συνέχεε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος· τοῖς εἰκόσι δέ, ὡς ἐνῆν,  
 λόγοις καὶ αὐτὸς χρησάμενος ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε· ὡς οὔτε δυνάμει 80  
 καὶ ἀνδρεία χειρὸς οὔτε σοφία περιῆλθεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χαγάνος, ἀλλὰ  
 εἰρήνας τε καὶ συνθήκας καὶ θεὸν τὸν ὁμοθέντα καθυβρίσας,  
 παντί που δῆλον. πλέον δὲ ὅμως οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπιστίαν οἶμαι  
 παρέξιν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων κατεγγυήσω,  
 δυοῖν ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἢ τὸ Σίρμιον τὴν πόλιν ἐκὼν παραδώσω. εἰ 85  
 δέ γε δυνάμει καὶ βία ταύτην ἐξέλῃ, καὶ οὕτω τὸν ὑβρισμένον  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἔκδικον ἀναμένων αὐτὸς ἥκιστα τι καταπρο-  
 ἔσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἐννοηθεῖν ποτέ.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀποπεμψάμενος παρεσκευ-  
 90 ἄζετο ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τῇ πόλει ἀμύνειν, στρατιὰν μὲν, ὡς ἔφθην  
 εἰρηκῶς, οὐδὲ βραχεϊάν τινα ἔχων, στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας  
 καὶ λοχαγούς στέλλων, τοὺς μὲν διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ  
 Δαλματίας, ὡς ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φρουρᾶς ἔχοιεν.

65 καλὸν Dindorf κᾶν A 70 προδεδεάσαντες scripsi [προδηλεάσαντες A de Boor προ-  
 καλέσαντες edd. 74 Σιρμιανὴν Hoeschel [Σιρμισιανὴν A 76 πολεμηθέντων [καταπολε-  
 μηθέντων Niebuhr



clear and most obvious that, at a time when there was a secure peace between the Emperor and the Avars, he did not surround the city of Sirmium with such strong walls for their benefit.”

The envoy continued that the Khagan was satisfied with the gifts sent each year to him by the Emperor; for gold, silver and silken clothes were valuable commodities. However, since life was more valuable and desirable than all of these, he had been worrying about this and reflecting that many of the peoples who beforetimes had come to this land had first been enticed with such gifts by the Romans, who in the end had attacked and destroyed them utterly.<sup>301</sup> Therefore, he would not abandon his attempt for gifts, under threats or through any other pressure at all, until he had taken the city of Sirmium and was in possession of the whole isle of Sirmium, which, as a former possession of the Gepids, most justly belonged to him, since they had been conquered by the Avars, with the result that what had been theirs rightly belonged to him rather than to the Romans.

This declaration caused consternation and threw the mind of the Emperor into a terrible turmoil of anger and grief. Nevertheless, as best he could, he summoned the appropriate words and replied, “It is clear to every single person that the Khagan has outflanked us not through force or bravery of his troops or through wisdom, but by scorning the treaty of peace and God by whom he swore. But, I think, his treachery will bring him no more gains. I should rather betroth to him one of my two daughters than willingly surrender the city of Sirmium. Even if he should take it by force, I, while awaiting the retribution of God whom he has so insulted, shall never consent to abandon any part of the Roman state.”

With these words he dismissed the embassy and prepared to defend the city as best he could under the circumstances. Since, as I have already said, he did not have even a small army, he sent out generals, counts and tribunes, some through Illyricum, some through Dalmatia, to hold the city with the aid of garrison troops.<sup>302</sup>

## 26

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 19)

Ὅτι παρεσκευάζετο ὁ Τιβέριος διαλύσαι τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον. τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἀρέσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀφήσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ζαχαρίαν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν μεθορίοις πρεσβευσόμενον καὶ αὐθις· ὃν δὴ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐχειροτόνησε χρεῖαις. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ δῆλον 5 καταστήσας, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποιήσατο ὡς Πέρσας τὴν ἄφιξιν, ὁ μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τούτοις, βασιλεὺς δὲ Περσῶν ἐκπέμπει Ἀνδίγαν. οὗτος δὲ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐχέφρων τε ἦν καὶ πράγμασι πλείστοις ὀμιλήσας, καθ' ὅσον τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου ξυνέβαιναν ἐπισφραγίζοντι τῷ πάνυ γηραλέῳ τὸ 10 νουνεχές.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνηλθέτην ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Δάρας, ξὺν τοῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐκείνη πόλεων Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξηρτύοντο ἕκαστοι διαλεχθησόμενοι περὶ τοῦ ὅπως δέον καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· ὁ δὲ γε τῶν μεθορίων 15 λεγόμενος προτίκτωρ (δηλοῖ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐς τοῦτο καταλεγόμενον ἀξίας τὸν βασιλείον προσκεπαστήν), οὗτος δὴ οὖν κατεσκευάσε καλύβας, ἐν αἷς ἔμελλον ἑκατέρας πολιτείας πρέσβεις τὰ εἰρημένα διασκέπτεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ λειτούργημα ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ προτίκτορι ἐπιτέτραπται. παρασκευ- 20 ασθέντων οὖν τῶν τοιῶνδε ἐνδικοιτημάτων, καὶ γενομένων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀνδίγαν τε καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ τῶν τῆς περιοικίδος ἀρχόντων, τοῦ μὲν Ἀνδίγαν τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιουμένου ἐκ τοῦ Δάρας, Ζαχαρίου δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Μάρδισ, καὶ αὐθις οὐχ ἦττον ταῖς αὐταῖς χρωμένων δικαιολογίαις, αἷσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προτέραις 25 πρεσβείαις· καὶ τῶν μὲν Περσῶν βουλομένων κομίζεσθαι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὰ ὅσαπερ ἐκ πλείστου χρόνου εἰώθεσαν χρήματα τὰ διομολογηθέντα ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ χρόνων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔχειν καὶ τὸ Δάρας, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀπισχυριζο- 30 μένων ὥστε μηδὲν κατατιθέναι μήτε μὴν ὥσπερ τιμήματός τινος πρίασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνασώσασθαι ἀπὸ Περσῶν τὸ Δάρας, ἀντάλλαγμα μέντοι παρέχοντας τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Περσ-αρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἀρζανηνὴν ἄνευ τῶν ἀμφοτέρας χώρας οἰκη-τόρων τῶν ὅσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσεχώρησαν πολιτεία· πλείστων οὖν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τηλικῷ πράγματι προενηνεγμένων λόγων 35 καὶ ἤκιστα εἰς ἔργον ἀχθέντων, μήτε μὴν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ ἀμφοῖν

## 26

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 19)

Tiberius was making an attempt to end the war with the Persians. Since this was the Emperor's wish, he again sent Zacharias, who had often been appointed to such a task, on an embassy for this purpose to the border between the Romans and the Persians. He arrived, explained for what purpose he had come to the Persians, and waited there. The Persian king sent Andigan, a man of wisdom and wide experience, in that he had lived a very long time and his great age had strengthened his good sense.<sup>303</sup>

When they met near to the city of Daras, and with them the governors of the Roman and Persian cities there, both sides prepared to discuss how they might end the war. The so-called *protector* of the borders (which in Latin indicates one appointed to the rank of imperial guardsman) made ready the tents in which the envoys of both states would examine the proposals (a duty which from the very beginning has been entrusted to the *protector*).<sup>304</sup> When this housing had been made ready and Andigan, Zacharias and the governors of the neighbourhood had assembled – Andigan coming from Daras, Zacharias from Mardis<sup>305</sup> –, they rehearsed the same arguments as on the earlier embassies. The Persians wished to receive from the Romans the money which had customarily been paid for a very long time and which had been agreed upon in Justinian's reign, and they also wanted to keep Daras. The Romans, to the contrary, were determined to pay nothing nor to buy peace for an indemnity, as it were, and they wished to recover Daras from the Persians, offering in exchange Persarmenia (as they had from the beginning) and Arzanene excepting those inhabitants of both lands who had defected to the Roman Empire.<sup>306</sup> When, as was appropriate, a great many words had been spoken upon this important issue and no progress had been made (since the sides could not reach agreement),

τοῖν μεροῖν ξυμβαινόντων ἀλλήλοις, τὸν Ἀνδίαν παρακρού-  
 σασθαι Ζαχαρίαν ὑποτοπήσαντα ἐφ' ᾧ θέσθαι συνθήκας οὐκ ἐς  
 τὸ εὐπρεπές, ἀλλὰ γὰρ πάντη ἀσυμφόρους τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ,  
 φάναι λέγεται τοιαῦδε· τείχη καὶ πύλαι καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον, ᾧ 40  
 ἄνδρες, φυλακτήριον, φυλάττειν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, δυνήσεται καὶ  
 πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν ὅλην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ τούτοις  
 περιπεφραγμένοι, κρύπτειν <οὐ> ῥάδιον. φήμη γὰρ αἰεὶ χει-  
 ροῦται τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντά πως ἄδηλα καθεστάναι  
 προτίθησι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐν φανερωῖ τῷ βουλο- 45  
 μένω πρίασθαι ὄνια. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξεπιστάμεθα τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολέμοις ἀντερείδουσιν πλείστοις καὶ πολλα-  
 χόσε τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅπλα κινούσαν καὶ τῇ δυνάμει μεμερισ-  
 μένην σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστω βαρβάρῳ γένει, καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου Ῥωμαῖοι γινώσκουσι μηδενὶ τῶν 50  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων νῦν πολεμοῦσαν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις μόνοις. ὡς οὖν  
 ὑμῶν μὲν πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι μαχομένων, ἡμῶν δὲ μόνοις ὑμῖν, οὕτω  
 καὶ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἀνάγκη διατιθέναι. βέβαιον γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο  
 Ῥωμαίοις τε τὸ περιεῖναι καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ διαγωνιζόμενοις ἔθνη  
 καὶ πρὸς μίαν τῶν Περσῶν πολιτείαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν 55  
 βεβαίῳ γενήσεται τὸ κρατεῖν πρὸς οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους μόνοις ἔχουσι τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν παρατάττεσθαι πόλεμον.

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἔλεξεν ὁ Ἀνδίαν, ἀκηκοότα Ζαχαρίαν λέγεται  
 ὑπομειδιᾶσαι καὶ ὧδε εἰπεῖν· εὐ σοι γένοιτο, ᾧ Ἀνδίαν, καὶ 60  
 Πέρση πεφυκότι καὶ μαρτυροῦντι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ  
 παρατρώσαντι τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδαμῶς. εἰ γὰρ μή, ὡς ἔφης, ἢ  
 Ῥωμαίων περιεσπᾶτο δύναμις καὶ τὴν πολυχειρίαν τοῦ κατ'  
 αὐτὴν στρατοῦ κατὰ πολλὰ <τῆς> οἰκουμένης ἐξέτεινεν ἔθνη,  
 καὶ ὡς ἐγεφύρωσε τῇ δυνάμει τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὰς ἠπείρους 65  
 περιέζευξε τῷ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι τε καὶ περιεῖναι, τί ἂν οἶει  
 πεπονθέναι Πέρσας ἢ ἐπὶ πόσον ἀντισχεῖν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ;  
 οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὐτό γε δήπου τοῦνομα συμφθαρῆναι  
 Πέρσαις, καὶ μόνῳ νικῆσαι τῷ μηδέποτε φέρεσθαι τῇ μνήμῃ.  
 τούτων Ζαχαρία εἰρημένων ὁ Ἀνδίαν τῇ σιγῇ ἐδήλωσε τὸ 70  
 νενικῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄμφω διελεγέσθην.

Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ὁ Ταχοσρῶ Περσῶν στρατηγὸς ἅμα τῇ  
 Περσικῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὰ ἰπάσιμα τὰ περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐστρατο-  
 πεδεύετο κατὰ τὸν Μυγδόνιον ποταμόν. Μαυρίκιος δὲ χαρα-

Andigan is said to have made the following attempt upon Zacharias, who was on guard against making an agreement that was both dishonourable and altogether detrimental to the Roman state:

“Gentlemen, walls and gates and similar defensive works can probably protect a city and a whole state. But it is not easy to conceal the condition of those so shut in. For always rumour is master of everything, and whatever appears to be secret she offers to men’s ears as if to a buyer of goods on the open market.<sup>307</sup> And so, we know well that the Roman Empire, which is facing a large number of enemies, is fighting in many parts of the world and has its forces divided in hostilities with almost every barbarian nation, while, it is reasonable to assume, the Romans know that our state is at present at war with no one at all except the Romans. You are at war with many peoples, we with you alone; thus the necessity for the treaty. Just as the Romans would be certain to prevail if they were fighting either a number of tribes or the Persian kingdom alone, so we shall certainly conquer since we have a dispute with no one other than the Romans and since we are committed to only one war.”

When Andigan said this, it is reported that Zacharias, having listened to him, smiled gently and replied, “My thanks to you, Andigan, a Persian born who bears witness to the bravery of the Romans and does no violence to the truth. If, as you say, the might of the Romans were not drawn off, if they were not deploying the major part of their army against the many nations of the world and with their strength linking, as it were, the sea and the land by their conquering presence everywhere, what do you think the fate of the Persians would be? How long would they hold out in the war? I think that the Persians would perish along with their very name, and eternal oblivion is all that they would win.” When Zacharias had said this, Andigan by his silence confessed to defeat in the debate. Such was the discussion between them.

Meanwhile, Tankhosdro, the general of the Persians, was encamped with the Persian army by the river Mygdonius in an area near to Nisibis which was suitable for cavalry. Maurice had

κώσας ὑπῆρχε τὰς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεις ἐν τῷ δὴ λεγομένῳ 75  
Μονόκαρτον, ἐν ἀγχιθύρῳ Κωνσταντίνης τῆς πόλεως. ἔστι γὰρ  
δήπου τὰ περὶ τὸ Μονόκαρτον ἅπαντα ἔνυδρά τε καὶ ἰππόβοτα  
καὶ στρατῶ ἐνσκηνήσασθαι ἀγαθὰ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτοι ἀπεταφρεύ-  
οντο.

Ἄτὰρ ὁ Ἀνδίαν ἔτι ξυνεστώσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρῆτο 80  
καὶ πτοίαις τισὶ καὶ φενακισμοῖς Ζαχαρία ὑποδηλῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς  
εἶη μόνος ὁ διακωλύων τὸν Ταχοσρῶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν γῆν  
κατασεῖσαι ἅπασαν. τυχὸν γάρ, ἐν ᾧ διαλεγόμενος ἦν, ἀνεφαι-  
νετό τις τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐς τάχος ἰπαζομένων τε καὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας  
τῷ τάχει τῶν ἵππων διακομιζόντων, πλαττόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Τα- 85  
χοσδρῶ ἐστάλθαι. καὶ δὴ τὸν Ἀνδίαν ἰδίᾳ λαμβάνων ἐνεχειρί-  
ζετό οἱ ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἧ ἐνεφέρετο, ὡς Ταχοσδρῶ δῆθεν  
γεγραφότος, οἷα ἀκαθέκτου οὔσης τῆς Περσῶν στρατιᾶς, μάλα  
τε ὀρμώσης καὶ δὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν. τοιαῦτα ψευδο-  
μένης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, συνεψεύδετο τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ ὁ 90  
κονιορτός, ὃς τῷ ἀγγελιαφόρῳ ἄτε ἄρτι ἀφιγμένῳ ἐκ τῆς  
ὁδοιπορίας συμπεπλασμένος τε καὶ ἐνιζάνων πολὺς περὶ τὴν  
κόμην ὑπῆρχεν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀνδίαν διαλεγόμενος τῷ ἦθει  
ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κινήσει τοῦ σώματος ὑπεφαίνετο οἷα μὴ 95  
ἐφιέμενος πολέμου. τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ δὴ τὸν ξύλλογον ἑαυτὸν  
ἀναμινγνὺς ἔφασκε Ζαχαρία, ὡς ἐνοχλοῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταχοσδρῶ,  
καὶ ὡς ἐσήμηνέν οἱ τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶναι ἀφόρητον  
ἐγχαλινοῦσθαί τε ἀδύνατον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν πολλαῖς μυριάσι  
ξυνισταμένης τῆς Περσικῆς δυνάμεως, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ  
μάλιστα ἰεμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαν καὶ δὴ παραυτίκα 100  
πυρπολήσειν, καὶ ὡς, εἰ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔλοιντο καθ' ὃν ἂν  
βούλοιντο τρόπον Πέρσαι ἐμπεδῶσαι τὰς σπονδάς, ἀφέξεσθαι  
τῶν ὄπλων· εἰ δέ γε οὐ βούλοιντο, ξυγχωρήσειν αὐτῷ ἐμβαλεῖν  
παραχρῆμα ἐς τὴν ἑῴαν Ῥωμαίων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνθέξειν αὐτοὺς κἂν  
γοῦν τὸν κτύπον τῶν φαρετρῶν τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἀκούσεσθαι 105  
πλήθους· ἄλλως τε δὲ δεδιέναι τὴν τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς βασιλέως  
ὀργὴν ἐς χρόνον τοσόνδε ἀναβαλλομένους τὸν πόλεμον.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀνδίαν δολερῶτατά τε καὶ ἀλαζονικώ-  
τατα τῷ κόμπῳ χρησάμενος τῶν ῥημάτων ἐπλάττετο ἔκοντι μὴ 110  
προσίεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. συνεῖς δὲ καὶ Ζαχα-  
ρίας τὸ ἀπατηλὸν τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τὴν κομπολογίαν παρα-  
πέτασμα εἶναι τοῦ ψεύδους· ὃ Ἀνδίαν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀπατᾶν τὸ

75 αὐτὸν [αὐτὸν EMP 80 ἐχρῆτο [ἐχρᾶτο edd. 86-87 ἐνεχειρίζετο οἱ [ἐνεχειρίζε τ' οἱ X  
ἐνεχειρίζε οἱ Hoeschel 88 ἀκαθέκτου Hoeschel [καθέκτου codd. 96 Ταχοσδρῶ [Τα-  
χοσδρῶ B

established his army behind a defensive work at a place called Monocartum in the neighbourhood of the city of Constantina. (The whole area around Monocartum has water and fodder for the horses and is suitable for an army to encamp.) Thus they protected themselves with a ditch.

While the negotiations were still in progress, Andigan tried to frighten and mislead Zacharias by intimating to him that it was he alone who was restraining Tankhosdro from devastating all the land of the Romans. For while he was speaking it happened that one of the swift mounted couriers who carry messages speedily put in an appearance, pretending that he had been sent by Tankhosdro. He took Andigan aside and handed him a letter in which it was written, as if by Tankhosdro himself, that the Persian army was out of control in its eagerness to attack Roman territory. The letter lied, but the lie was given substance by the large amount of dust which was in the messenger's hair and which he had covered himself with as if he had just arrived from his journey. While Andigan was speaking with him he indicated by his expression and other gestures that he did not want war. When afterwards he returned to the meeting he said to Zacharias that Tankhosdro was troubling him and telling him that the eagerness of the army was irresistible and beyond restraint, partly because the Persian force consisted of many tens of thousands, partly because it was exceedingly eager immediately to burn and ravage all the Roman territory. If the Romans agreed to make the treaty on the terms desired by the Persians, it would hold back from hostilities. But if the Romans were unwilling, he would allow it to attack the Roman East straightaway, for the Romans would yield even when they heard only the clatter of the quivers of the Persian host. Besides, he was afraid of their king's anger at their having put off the war for so long.

With this most dishonest and deceitful boasting Andigan pretended that he was deliberately restraining the hostilities which were developing quite independently. Zacharias realised that the guile and boasting in his words were a blind for his lies and said, "Andigan, wisdom is not shown by lies, especially when the victim

ἐχέφρον δηλοῦται, μάλιστα τοῦ ἀπατωμένου ξυνειδότος. ἡ γὰρ  
 οἶει με μὴ ἐξεπίστασθαι ὡς πλάσματά ἐστι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν  
 πρασσόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δόκησις καὶ 115  
 ἀποσκιάσματα καὶ φενακισμοί, καὶ ὡς σὺ αὐτὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα  
 ἐδραματούργησας ἐννοῶν ἐκφοβήσῃν Ῥωμαίους; ὡς ἂν οὖν  
 βούλει καὶ ἄρεστόν σοι εἶη, ἐφήμι ποιεῖν. πλὴν εὐ ἴσθι ὡς ἐν  
 ἀρχαῖς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ὄπλοφορεῖν φορτικώ-  
 τατόν τι ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἰκετεῖαις ἐχρώμεθα ὡς ὑμᾶς 120  
 μὴ ἀναγκασθῆναι σφᾶς ἐπιλαβέσθαι ὄπλων. κατὰ τοσοῦτον γὰρ  
 ἐς τὸ ἀπόλεμον ἐπιρρεπέστατα εἶχον, ὡς καὶ ἄχρι Ἀπαμείας  
 ἐλάσαι Πέρσας καὶ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι αὐτῆς γε δήπου Ἀντιοχείας.  
 ὑμῶν τε πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ὑποχαλασάντων, ἀφ' οὗ ἡσπᾶσαντο  
 Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἐθελокίνδυνον, οἶμαι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν Πέρσας, ὡς οὐδὲ 125  
 μέχρις αὐτῶν τῶν μεθορίων ἀναιμωτὶ οἶοι ἐγένεσθε ἀφικέσθαι.  
 νῦν γοῦν πεπαιδευμένων ἀκριβῶς Ῥωμαίων τὸν πόλεμον θαρρα-  
 λέοι τέ ἐσμεν καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὡς, εἴ γε κινήσοι ὁ Ταχοσδρῶ,  
 ὑπαντιάσειν οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς γε δήπου τοῖς ὀρίοις δόρυ Ῥωμαϊκὸν εὐ  
 μάλα τεθηγμένον, διατιτρᾶν τὰς λαπάρας οἶόν τε ὄν αὐτοῦ. ὡς 130  
 οὖν εὐ ἐξεπισταμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Περσῶν δόλους, πρᾶττε  
 οὔτω.

Τούτων οὖν καὶ ἐτέρων πλείστων εἰρημένων μὲν, μάτην δὲ  
 ὁμως (προῆλθε γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀτιοῦν), τότε Μαυρικίῳ ἐν γράμμασι  
 δηλοῖ Ζαχαρίας ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὰ πρὸ Κωνσταντίνης πεδία οἶα 135  
 δὴ ἐκεῖσε τὸν πόλεμον ξυγκροτήσονται. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 Ταχοσδρῶ κινήσας τὰ Περσικὰ στρατεύματα ἐπαγόμενος ἦει ἐς  
 τὰ περὶ Κωνσταντίαν.

119 τὸ Dindorf [τε (tè) codd. 120 ἐχρώμεθα Dindorf [χρώμεθα codd. 128 Ταχοσδρῶ [ Ταχοσδρῶ B 129 ὑπαντιάσειν [ὑπαντιάσει Niebuhr

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 41)

Ὅτι ἡλλάξατο τοῦ πονεῖν βίον τινὰ ἀνειμένον προηρημένος τοῦ  
 ἐνδοξοτέρου τὸ ἄδοξον.

1 ἀνειμένον προηρημένος Boissevain [α. . . μενόντων φησὶ καὶ Mai ἀμέριμνον, Μέανδρος φησὶ Niebuhr

## 3. (Exc. de Sent. 42)

Ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ῥώμῃ σώματος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδρίᾳ ψυχῆς ἡ τοῦ πολέμου  
 ῥοπή κινδυνεύεται.

1 ἀνδρίᾳ [ἀνδρείᾳ Dindorf



sees through them. Do you think that I do not realise that what the Persians have done and said is a blind – nothing other than a fabrication, a charade and a swindle – and that you yourself have contrived all of this thinking to frighten the Romans? I leave you to do as you please. But mark this well: at the beginning of this war to the Romans fighting seemed a very grievous thing, and so they actually begged you not to force them to take up arms. They were so averse to fighting that the Persians were able to advance to Apamea and to Antioch itself. But when your zeal for this work did not diminish, then the Romans became eager to fight, and (as I think the Persians know) you were unable to retreat to the border without losses.<sup>308</sup> Now we Romans, well schooled in war, are eager and of high hopes that, if Tankhosdro attacks, a Roman spear, well-sharpened, will meet him at the very border and run him through the side. When you act bear this in mind, that the Romans know well the treachery of the Persians.”

When these and very many other words had been uttered – to no avail, since nothing was achieved –, Zacharias wrote to Maurice to advance to the plain before Constantina, there to give battle. Similarly, Tankhosdro set the Persian army in motion and led it to the plain before Constantina.<sup>309</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 41)

He chose a life of ease instead of toil, preferring the dishonourable to the honourable.<sup>310</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 42)

A battle is decided not by bodily strength but by manliness of spirit.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 43)

Ἵτι οὐδὲν οὕτω ῥαστώνης τε καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀναπαύλας ὡς κίνδυνοι καὶ πόνοι καθεστήκασιν αἴτιοι. πόνος μὲν γὰρ τῶν προκτηθέντων ἀπολαύσει ὡσπερ ταμιεῖόν τι τῆς εὐκλείας καθέστηκε, τρυφή δὲ ἄνευ τοῦ προπαιδεύεσθαι πόνοις τοῦ κάκιστα ζῆν ἡγεμών· ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ τῆς ἀδοξίας ἀπαλλαγῆ. 5

1 τε καὶ [ἦ edd. 2 αἴτιοι Boissevain [ὅτι οἱ Mai οἰκείοι van Herwerden αἴτιον Bekker 3 ἀπολαύσει Kuiper [ἀπόλαυσις Boissevain ἀπόλαυσιν Mai 4 πόνοις Boissevain [παντός Mai πάντως Bekker 5 ἔστι δὲ [ἔστιν ὅτε Bekker

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 44)

Ἵτι ὁ Ταγχοσδρῶ ἐβλήθη ὑπὸ τινος ὀλεθρίαν τινὰ πληγὴν. καὶ ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου φαίνεται τὸ τοιόνδε γενέσθαι· ἐργάτις γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ τύχη. πολλοὶ γὰρ πολλάκις τῶν λῖαν εὐδοκίμων ὑπὸ ἀδοκίμων ἐσφάλησαν, καὶ φύσει τινὶ τὰ παράδοξα τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ συμπεριφέρεται γένει. 5

4 ὑπὸ ἀδοκίμων om. edd.

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 45)

Ἵτι ὁ Μαυρίκιος ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσῶν μεγίστη κατείχετο ἀνία· οἷς γὰρ παρ' ἐλπίδα τι ἀποβαίνει, ἐν μὲν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς πράξεως ἀνθέλκονται τῆ τοῦ περιέσεσθαι ἀνάγκη, παραπτώσης δὲ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γενόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀθυμότατα διατελοῦσιν· ἀναλογιζόμενοί τε τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ὑπολοφύρονται τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τῆ ζωῆ ἀπεχθάνονται. καὶ Μαυρίκιος οὖν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐς τοῦναντίον ἤπερ ἤλπισεν ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ τὰ προσδοκηθέντα ἀπέβη τὴν ἄλλως, τότε ἐκδοὺς τὸ ὄλον ταῖς ψυχικαῖς ἀλγηδόσι καὶ ταῖς δυσθυμίαις ἑαυτὸν τῆ συνεχεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν ὑπαντῆ ἄπορος ὑπῆρχε. 10

3 περιέσεσθαι [περισσεύεσθαι edd. παραπτώσης Classen [παρὰ πάσης cod. 8 τὴν ἄλλως, τότε ἐκδοὺς Boissevain [τὴν ἄλλως τ. . . ἐδοκίμους cod. 9 δυσθυμίαις ἑαυτὸν τῆ συνεχεῖ Boissevain [δυσθυμίαις· . . .ετ. . . τῆ συνεχεῖ cod.

7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 46)

τι. . . α ὡς αὐτὸν Καλλίστρατος καὶ Ζαχαρίας καὶ ἐπαγώγοις χρησάμενοι ῥήμασιν ἐπειρῶντο ἀπάγειν τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς λύπης εἰ. . . σαν τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα . . . ασθαι αὐτόν.

1 τι [Ἵτι Boissevain dubitans quasi novum excerptum. In lac. conii. παρῆλθον τὴν καὶ ταῦτα

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 43)

Nothing guarantees leisure, luxury and repose as surely as the experience of danger and toil. Toil acts as a storehouse of good repute while one enjoys what one has acquired, whereas luxury without the prior discipline of toil leads to a life of the greatest wretchedness. Indeed, sometimes loss of one's life goes along with ill repute.

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 44)

Someone struck Tankhosdro a fatal blow. That this happened does not seem to me unusual, since fate does such things. Often many men of great fame have been brought low by those of no account, and the unexpected is innate in the human condition.<sup>311</sup>

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 45)

After his defeat by the Persians, Maurice was seized by the greatest distress. When something unexpected happens, in the heat of the action men are distracted by the need for survival. But when the crisis has passed and men can relax, then they fall into deep despair and, as they reflect upon what has happened, they bewail their misfortune and come to hate life. And so, when the battle turned out contrary to his hopes and his plans had come to nothing, Maurice gave himself over totally to grief and despair and remained helpless as he kept rehearsing the disaster.<sup>312</sup>

7. (*Exc. de Sent.* 46)

... to him Callistratus<sup>313</sup> and Zacharias and with words of encouragement they tried to raise the man out of his grief . . . .

## 27

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 47)

Ὅτι ὁ Θεόγνις εὐρηκῶς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρέμα διάγοντας τῷ τοὺς ἀρτιμαθεῖς τὰ πλείστα . . . .

1 ἀτρέμα Boissevain [α . . . μα cod.]

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 32)

Ὅτι Θεόγνις, ἐπεὶ ἐν Κασία καὶ Καρβωναρία ταῖς νήσοις ἐγένετο, λόγων αὐτῷ κινηθέντων περὶ σπονδῶν, προσεδέξατο. παραγενομένου τε τοῦ Βαιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀποβεβηκότος, τεθείσης οἱ καθέδρας χρυσῆς ἐνιζάνει αὐτοῦ, ἐκ δύο λινῶν ὑφασμάτων σκευασθείσης αὐτῷ ὥσπερ καλύβης τινός. ἀλλὰ γὰρ 5 καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντ' ἐρύματος πρὸ τῶν στέρνων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ προσώπου προυβάλλοντο θυρεοὺς διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκτοξεῦσαι Ῥωμαίους τυχὸν οὕτω δὴ ἀθρόον ἐς αὐτόν. ἀτὰρ οἱ γε ἀμφὶ Θεόγνιν παραγερόμενοι βραχύ τε ἀφεστῶτες τοῦ χωρίου, ἵνα ὁ Βαιανὸς ἐφεζόμενος ἦν, διελέγοντο, ἐρμηνέων Οὔννων τὰς πύστεις 10 διασαφηνιζόντων, περὶ σπονδῶν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Βαιανὸς ἔφασκε δεῖν ὑπέικεν οἱ Ῥωμαίους ἀμαχητὶ τοῦ Σιρμίου, οἷα δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν μηδεμιᾶς ὑπολελειμμένης μηχανῆς ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀλῶναι τὸ ἄστν· πρὸς τῷ καὶ χήτει τῶν ἀναγκαίων θᾶττον ὑποβληθήσεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν 15 μεροῖν κεκωλυμένης αὐτῇ τῆς σιτοπομπίας, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀβάρων δυνάμεως τῷ πολέμῳ μὴ ὑποχαλώσης, ἄχρις οὗ ὑποχείριον ποιήσονται τὴν πόλιν. προυβάλλετο δὲ καὶ τινα εὐπρόσωπον αἰτίαν τοῦ ἰμείρειν δεσπόσαι τοῦ ἄστεος, διὰ τὸ μὴ αὐτομόλους ἐκ τῆς Ἀβαρικῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀγχιθύρου οὔσης τῆς 20 πόλεως, ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδιδόναι Ῥωμαίοις.

Τούτων οἱ διειλεγμένων, ἀντεῖπε Θεόγνις ὡς πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐνδώσοι τῷ πολέμῳ πρότερον ἢ τὸ Ἀβαρικὸν ἐνδοῦναι, ἄλλως τε μὴ ἐλπίζειν τὸν Βαιανὸν τοιοῦτους εὐρήσειν Ῥωμαίους ὁποίους καὶ βούλεται. ταῦτα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα 25 ἀποφνημαμένων καὶ συμφωνησάντων οὐδαμῶς πρὸς εἰρήνην, διαρρήδην Θεόγνις ἀπειρηκῶς τῶν σπονδῶν ἔφη ὡς τὸν Βαιανὸν ἀναχωρεῖν τε αὐτόν καὶ πρὸς πολέμου παράταξιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι, ἅτε αὔριον καὶ οὐκ ἐς ἀναβολὴν ἀναρρήξοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπηλλάγησαν. 30

4 δύο λινῶν [διελίθων edd. 10 διελέγοντο [διελέγετο edd. πύστεις [πίστεις edd. 14 τῷ Niebuhr [τὸ A χήτει [σπάνει Niebuhr 15 ὑποβληθήσεσθαι [ἀποκλεισθήσεσθαι Bekker 23 αὐτὸς Niebuhr [αὐτῷ A

## 27

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 47)

Theognis, finding the Romans living at ease, since raw recruits for the most part . . . .<sup>314</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 32)

When Theognis came to the islands of Casia and Carbonaria,<sup>315</sup> it was proposed that he discuss terms, which he agreed to do. Baian arrived, dismounted and took his seat on a golden throne which had been set up for him with two sheets of linen erected above it like a tent. Before his chest and his face they held up shields like a defensive wall to prevent the Romans suddenly shooting arrows at him. Theognis and his companions came and stood at a short distance from where Baian sat. They discussed the terms with Hunnic interpreters translating what was said.

Baian said that the Romans should withdraw from Sirmium without a fight since they had no means left to prevent the capture of the city. In addition he pointed out that they would quickly suffer from shortage of food, since their supplies were cut off from both directions<sup>316</sup> and the Avar force would not cease from hostile action until they had taken possession of the city. He added a plausible reason for his desire to control the city, in order to prevent deserters from the Avar army coming over to the Romans,<sup>317</sup> since the city was close to his territory.

When this had been put to him, Theognis replied that the Romans would not give up in the war before the Avars and that Baian should not otherwise expect to find the Romans as complaisant as he wished. When these and other declarations had been made that showed no propensity for peace, Theognis flatly rejected the terms and said that Baian should take himself away and arm for a set battle, since tomorrow he would offer battle without delay. This said, they departed.

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 20)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἀβάροις συνεκ-  
 ροτήθη, μηδεμιᾶς δυνάμεως Ῥωμαϊκῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαλματία  
 γέφυραν ἐπιφανείσης καίτοι σαθρότατα ἔχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ  
 ὁ Ἀψίχ καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀβαρικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφεδρεύοντες  
 πρότερον τοσαύτην καταφρόνησιν ἐπεδείξαντο κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, 5  
 ὥστε μετενεχθῆναι σφᾶς κατὰ δὴ τὴν ἑτέραν γέφυραν ἄλλην τε  
 δύναμιν προστεθῆναι τῇ δυνάμει Βαϊανοῦ. πιεζομένων τοι-  
 γαροῦν <τῶν> ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ λιμῷ μεγίστῳ ἤδη τε ἀπτομένων  
 ἀθεμίτων τροφῶν τῷ ἔστερησθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ γεγεφυ-  
 ρῶσθαι τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Σάου, καὶ Σολομῶνος <τοῦ> τηνι- 10  
 καῦτα προεστῶτος τοῦ Σιρμίου ἐκμελέστατά πως διατελοῦντος  
 καὶ μηδὲν ὅτιοῦν στρατηγίας ἐχόμενον ἐπιδεικνυμένου, πρὸς γε  
 καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπειρηκότων τοῖς χαλεποῖς ὀλοφυρομένων  
 τε καὶ ὡς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλπίδας ἐξωλισθηκότων καταμεμφομένων  
 τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσι, Θεόγνιδός τε αὐτοῦ ὀλιγοχειρίαν 15  
 νοσοῦντος· ὡς ταῦτα Τιβέριος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέμαθεν, αἰρετώ-  
 τερον ἡγησάμενος μὴ συναιχμαλωτισθῆναι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἰκη-  
 τῶρων τὸν ὄμιλον, ἐν γράμμασι κελεύει Θεόγνιδι καταλῦσαι τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ὥστε ὑπεξελθεῖν παμπληθεὶ τοὺς τῆδε  
 οἰκοῦντας μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένους τῶν οἰκείων ἢ μόνον τὸ ζῆν καὶ 20  
 παρασχὸν οὕτω περιβόλαιον ἔν. καὶ δὴ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 τοιαῖσδε ξυνθήκαις, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐλώφησεν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 παραχωρῆσαι μὲν Ῥωμαίους Ἀβάροις τῆς πόλεως, Ἀβάρους δὲ  
 Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει πλήθους, ἄνευ τῶν ὅσα ἐκάστῳ ἐν  
 περιουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπεζήτει δὲ ὁ Χαγάνος καὶ τριῶν ἐτῶν 25  
 παρωχημένων χρυσίων, ὧν οὐκ εἰλήφει τι κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες, τῶν  
 παρεχομένων αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χρῆσθαι ὄπλοις (ἦσαν δὲ τὰ  
 εἰρηναῖα χρήματα ἐκάστῳ ἔτει ἀμφὶ χιλιάδας ὀγδοήκοντα  
 χρυσίου νομισμάτων), ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἓνα τινὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ  
 ταττομένων, ὃς προσεχώρησε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ, καθὰ 30  
 λέγεται, τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Βαϊανοῦ ἐς ἀφροδίσια συνελθῶν. ταύτη  
 τοι κατάδηλον ἐποίησε Θεόγνιδι ἐκδοθῆναί οἱ τὸν αὐτόμολον· ἡ  
 γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως μὴ ἀνέξεσθαι ἰδεῖν ἐς σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ γε ἀντε-  
 σήμηθεν ὡς ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως μεγίστη τέ ἐστι καὶ  
 ἀπλετος, καὶ ὡς δυσεύρετόν τι φυγὰς ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλώμενος· 35  
 τυχὸν δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὀλέθρῳ ἦλω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέλεξεν ὁ Βαϊανὸς

1 ἡμέρας [ἐνιαυτοῦς Niebuhr 2 Δαλματία Hoeschel [Δαλματίῳ codd. 3 ἔχουσιν Bekker [ἐχούσης codd. 8 τῶν add. Niebuhr λιμῷ Niebuhr [λοιμῷ codd. 10 τοῦ add. Niebuhr 14 ὡς [ἐς X edd. 20 ἐπιφερομένους [ἀποφερομένους de Boor 29 χρυσίου [χρυσῶν de Boor 30 προσεχώρησε Valesius [προσειώρησε BE προσειώρης τε MP 31 ἐς [ὡς E

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 20)

The Romans and the Avars fought for three days, during which time no Roman force appeared against the bridge to Dalmatia, even though it was very unsound. Apsikh and the Avars under his command who were stationed there had demonstrated such contempt for the Romans that they had taken themselves off to the other bridge and had gone as reinforcements for Baian's contingent.<sup>318</sup> Because of the interruption of supplies and the bridging of the river, those in Sirmium were suffering from very severe famine and were turning to unlawful food. The commander at Sirmium, Solomon, was behaving most uncooperatively and showing that he had no military skill.<sup>319</sup> The populace, worn out by its suffering and full of misery, was blaming the Roman officers now that they had lost their last hope. And Theognis was hampered by lack of troops. When Tiberius learned of this, thinking it better that the inhabitants should not fall captive with the city, he wrote to Theognis ordering him to end the war on the condition that the inhabitants of the place be allowed to leave *en masse*, taking with them none of their possessions beyond their lives and one cloak each. They came to agreement, and the war was ended on these terms: that the Romans hand over the city to the Avars, and the Avars leave its inhabitants to the Romans, minus all their possessions.<sup>320</sup> The Khagan further demanded the gold for the three previous years, which had not been paid as usual (he received it in return for not resorting to arms, the price of peace being each year about eighty thousand *nomismata* of gold), and also one of his subjects who, as I have said, fled to the Roman Empire after having committed adultery with Baian's wife.<sup>321</sup> He made it clear to Theognis that unless the deserter were surrendered to him, he would not consent to a treaty. Theognis countered that the territory of the Roman Emperor was very large and immeasurable and that a fugitive wandering in it was hard to find; perhaps he was dead. To

ὀμνύναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας ὡς ἀναμαστεύσωσι, καὶ εἴ τι εὐροῖεν τὸν φυγάδα, ἀποκρύψοιντο οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐγχειριεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων μονάρχῳ· εἰ δέ γε τετελευτηκῶς εἶη, καὶ οὕτω σημῆναι.

40

37 ἀναμαστεύσωσι [ἀναμαστεύσουσι Dindorf]

## *Incertae Sedis*

### 28

(Suda A32)

Μένανδρος· εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ἀβελτηρίας ἤλασεν αὐτοῖς ὁ νοῦς, ὥστε θάτερον μέρος τὴν κατὰ θατέρου μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων εὐχεσθαι νίκη.

### 29

(Suda A1998)

Μένανδρος· ὡδὶ γὰρ Οὔννων ἡγεμῶν μέγιστος ἔτυχεν ἀναπαύλης. τούτεστιν ἀπέθανε.

1 ὡδὶ γὰρ [Ἔδῖγαρ Niebuhr]

### 30

1. (Suda Θ99)

Μένανδρος· ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς, ὃς εἰώθει τῶν πολεμίων ἀεὶ κρατεῖν, κατὰ τινα θεήλατον ὀργὴν ἔφυγε προτροπάδην.

2 ὀργὴν [ὀρμὴν Küster]

[2. (Suda Δ579)

Ὁ δὲ διεσώθη εἰς τὸν Ναρσῆν διακεχαραγμένος τὸ σῶμα.]

[3. (Suda Π2311)

Καὶ προαλάμενος τῆς πληθύος μετεχώρησεν ὡς Ναρσῆν. ὁ δὲ ἐνηγκαλίσατο αὐτόν.]

### 31

1. (Suda A4378)

Καὶ Μένανδρος· ὁ δὲ ἐπετοξάζετο κατὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου, καὶ μάλα



this Baian replied that the Roman leaders should swear that they would search for the fugitive and, if they found him, they would not conceal him but by all means hand him over to the monarch of the Avars; and if he were dead, they would inform him of that also.

### *Unplaced Fragments*

#### **28**

(*Suda* A32)

To such a degree of stupidity did their wits come that one part prayed for victory against the other rather than against the enemies.

#### **29**

(*Suda* A1998)

In this way the leader of the Huns gained the greatest respite of all;<sup>322</sup> (that is, he died).

#### **30**

1. (*Suda* Θ99)

Narses, who had always been accustomed to beat the enemy, because of some divine anger fled headlong.<sup>323</sup>

[2. (*Suda* Δ579)

Though wounded<sup>324</sup> he escaped to Narses.]

[3. (*Suda* Π2311)

He leapt forward from the throng and went over to Narses, who embraced him.]

#### **31**

1. (*Suda* A4378)

He turned his bow against the barbarian and, aiming his weapon very

εὐστοχώτατα τὸ κέρας ἐκτείνας ἀφήσει τὸν ἄτρακτον κατὰ τοῦ Κώχ.

[2. (*Suda* E3520)

Τὸ δὲ βέλος ἀνεφωγμένον προφθάσαν τὸ στόμα, ἐκεῖσε ἐμπεσὸν κατέπαυσε τὴν πτῆσιν. καὶ δὴ ὁ Κώχ εὐθυωρὸν ἀπεβίω.]

(= *Suda* Θ119)

## 32

(*Suda* Α1322)

Μένανδρος· ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰσίως αὐτοῖς ἀπέπνευσεν ἡ τύχη· οἱ γὰρ ἐθελοκακοῦντες οὐχ ὑπεστάλησαν. καὶ αὐθις· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ αἴσιον δόξαι ἂν βασιλεῖ.

1 ἀπέπνευσεν [ἐπέπνευσεν Niebuhr 2 οὐχ del. Küster lac. post οὐχ indicat Bernhardy

## [33]

[1. (*Suda* E498)

Ὁ δὲ δὴ Βῶνος οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἐκμελὲς αὐτῷ οὐδ' ἐς τὸ ῥαθυμότερον ἐτράπη ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλὰ συντόνω τῷ τάχει πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχρῆτο.]

[2. (*Suda* Y743)

Ἐχρῆτο δὲ κομπολογίαις καὶ ὑψηγόρας τις ἦν καὶ τραχύς. ὁ δὲ Βῶνος κατ' οὐδὲν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὑποχαλάσας ἀνεμίμησκε τῆς ἐν Σκυθία μάχης.]

1 ὑψηγόρας [ὑναγόρας Bernhardy

## [34]

[(*Suda* E962)

Καὶ αὐθις· ἐστάναι τε ἐμβριθέστατα καὶ ἐπαμύνειν τῇ πόλει.]

## [35]

[1. (*Suda* E2452)

Ὁ δὲ πέμπει Ἰωάννην, ὡς ἂν προφυλακῆ χρήσοιτο καὶ προκαταμάθοι τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τῶν βαρβάρων.]

[2. (*Suda* Δ1193)

Καταχεομένου τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως ὄμβρου τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ

accurately, shot the arrow at Kokh.

[2. (*Suda* E3520)

Because his mouth was already open the arrow entered and lodged in his throat. And Kokh immediately died.]<sup>325</sup>

## 32

(*Suda* A1322)

But fortune did not breathe favourably upon them. For, though hostile, they were not sent back.<sup>326</sup> Again: this would not seem opportune to the Emperor.

## [33]

[1. (*Suda* E498)

Bonus did not act inappropriately nor did his mind fall into indifference. But he moved with great speed to ensure his safety.]

[2. (*Suda* Y743)

He was arrogant, boastful and aggressive. Bonus relaxed not at all at his words, but recalled the battle in Scythia.]<sup>327</sup>

## [34]

[(*Suda* E962)

To stand most firm and defend the city.]<sup>328</sup>

## [35]

[1. (*Suda* E2452)

He sent John to keep lookout and learn in advance of the barbarians' attack.]

[2. (*Suda* Δ1193)

The Avars contrived that it was raining hard, overcast and still dark,

συννεφοῦς ὄντος τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἐσέτι σκοτώδους οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο οἱ διοπτῆρες διαγνῶναι ἐπιόντας τοὺς δυσμενεῖς.]

### 36

(*Suda* E2031)

Μένανδρος· ὁ δὲ ἡγεμῶν ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν ζ' λόφων ἀνελθὼν ἐπεθείαζε ῥήμασι βαρβάροις καὶ γαύρω τῷ φρονήματι μεγαληγορία ἐχρῆτο.

### [37]

[(*Suda* H424)

Ἐδόκει δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ μὴ σφόδρα ἐπαίρεσθαι· ἤπερ ἐστὶν ἄριστον πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμβαίνουσιν ὁμιλεῖν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς βεβαίου καὶ πιστοῦ πάντως ὑπάρχοντος.]

### [38]

[(*Suda* K2690)

Περὶ τὰς γεφύρας οἰκοδόμημα τρίγωνον τὸ ὄξυ ἔχον ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τριγώνῳ σχήματι, ὃ δὴ οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ κυμοτόμον καλοῦσιν, ἐμβόλῳ νηὸς μακρᾶς ἀπεικασμένον· ὅπερ ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων Χαγάνος ἐτεκτήνατο γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν περὶ Δαρδανίαν ὄχθην διαβιβάσας τὸν στρατόν.]

5

2 μηχανοποιοὶ [κυματοποιοὶ V μηχανοποιοὶ κυματοποιοὶ GM

### 39

(*Suda* Σ30)

Τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις καταρραχθῆναι ταῖς βολαῖς καὶ τὸν τοῖχον ἅπαντα τοῦ πύργου σαθρωθῆναι τῇ βίᾳ. Μένανδρός φησι.

### 40

(*Suda* Σ901)

Παρὰ δὲ Μενάνδρῳ σπαλίωνες εἰσὶ μηχανήματα, καλύπτραι τινὲς βοείοις δέρμασιν ἐκτάδην ξυντεθειμέναι ξύλοις τε ἀνδρομήκεσιν αἰωρούμεναι· ὧν ἔνερθεν ὑπαισδύντες ὀπλίται, ἐν χρῶ τε τῷ τείχει προσπελάζοντες, ὄργανά τε λαοτόμα καὶ τοιχωρύχα μεταχειριζόμενοι ὑπὸ γῆν αὐλῶνας ἐργάζονται, ἐγκείμενοί τε

5

so that the lookouts could not see the enemy approaching.]<sup>329</sup>

### 36

(*Suda* E2031)

The leader ascended one of the seven hills and in his barbarous tongue uttered prophecies, boasting in his arrogance.<sup>330</sup>

### [37]

[(*Suda* H424)

The Emperor decided to be satisfied with what he had achieved and not aim too high. It is best to face war and its uncertainties in this manner, for in such circumstances nothing is wholly safe and assured.]<sup>331</sup>

### [38]

[(*Suda* K2690)

For bridges there is a triangular structure with a sharp edge to the front like a triangle. The builders call it a cutwater, and it acts like the ram of a warship. This the Khagan of the Avars constructed, and he bridged the river and led his army across to the Dardanian side.]<sup>332</sup>

### 39

(*Suda* Σ30)

The battlements were shattered by the blows and the whole wall of the tower was weakened by their force.

### 40

(*Suda* Σ901)

In Menander *spaliones* are machines, screens made of stretched ox-skins raised on beams to the height of a man. Soldiers go inside this and, sheltering beneath the skin, approach the wall. Wielding tools for cutting stone or breaking through walls, they make channels beneath the ground, pressing forward and digging through, and they

καὶ διορύττοντες, εἴ που τοῦ τείχους μέρος τι καταρρίψαιεν, ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ τρόπῳ ἐντὸς κενωμάτων γενόμενοι δυοῖν ἀνύσουσί γε τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ τὴν γῆν ἀναρρήξαντες τοῦ περιβόλου γενήσοιντο εἴσω, ἢ γουν κατὰ τὸ ἔνδον φρέατος τοὺς σήραγγας ἀγαγόντες ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐκκενώσαιεν ἐφελκύσαντες τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰ γλαφυρά 10 τε καὶ κοῖλα τοῦ ὀρύγματος.

7 γε [τε V 8 ἀναρρήξαντες [ἀνορύξαντες GVM γενήσοιντο [γενήσονται V γένοιτο GM 9 ἢ γουν [ἢ τοῦ Bernhardt]

## 41

(*Suda* Φ122)

Καὶ Φασιανοὶ κατάλογοι, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φάσιδος, παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ.

## 42

(*Suda* Φ314)

Μένανδρος· τὸ γὰρ φίλερι τῆς φιλοπρωτείας μεταξὺ αὐτῶν συμπεσὸν διέλυσε τὰς δυνάμεις.

1 φιλοπρωτείας [φιλοπραγματείας F 2 συμπεσὸν [συμπεσεῖν V

## 43

(*Suda* X93)

Καὶ Μένανδρος· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐκλελοιπότες τὸν χάρακα τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουν.

either tear down a part of the wall or by some other means get themselves within tunnels. Then they do one of two things: they either break up through the ground and penetrate within the circuit wall or they reach the reservoirs of the spring inside the place and immediately empty them by drawing the water off into the hollow tunnel.<sup>333</sup>

## **41**

*(Suda Φ122)*

In Menander there are Phasian regiments (i.e. from Phasis).

## **42**

*(Suda Φ314)*

A quarrel arose between them out of their desire to be first, and it disunited their forces.<sup>334</sup>

## **43**

*(Suda X93)*

Many left the camp and plundered the villages.<sup>335</sup>





## NOTES

1. McCail defends the reading of the text (which imitates Agathias 2,15,7) and argues that it refers to liberal studies preliminary to legal studies.

2. The Royal Stoa was where the lawyers gathered (Procopius *Aed.* 1,11,12). Menander contrasts himself with Agathias who says that he was kept busy there with legal documents (3,1,4).

3. Baldwin (p.102), perhaps rightly, sees a sexual motif in the reference to the palaestra. Agathias (*praef.* 3) uses ἐναπεδύοντο of competitors in the Olympic and Nemean Games.

4. The structure of this fragment and the verbal parallels indicate that Agathias' preface was the model (cf. Apostolopoulos pp.7-9), and elements such as the modesty and the reference to Maurice reading late into the night are conventional. Nevertheless, Menander's frankness about his family and his opportunistic reasons for writing the History are distinctive. Baldwin (p.103) suggests that the confession to a wild past is intended to draw a parallel with Maurice himself (cf. Evagrius *HE* 6,1).

5. Menander, like other authors, uses Colchis and Lazica interchangeably.

6. This paragraph paraphrases Agathias 4,30,9. The Persians had failed in a direct attack upon Phasis (Agathias 3,19,8ff.). The truce was agreed upon in autumn 557.

7. The Kutrigurs were at the time living to the west of Lake Maeotis, the Utigurs to the east. Both were Turkic tribes and closely related, being divisions of the old Saraguri (Howarth pp.623-25). Procopius, Agathias and Menander also call both tribes 'Huns'.

8. These events, the end of a long series of dealings between Justinian and these tribes which are detailed by Procopius and Agathias, are distinct from and posterior to those narrated by Agathias at the end of his work (5,24-25). Thus they are to be dated after 559 (*contra* Stein 1949 II p.540 n.2, who holds that Menander corrects Agathias).

9. The river Athesis which flows by Verona.

10. *Comes rei privatae*, or, more likely, *comes patrimonii Italiae* (on which see Jones I pp.426f.). Hartmann (*RE* III col.714 'Bonus' 3) identifies him with the *quaestor Moesiae* of *Nov. Iust.* 41 and 50 and Agathias 1,19,1. This is no more than possible.

11. Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Lang.* 2,2) says that the Frank Amingus came to aid a Gothic chief, Widin. Both were defeated, Amingus killed and Widin sent to Constantinople. This episode must have taken place before 562, when Verona surrendered to Narses and the Gothic resistance ended. Bury (1958 II p.281 and n.3) would place it close to that date. Goffart (p.76) makes Aming the Austrasian governor of northern Italy.

12. The style of this anonymous passage of the *Suda* seems Menandrian (cf. Baldwin p.121). I have placed it here simply because it fits the context. The final word in the MSS,  $\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\rho\omega$ , is clearly a dittography.

13. This probably refers to the Ephthalite Katulph, who, Menander says (*Fr.* 10,1), betrayed his people to the Turks because his ruler had raped his wife. Cahun (p.109) suggested that the name should be  $\text{Κάτουλγος} =$  Turkish Kutlug (Fortunate). For other suggestions see Moravcsik II p.156.

14. On Silzibul (or Sizabul) see n.112.

15. On the Avars see n.19.

16. The destruction of the kingdom of the Ephthalites, which had been established in Sogdiana north of the river Oxus (Amu Darya) and in the old Persian provinces to the south, took place around 560 (Stein 1949 II p.518). It was achieved through cooperation between the Persians and the Turks, though both sides claimed the major role, which the present passage suggests Menander gave to the Turks. The usual view (e.g. of Nöldecke pp.159ff.; Chavannes p.226) is that the river Oxus henceforth formed the Persian-Turkish border, though Widengren argues that the Persians held territory north of the Oxus until the reign of Hormizd IV (579-590).

17. This fragment and the two preceding apparently come from a speech (or speeches), part of the account of the Turkish-Ephthalite war or of the Avar campaigns as they moved westwards, or of another episode of which there is no trace. In the MS of the *Exc. de Sent.* 6 and 7 are run together.

18. The reference is to *Il.* 6,339. This theme underlies Peter's speech to the Zikh at *Fr.* 6,1 lines 19-98.

19. The Avars are first mentioned by Priscus (*Fr.* 40, ca 462). At that time they were apparently to the east of the Volga. Theophylact (7,8,3-6) insists that the Avars known to the Romans were False Avars, being, in fact, two tribes, the Uar and the Chunni (cf. Menander *Fr.* 19,1, where the Turkish chief refers to them as "my slaves, the Uarkhonitai") who had taken the name of the Avars, formerly the most feared people of Scythia. (The identity of the Avars is discussed by Macartney pp.273ff., who accepts that the references in Menander are to the False Avars but rejects Theophylact's explanation of their origin. Macartney argues that they had been vassals of the Kermichiones, formerly the Chionites, who had been conquered by the Turks.) The True Avars are often identified with the Juan-juan (Gibbon's

Geougen), the masters of Central Asia until their destruction by the Turks *ca* 552 (Chavannes pp.231f.). The Avars known to the Romans had apparently fled the destruction of the empire of the Juan-juan. Their arrival at the Alans is usually dated to 557/8 (Kollautz *loc. cit.*; Bury 1958 II p.315; Stein 1949 II p.542). I should prefer 559/60.

20. At this time the Alans who had not migrated westwards under the Hunnic pressure of the 370s still maintained themselves to the north-east of the Caucasus Mountains and were in regular contact with the Romans via Lazica.

21. This Justin, the son of Justinian's cousin Germanus, is distinct both from Justin, Justinian's nephew and later Justin II, and from Justin, who had been master of the soldiers in Illyricum.

22. Perhaps he was a *spatharius* (though there are other possibilities – Jones II pp.658f.). Perhaps also he is identical with the Valentinus, εἰς . . . τῶν βασιλείων ξιφηφόρων (*Fr.* 19,1 line 4), who was sent twice to the Turks. If this is so, he was clearly a diplomat specialising in 'Scythian' affairs.

23. The Unigurs (more usually Onogurs) were a Hunnic people living to the east of the Black Sea, closely associated with the Sabirs by Jordanes (*Get.* 5,37 – see Maenchen-Helfen pp.297, 431ff.). (Niebuhr's emendation to Οὐτιγούροις = Utigurs seems unnecessary.) The Zali are mentioned nowhere else. Maenchen-Helfen (p.440) compares Ptolemy's Σάλοι of European Sarmatia and Pliny's Salae of Colchis. The Sabirs, another Hunnic people, who had been driven across the Volga in the 460s (Priscus *Fr.* 40; Howarth p.613), lived in the Kuban area to the east of the Black Sea (Maenchen-Helfen pp.432, 440, 442). Some of them apparently fled south-west towards Albania (cf. Menander *Fr.* 18,5).

24. The Antae, a people of Slavic affiliation, perhaps with a Sarmatian element (Vernadsky suggests a Sarmatian ruling clan), lived to the north of the Black Sea presumably to the west of the Kutrigurs (on whom see n.7).

25. What their hopes were is not stated, but perhaps to obtain Kutrigur help against the Avars (which would then have been thwarted by the Kutrigur τὰ ἔχθιστα βουλευσάμενος).

26. This took place in 562 (Bury 1958 II p.315) or a little earlier (Stein 1949 II p.543: "vers 561").

27. Bury (*loc. cit.*) identifies this Justin as the son of Germanus and has the embassy conducted via Colchis, as had been the earlier one (see *Fr.* 5,1). Stein (*loc. cit.*) rightly has the Avars on the Danube by this time. He, therefore, assumes that the son of Germanus had been by now transferred to a command in this region. Stein says that his rank was *quaestor Iustinianus exercitus*; Jones (I p.304), with more likelihood, *mag. mil. per Illyricum*. Justin was certainly in that area prior to his murder in 566 (Agathias 4,22,7).

28. Justinian wanted to settle the Avars in the part of Pannonia II called Bassiana, where they would threaten and be threatened by the Gepids. They themselves wanted the province of Scythia Minor. This would have put Thrace at risk. (Stein 1949 II p.543.)

29. Here I follow Stein (1919 n.12 on pp.32f.) in distinguishing him

from the Bonus of *Fr.* 3. The term πρωτοστάτην τοῦ θητικοῦ καὶ οἰκετικοῦ is taken by Stein to indicate that Bonus was Justin's majordomo, commander of his private retainers or *bucellarii*. Could it, alternatively, refer to a combination of the commands of *comes foederatorum* and *comes domesticorum* (or *excubitorum*)? Bonus later appears (*Frr.* 12,3 and 5; 15,1) probably as *mag. mil. per Illyricum* (Stein *op. cit.* pp.10f.).

30. According to Stein (1919 n.3 on p.28) these negotiations took place in the second half of 561 and the treaty was signed at the end of the year. Others (e.g. Bury and Güterbock) would date it to 562. A truce had been in effect in the East and Armenia since 545, in Lazica since 557 (cf. *Fr.* 2).

31. Zikh, in fact, is a family name (Christensen p.105 n.3). The confusion of Persian family names with titles is common in Greek authors.

32. Antioch was taken in the invasion of 540.

33. The text is corrupt here, though the general sense is clear. A verb such as ἐπιρρώσθεντες or διαναπαυσάμενοι seems needed after ὡς.

34. The words from πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν το ῥοπήν appear also as *Exc. de Sent.* 10.

35. The Greek is not wholly clear. I take Peter's point to be that although the Persians had been cheered by their early successes, it should now be clear that they will not destroy the Roman state and that they are sapping their own strength in the attempt, which makes them more open to defeat by others (a reference to the dangers on Persia's northern frontier).

36. As usual, the Persian need for money, vividly illustrated by Procopius' account (*Wars* 2,5-14) of Khosro's rampage of extortion through Syria in 540, dictated their priorities: secure borders and a regular income. The Roman priorities were to rebuild their strength and avoid a long commitment to payments. Hence the desire for a short treaty.

37. Procopius (*Wars* 2,1) says that Khosro was looking for pretexts to break the 'Endless Peace' of 532. He admits to uncertainty whether or not the complaints of the Persian king were well founded. The monastery of Sebanos is mentioned nowhere else.

38. This Eusebius is nowhere else mentioned, unless he is identical with the general Eusebius of *Fr.* 18,2.

39. The Greek of the last part of this sentence is ungrammatical, and both Niebuhr and de Boor have wished to emend it. But Dr. Martin Schwartz of the Dept. of Near Eastern Studies of the University of California at Berkeley tells me that the unemended Greek could replicate the Pahlavi. Therefore it should be kept. Menander appears to be suggesting that he himself had translated the Pahlavi, but perhaps he merely means that he transcribed the archival translation which he knew would be word-for-word.

40. The Turkish view upon who conquered the Ephthalites is different (cf. *Fr.* 10,1). Presumably "many kings" refers to the barons of the former Ephthalite territory who had given allegiance to the Persian king. Although the singling out of the Ephthalites, the Persians' most formidable enemy after the Romans and recently destroyed, is understandable, this and the

following claim probably betray a degree of apprehension about the Turks, which may well have brought the Persians to negotiations (cf. Güterbock pp.55f.). In stressing the title King of Kings (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων = Shahanshah) the Zikh is not advancing any claim to supremacy over the Roman Emperor, whom the Persians called *qaisar* (see n.37 to the introduction).

41. This anecdote about Sesostriis is also found in Diod. Sic. 1,58 and Pliny *NH* 38,52. The story is given more force by the fact that Sesostriis was the conqueror of Asia (Herodotus 2,102-103; Agathias 2,18,5).

42. The Suani (medieval Svaneti) inhabited the Caucasus to the north-east of Lazica.

43. This is the only account of the defection of the Suani. It is dated by the statement of Khosro in the current fragment (lines 554-55) that now (in early 562) the Persians had held Suania for ten years. The ill feeling between Martin and Gobazes, the Lazian king, culminated in the murder of the latter in 554/5 (Agathias 3,2-4). The importance of Suania to the Romans was that from it the Persians could threaten Lazica. If they could take Lazica, they would gain access to the Black Sea and pose a direct threat to Byzantium itself (cf. *Fr.* 9,1 lines 13-16 and Procopius *Wars* 2,28,23).

44. Again, this is a Persian family name rather than a title (cf. n.31).

45. A Christianised kingdom to the east of Lazica, usually subject to the Persians and important to them as a defence against the raids of the tribes north of the Caucasus.

46. Alamundar (Al-Mundhir III), the Lakhmid ruler of the Saracens allied to the Persians, had received a subsidy from Justinian. Alamundar was killed in 554 in battle with the Roman-allied Ghassanid Arethas (Harith) (Stein 1949 II p.503), and the subsidy was apparently withdrawn from his successor Ambrus (Amr). The passages of Menander (*Fr.* 9,1 lines 34-38 and 79-85) cited by Stein (*op. cit.* p.521 n.4) to show that Justinian did later continue the payments do not, in my view, establish that clearly.

47. Miller (p.72 n.69) claims that the process of validation here described is a doublet of the process of translating, copying and sealing described after the setting out of the clauses. He argues that Menander misleads his readers into the impression that all of the processes were repeated, an unnecessary precaution. In my view there is no repetition. The actions here described involve the informal confirmation by the envoys that their words and intent were accurately translated and recorded by the amanuenses. The actions that follow the clauses are those concerned with the preparation and formal signing of the treaty documents themselves.

48. The MSS call this pass Χορυτζόν, which de Boor emends to χώρου Τζόν, comparing Procopius' Τζούρ (*Wars* 8,3,4), which more closely renders the Persian name Čōr (Widengren p.73 n.2). On its identification with the Pass of Derbend, the invasion route of the Huns, see Marquart (1901) p.106.

49. The wording (or rather the omissions) in this clause is striking. The Romans are committed not to attack the Persians ἐν αὐτῷ δήπου τῷ χώρῳ (presumably via the Caucasus) or ἐν ἄλλοις Μηδικοῖς ὁρίοις (either other

parts of the Persian border contingent on the area – e.g. on Armenia – or, more naturally, any part of the Persian frontier at all). The Persians for their part are committed to guard the Caucasus passes. Although before the ‘sacred letters’ of ratification were sent for it had been agreed that the Romans would pay 30,000 *nomismata* per year for peace (lines 147-49), there is no mention here or in any other clause either of these payments or of any commitment by the Persians not to attack the Romans (with Güterbock [pp.66f.] I take clause 9 to prohibit attacks on subject peoples such as the Lazi and Iberians). These two omissions together suggest a trade-off. The Persians agreed to the omission of any mention of the payments (which would offend Roman pride, especially if represented as payments for peace, which the Romans admitted them to be), but in return refused to make any written commitment not to attack the Romans. This was guaranteed by the payments, the first ten years’ of which were themselves guaranteed by the appendix to Justinian’s letter of ratification. In 369 Justin II honoured the commitment to make the second lump-sum payment for three years (as remarked by Whitby p.174 n.3), either because he felt free to discontinue the payments only after the return of the appendix guaranteeing the first ten years’ or because Romano-Persian relations did not deteriorate towards war until the period of Persarmenian unrest and Turkish proposals for an anti-Persian alliance (570-571).

50. The intent of this clause is not entirely clear and it has been taken (by, e.g., Stein 1949 II p.519) to mean that the Saracens were still free to attack each other. For the (much more likely) view that they were forbidden to attack each other also see Güterbock pp.68f., Kawar pp.197-221. In fact, this clause seems to be emending a weakness of earlier treaties, noted by Procopius (*Wars* 2,1,4-5), which failed to mention the Saracens, subsuming them under Romans and Persians.

51. *Cod. Iust.* 4,36,4 (408 or 409) specifies Nisibis, Callinicum and Artaxata (Dvin) as the posts. Clause 5 below suggests that Daras supplemented them or replaced Callinicum. The intent of this clause is two-fold: to control the movement of people and information (as Theodosius and Honorius state in the law cited) and to ensure that the state collect the heavy and lucrative taxes on imported goods.

52. The detainment of an embassy could be tactically important in the light of the low capacity of both sides for gathering accurate information on troop movements etc. (cf. *Fr.* 23,9, on Hormizd’s detention of the Roman envoys while he prepared for hostilities, and *Fr.* 5,4).

53. The assumption that an envoy, a man of high rank, would wish to engage in trade is surprising, given the ancient upper classes’ prejudice against such activity. Perhaps it was acceptable to trade in order to pay the expenses, often very heavy, of an embassy (cf. de Ste. Croix pp.129f. on the apparent acceptability of trade to pay travel expenses).

54. On this clause see Kawar pp.192-97 who points to the same two objectives as those behind clause 3 (cf. n.51). It would also reinforce the prohibition in clause 2 as interpreted by Güterbock and Kawar (cf. n.50). The omission of Callinicum seems surprising, but the intent of the clause was probably only to control traders active in the Roman and Persian dominions

and not in allied Saracen territory.

55. Güterbock's treatment of this clause (pp.80-83) concentrates upon the upper-class refugees, although he does note that there is no mention of prisoners-of-war. The former group do not seem to have been a major consideration unless they constituted a political threat (cf. the view of Khosro at *Fr.* 20,2 lines 60-64), and the latter, if they were not killed or ransomed, would have become the property of their captors. In my view the clause primarily reflects the well-attested concern of both states to control the ordinary people in a time of population shortage, especially in the countryside (cf. the remarks of de Ste. Croix pp.249f.). In this case the phrase τοῖς ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπέδρασαν would refer to the proprietors, who were concerned to recover their tied manpower.

56. While the intent of this clause is clearly to remove a cause of friction by providing a forum for the speedy settlement of disputes between subjects of the two states, the form of the process envisaged is not so clear. Güterbock (pp.84-86) is probably correct in his view that δίκη does not point to a formal process but refers merely to an informal procedure of arbitration leading to a fair settlement. He sees two alternative means of recourse, first discussion between the parties directly involved (which, as he notes, would require the aid of the accused's state) and, failing that, representation by fellow nationals before a mixed tribunal of the provincial civil authorities of both states ("der praeses provinciae oder der ihm gleichstehende höhere Provinzialbeamte"). Some of this is tendentious. While the establishment of the mixed tribunal is clear, the two-stage process is not so. The two phrases δι' ἑαυτῶν τῶν τὴν βλάβην πεπονθότων (which plainly refers only to the plaintiffs) and δι' οἰκείων ἀνθρώπων could indicate merely two alternatives, appearance in person before the tribunal or through representatives (whether fellow nationals or not). (Miller [p.69] is clearly wrong to say that this clause lays down that the transgressor will be punished under the laws of the plaintiff's state.)

57. The fortification of Daras on the border by the Emperor Anastasius to counter the Persian fortress of Nisibis had always been a cause of friction. The Persians alleged that the fortress had been built in breach of treaty engagements between Theodosius II and Yezdegerd II in 441, to which the Romans countered that the cession of Nisibis by Jovian in 363 had been only for 125 years and the fortification of Daras was the response to the Persian failure to honour this obligation (to which there is no reference in the accounts of the treaty of 363). Justinian himself had refortified Daras and built or repaired a line of forts along the eastern border (Procopius *De Aed.* 2,3).

58. With Güterbock (pp.66f.) I take the purpose of this clause to be to bring the subject peoples, such as the Lazi and the Armenians (as distinct from the allied Saracens who are covered in clause 2), into the peace. This, of course, flows from the earlier agreement (lines 239-42) on the Roman and Persian possessions in Armenia and the Caucasus region, amongst which the status of Suania remained unresolved.

59. Daras had been built as an offensive base (Whitby pp.141f.), and the intent of this clause is to reduce both its manpower and its status. The

Persians are not apparently bound to make a comparable reduction at Nisibis. They probably never could sustain large and long-term troop concentrations comparable to those of the Romans despite the centralising reforms of Khosro (Christensen pp.366-72).

60. Whereas clause 7 provided a means of redress for disputes between individuals, this clause addresses inter-community friction across the border. Güterbock (p.87 n.1) regards the words in parentheses as a comment by Menander or Peter and not a part of the text of the treaty. I am not so sure, in view of the taste for such sermonising shown by the officials who drafted some of the laws in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian.

61. Güterbock (p.88) takes *δικασταί* to be local judicial magistrates (“richterlichen Lokalmagistrate”), but these do not seem well-suited to settle disputes between the communities which they themselves served (and whom Güterbock [p.86] considers to be excluded by clause 7 from the mixed tribunal set up to deal with disputes between individuals). I prefer either to take *δικασταί* = *iudices*, the general late-Latin term for provincial governors, and therefore the equivalent of *ἄρχοντες* of clause 7, or to view them as specially appointed judicial commissioners.

62. The naming of the Roman *magister militum per Orientem* as the sole judge of second resort and the omission of a Persian counterpart is striking. Güterbock (pp.88f.) explains this not as a Persian concession, but as due to the *magister* being of higher status than the satrap and, acting *vice sacra*, having competence over the whole of the East; furthermore, he acted only as president of the mixed tribunal. This does not seem satisfactory. Two possible alternative explanations come to mind: first, that the Persians, whose justice was administered mainly through religious courts (Christensen pp.299f.), did not have a graduated appeal procedure such as the Romans had (which, whatever its defects, was more likely to ensure satisfaction in such cases) and, therefore, conceded the administration of the second step of the procedure to the Romans; second (and better, in my view), that the usual principle of Roman law – *actus sequatur forum rei* – applied, and the Roman version of the treaty only dealt with actions by Persian plaintiffs. For the Persians the relevant Persian official would have been identified.

63. As Güterbock (p.90) remarks, the ruler acts not as a court of appeal but merely as executor of the judgement.

64. As Güterbock (p.92) notes, this clause is worded in such a way as to be acceptable to both the Christian Romans and the Zoroastrian Persians.

65. Since the Romans acknowledged that they were making yearly payments to the Persians for peace (see n.49), then the exact synchronisation of the years was vital. This was achieved by appealing to the old Roman calendar of 365 days which lacked the Julian intercalation of one day every fourth year, and the Persian civil calendar, also of 365 days without intercalation (cf. Doblhofer pp.215f., and the descriptions of the Persian calendars in Christensen pp.170f. and Higgins 1939 pp.1-15).

66. These letters had already arrived (see lines 163-66). The treaty apparently took note of their existence.



67. The separation of the agreement on the Christians meant that the integrity of the peace treaty did not depend directly upon Persian adherence to this agreement (Güterbock p.97). Nevertheless, it represents a considerable concession by Khosro, who assented to Christian practices, especially inhumation, which were highly repugnant to the Magians, without any guarantee of freedom of worship for Magians in Roman territory. Güterbock (p.97 n.1) is probably right to remark that the agreement only covered Christians in Persia and not the Persarmenians (who had a separate agreement with the Persians), and, if this was so, it was a remarkable intrusion into Persian affairs. Apparently Khosro was prepared to take seriously the conviction of the Roman Emperor that he was responsible for *all* Christians. On the other hand, how Justinian was able to guarantee the behaviour of Persian Christians, especially Nestorians, is not clear.

68. This stage is the transformation of the text of the treaty from its verbatim form as recorded by the amanuenses into its final polished form. The text recorded by Menander would represent the final form available in the archives.

69. The other substance was possibly a fine clay, often used for sealing (cf. Herodotus 2,38,3, Egypt).

70. Thus, Peter entered Persia at the beginning of 562.

71. Menander here makes it quite clear that the first instalment of the tribute was handed over before the end of the year 561.

72. Bitharmaïs = Bêth Aramâyē, a region to the north-east of Ctesiphon.

73. The MSS reading τῶν ἀμηχάνων τὸ ἄπορον, though awkward, does not seem to need emendation: literally, "the impasse (consisting of) the insoluble circumstances."

74. This is perhaps intentionally disingenuous, since according to Agathias (2,28,2) many Romans admired Khosro for his learning and knowledge of philosophy.

75. In fact, according to Widengren (pp.91f.), Khosro had decided to establish a *marzban* in Suania after a Khazar raid through the region had penetrated into Persia.

76. Mermeroes, one of the most senior and best of Khosro's generals, died of old age and illness in 554 (Agathias 2,27,9; cf. his praise of Mermeroes at 2,22,5). His successor Nakhoergan (Nakhoragan in Agathias – it is actually a title) was flayed alive in the next year as punishment for his flight from battle (Agathias 4,23,2).

77. In the treaty (clause 2) the Saracens were termed σύμμαχοι. The terminology used here and in the rest of this exchange implies a much greater dependency. The term used in the treaty more accurately reflects the reality.

78. In his earlier version of this exchange of gifts (lines 292-300) Peter had Justinian taking the initiative.

79. Scandeis and Sarapa were fortresses on the frontier between Lazica and Iberia. They had been garrisoned first by the Lazians, then by the

Romans, who abandoned them. The Persians then garrisoned them, but returned them to the Romans under the treaty of 532. The Lazians then razed them, but in 551 the Persians rebuilt and reoccupied Scandeis (Procopius *Wars* 8,13,15-20, who calls them Scanda and Sarapanis).

80. At lines 254-55 the Lazians were said to have sent grain to the Suani.

81. The Roman Emperor was Theodosius II. Varanes (Varahran V) ruled Persia from 421 to 439, and Perozes (Firuz) from 459 to 484.

82. Khosro's point is not entirely clear. I take him to be implying that an apparently unvalidated document, such as that produced by Peter, has no absolute value as evidence.

83. These words repeat the final words of *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3.

84. Menander here clearly states that his source for the negotiations was the detailed minutes of the proceedings, which would have been deposited in the archives. Grecu argues that when Menander speaks of τὸ χθαμαλώτερον he is indicating only that the account of the exchange between Khosro and Peter, not the whole account of the negotiations, was in the common idiom. This seems unlikely since Menander justifies the retention of the actual words used on the ground that he is describing the *treaty*. On the other hand, the idiom used in the original must surely have varied from the texts (preliminary and formal) of the treaty to the formal speeches of the negotiators to the less formal exchanges such as that between Peter and Khosro.

85. The second part of this passage refers to a second source of material, the συναγωγή published by Peter (so Whitby pp.169f.), which readers are advised to consult for the version of Peter's dialogue with Khosro (and perhaps for all of the negotiations – this is not wholly clear). Menander's note that though Peter's version accurately reproduces the archival minutes it is somewhat skewed, is written, in my view, with a particular purpose (see n.52 to the introduction).

86. This and the next eight passages from the *Exc. de Sent.* cannot be certainly associated with any specific event. The death of Justinian, the elevation of Justin II and his abandonment of important aspects of Justinian's policy would have given plenty of opportunity for the presentation of the sort of sentiments expressed in these fragments.

87. This and the following two passages, perhaps from an epilogue on Justinian's reign, could be discussing the civil disturbances, climaxed by the Nika revolt, which that Emperor faced.

88. Perhaps this passage is also from a retrospective discussion of Justinian's career, in this case the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.

89. This and the following passage perhaps come from a speech of Justin renouncing Justinian's policy of buying peace with tribute and paying barbarian tribes (especially the Avars – see *Fr.* 5,2) to destroy the enemies of the Romans. A related, though not identical, sentiment is uttered by Zacharias in refutation of the Persian envoy Andigan in *Fr.* 26,1 lines 60-69. On the other hand, they could come from the account of the destruction of

the Gepids (with the second passage cf. the stratagem of Bonus in *Fr.* 12,3).

90. Justin was crowned Emperor on November 14, 565. According to Corippus (*In Laud. Iust.* 3,151ff.) the Avar envoys were given audience on the seventh day of his reign.

91. This is apparently a reference to cords with which the Avars bound up their long hair (cf. Agathias 1,3,4: ἀπέκτητοι καὶ αὐχμηροὶ καὶ ρυπῶντες καὶ ἐνέρσει ἀπρεπῶς ἀναπελεγμένοι, and Corippus *In Laud. Iust.*, *praef.* 4 with Cameron's note).

92. Explicit criticism of the policy of buying peace which Justinian followed in his later years is voiced by Agathias (5,14).

93. According to Corippus (*In Laud. Iust.* 3,258) the leader of the embassy was Tergazis, the Targitius of *Frr.* 12,6 and 7; 25,1.

94. A similar mixture of threats and appeal to past practice appears in the envoy's speech in Corippus (*In Laud. Iust.* 3,271-307), though, as Cameron notes in her commentary, the poet pads out the speech with commonplaces of rhetoric.

95. Cf. Thucydides 8,81,2: τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἐλπίδων ἐκπίπτουεν.

96. The reply of Justin in Corippus (*In Laud. Iust.* 3,311-98) pours scorn upon the boasting of the envoy and asserts the strength and determination of the Roman Empire.

97. Cf. Corippus *In Laud. Iust.* 3,399-400: *contremuit stupefactus Avar, magnoque timore / dirigit.*

98. The name has been queried and emended to Comentiolus after Theophanes of Byzantium *Fr.* 1 (= Photius *Bibl. cod.* 64, I p.77). But the name Domnentiolus appears in Procopius *Wars* 2,24,15; 7,39,3.

99. Theophanes of Byzantium (*loc. cit.*) says that 'Comentiolus' was sent by Justin to discuss Suania in the second year of his reign. The reference to the festival *Fruddigan* would, therefore, date John's arrival in Persia to July 567 (see n.102).

100. On the strategic value of Suania see n.43.

101. Daras was supplied with water by the river Cordes which fed reservoirs within the walls. According to Procopius (*Aed.* 2,2,1-3,26) Justinian had built elaborate works to control the river, which had been prone to flood, as well as a great conduit to carry water about the city. (Croke and Crow argue that Procopius has exaggerated Justinian's rebuilding of the Anastasian fortress.)

102. This festival, called *Fruddigan* in the next sentence, was, according to Christensen (pp.169f. and 172), the last of the six seasonal festivals of the Persian religious calendar. It was immediately followed by *Nowruz* (New Year's Day), which supposedly coincided with the spring equinox but in fact moved through the year. The table in Higgins (p.22) shows that in 567 *Nowruz* fell on July 8 (July 3 according to Nöldeke). During *Fruddigan* (*Fravardīghan*) itself the spirits of the dead (*fravašis*) were thought to appear (hence Greek *nekuia*), and the days were considered ill-omened for business.

103. *Fr.* 6,1 lines 525-34. Peter's words there confirm the Saracen claim that they were paid to keep the peace.

104. The editors here read  $\delta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  for  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  of the MSS. But the former would give far too explicit a threat in the light of the comparatively amicable nature of the interview.

105. The more experienced Peter had earlier objected to such a course of action, and Khosro had agreed with him (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 597-602).

106. Mebod (Māhbōdh) is a personal name. Doblhofer (p.214) suggests that he came from the family of Suren, though he is not to be confused with the Mebod of the family of Suren who was powerful during the latter part of the reign of Kawad and the first part of Khosro's reign and who is mentioned by Procopius (Christensen pp.355f.).

107. This is an appeal to the fourth clause of the treaty of 561. In fact, it is unclear whether that clause includes allied and subject envoys, or whether it refers only to representatives of the Roman and Persian rulers.

108. Menander seems to make it quite clear that Justin had at least a rudimentary knowledge of Persian.

109. Kaboses (Kabus) succeeded his brother as Lakhmid ruler of the Arabs allied to Persia in 569. Alamundar (Al-Mundhir), the successor of Arethas as chief of the Ghassanids, is to be distinguished from Alamundar, Ambrus' predecessor as Lakhmid chief (cf. n.46.).

110. I.e. late 568 - early 569.

111. On the overthrow of the Ephthalites see n.16.

112. Sizabul (Silzibul in *Frr.* 4,2; 19,1; erroneously, Dizabul) is the same as Sinjibū of the Arabic sources. He is now generally identified with the Turkish Khagan İstāmi or Che-tie-mi of the Chinese sources (Moravcsik II pp.275f. – older commentators had identified him with another ruler, Mokan Khan). He was the ruler of the western (to the Chinese, northern) Turks, who were in contact with the Romans.

113. Maniakh is apparently a Turkish name.

114. On Katulph see n.13.

115. Menander appears to identify two fears on the part of the Persians: a fear of Turkish expansion southwards (for anecdotes reflecting Persian apprehension see Christensen p.380), and a desire to keep as much as possible of the lucrative silk-trade (though the southern routes), now the Ephthalites, the old middlemen on the northern route, had been eliminated.

116. Here 'Scythians' is not used as a synonym for 'Turks', but refers in general to all the nomadic inhabitants of Scythia. The view that nomads were untrustworthy was shared with the Romans (cf. the speech of John on the Saracens, *Fr.* 9,1 esp. lines 67-69).

117. Relations between the Romans and the Sogdians had perhaps opened about twenty years earlier, and, in fact, relations with Transcaucasia may have existed for much longer (Hannestad, esp. p.450). The Romans had already attempted to deprive the Persians of their income from silk by using

the Ethiopians as middlemen, an attempt which failed (Procopius *Wars* 1,20,9-12). By the time of Maniakhs's embassy they had the silkworm, eggs of which had been smuggled in during Justinian's reign; and, indeed, Theophanes of Byzantium, *Fr.* 3 (= Photius *Bibl. cod.* 64, II pp.77f.) says that Justin showed such silk to the Turkish envoys, to their astonishment. But an industry apparently did not develop (Loewe p.178).

118. Theophanes (*Chron. a.m.* 6064) adds the detail that he travelled via the land of the Alans (to the north-east of the Caucasus).

119. Cahun (p.112) suggests that the letter was in the old Turkish script and remarks that it is noteworthy that the Romans had a translator who could read it. However, Menander never clearly uses 'Scythian' specifically of the Turks, and it would be remarkable if the Romans had such a person available. More likely 'Scythian' is used in a loose way of the languages of Central Asia (cf. n.116 and the general usage at *Fr.* 19,1 line 15; the use at *Fr.* 10,3 line 13 is also general but might indicate Turks), so that the actual language cannot be identified; and perhaps Menander did not know what it was. One of the languages of the settled peoples, such as Sogdian, is more likely.

120. That is, Sizabul was senior Khagan over the four groups that comprised the western Turks (Bury 1897 p.419). According to Cahun (pp.112f.) these were called Kipchakh, Kalakh, Kankli and Karluk.

121. Contrast the claim of the Persian envoy Yesdegusnaph at *Fr.* 6,1 lines 207-10 and cf. n.16. Justin is here clearly exploring the Persian claim.

122. A Chinese visitor reported that the Ephthalites remained nomads, while the people whom they had conquered, such as the Sogdians and Kwarezmians, inhabited the cities (Hannestad pp.436f.).

123. The Turks expected both trade-relations and cooperation from the Romans against their mutual enemies. It is clear from *Fr.* 13,5 that the Persians were to be a prime target, but it is also clear from the reaction of Turxanthus (*Fr.* 19,1) that the Turks also aimed at the Avars, which would bring them too close to Roman territory for the Romans' comfort. Theophanes of Byzantium *Fr.* 2 (= Photius *Bibl. cod.* 64, II p.77) says that the Turks asked the Romans not to admit the Avars and they complied with the request.

124. The term Sacae, which appears in Herodotus, is the general Persian term for the nomads of Central Asia who lived outside the oases (Frye pp.43f.).

125. On Zemarchus' career see Russu, pp.415f., who suggests that he may have been a Thracian rather than a Cilician. At this time his rank was *mag. mil. per Orientem*.

126. This dates the departure to August 569. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,23) wrongly dates the embassy to Justin's seventh year. The fifteen-year cycle is, of course, the indiction cycle.

127. Before overthrowing the Juan-juan the Turks are said to have served them as iron-workers (Parker p.130; Chavannes p.235).

128. The exorcists are clearly shamans. Exorcism by fire was common amongst the tribes of Central Asia (cf. John of Plano Carpini in Dawson [p.10], who says that when Michael, Duke of Chernikov, visited the Tartar Khan Bati in 1246, he was forced to pass between two fires). The exorcism on the border of Sogdiana suggests that at this time (late 569 - early 571) Turkish power only extended so far westwards.

129. The location of mount Ektag has occasioned much discussion, which is both influenced by and influences the opinions on the route taken by Zemarchus (see n.140). The older view (in, e.g., Bury 1897 pp.418f.) is that Sizabul's seat was in the Altai Mountains, whose name means 'Golden'. Others, however, (e.g. Chavannes pp.235-37 and Herrmann p.55) point out that Ektag (Ak-tagh) really means 'White Mountain' and prefer to identify it with Mount A-kie-tien ('White Mountain' in Chinese) which is far to the south, by the river Tekes in the Celestial Mountains in Dzungaria. While I cannot comment on the oriental evidence used by Chavannes (who, as far as I can see, has not established his view with certainty), two considerations make me unwilling to reject the Altai completely: first, the error can be easily explained as a confusion between the name of a mountain ('White') and the name of its range ('Golden'); second, if Sizabul were advancing from Dzungaria to Talas (where he is found at lines 75-76) there would be no reason, when he left Ektag, to send away those attendants of Zemarchus who were not to travel with him against the Persians (as he proposes to do at lines 67-69 and clearly did [cf. line 103]), since they would all be travelling due west. On the other hand, if they were leaving the Altai, there would be good reason to send them away.

130. The MSS all read ἀτεχνῶς, though more recent editors prefer εὐτέχνως, Niebuhr's emendation. But given the Byzantines' great skill at working and dyeing silk, it is quite possible that Zemarchus would think the Turkish specimens, with their very different designs, clumsy.

131. The nature of this drink is unclear. It is unlikely to have been *kumiss* (so Chavannes p.237), curdled mare's milk, known to Priscus (*Fr.* 11,2 line 280), which was sour according to William of Rubruck (in Dawson pp.98f.). Turtledove (p.155) ventures beer or ale. More likely, it was either mead made from honey or a rice wine, both of which William of Rubruck (in Dawson p.154) mentions.

132. Menander refers to the Turkish buildings both as σκηνη and καλύβη (which in the present passage the *Suda* Π1026 changes to σκηνη). Perhaps καλύβη refers to the round huts made of branches which the steppe nomads often carried on wagons (cf. John of Plano Carpini in Dawson p.8).

133. The nature and purpose of these are not specified. Could they have been idols? Cf. John of Plano Carpini (in Dawson p.9), who says that chiefs of the Tartars and other dignitaries always have a shrine (*hercium*) in the middle of their house.

134. Presumably Sizabul is taking his treasure with him to war. But cf. John of Plano Carpini (*loc. cit.*), who says that idols (in this case made of felt or silk) were placed by the Tartars in carts drawn up before their dwellings.

135. The Kholiatai (or Kalakh) were one of the four divisions of the

western Turks (see n.120 and Moravcsik II p.345). If they were located near to the Talas (so Marquart 1901 p.253), the rest of the Romans with Zemarchus would probably not yet have been sent off. Vailhé (p.211) identifies them with the modern Turkomen north of the Caspian. But this would put them too far west. It is clear from the beginning of *Fr.* 10,4 that they were not adjacent to Sizabul's home territory.

136. Moravcsik (II p.344), with the older editors, prefers to read Χερχίς, the doubtful reading of one MS. The Greek renders the name Khirgiz, after whom an autonomous Republic of the U.S.S.R. is today named. This borders upon Sinkiang, although, at least until recently, groups of Khirgiz were located as far west as the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea (Maenchen-Helfen p.210).

137. This place, on the river of the same name between the rivers Chu and Syr Darya (Jaxartes), is well known from Arabic sources (Cahun p.114; Chavannes p.238). Here in 751 the Arabs defeated a Chinese army, and the river remained the border between the Arab and Turkish domains.

138. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,23) puts this confrontation at the Khagan's court, which, of course, would travel with him. During it, John says, the Persian envoy claimed that the Romans were tributary to Persia.

139. The title Tarkhan, according to Moravcsik (II pp.299f.) a Bulgaro-turkic word, was often used by the Turks of envoys or counsellors (Parker p.132).

140. The reconstruction of Zemarchus' route back from Talas, which depends wholly upon this sentence, has long exercised the imagination of scholars (see esp. the elaborate itinerary given by Herrmann pp.55f.). All attempts are vitiated by two factors: the physical geography of Central Asia, including the direction of flow of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) and the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the extent of both Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, has changed drastically and repeatedly since antiquity; second, neither Menander's river Oekh nor his τὴν λίμνην τὴν ἄπλετον ἐκείνην καὶ εὐρείαν can be identified with certainty. Generally the Oekh has been taken as the Jaxartes or the Oxus, depending upon whether Zemarchus is sent north or south of Lake Aral (though Herrmann [p.56] takes it to be the river Chu, which is to the east of the Jaxartes). In fact the Oekh could be any river west of Talas, whether now existing or not (many ancient rivers of the region have disappeared), and it need not be a major one since it is not noted as a landmark on the journey but merely as the river across which the leader of the Kholiatai joined up with (or caught up with) the Romans. As for the "enormous, wide lake," the majority, perhaps influenced by Ammianus, who mentions the Aral in terms similar to those used by Menander (23,6,59: *Oxiam nomine paludem . . . late longaeque diffusam* [λίμνη, of course, can be either a lake or a marsh]), have identified it as Lake Aral. Whether or not what Zemarchus saw was the Aral, the use of τὴν before λίμνην and the omission of the name suggest strongly to me that what he thought he saw (or what he actually saw) was the Caspian, which to a Greek reader, who would know little or nothing about the Aral, was *the* "enormous, wide lake" of the area. If what Zemarchus saw *was* the Aral, then it would have seemed to him

to be merely a gulf of the Caspian (which travellers have often thought it to be, and indeed which at times it seems to have virtually been when it has overflowed to the north of the Plateau of Ust-urt into the Caspian), otherwise a second enormous lake must have been noticed and recorded. At any rate, whatever the body of water mentioned, the recording of only one suggests that Zemarchus travelled north of the Aral. (The argument *ex silentio* here used is not good, but the detail does increase as Zemarchus reaches the Caspian.)

In sum, it is impossible to specify Zemarchus' route to the west after leaving Talas. The balance of probability (very strong, in my opinion) is that the lake at which he arrived after travelling ἀτραπὸν . . . οὐδαμῶς ὀλίγην was the Caspian, which he reached at a point something over twelve days' journey away from the river Emba.

141. This does not necessarily mean that George took a vastly different route, as Herrmann (p.56) and others assume, merely that he struck straight across the desert while the main party kept to the shoreline as far as possible.

142. This phrase probably means that in places they had to leave the shoreline to avoid difficult (marshy or craggy) terrain. If Zemarchus' "enormous, wide lake" were the Aral, then this phrase would seem to comprehend the whole of the journey north of the plateau of Ust-urt to the Caspian.

143. These rivers are firmly identified as the Emba, Ural and Volga (Moravcsik II pp.143, 116 and 78f. respectively).

144. A tribe obviously west of the Volga. The attempts to identify them with the Uighurs (Chavannes p.238) or Utigurs (Turtledove p.476 n.66) both seem mistaken. Could they be the Urogi of Priscus *Fr.* 38,1?

145. Kophen is the ancient name of the river Kabul in Afghanistan. This river must be to the west of the Volga. Here it is usually identified with the Kuma.

146. Thus, by the date of Zemarchus' arrival here (mid 571) Turkish power had passed the Volga.

147. On the land of the Alans see n.20. Doblhofer (p.217) suggests that the Oromuskhi are the 'Moskhai who live in the mountains'. But the Moskhai (Meskhai in Procopius *Wars* 8,2,24-26) were between Lazica and Iberia, whereas the Oromuskhi (who are mentioned only here) appear to be further north, either in or north of the land of the Alans.

148. Obviously Sarosius is cautious of Turkish intentions in view of their power amongst the Ugurs across the river Kurna. But John of Epiphania (*Fr.* 2, p.274) says that the Persians had tried to bribe the Alans to kill Zemarchus and the Turks, and even though the Alans had reported this to the Romans, caution was clearly in order for Sarosius.

149. Agathias (3,15,8) puts the Miusimians (whom he calls Misimians) to the north-east of the Apsilii, who were themselves just to the north of the river Phasis (Procopius *Wars* 8,2,32-33). Dareine was the Pass of the Alans (Dar-i-Alan) through the Caucasus into Apsilia (Tomaschek, *RE* IV 2, col. 2182f.), and Rogatorium would have been a town or fort to the south



(Kiessling, *RE* IA 1, col. 1000f.). Where Zemarchus picked up the first ship is not clear; the port of Dioscurias was to the north of Apsilia. It is quite remarkable that Zemarchus should have even considered returning via Suania given its uncertain status at the time of his departure (cf. *Fr.* 9).

150. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,23) says that Zemarchus had been away for two years, which would date his return to late 571.

151. In 562, perhaps after the breaking-off of their friendship with Justinian (*Fr.* 5,4), the Avars had launched an unsuccessful attack on the Franks (Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 4,23; Paul. Diac. 2,10). After the fruitless embassy to Justin in late 565, the Avars again moved against the land of the Franks and on this occasion (566) defeated Sigisbert, the victor in 562. According to Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* 4,29), Sigisbert then bought a treaty by means of gifts.

152. At this date (567) the Lombards were still living in Pannonia and Noricum, where they had been settled by Justinian next to the Gepids in the 540s (Procopius *Wars* 7,33,10-11). The Lombards had been allies of the Romans, but in 566, when hostilities broke out with the Gepids as the result of a personal quarrel between Alboin and Cunimund over the latter's daughter, Rosamund, whom Alboin had raped, the Romans had aided the Gepids (Theophylact 6,10,7-13; Stein 1919 p.8). This war between the Lombards and the Gepids was the last in a series beginning in the reign of Justinian (Wozniak).

153. The Avars had apparently sought to settle in Scythia Minor in 361/2 (*Fr.* 5,4 and n.28).

154. Since the beginning of the sixth century Sirmium had been in the hands of the Gepids, Ostrogoths, Romans and Gepids again. The first promise to hand over Sirmium had been made in return for the Roman help of the previous year (Stein 1919 p.8).

155. On Bonus see n.29. This passage seems to be from an account of a battle in which Bonus had command. I have placed it here on the assumption that it describes fighting before the siege of Sirmium (*Fr.* 12,4 and 5). It could refer to the later hostilities, at which Bonus was present (*Fr.* 15,1), though there Tiberius seems to have been the commander.

156. Whether or not Cunimund had made a second offer to hand over Sirmium (*Fr.* 12,2), by the end of the attack upon the Gepids the Romans had put a garrison into the city. The Avar siege of Sirmium followed the Lombard migration to Italy which began on April 2, 568 (Stein 1919 p.10).

157. After the death of Cunimund in the battle in 567, his nephew Reptila fled to the Romans with the Gepid treasure (John of Biclarum, *Chron. a.* 572,1). The identity of Usdibad is unknown. Perhaps he was one of the initial leaders of the Gepid resistance, which apparently continued in east Dacia until about 571 (Wozniak p.155).

158. Bekker's conjecture of σηρικουῦ for the MSS Σκυθίου is attractive because it appears from what Bonus says below that Baian is requesting valuable objects, even if few of them.

159. This is the first indication in Menander that the Kutrigurs had become subject to the Avars, though a Kutrigur is with them in *Fr.* 5,3; they are not mentioned in the list of peoples conquered by the Avars in *Fr.* 5,2 (who are further east). Their destruction as a people is noted by Agathias 5,25,5.

160. This appears to indicate that, after sending the Kutrigurs into Dalmatia, Baian raised the siege of Sirmium and crossed into Gepid territory east of the Danube, where resistance appears to have been maintained for a number of years (see n.157). The fighting mentioned in the following passage is presumably with the Kutrigurs (and Utigurs) sent against Dalmatia.

161. The reading in the text, ἰδιοβουλήσας (cf. *Fr.* 12,5 lines 68-69), is de Boor's very reasonable conjecture for the MSS reading, ἰοβουλήσας, which the older editors rendered as a name, Ἰοβουλήδας. However, with de Boor's reading the subject of the sentence must be Vitalian, presumably the interpreter recently thrown in chains by Baian (*Fr.* 12,4). If this is so, it is quite remarkable that, while the general Bonus dare not even give small gifts to Baian without the Emperor's permission (*Fr.* 12,5), shortly afterwards a mere interpreter would dare to give eight hundred *nomismata* and could extract that sum from the praetorian prefect of Illyricum. Two explanations are possible (and may be complementary): either it is another, higher-ranking Vitalian; or the handing over of the money was not held to be improper because its purpose was to enable a starving enemy force to feed itself during a truce and thus prevent pillage (cf. Priscus *Fr.* 47, where Roman generals agree to feed a starving force of 'Scythians' during a truce).

162. On Justinian's payments to the Kutrigurs and Utigurs and the contemporary criticism which they roused see Agathias 5,23,7-24,1 (Agathias defends Justinian's policy in the subsequent passage). The criticism of Justinian's policy of tribute which Menander here puts into Justin's mouth is much stronger than that attributed to John in *Fr.* 9,1 (vis-à-vis the Saracens). In Corippus, *In Laud. Iust.* 2,260ff., Justin is equally forthright on Justinian's later fiscal policy in general.

163. In fact, the Gepids had held Dacia as federates of the Empire since after the destruction of the power of Attila's sons at the battle of the river Nedao ca 453. During Justinian's reign they had extended their power by seizing Sirmium and other cities of that region (Procopius *Wars* 7,33,8).

164. As Stein (1919 p.12) remarks, the terms offered by Targitius had, in fact, become harsher, which suggests that the Romans had fared badly in the fighting.

165. This passage comes either from the account of the fighting around Sirmium or from the exchanges between Tiberius and Baian or the (Avar) leader of the Kutrigurs attacking Dalmatia after Tiberius had been sent to the area (*Fr.* 15,3).

166. This and the following three passages are difficult to place, although the third and fourth clearly describe the martyrdom of a Persian Christian. I have grouped them together with *Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 16 and taken them to refer to the preliminaries of the Persarmenian revolt which itself

broke out early in 572 (the most detailed account of which and its preliminaries is in John of Ephesus *HE* 2,18-22). It had been brewing since 570, when Khosro, responding to Justin's edict enforcing religious conformity on the Roman Empire, had decided to enforce Zoroastrianism within his dominions, including Persarmenia (despite a long-standing agreement not to interfere with the religion of the Armenians) and Iberia. The Armenians' response was to plan resistance, seeking Justin's agreement to support them and accept their transferred allegiance, which, heartened by the Turkish offensive (see *Fr.* 13,5 and John of Ephesus *HE* 6,23; cf. Evagrius *HE* 5,7), he gave. The revolt flared with the defeat and death, on Feb. 2, 572, of the Persian *marzban*, Čihōr-Wšnasp, who had been charged with enforcing fire worship (Stephen of Taron, pp.59f.). His head was sent to the general Justinian at Theodosiopolis. Iberia also joined the revolt (Theophanes of Byzantium *Fr.* 3 = Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 64, II p.78).

167. Müller (*FHG* IV p.238), accepting Niebuhr's conjecture for the lacuna at line 6, took the subject of this passage to be the death of the Surena (the *marzban* Čihōr-Wšnasp, who was of the family Suren). But the passage does not read like the preliminary to an account of the death of the *marzban* in a pitched battle (which is how he was killed). I would rather link it with the martyrdom of Isaozites in the next two passages, who in this case might have been the governor of a Persian city (cf. οἱ ταύτη οἰκήτορες . . . τὸν ἡγέμονα with ἐμὴν πόλιν in the third line of verse in the following passage; and for a similar use of ἡγέμων cf. *Fr.* 26,1 line 14).

168. The poem appears in the Palatine Anthology (1,101). Nothing further is known about Isaozites. It seems clear that he was punished not as a Christian, but as a Zoroastrian who had apostasised to Christianity. The appendix of the treaty of 561 (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 398-407) had forbidden Christians to convert Magians, though whether this had happened in the case of Isaozites is not clear. There is some evidence in Labourt pp.198f. of Christian missionary activity at the period, reaching as far as the royal family.

169. The text towards the end of this fragment is very insecure. My rendering is based upon Boissevain's reading of the MS. Thus, instead of οὐρανίων, which Mai thought he could read, I have conjectured αἰκίων, a word common in tragedy (whose language Menander uses in places) and used by Thucydides, and which is also close to αἰτιων [sic], the word that Boissevain thought he might be able to see.

170. The Turkish embassy in question was presumably the one, led by Tagma, which Sizabul sent back with Zemarchus, and the attack would have been the one of which Zemarchus witnessed the beginning (*Fr.* 10,3 lines 64-89). John of Ephesus' statement (*HE* 6,23), that Zemarchus was away for two years, fits nicely with the chronology since it has Tagma reaching Byzantium in autumn 571, just when Persarmenian resistance to Čihōr-Wšnasp was gathering strength.

171. The context of this and the following passage cannot be recovered. Perhaps they were part of a preface to a book in which Tiberius comes to centre stage as commanding general against the Avars. The phrase προὔπτον κίνδυνον is Thucydidean (5,99 and 111,3).

172. The reference to Hesiod is *Erg.* 210: ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλη πρὸς κρείσσονα ἀντιφέρειν. If the previous passage is on Tiberius, perhaps here Menander, as the historian of Tiberius, contrasts himself, with the usual modesty of the genre, to Procopius as the historian of the great generals of Justinian.

173. Following Stein (1919 pp.12f.) I regard the events described in this and the following fragments as a direct continuation of the series narrated in *Fr.* 12. Since the order of the *Exc. de Leg. Gent.* places them before the embassy of Sebokhth to Justin (*Fr.* 16,1), which is firmly dated to shortly after the death of Čihōr-Wšnasp (i.e. early to mid 572), I also follow Stein in dating them to 570-571. John of Biclarum (*a.* 570, 3) mentions a victory of Tiberius over the Avars and a triumphal return to Constantinople, of which (*pace* Hauptmann p.155) there is no reflection in Menander. Stein would date this victory to 570; perhaps it was a year or so earlier, being the cause of the Avars' failure to take Sirmium or cross the Save. Certainly, although the present passage apparently dates before hostilities had started (or, rather, re-started), the ability of Tiberius to disagree openly with Justin could have been based on prestige born of military success.

174. On Bonus see n.29. The identity of the river which Bonus was defending is unclear. Hauptmann (p.155) takes it to be the Danube, but it may also be the Save, since it is clear from what follows that Avar forces penetrated into Thrace (see n.176). In the latter case the Avars, having apparently left Pannonia after failing to capture Sirmium in 368/9 (*Fr.* 12,5 and n.160), would have returned in the interim, perhaps initially to claim Upper Pannonia, which had been evacuated by the Lombards when they entered Italy. If, however, Hauptmann is correct, the Avars would perhaps have crossed the Danube from Dacia below Viminacium in a more direct attack upon Thrace. Connected with these events may be the bridge which John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,24) and Zonaras (14,11,18-19) say Baian forced Roman mechanics to build over the Danube – if it is not a doublet of the bridge later built across the Save (see *Fr.* 25,1 and n.296).

175. This passage cannot be firmly located. I have placed it here simply because the end of *Fr.* 15,1 indicates that a number of generals were operating in the area while Tiberius was at Constantinople, whereas during the earlier series of events (*Fr.* 12) Bonus seems to have been in sole command.

176. Following Stein (*loc. cit.* at n.173) I date the defeat of Tiberius and the subsequent treaty to 571. As Bury (1966 II, p.117) saw, this defeat took place not in the main theatre of conflict, the north-western Balkans, but in Thrace, which Tiberius was apparently defending at the time with a small force. His adversary seems to have been not Baian with the full Avar host, but an Avar general (στρατιάρχης) leading a mixed force of Avars and subject tribesmen. After this fragment one leaf of the MS of the *Exc. de Sent.* is missing.

177. I.e. they were returning from Thrace either to Pannonia or to Dacia.

178. On the *scamars*, a name for highwaymen which attached to them for centuries, see Bury 1966 II p.117 n.1.

179. The nominative absolute here I take to be the result of condensation (which probably omitted information on the punishment of the *scamars*).

180. On the Persarmenian revolt and the death of the *marzban*, Čihōr-Wšnasp of the family Suren, see nn.166 and 167.

181. Since Sebokhth was sent after the death of the *marzban* on Feb. 2, 572, he must have reached Constantinople during the summer of that year.

182. Strictly speaking, the payment for the first ten years had been made in two sums, for seven and three years. The payment for the eleventh year had been due since the end of 571 (cf. n.71). If, as I have suggested (n.49), it was the payments and not the treaty itself which guaranteed that the Persians would not attack, Justin's failure to pay in time was a very direct challenge to Khosro.

183. In fact, the final result of the fighting was the defeat of the rebels, which forced Vardan, the leader of the revolt, the catholicos, some bishops and princes, and Gurgen, the king of Iberia, to flee to the Romans (Stephen of Taron, p.60; John of Ephesus *HE* 6,11; Evagrius *HE* 5,7).

184. This fragment is usually referred to the abortive siege of Nisibis by the Roman general Marcian in early 573, but, as Whitby remarks (p.178), the passage is too short for certainty.

185. This passage, preserved in MS Paris grec 1140A, fol. 58v-59 and published by Halkin in 1973, is identified in the MS as ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Μενάνδρου. Whitby (p.170), pointing out that a similar version appears in Michael the Syrian (10,1 p.285), accepts the ascription. But the style of the passage, which is far less literary and more colloquial than that of the passages from the *Excerpta*, suggests otherwise. The ascription is either wrong or, if it is correct, then the fragment must have been transmitted by an intermediary (a popular chronicler?), who greatly altered the language.

186. In the sixth and seventh centuries the relics of the True Cross were especially venerated as protectors and guarantors of victory (Frolow, esp. pp.332-39). Zemarchus may or may not be identical with the envoy to the Turks in 569, since there is at least one other candidate (cf. Russu pp.414-16).

187. When war broke out between the Romans and the Persians in 572, fighting took place in both Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Roman initiative, which led to the siege of Nisibis in early 573, turned into a disaster with the arrival of a Persian army up the Euphrates. One part of this army, under Khosro himself, approached Nisibis, at which the besieging army, demoralised by the dismissal of its general Marcian and his temporary replacement by the unpopular Acacius, fled, abandoning its siege weaponry, which Khosro used to capture the vital fortress of Daras in November 573. A second part of the Persian army, under Adarmahan, had turned aside at Circesium and invaded Syria, which at this time was not protected by the Ghassanid-led Arabs, whose chief, Al-Mundhir, was angry at the Romans over a plot to assassinate him. Roman resistance was minimal, and Syria was ravaged up to Antioch, Apamea being one of the towns taken.

188. Agapius of Menbidj (p.436) says that the Persians did capture a piece of the True Cross at Apamea.

189. The last part of the passage is clearly condensed. A Magnus (with the rank of *comes domesticorum*) was commander of the Roman army of the East at the time (Stein 1919 p.52 n.9).

190. At this point in the margin of the MSS the lemma βιβλίου β' appears. There then follow two excerpts from the first book of the History of Theophylactus Simocatta. Whether the lemma refers to Menander or Theophylact is not clear, but in both cases the number is clearly wrong. The next fragment (18,2 = *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 10), which deals with the embassy of Zacharias mentioned at the end of the present passage, is said by a lemma in two MSS to be from the sixth book (λογ. ζ'). Thus the present passage would also be from the sixth book.

191. Shortly after receiving the news of the loss of Daras, Justin went hopelessly mad (John of Ephesus *HE* 3,4). Tiberius began to act as co-regent with the Empress Sophia, but was not created Caesar until December 7, 574. The embassy of Jacob must have been immediately after the capture of Daras, and the embassy of Zacharias and the agreement upon a one-year truce (*Fr.* 18,2) in February or March of 574 (Stein 1919 p.55 n.14; Whitby pp.181f. and n.8).

192. The name, Jacob, suggests that he was a Christian.

193. On Zacharias, who was both an *archiatrus sacri palatii* and an archdeacon, and who was Tiberius' favourite envoy to Persia, see Blockley 1980, esp. pp.91-94.

194. Evagrius (*HE* 5,12), confusing this embassy with the subsequent one that negotiated the three-year truce, identifies the envoy as Trajan.

195. Michael the Syrian (2,312) says that 650 pounds of gold were paid, although he puts the truce around Daras at fifteen months.

196. Eusebius was possibly *mag. mil. per Orientem* at the time (Stein 1919 p.52 n.9). Whether he is identical with the Eusebius who was with Peter in 561 (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 192, 197, 308) is unclear.

197. The view of Dölger (p.5), Whitby (p.183) and, apparently, Doblhofer (p.161), that Trajan's embassy was sent after the elevation of Tiberius to Caesar on December 7, 574, and Stein's view (1919 p.60) that this was the embassy promised by Zacharias at *Fr.* 18,2, seem mistaken. Zacharias clearly said that the major embassy would be sent "if it should also happen that the Roman Emperor in the meantime recovered his health" (τυχὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως μεταβαλόντος ἐς τὸ ἔρρωμένον), and it was to have full authority to discuss everything and to end the war. The function of Trajan's embassy was clearly not as promised by Zacharias; it was merely to obtain an extension and widening of the truce (to Armenia). Thus, it was not the embassy promised (which was not sent until winter 576-77 – *Fr.* 20,1) and it was probably sent when it became clear that Justin would not recover and while things were still in flux at the Roman court, i.e. before December 7, 574 and probably after mid-summer of that year, since by the time the tentative agreement was reported back to Constantinople Tiberius had become Caesar. That the function of this embassy was essentially the same as that which negotiated the one-year truce is suggested by *Fr.* 20,2 line 101, where

Zacharias alone is named as the negotiator. Thus, the Romans did not keep their undertaking of *Fr.* 18,2.

198. See n.191.

199. Tankhosdro (Tahm-Khosro, 'The Strength of Khosro') appears to have been a title of honour (Christensen p.410).

200. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,13) and Theophylact (3,12,10) say that Mebod was persuaded to accept the three-year truce by the arrival of the general Justinian with a large force. (Though John of Epiphania [*Fr.* 5 p.276] puts the dispatch of Justinian shortly after the later embassy of Theodorus [cf. *Fr.* 18,6], he seems to be confusing Theodorus' embassy with that of Trajan [Stein 1919 p.80 n.5].) Stein (1919 p.82 n.6) argues that the three-year truce cannot have been agreed upon before July 575 at the earliest. If Justinian was close enough to convince the Persians to treat but did not arrive in Armenia (his destination) in time to muster the army for spring 576 (cf. *Fr.* 18,6 and n.209), this would put it a month or two later.

201. Menander means spring 576, referring to the surprise attack by Khosro (*Fr.* 18,6). Theophylact (3,12,10-11) puts the fighting in Armenia in late summer 575.

202. Here and below the MSS reading is unanimously Ἀλανῶν, whereas in *Fr.* 18,6 lines 32-33, obviously referring to the same people, the unanimous reading is Ἀλβανούς. At first glance, the reference to the Ἀλβανοί would seem to be the correct one, since they were obviously in Albania, whereas the Alans were further to the north. Moreover, according to Theophanes of Byzantium *Fr.* 4 (= Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 64, II p.79) Saroes, the king of the Alans, was amongst the supporters of the Romans in the war with Persia that broke out in 572, whereas the Sabirs, amongst other peoples, supported the Persians. However, it is clear from *Fr.* 19,1 lines 85-90 that the Turks had conquered the Alans before Valentinus' embassy to them in early 576, so that elements of the conquered people may have fled south to Albania (only the Sabirs are said to have revolted against the Romans). Thus a choice of reading cannot be made, and I have, therefore, left the text of the MSS undisturbed in both passages.

203. This first invasion of Albania, whose purpose would have been to protect Iberia, probably took place in late 575 (Whitby p.185), the second invasion (*Fr.* 18,6) in spring of the next year. The proposed emendation of ἦκον to ἦκον is attractive, but leaves unclear the subject of ἡγγελλον (see next note).

204. The subject of ἡγγελλον cannot be the envoys, but must be the Roman generals, who apparently travelled to Byzantium independently and shortly after the envoys, bringing the news of the revolt of the Sabirs. In *Fr.* 18,6 they appear again (and are named), this time bringing the news to their troops (ἀπήγγελλον, line 31) of Tiberius' anger at their failure to deport all the Sabirs and Albani.

205. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,8) calls him a silentiary. John of Epiphania (*Fr.* 5 p.276) names a Theodorus who was an envoy to Khosro and had governed Armenia (= *procos. Armeniae* – Stein 1919 p.82 n.7), but since John

seems to be confusing Theodorus' embassy with that of Trajan (cf. n.194) the information is not secure. (Whitby p.180 n.5 would have John confusing Theodorus with the general, mentioned below [line 30], who invaded Albania. But John clearly says τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ πραγμάτων ἡγησάμενον, whereas the general was currently there.)

206. Honigmann (p.21) suggests that the Arresti = Arhest to the south of Lake Van, and that Mareptici = Mardeptici = Armenian Mardpetakan.

207. See *Fr.* 18,5. Kurs was a Hun. Whitby (p.180 n.5) suggests that this Theodorus was Theodorus Tzirus, who in 573 had been named to succeed Marcian in command of the army besieging Nisibis.

208. The river Cyrus (modern Kura) divided Albania from Iberia. The Romans brought the captives to the south of the river into Iberia, which was (temporarily) under their control.

209. The late despatch of Justinian lends oblique support to the view that the three-year truce in the East was not agreed upon until a few months after July 575 (see n.200).

210. I take δασμοφόροι to refer to the peasantry subject to the territorial princes of Armenia (on whom see n.36 to the introduction). Honigmann (p.21) points out that by Lesser Armenia Menander means not the Roman province, which is usually so called, but the district of Artaz (cf. Sebeos p.6). The regions of Makrabandon and the Taranni are probably Bagravand and Taron, to the north-west of Lake Van, the former mentioned by Sebeos, *loc. cit.* (see Stein 1919 p.82 n.7).

211. Bassiane (or Basean) was the region to the north-west of Bagravand, lying opposite the Roman frontier fortress of Theodosiopolis/Karin (modern Erzurum).

212. De Boor suggests that the name of the region to the north of the city has dropped out after καλούμενον. However, the description of the site of the city in Procopius *Aed.* 3,5,1-12 (at 9) suggests that in one quarter (unfortunately the location is not specified) high ground approached close to the walls. Hence Συναγόμενον could well be the name.

213. Khosro's view of the weakness of the fortifications seems to relate to the period before the considerable rebuilding by Justinian, which is compared by Procopius (*loc. cit.* at n.212) to that of Daras.

214. As Whitby (p.185 and n.5) notes, thirty days was a very short period for Theodorus to reach Constantinople and for Tiberius' proposals to be brought back. Whitby also suggests that the delay was of little importance to Khosro since his army was being hampered by the spring thaw. However, the thaw did not prevent the Roman army from mustering (which Khosro feared and Menander thought would have been done had Justinian arrived earlier). Therefore, Menander's implicit explanation is most likely – that Khosro had already decided that he could not take Theodosiopolis and was putting a good face on it.

215. I.e. 7 December, 575 – 7 December, 576. Since the “above transactions” with Khosro took place in spring 576, Valentinus must have set out in the winter of that year (cf. n.235).



216. He was probably a *spatharius* (see also n.22).

217. The Greek does not make it clear whether Anankhast was on an embassy to the Turks or to Byzantium. Stein (1919 p.35 n.20), reading the name as a variant for the Germanic Anagast, makes him a Roman representative sent to the Turks. Despite the similarity of the names (though an Utigur chief, Anagai, appears just below) and the awkwardness of taking ἐνταῦθα and ἐκεῖσε to refer to Byzantium, I am inclined to follow the view of Chavannes (p.239) who makes Anankhast a Turkish envoy. (My primary reason is that Anankhast is described as ἐξ πρεσβείαν ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος and subsequently in the sentence ἀφιξιν and ἀφιγμένοι are used of arrivals in Byzantium.)

218. Menander does not say why all the Turks at Byzantium left in a body, though the subsequent account of Valentinus' reception by the Turks suggests that relations had been deteriorating (cf. the Roman apprehensions implied in *Fr.* 19,2). It seems likely that this whole paragraph is a summary (by the excerptor or by Menander himself) of more extensive material on the relations between the Romans and the Turks.

219. The Greek of this sentence is hopelessly corrupt. It is clear that Valentinus took ship from Byzantium to Sinope and thence to Cherson (which probably means the town of Chersonesus on the south-western coast of the Tauric peninsula). De Boor's emendation, which I have adopted – ἢ ἐς τὴν ἀντικρὺ ἠϊόνα τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν πέφυκεν ἰδρυμένη –, is only the least unsatisfactory of a number of unsatisfactory suggestions. I follow the translation in Müller in taking οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ to indicate that Valentinus passed through Apatura (Turtledove p.161 seems to take it to mean that he avoided the place), which was close to Phanagoria, on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus (see Tomaschek, 'Apaturos' in *RE* I, 2 col. 2681). The reading Φούλων, which is based on a reference to a place called Φοῦλλοι in the *Notitia Episcopatum* (see de Boor *ad loc.*), is rejected by Vasiliev (pp.74f.). While I do not agree with his terse rejection of the emendation (since a place name seems to be needed, and there certainly was such a place in the region), the emendation as such is of little help since αἱ Φοῦλλοι cannot be located with any certainty (Vasiliev p.75 n.1).

A further difficulty then appears. Valentinus apparently crossed (or passed by) a sandy place (or a desert), whose name is lost, and kept the mountains of Taurice to the south. Since Taurice is a name for the Crimea, the mountains in question must be the Trapezus Mountains in the south of the peninsula. But since Apatura on the eastern coast of the Bosphorus has already been mentioned, either Menander has not kept the place names in due order (and it is usually assumed that he has – cf., e.g., Müller IV p.245), or the mountains of Taurice must be further to the east (i.e. the foothills of the Caucasus), or something is wrong with Ἀπατούρας.

My own solution to the difficulty (which I have not ventured to place in the text) is to assume that the place names are in order, that the mountains are the Trapezus Mountains and that Ἀπατούρας is corrupt. A little to the north of Cherson was a place called Eupatoria, the name of which I would read for Apatura. The itinerary of Valentinus would then be clear, and perhaps even the lacuna after ψαμαθῶδης τῆς can be filled. He would have travelled via

Cherson to Eupatoria, thence through the centre of the Crimea to Phouloi, one of the possible identifications of which is Solkhat, close to the south shore of the Sea of Azov (Vasiliev, *not. cit.* and end map). Thereafter he would have travelled along the sandy shore of Azov, and, of course, the mountains would have been to the south. If this hypothesis has anything to recommend it, then Μαιώτιδος Λίμνης fills the lacuna (for ψαμαθῶδες = "sandy shore" cf. *Fr.* 10,4 line 18: τὸ ψαμαθῶδες τῆς λίμνης).

220. Chavannes (p.240) suggests that the region of Akkagas was north of Lake Aral. But, if this were the case, it is highly unlikely that Anagai (a Turkic name, perhaps the same as Chinese A-na-koai: Moravcsik II p.69), the chief of the Utigurs, who were just to the east of Maeotis, would have appointed the ruler. Furthermore, this would put Turxanthus to the east of Lake Aral, which is also highly unlikely since the end of the passage makes him ready for war against Bosphorus/Panticapaeum. Akkagas should be close to the Utigurs and on Valentinus' route, which passed over the Bosphorus. These considerations suggest east of the Taman peninsula on the lower Kuban river.

221. Turxanthus was apparently not a name but a rank (Türk-šad) below the Khagan (Moravcsik II p.328; Doblhofer p.220); the form Τουρξάθου, which appears in some MSS at this point, may be more correct. Cahun (p.115) remarks that the Greek πολεμικὰ σύμβολα exactly describes the Turkish *orda*, a combined royal and military camp. But it seems to me that the primary intent of Menander in using this expression is to stress that Turxanthus was preparing for war.

222. The status of Arsilas (Arslan, 'Lion': Moravcsik II p.72) is unclear, since παλαιτέρω could mean either that he was the supreme ruler (Marquart 1898 p.186) or merely that he was the eldest (Chavannes p.240 n.5). I prefer the latter view, although in the unsettled conditions that apparently followed the death of Sizabul (Cahun pp.114f.) this perhaps conferred a precarious seniority.

223. On the Avars (Uarkhonitai) and their flight from the Turks see *Fr.* 4,1 and n.19. The treaty between the Romans and the Avars was made in 571 (*Fr.* 15,5 and 6 and n.176).

224. The rivers Danapris (Dniepr), Danube and Hebrus (in Thrace) trace the invasion route to Constantinople itself.

225. The conquest of the Alans by the Turks is dated after 572 by the statement of Theophanes of Byzantium *Fr.* 4 (= Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 64, I p.79) that Saroes, the king of the Alans, supported the Romans in the war that broke out with Persia in that year. The Unigurs, who lived to the east of the Black Sea and were closely associated with the Sabirs, had suffered defeat by the Avars around 560 (*Fr.* 5,2 and n.23).

226. This appears to mean both that the Turks and Romans have interests that are close and that now, with the Turks approaching the Bosphorus, they are neighbours.

227. The words from ὀρθότατα to the end of the sentence are also in the *Exc. de Sent.* (30).

228. Since Turxanthus is apparently burying Sizabul, the latter had presumably died close at hand. Yet Turxanthus has spoken as if he himself had received and sent earlier embassies, so that he probably had for a while exercised an independent command as Türk-šad (see n.221). The embassies would have been some or all of those mentioned at lines 10-15, all of which could not have travelled far into the Turkish Empire between late 571 and early 576 (the period in which they were sent). If this is so, the Romans would have been as concerned with the Turkish advance to the Black Sea as with any joint attack on Persia.

229. For the custom of the Asian nomads of slashing the cheeks as a sign of mourning cf. Priscus *Fr.* 24,1 (= Jordanes *Get.* 49,255) on the funeral rites for Attila.

230. On the word *dogia* see Moravcsik II p.119. Vryonis discusses the Turkish funeral rites and adduces evidence from later Greek sources that it survived amongst the Ottoman Turks until the 14th-15th centuries. One might suppose that the killing of the slaves who had buried Attila (Priscus *loc. cit.* at n.229), while done to ensure the secrecy of the burial place according to Priscus /Jordanes, also had an aspect of ritual sacrifice.

231. Tardu is Turkish Tarduš, Chinese Ta-T'eou (Moravcsik II p.299).

232. Ektel is taken to be an (incorrect) variant of Ektag of *Fr.* 10,3, and it is usually assumed that the places are identical (on the suggested locations of the mountain see n.129). I am not certain that Bury (*loc. cit.* at n.129) was incorrect when he suggested that the places were different – that Zemarchus visited the Altai and Valentinus the Celestial Mountains. This would nicely explain the division in the present passage (lines 32-33) of the Turkish Empire into eight parts, in contrast with the information given by the Turkish envoy to Justin in 569, that there were four principalities (*Fr.* 10,1), since the latter would have been speaking only of the western Turks, whereas Valentinus also visited the eastern branch. (Alternatively, the increase might simply have been a result of the break-up of the empire upon Sizabul's death – cf. the wording at lines 32-33: ἐν ὀκτῶ γὰρ μορίαις διεδάσαντο . . . οἷς γε τοῦ φύλου τῶν Τούρκων ἔλαχε προεστάναι).

233. Bosphorus here is Panticapaeum (modern Kertch) on the western side of the strait.

234. The text is corrupt here. I have marked a lacuna, which may have contained a statement that Valentinus set out or an indication of the time when Bokhan was sent.

235. Turkish Buqan (or a variant: Moravcsik II p.108). The siege by Bokhan is mentioned, with the wrong date (reign of Justinian) by the *Suda* B401 (probably not from Menander). It seems remarkable that the Turkish force was apparently able to cross the strait of Bosphorus without difficulty, which perhaps suggests that the strait was frozen over (as can happen in winter). If so, this would mean that Valentinus had left Constantinople at the very beginning of Tiberius' second year and had hurried on his mission (cf. line 18: ταχυπλόις τῶν ὀλκάδων). It is less likely that Bokhan, or Anagai, had skirted the sea of Azov and entered the Crimea by land from the west. At any rate, it appears from *Fr.* 25,2 line 21 that by mid 579 the Turks were at

Cherson and had thus overrun the whole of the Crimea.

236. I take this Anagai to be identical with the chief of the Utigurs mentioned at line 28 (although the MSS all here read ἀνγαίου).

237. I have followed Niebuhr in omitting καί as an obvious intrusion, although it is possible that Menander did note the capture of the strait also, since obviously, when the Turks had crossed it, the whole Crimea was open to them. De Boor, noting that only some MSS begin this passage with ὅτι and that even when it is so introduced it is not written out as if it were a new excerpt, runs this passage on with a previous one. I have followed the older editors in separating it on the ground that either an account of the capture of Bosphorus or more material on Valentinus' embassy (or both) would have intervened.

238. As Turtledove (p.165) notes, this refers to Valentinus' return journey.

239. After Khosro's abortive attempt on Theodosiopolis (*Fr.* 18,6), he invaded Cappadocia, burning Sebaste. Forced to retreat with the loss of the royal baggage, he ravaged Melitene, where he was brought to battle by Justinian and forced to flee across the Euphrates with heavy losses (the reconstruction of Bury 1866 II pp.101f. and Stein 1919 p.68, following Theophylact and Evagrius; Whitby, pp.186f., following John of Ephesus, differs considerably). Roman forces also ravaged the Caspian coast and penetrated as far as Babylonia. After these reverses, Khosro sent Nadoes in autumn 576, so that the main negotiations would have begun late in that year. (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6,10, provides a gloss on the phrase δηούντων τὴν Περσῶν Ἀρμενίαν with the information that the Roman forces plundered and terrorised the Christian population of Persarmenia, so that many went back over to the Persians.)

240. *Fr.* 18,6.

241. The Roman delegation was of very high status, though, as is clear from what follows, Zacharias, by far the inferior in rank, was the real leader. John of Ephesus (*HE* 1,19; 2,11; 4,35; 6,12) adds further information on the delegates: Theodorus, the son of the Peter who had negotiated the fifty-year peace of 561, was not only *ex-magistro officiorum* (so Stein 1919 p.69; Doblhofer, p.175, wrongly identifies the office as *quaestor sacri palatii*) and *comes sacrarum largitionum* but also a patrician; John and Peter were both of the house of the Emperor Anastasius, John being also a son of Theodora's daughter and Peter having been curator of Sophia.

242. Constantina (Tella de-mauzelat) was a little over sixty miles from the border. On Mebod see n.106; the difficulty and protracted nature of the negotiations (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6,12, says they lasted over one year and were nothing but insults and recriminations) may have resulted from the rough handling he had received from Justin on an embassy in 568 (*Fr.* 9,3). Sannakhoerugan (Sarnakhorgan in Theophylact) is a title, related to Nakhoergan of Menander *Fr.* 6,1 line 501 and the Armenian *nakharar* (Christensen p.21 and n.3).

243. Asterius' rank would have been that of *referendarius*, a judicial

clerk and messenger attached directly to the Emperor (Jones II p.575).

244. Both Doblhofer (p.176) and the translation in Müller (IV p.248) make the Persians say that Daras had come into *Roman* hands by conquest, but this simply was not the case. Since the Persians had taken Daras only recently, αὐτοῖς must refer to them. (I, therefore, read αὐτοῖς, though the confusion of the two forms is common not only in MSS but also in writers of the period, so that emendation is perhaps unnecessary.) The dispute was of great importance, since the possession of Daras obviously lay behind all the negotiations. This was the Romans' first sally on the issue, and the Persian rebuff was direct: μὴ καθεστώτων ὀροθεσιῶν. (Possession by right of conquest was acknowledged by the Romans and the Persians – cf. Peter's discussion with Khosro over Suania at *Fr.* 6,1 lines 545-62.)

245. Athraelon, the place at which they met, was between Constantina and Daras. The local ἄρχοντες were clearly present merely as preliminary witnesses to present statements of damage as specified in the eleventh clause of the treaty of 561 (*Fr.* 6,1 lines 366-84). It is clear from this passage that, whatever the real reasons for the outbreak of hostilities in 572, formal allegations of the breaching of the eleventh clause (and perhaps also of the appendix protecting Christians in Persia – but see n.67) had been invoked.

246. On the flight of the leaders of the revolt to the Romans see n.183.

247. The MSS here read Ἰουστινιανοῦ, but Müller's correction, Ἰουστίνου, is necessary, for it was Justin II who encouraged the revolt and swore to the terms set out below (John of Ephesus *HE* 2,20-21).

248. For another reason why Khosro could be confident that there would not be a loss of people see n.239.

249. This is a most peculiar paragraph. The Roman reasons for the recovery of Daras are unexceptionable (it had been neutralised as an offensive base by the eighth clause of the treaty of 561), and the Romans had implicitly announced their claim at the beginning of the present negotiations (see n.244). Yet it had disappeared during the subsequent discussions, only to reappear when an agreement was close (the late injection of it is emphasised by the phrase προσῆλθε δε τῷ Καίσαρι διανοεῖσθαι). The omission might be explained by a Roman assumption that the Persians were discussing a return to the *status quo* of the treaty of 561, but this smacks of incompetence. Thus the late injection may have been an escalation of Roman demands, as John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,12) alleges.

250. The surprise defeat of Justinian by the Persian general Tankhosdro happened in summer or autumn of 577 (Theophylact 3,15; John of Ephesus *HE* 6,10).

251. This alleges breach of the first and sixth clauses of the treaty of 561.

252. While the Persians had referred above to the treaty of 561 (Armenia being excluded from the truces), the Romans here must refer to the three-year truce. Either this is disingenuousness on the part of the Romans or clumsy condensation of more complex arguments (probably in this case by Menander).

253. The great stress here upon the confidentiality of the proposal that

money be paid for Daras is in contrast with the apparent openness of the similar offer made earlier before the setback in Armenia (lines 69-78). While this may simply have resulted from failure to mention confidentiality in the earlier passage, more likely it reflects increasing opposition at Constantinople to Tiberius' Persian policy (and conflict with Sophia?) because of the difficulties in Armenia and the impasse of the negotiations. This view receives some indirect support from phraseology in the passage, such as Mebod's βούλεται τῷ Καίσαρι χρησιμώτατα ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι καὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπιτηδειότατός οἱ εἶναι and the note that Maurice was very well-disposed (ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐνούστατα . . . ἔχοντος) to Tiberius.

254. The translation and the punctuation that I have adopted save Menander from the egregious error with which he has been saddled (e.g. by Doblhofer, p.221) of making Maurice the *notarius* of Tiberius at this time (late 577/early 578), whereas he had been *comes excubitorum* since 573. Given the secrecy surrounding this message, it is likely that Maurice himself delivered it when he came out as commanding general in spring 578 (so Turtledove p.269).

255. This apparently refers to the principle of Roman law whereby intent is insufficient to effect change of ownership; some form of delivery must take place.

256. Cf. *Fr.* 6,1 lines 285-87.

257. I.e. Dec. 7, 577 - Dec. 7, 578.

258. I have placed the passage from the *Suda* here since it may well be from a discussion of Tankhosdro's success in defeating Justinian and restoring Persian fortunes in Armenia (cf. n.250).

259. This and the following four passages from the *Exc. de Sent.* are placed here for convenience. They cannot be associated with any particular event. All seem to come from speeches.

260. This must be the invasion remarked at the end of *Fr.* 20,2 and it is thus dated to 578 (Stein 1919 p.105). Bury (1966 II p.117 n.2) has 577, Doblhofer (p.182) 576.

261. John apparently combined the offices of *quaestor exercitus* (under whose control fell Moesia II, Scythia and the Aegean Isles) and praetorian prefect of Illyricum (Jones I p.307).

262. Contrary to the view of Hauptmann (p.155) and most scholars, I do not think that Menander (despite ἔμπαλιν διελθεῖν παρεσκεύασε τὸν Ἰστρον) meant to suggest that Baian crossed the Danube to Roman territory and then re-crossed it. It is possible that Baian had been established in Pannonia since about 571 (see n.174), and in the present passage Menander's language when noting John's arrival in Pannonia suggests that he had left Roman territory. Also it would seem a very foolish action to ferry the Avars across the Danube to an area which they were known to covet, when they could more safely and conveniently have been taken across from Dacia further down the river, were they not already in Pannonia. Thus, John probably ferried Baian across the Save and then back across the Danube to attack the Slavs. (It is clear from *Fr.* 25,1 that the bridges over the Save

between Sirmium and Singidunum were down, as one would expect since the river was effectively the front line, Sirmium being an isolated bridgehead supplied by water [on the possible existence of a bridge up river to Dalmatia see n.316].)

263. Daurentius (Dauritas below) renders the name Dovrat according to Bury (1966 II p.118 n.1).

264. The same combination of words is used by Demosthenes *Or.* 18,12.

265. Thucydides (3,30,1) uses ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι.

266. The main clause of the sentence is missing, probably the result of the excerptor's curtailing of the passage at this point.

267. The date of Pamphronius' embassy would be 577 or 578 (Stein 1919 p.106). It was more realistic for Tiberius to expect Frankish help since at the time the Austrasians and the eastern Romans were on good terms (Bury 1966 II p.160).

268. On Tankhosdro see n.199.

269. As Whitby (p.170 n.2) observed, the first part of this passage is a reference back to the tactics of Mebod when negotiating the three-year truce in the second half of 575 (*Fr.* 18,4). Whitby complains that Menander should have inserted this material when describing the negotiations of 575. That may be so, but it is relevant here also since it provides a commentary upon Khosro's decision to anticipate the end of the truce. (Whitby's suggestion, p.189 n.5, that the Persians actually considered the truce to be over since they dated it from the end of the one-year truce that preceded it, is not convincing in view of the great care which envoys apparently took to clarify and coordinate dates [cf. *Fr.* 6,1 lines 389-93] and Khosro's offer to pay back money.) By compelling the envoys to deliver the payment the Persians were implying that it was tribute, a claim they frequently made (see n.138 and Güterbock p.34).

270. By this Menander seems to mean that Khosro's first objective was another truce (from the beginning he had wanted a five-year truce: *Fr.* 18,3).

271. Since the three-year truce seems to have been made in July 575 or a month or two later (n.200), this attack would have been launched in June 578 or a month or two later. Szadeczky-Kardoss (1976), citing John of Ephesus, who seems to have conflated the attacks of Mebod and Tankhosdro (but cf. Menander *Fr.* 23,6), would move the whole chronology forward a month or so.

272. I take the θυρεοφόροι to be the heavy-armed cataphracts since the force appears to have been designed as fast-moving to cause maximum devastation rather than to capture and plunder the cities. Theophylact (3,15,11) says that the region attacked was around Constantina/Tella demauzelat and Theodosiopolis/Rešaina. Thus, the force struck due west from Daras, turned south-east at Constantina and returned to its own territory via the river Aboras. It was only fifteen days in Mesopotamia. (Cf. Turtledove pp.272-74.)

273. Shapur, son of Mihran.

274. Although this *Suda* article is anonymous, the style (and especially the use of ἐμβριθής) strongly suggests Menander. This and the following two passages appear to introduce Maurice as commanding general. He apparently arrived to take over his command in spring 578 (Stein 1919 p.72).

275. Whitby (p.189 n.4) seems correct to refer this to the Roman ill treatment of the Armenians, which John of Ephesus (*loc. cit.* at n.239) reports at length. It would thus appear that Menander, like John, ascribed Justinian's defeat in 577 to divine anger over the Romans' cruelty.

276. Thaunnarios (or Thaunnouris) was a Roman fort close to the Persian border, where the Aboras turns sharply south (Procopius *De Aed.* 2,6,14-16).

277. The 'second anchor' is a Greek proverb meaning a 'second recourse' in case of difficulty (cf. Demosthenes *Or.* 56,44; Plutarch *Solon* 19). Menander thus accuses Tankhosdro of rashness.

278. According to John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,14 and 27) Tankhosdro pretended an attack on Theodosiopolis/Karin, but turned into Sophanene, where he briefly besieged Amida. Maurice left his base at Citharizon and, having seized and garrisoned the undefended Persian border fortress of Aphumon/Fum, facing Chlomaron/Kelimar over the Redwan river [Whitby pp.238-40]), invaded Arzanene and, according to Theophylact (3,16,2) penetrated into Bêth-arabâyê as far as Singarâ.

279. On Chlomaron see n.278. Stein (1919 p.86 n.17) suggests that Binganês was the governor (*vitaxes* or *bidhakhsh*) of Arzanene.

280. The Christians of Arzanene were Nestorians, and it has been suggested (Stein 1919 p.86 n.17; Garsoian p.130) that the bishop in question was Mar Yesuyahb, who later became the Nestorian catholicos of Persia. Over ten thousand Christian captives were deported from Arzanene by the Romans and settled in Cyprus (John of Ephesus *HE* 6,15).

281. Justin raised Tiberius to Augustus on September 26,578 and died a few days later. The dispositions described at the beginning of the passage are the celebratory acts of the new reign, and one of the purposes of the embassy would have been to notify Khosro of Tiberius' elevation. Zonaras (14,11,16) says that Tiberius freed all the Persian prisoners in Constantinople.

282. Whether this Theodorus is identical with the son of Bacchus sent as minor envoy to Khosro in spring 576 (*Fr.* 18,6) is not clear, but since the son of Bacchus was a *spatharius* (μαχαίροφόρος in the present passage could = either *spatharius* or *scribo*) and was successful in his embassy, his present mission and status could well have been a reward. Stein (1919 pp.82f.) suggests that στρατηγός indicates that he was made *magister militum vacans*.

283. See n.278.

284. Presumably Khosro was stunned by Maurice's devastation of Persian territory, which caused his own precipitate flight from his summer residence (Agathias 4,29,7-10).

285. Khosro died in February or March 579 (Theophylact 3,16,7; Stein 1919 p.90). His son and successor, Hormizd IV, though universally reviled in



the Byzantine sources, receives high praise in some oriental sources as a just ruler (Christensen pp.441-43). He also ended his father's persecution of the Nestorian Christians. However, his hostility towards the Romans (encouraged, no doubt, by Mebod) seems to have been considerable; John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,22) says that he refused to send the symbols of his succession to Tiberius.

286. According to Cedrenus (I p.690) Maurice was reinforced with 15,000 mercenaries called *Tiberiani*.

287. The Persian equivalent of the *magister officiorum* was the *astabadh*, an official raised to prominence by Khosro (Christensen p.352, with references).

288. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,22) also mentions these delaying tactics.

289. I.e. the *magister/astabadh* mentioned above.

290. Both cities had been surrendered by Jovian in 363 (Ammianus 25,7,9).

291. The context of this passage is not clear. I take it to refer to a Roman attack across the Tigris into Adiabene (cf. Stein 1919 p.91), which would have begun in late summer 579 after the return of Zacharias and Theodorus. Whitby (p.192) would prefer to put no military activity in this year, but since the Romans had only offered a two- or three-month truce (*Fr.* 23,8 lines 55-56) and the Persians had detained the envoys to delay the outbreak of fighting, both sides clearly expected war to break out quickly.

292. The context of this passage is also not clear. The interpretation of Stein (1919 p.98) has not been undermined by Turtledove (pp.332f.) and is followed here. According to Sebeos (p.10) Tankhosdro (presumably after the debacle of his invasion of Sophanene in mid-late 578) was replaced as *marzban* by Varaz Vzur, who, in turn, after one year was replaced by the great *aspet parthev* and *pahlav* (on the title see Christensen p.104 n.1). This last is the (rather garbled) Azarephth of the present passage (but cf. the name Azarethes of a Persian commander in Procopius *Wars* 1.17 and *passim*). Sebeos says that he won a battle at Širak, which Stein identifies with the Roman defeat mentioned here and dates to 580. The end of the passage seems to suggest that Maurice himself did not fight this campaign but had sent a force north against the Persians in Iberia and Dvin (= Dubius), their stronghold in Armenia (Procopius *Wars* 2,25,1-3). Since the defeat of this force caused difficulty for Maurice, I would connect this difficulty with the abortive attack upon Ctesiphon which Maurice undertook together with Al-Mundhir the Ghassanid, and which, with Stein (1919 pp.91-93), I assign to the traditional date of 580 (against Whitby, pp.193f., who argues for 581).

293. This embassy seems to predate the hostilities with the Avars, which are not mentioned amongst the Romans' problems. Thus, it would have arrived in early 579 (Stein 1919 p.114 n.4).

294. This year must be 579. In the previous year the Avars had attacked the Slavs on behalf of the Romans (*Fr.* 21).

295. This treaty, mentioned nowhere else (though implied in *Fr.* 21), was made in winter 574/75.

296. John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,30) says that Roman mechanics were compelled to build the bridge. On the position of Sirmium see n.262.

297. The object of the manoeuvre is not clear. This would have been by design, since Baian's purpose was to confuse the defenders of Singidunum and cause them to retain their ships on the Danube to watch the apparently aimless paddlings of the Avar sailors.

298. The island of Sirmium was the area bounded by the rivers Drave, Save and Danube. Hauptmann (p.155) suggests that it was ceded to Baian by Tiberius in the treaty made at the beginning of his reign as Caesar. This may have been so, but in my opinion the Avars might have been in *de facto* possession of the area since about 570 (see n.174), and it could have been ceded in the treaty of 571 (*Fr.* 15,5 and 6).

299. Stein (1919 p.110) suggests that he was either *magister militum vacans* or *dux Moesiae I*. The latter is more likely.

300. At *Fr.* 21 Menander implies that the Avar envoys had been killed a long time before the Avar attack of 578. In fact, Hauptmann (p.159) plausibly suggested that Baian had encouraged Slavic attacks in 579 to give him the pretext for bridging the Save.

301. It is probably coincidental, but this statement neatly echoes the reason for refusing tribute given by Justin in his first interview with the Avar envoys (*Fr.* 8).

302. Both the translator in Müller (IV p.267) and Doblhofer (p.209) fudge the translation of *διὰ φρουρᾶς*. Menander seems to mean that, instead of a standing army which apparently did not exist in the Balkans at this time (cf. Whitby pp.22ff.), Tiberius proposed to try to defend Sirmium with a force drawn from the garrison troops of the other cities in the area. In fact, the Romans also apparently attempted, without success, to recruit Turkish and Lombard help against the Avars (John of Ephesus *HE* 6,31; Stein 1919 pp.112f.).

303. Again, I prefer the traditional date for these negotiations of winter 580-81 (against Whitby, *loc. cit.* at n.292, who argues for 581-82).

304. The interest shown in this function of the *protector* (*deputatus*) has occasionally been adduced (e.g. by Iorga p.244) as evidence that Menander himself performed this task. But his interest could arise from nothing more than the fact that he himself bore the title, perhaps an honorary rank given by Maurice to the successful historian.

305. Mardis (modern Mardin) was a few miles from the border, to the north-west of Daras.

306. There is a substantial change in the terms offered here, in that Iberia, which had apparently been lost by this time (probably as a result of the defeat of Širak: see n.292), has been dropped.

307. The words from *φήμη* (line 43) to *ὄντια* (line 46) are preserved also in the *Exc. de Sent.* (40).

308. This version of the invasion of Syria by Adarmahan in 573 (see n.187) is an optimistic interpretation of the facts. With the flight of the

Roman army besieging Nisibis and the refusal of Al-Mundhir to join the fighting, resistance was minimal. There is no evidence that the Persians suffered any significant losses.

309. The battle of Constantina, in which Tankhosdro was killed by a Roman soldier named Constantine (John of Ephesus *HE* 6,26), ended in a crushing defeat for the Persians (John of Ephesus *loc. cit.*; Theophylact 3,18,1-3). Evagrius (*HE* 5,20) has Adarmahan present also.

310. This and the following two passages seem appropriate for a speech delivered to an army before battle and could be from a speech by Maurice before the battle of Constantina.

311. This passage refers to Tankhosdro's death in the battle of Constantina (see n.309), but cannot itself be from the account of the battle. It must be either from a later speech recalling the battle or from a piece of deliberative writing by Menander.

312. Stein (1919 p.93) connects this and the following passage with a defeat suffered by Maurice at Callinicum in 580, while on p.98 he suggests (less plausibly) a connection with the defeat at Širak in the same year. Whitby (pp.193f.) opts for the enforced retreat from Ctesiphon, part of the same series of events as the battle of Callinicum (which he dates to 581). In all these cases they could not come from the narrative of these events but must be a reference back like the preceding passage on Tankhosdro. Alternatively, they might refer to a defeat (otherwise not recorded) suffered by Maurice between the battle of Constantina and his return to Constantinople prior to his proclamation as Caesar in August 582.

313. A Callistratus is mentioned by John of Ephesus (*HE* 6,32) as the praetorian prefect of Illyricum who negotiated the surrender of Sirmium to the Avars. If John is correct, it is surprising that he is not mentioned by Menander in *Fr.* 27,3.

314. Theognis was probably *magister militum per Illyricum* (Stein 1919 p.113). He appears to have been commissioned to raise an army in a final attempt to break the blockade of Sirmium, and the present fragment seems to remark the low quality of troops available. I would distinguish the raising of this force, which I would date to 581, from the collection of garrison troops, mentioned at the end of *Fr.* 25,2, which I would date to 580 or even late 579. (After this fragment Boissevain reports the loss of one leaf of the MS, one quarter of which [= half a page of text] was apparently from Menander.)

315. Casia and Carbonaria were presumably islands in the river Save.

316. The statement of Baian's that supplies were cut off ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν and the mention of a second bridge in the next passage suggest the following developments and explain how Sirmium, which in *Fr.* 25,2 was said to have been inadequately supplied, could hold out for two years. Initially, Baian had bridged the Save below Sirmium, thus isolating it from Singidunum. Thereafter the Romans managed to supply it (and throw in the garrison troops?) from upriver until the Avars either built or seized a bridge in that direction to cut off supplies (that one to Dalmatia was still standing is

perhaps suggested by the end of *Fr.* 12,5).

317. Cf. Attila's similar concerns voiced in *Priscus Fr.* 11,1 lines 195-97.

318. This battle, which seems to have been fought in early 582, apparently consisted of Roman attempts to drive the Avars from the bridge between Sirmium and Singidunum. Menander is critical of the failure of the Romans to attack the bridge upriver, which was only lightly defended and could have been easily broken. Theophylact (1,3,5 = T1) notes Menander's account of the capture of the city.

319. Whitby (p.27) suggests that this Solomon is identical with the count of the domestics and vicar of Thrace who died on November 7, 582 (gravestone published by Danov). Menander is perhaps critical of Solomon because he did not sally out and join in the fighting over the bridge.

320. The statement of Miller (p.65) that it was also agreed that Thrace was to be demilitarised and Singidunum left unfortified rests on a misreading of Theophylact 1,4,1.

321. The three years' payment must be for 580-582 (cf. n.294 and text thereat), which is the basis for dating the surrender of Sirmium to 582. The Turkish priest who committed adultery with one of Baian's concubines, was captured by the Romans while fleeing to the Turks and was sent to Constantinople in 586 (Theophylact 1,8,2-9), is perhaps not identical with the present culprit.

322. Οὐννοί is used in *Frr.* 2; 12,5, 6 and 7 of the Kutrigurs and Utigurs; in *Fr.* 5,2 of the Zali; in *Frr.* 19,1 and 27,2 without qualification. Since Menander seems clearly to distinguish the Huns from the Avars and Turks, the reference here is probably to the Hunnic peoples of whom the Kutrigurs and Utigurs (and the Sabirs) are the members most often mentioned. Niebuhr's attempt to see a Hun name, Hodigar, behind the words ὡδὶ γάρ is of no relevance.

323. Exactly the same phrase, κατά τινα θεήλατον ὀργήν, is used in *Fr.* 23,4 of the Roman failures in Armenia before Maurice took over as general. This, and the following two fragments (if they are Menander's), are presumably from the account of the fighting in Italy at the end of Justinian's reign.

324. Διεχαράξαντο is used in *Fr.* 19,1 lines 123-24 of Valentinus and his companions slashing their cheeks in mourning for Silzibul.

325. The second passage looks like a direct continuation of the first. Kok is Turkish. In Theophylact 6,6,6 it is the name of an Avar envoy to the Romans.

326. Adler would associate with this passage E304: ἐθελοκακοῦντες αὐτῷ διὰ πλείστους αἰτίας, which would fill out the text and suggest that the subject could be the failure to withdraw some disaffected troops.

327. These two passages could refer to the general in the Balkans under Justin (see n.29), in which case the battle in Scythia would have been a fight with the Avars in Scythia Minor (cf. *Fr.* 5,4 where Bonus guards the Danube against an Avar incursion into Scythia). For Menandrian phraseology in

these two passages see Baldwin pp.122 and 125.

328. This fragment is assigned to Menander in the collections because it follows a passage ascribed to him (= *Fr.* 20,3) being linked by *καὶ αὐθις* (an unreliable phrase in the *Suda*), and (presumably) because it contains one of Menander's favourite words, *ἐμβριθής*.

329. The second passage has some very slight claim to be Menander's on the basis of the last phrase *ἐπιόντας τοὺς δυσμενεῖς*. The first passage might connect with the second.

330. Baldwin (p.108) suggests a probable reference to Rome; Professor Frederick Williams points out that Constantinople was built on seven hills also. This, however, looks rather like a reference to seven hills in a rather small area. Could it be from a description of a nomad (Avar?) leader encouraging his forces before a battle (cf. *Fr.* 15,2, where the Avars are apparently descending to battle)?

331. With *πολέμῳ . . . ὀμιλεῖν* cf. *πολέμοις ὀμιλεῖν* of *Fr.* 18,6 line 17. The subject of the passage (if it is from Menander) would probably be the Emperor (not the Caesar) Tiberius offering to negotiate after a success in his wars with the Persians (for the sentiment cf. *Fr.* 20,4 which also could be Tiberius').

332. Bernhardt ascribed this passage to Menander by reference to *Fr.* 25,1 where Baian bridges the Save. Certainly, Menander could have given such technical information as the fragment offers (cf. *Fr.* 40), and there is nothing in the style which argues for or against his authorship. If it is from Menander, it must refer not to the bridging of the Save, but the bridging of a river (perhaps the Angrus) that formed a boundary of Dardania, which was to the south of Moesia I.

333. Baldwin (p.105 and n.20) is inclined to accept the ascription of this passage to Menander Protector rather than Menander of Ephesus on the basis that it "follows Agathias 3,5,9 (which it clearly imitates) in the *Suda* entry". In fact, it expands the information in Agathias while studiously avoiding his vocabulary (including the Thucydidean *δέρραις . . . καὶ διφθέρας*).

334. This could refer to the often disastrous disunity of the Roman generals, such as is remarked at *Fr.* 23,11.

335. Cf. the remarks in *Fr.* 23,4 on the mistreatment which those subject to the Romans suffered at the hands of the soldiers.



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## CORRELATION OF FRAGMENTS

Since the numbering of the fragments in the present collection differs considerably from that in the older collections, I have drawn up the following table of correlations with the most commonly used of the older editions, those of Müller (*FHG* IV), Dindorf (*HGM* I) and Niebuhr (*CSHB* XIV), although, since the numbering of Müller and Dindorf does not greatly differ, I have combined these, noting only where they do differ by the letters M and D (where one letter only occurs the passage is omitted from the other collection). The references are to fragments in Müller and Dindorf and to pages in Niebuhr.

Blockley	Müller- Dindorf	Niebuhr	Blockley	Müller- Dindorf	Niebuhr
1,1	1	438f.	7,6	30	430f.
1,2	2	426f.	7,7	30	431
2	3	344f.	7,8	30	431
3,1	8	345f.	7,9	30	431
3,2			8	14	286-90
4,1	10	427	9,1	15	373-79
4,2	10	427	9,2	16	379f.
4,3	10	427	9,3	17	290-95
4,4	10	428	10,1	18	295-300
4,5	10	428	10,2	19	380
4,6	10	428	10,3	20	380-85
4,7	10	428	10,4	21	300f.
4,8	10	428	10,5	22	301f.
5,1	4	282f.	11	23	302f.
5,2	5	283f.	12,1	24	303f.
5,3	6	284f.	12,2	25	304f.
5,4	9	285f.	12,3	31	441f.
6,1	11	346-73	12,4	26	305
6,2	12	428-30	12,5	27	306-10
6,3	13	373	12,6	28	385-89
7,1	30	430	12,7	29	310f.
7,2	30	430	12,8	30	431
7,3	30	430	13,1	30	432
7,4	30	430	13,2	35a	432
7,5	30	430	13,3	35a	432

296 *Correlation of Fragments*

<b>Blockley</b>	<b>Müller-Dindorf</b>	<b>Niebuhr</b>	<b>Blockley</b>	<b>Müller-Dindorf</b>	<b>Niebuhr</b>
13,4	35a	433	23,9	55	411-17
13,5	32	311	23,10	59	435
14,1	35a	433	23,11	59	435f.
14,2	35a	433	23,12	59	436
15,1	33	311f.	24	62	331f.
15,2	31	440	25,1	63	332-36
15,3	35a	433f.	25,2	64	336-40
15,4	35a	434	26,1	60	417-23
15,5	34	312f.	26,2	61	436
15,6	35	313	26,3	61	436
16,1	36	313-16	26,4	61	436
16,2	36aM 36bD	442	26,5	61	436
17			26,6	61	437
18,1	37	316f.	26,7		
18,2	38	389f.	27,1	66	437
18,3	39	390f.	27,2	65	341f.
18,4	40	391f.	27,3	66	424f.
18,5	42	317f.	28	67M	440
18,6	41	392-97	29	69M	440
19,1	43	397-404	30,1	72M	442
19,2	45	404	30,2		
20,1	46	318-20	30,3		
20,2	47	320-27	31,1	70M	441
20,3	53	441	31,2	70M	441
20,4	44	434	32	68M	440
20,5	44	434	33,1		
20,6	44	434	33,2		
20,7	44	434	34		
20,8	44	434	35,1		
21	48	404-07	35,2		
22	49	327f.	36	71M	441
23,1	50	407-09	37		
23,2	56	443f.	38		
23,3	58	440	39	p.670M	
23,4	59	434f.	40	73M	443
23,5	51	328f.	41	p.670M	
23,6	52	329	42	74M	443
23,7	57	329-31	43	75M	443
23,8	54	409-11			

## CORRELATION OF PASSAGES FROM THE *SUDA*

In most cases the passages from the *Suda* correlate with only a small portion of the fragment of Menander. Where this is so, the line references will be found at the end of the passage indicated.

<i>Suda</i>	Menander	<i>Suda</i>	Menander
A32	28	E498	33,1
A82	15,1	E659	19,1
A209	21	E719	19,1
A402	5,2	E958	6,2 and 9,1
A1756	21	E962	20,3 and 34
A1841	21	E963	10,3
A1998	29	E995	21
A2053	15,2	E1676	18,6
A2323	21	E2031	36
A2330	18,6	E2058	23,1
A2394	3,2	E2178	12,5
A2811	6,1	E2306	10,5
A2906	18,6	E2310	12,3
A2962	10,3	E2331	6,1
A3048	5,3 and 9,1	E2425	10,3
A3080	23,3	E2452	35,1
A3098	9,3	E2560	12,2
A3252	12,5	E3520	31,1
A3339	6,1	E3658	10,3
A3615	10,3	E3875	12,5
A4374	9,1	E3969	9,3
A4378	31,1	H416	10,3
B532	9,3	H424	37
Γ145	10,1	Eι267	18,6
Γ335	5,5	I449	9,1
Δ150	12,3	Θ99	30,1
Δ579	30,2	Θ162	6,1
Δ1193	35,2	Θ226	10,3
Δ1327	18,4	Θ413	18,4
Αι322	32	Θ509	10,1
E208	19,1	K480	6,1
E491	6,1	K527	9,3
E493	5,2	K549	10,5

298 *Correlation of Passages from the Suda*

<i>Suda</i>	<i>Menander</i>	<i>Suda</i>	<i>Menander</i>
K2021	10,3	Π1406	6,2
K2533	18,3	Π1695	6,1
K2690	38	Π1893	13,5
Λ57	10,3	Π2311	30,3
M294	23,3	Π2799	19,1
M591	1,1	P147	6,1
M673	6,1	Σ10	18,6
M721	6,1	Σ30	39
M1114	10,5	Σ274	5,2
N146	9,1	Σ413	19,1
N439	10,1	Σ901	40
Ξ124	6,1	Σ1653	12,5
O22	23,2	T89	20,3
O84	19,1	Y65	10,4
O119	31,2	Y69	9,1
O171	21	Y178	10,3
O346	9,1	Y408	10,3
O916	16,2	Y620	5,5
Ω116	10,1	Y743	33,2
Π88	10,1	Φ122	41
Π120	10,1	Φ314	42
Π375	9,1	Φ617	10,3
Π421	9,2	X93	43
Π772	10,3	X123	18,6
Π1026	10,3	X167	10,5
Π1114	18,4	X340	10,3
Π1273	10,3	X473	23,9



# Index of Names and Places

Only the introduction, translation and notes have been indexed.

- Aboras, river: 281, 282  
Acacius, Roman officer: 271  
Adarmahan, Persian general: 271, 284, 285  
Adiabene: 283  
Aegean Islands: 280  
Aeetes: 6, 43  
Aelia (Jerusalem): 155  
Africa: 15  
Agathias: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 27, 39, 41, 251  
A-kie-Tien, mount: 264  
Akkagas: 173, 276  
Alamundar, chief of the Lakhmid Saracens: 69, 83, 255, 262, 271  
Alamundar, chief of the Ghassanid Saracens: 111, 262, 283, 285  
Alan: 8, 49, 71, 125, 127, 163, 175, 253, 263, 266, 273, 276  
Albani: 167, 273  
Albania: 163, 167, 253, 273, 274  
Alboin, Lombard King: 129, 267  
Alexander the Great: 1  
Alphius, priest: 155  
Altai mountains: 264, 277  
Ambrus, son of Alamundar the Lakhmid: 69, 71, 83, 85, 111, 255, 262  
Amida: 282  
Ammianus Marcellinus: 1, 16, 29  
Ammigus, Frankish chief: 45, 252  
Anagai, chief of the Utigurs: 173, 179, 275-78  
Anankhast, ?Turkish envoy: 171, 275  
Anastasius, emperor: 257, 278  
Andigan, Persian envoy: 12, 19, 28, 30, 229-33, 260  
Angrus, river: 287  
Antae: 29, 51, 253  
Antioch: 57, 235, 254, 271  
Apamea: 155, 157, 235, 271  
Apatura: 173, 275  
Aphumon: 205, 213, 282  
Apsikh, Avar envoy: 149, 241  
Apsilia: 266, 267  
Apsilii: 127, 266  
Arab: 265  
Arabessi: 169  
Arabia: 111  
Aral, lake: 265, 266, 276  
Arethas, Saracen chief: 255, 262  
Armenia: 55, 61, 153, 159-63 *passim*, 167, 169, 187, 203, 211, 213, 217, 223, 254, 256, 257, 271-74 *passim*, 279, 280, 283, 286  
Armenia, Lesser (Artaz): 167, 274  
Armeniacum, deme: 33  
Armenian: 21, 25, 27, 257, 269, 274, 278, 282  
Arresti (Arhest): 165, 274  
Arsilas, Turkish ruler: 173, 276  
Artaxata (see Dubius)  
Arzanene: 25, 203, 205, 211, 213, 229, 282  
Ascra: 147  
Asia, central: 9, 13, 16, 253, 263, 264  
Asian: 277  
Assyrian: 9, 73  
Asterius, referendarius: 27, 181, 278  
Athraelon: 181, 279  
Attic: 89  
Attila, Hun king: 13, 268, 277, 286  
Attila (Volga), river: 125, 265  
Attisus (Athesis), river: 45, 251  
Austrasian: 252, 282  
Avars: 4-6 *passim*, 6-11 *passim*, 14, 15, 17-20 *passim*, 22-24 *passim*, 26, 28-30 *passim*, 45, 49, 51, 93, 95, 115, 127-43 *passim*, 175, 193, 195, 219-27 *passim*, 239-47 *passim*, 252, 253, 260, 261, 263, 267-70 *passim*, 276, 280, 283-87 *passim*  
Azarephth: 215, 283  
Azov, Sea of: 276  
Babylonia: 278  
Bacchus: 165, 167, 179, 282  
Baian, Avar Khagan: 10, 18, 22-24 *passim*, 26, 28, 53, 127, 129, 133-39 *passim*, 193, 195, 217, 221, 239-43 *passim*, 267, 268, 270, 280, 284-87 *passim*

### 300 *Index of Names and Places*

- Balkans: 5, 14, 18, 284, 286  
Bassiana: 253  
Bassiane (Basean): 167, 274  
Belisarius: 12  
Bēth-Arabāyē: 282  
Binganes, Persian governor: 18, 29, 203, 282  
Bitharmais (Bēth Aramāyē): 77, 259  
Black Sea: 127, 253, 255, 276, 277  
Bokhan, Turkish chief: 179, 277  
Bonus, comes patrimonii Italiae?: 45, 252  
Bonus, m.m. per Illyricum?: 19, 23, 28, 131-37 *passim*, 143, 149, 245, 254, 261, 267, 268, 270, 286  
Bosporus, Crimean: 179, 275-78 *passim*  
Byzantine: 264, 283  
Byzantium: 1, 41, 49, 91, 93, 97, 103-107 *passim*, 111, 115, 117, 125-29 *passim*, 143, 155-59 *passim*, 163, 169, 171, 175, 207, 255, 269, 273, 275  
Callinicum: 256, 285  
Callistratus, p.p. per Illyricum?: 237, 285  
Cappadocia: 5, 278  
Carbonaria: 239, 285  
Casia: 239, 285  
Caspian Gates: 71  
Caspian Sea: 264-66 *passim*, 278  
Caucasus Mountains: 81, 115, 175, 253, 255-57 *passim*, 263, 266, 275  
Celestial Mountains: 264, 277  
Cherson: 173, 225, 275, 276, 278  
Chinese: 262, 263, 265  
Chlomaron: 15, 21, 26, 29, 203, 282  
Christ: 77, 145, 205  
Christians: 11, 20, 21, 25-29 *passim*, 75, 77, 153, 155, 203, 258, 259, 268, 269, 272, 278, 282, 283  
Christianity: 21, 269  
Christmas: 20, 77  
Chu, river: 265  
Āihōr-Wšnasp: 269-71 *passim*  
Cilician: 117, 263  
Circesium: 271  
Citharizon: 203  
Colchian: 9, 43, 67  
Colchis: 6, 91, 97, 251, 253  
Comita: 133  
Constantina (Tella de-mauzelat): 15, 233, 235, 278, 279, 281, 285  
Constantine, soldier: 285  
Constantinople (see also Byzantium): 10, 11, 14, 19, 252, 270-72 *passim*, 274, 276, 277, 280, 282, 286  
Constantius II: 16  
Cordes, river: 261  
Corippus: 23  
Crimea: 173, 275-78 *passim*  
Ctesiphon: 259, 283, 285  
Cunimund, Gepid King: 19, 129, 131, 267  
Cyprus: 282  
Cyrus (Kura), river: 167, 274  
Dacia: 267, 268, 270, 280  
Daikh (Ural), river: 125, 266  
Dalmatia: 137, 227, 241, 268, 281, 285  
Damianus, tribune: 151  
Danapris (Dniepr), river: 175, 276  
Danube: 28, 53, 137, 141, 175, 193, 219, 223, 225, 253, 268, 270, 276, 280, 284, 286  
Daras: 5, 15, 24, 25, 27, 55, 73-77 *passim*, 97, 161-65 *passim*, 169, 181, 187-91 *passim*, 199, 205, 211, 213, 229, 256, 257, 261, 271, 272, 274, 278, 279, 281, 284  
Dardania: 247, 287  
Dareine: 127, 266  
Dauritas /Daurentius, Slavic chief: 9, 20, 195, 281  
Derbend, pass of (see Tzon)  
Dioscurias: 267  
Ditatus, Roman officer: 67  
Dizabul (see Sizabul)  
Domnentiolus: 97, 261  
Drave, river: 131, 284  
Dubius (= Dvin = Artaxata): 215, 256, 283  
Dzungaria: 264  
East, Persian: 213  
East, Roman: 14, 24, 26, 55, 61, 73, 75, 159-63 *passim*, 179, 183, 187, 193, 199, 203, 209, 217, 233, 254, 258, 272, 274  
Egypt: 65  
Egyptian: 67  
Ektag, mount: 119, 264, 277  
Ektel, mount: 179, 264, 277  
Emba (see Ikh)  
Ephthalites: 8, 16, 47, 65, 111-15 *passim*, 252, 254, 262, 263  
Epiphany: 20, 77  
Ethiopian: 263

- Eunapius of Sardis: 16  
 Eupatoria: 275, 276  
 Euphratas: 41, 271, 278  
 Eusebius, envoy with Peter: 65, 71, 254  
 Eusebius, general: 159, 254, 272  
 Europe: 25  
 Eutychius, Roman envoy: 171  
 Evagrius: 3
- Ferogdath, Persian envoy: 207  
 Frank: 6, 14, 23, 45, 97, 127, 252, 267, 281  
 Frankish: 197  
 Frurdigan: 13, 99, 261
- Gaul: 14  
 Gelimer, Vandal King: 49  
 George: 125  
 Gepids: 6, 19, 129, 131, 137-41 *passim*, 227, 253, 261, 267, 269  
 Germanic: 16  
 Germanus: 49  
 Ghassanids: 255, 262, 271, 283  
 Gobazes, King of Lazica: 255  
 Goth: 49, 91  
 Gothic: 252  
 Greece: 5  
 Greek: 7, 12, 63, 71, 77, 99, 119, 157, 193, 254, 261, 265, 275, 277  
 Gundovald, Frankish pretender: 14  
 Gurgun, King of Iberia: 271
- Hebrus, river: 14, 141, 175, 276  
 Hermenegild, Visigothic rebel: 14  
 Herodian, Roman envoy: 171  
 Herodotus, brother of Menander: 1, 6  
 Herodotus, historian: 263  
 Herul: 53  
 Hesiod: 6  
 Homer: 6, 47  
 Honorius, emperor: 256  
 Hormisd IV: 22, 25, 27, 209, 213, 252, 256, 282  
 Hun: 9, 43, 71, 137, 139, 243, 251, 255, 274, 286  
 Hunnic: 6, 10, 16, 51, 179, 239, 253, 286
- Iberia: 69, 183-89 *passim*, 199, 205, 215, 269, 271, 273, 274, 283, 284  
 Iberian: 21, 25, 185, 199, 205, 256  
 Idariz: 51  
 Ikh (Emba), river: 125, 266  
 Illyricum: 139, 193, 225, 227, 253, 268, 280, 285
- Isaozites, Persian martyr: 20, 145, 269  
 Italy: 5, 14, 25, 45, 197, 252, 260, 267, 270, 286
- Jacob, Persian envoy: 157, 272  
 Jaxartes (Syr Darya), river: 265  
 Jerusalem: 155  
 John: 245  
 John of Ephesus: 18, 21, 27  
 John of Epiphania: 3, 4, 20  
 John, Roman envoy: 181, 278  
 John, quaestor exercitus and p.p. per Illyricum: 193, 280  
 John, son of Domnentiolus: 12, 23, 27, 30, 97, 99, 103, 105, 107, 111, 261, 268
- Jovian, Emperor: 257, 283  
 Juan-Juan (Geougen): 252, 253, 263  
 Julian, emperor: 1  
 Justin II: 3-5 *passim*, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24-26 *passim*, 93, 97, 99, 103-11 *passim*, 117, 129-33 *passim*, 143, 147-59 *passim*, 167, 173, 185, 253, 256, 260-63 *passim*, 267-72 *passim*, 277-79 *passim*, 282-84 *passim*, 286
- Justin, mag. mil. per Illyricum: 253  
 Justin, son of Germanus: 49, 53, 253, 254
- Justinian, emperor: 22, 23, 27, 39, 43, 45, 49, 51, 55, 63, 99, 107, 129, 139, 183, 213, 229, 251, 253, 255-61 *passim*, 267-70 *passim*, 274, 286  
 Justinian, general: 167, 269, 273, 274, 278-80 *passim*, 282
- Kaboses: 111, 262  
 Kalakh: 263, 264  
 Kandikh, Avar envoy: 49  
 Kankli: 263  
 Karluk: 263  
 Katulph, Ephthalite refugee: 47, 113, 252
- Kawad: 262  
 Kelagast: 51  
 Kermichiones (Chionites): 252  
 Khazar: 259  
 Kherkhir: 121, 265  
 Kholiatai: 121, 123, 125, 264, 265  
 Khosro I: 5, 12, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25-29 *passim*, 55, 61, 65-69 *passim*, 79, 87, 89, 97, 99, 103, 105, 112, 151, 155-59 *passim*, 165-71 *passim*, 179,

## 302 *Index of Names and Places*

- Khosro I *cont.*  
181, 185-91 *passim*, 199-209 *passim*, 213, 254, 255, 257, 259, 260, 262, 269, 271, 273, 274, 278, 279, 281-83 *passim*  
Kipchakh: 263  
Kokh: 15, 245, 286  
Kopphen (Kuma?), river: 125, 266  
Kuban, river: 253, 276  
Kunimon, Avar envoy: 53  
Kurs, Roman general: 165, 167, 274  
Kutrigur/Kotrager: 9, 10, 14, 43, 45, 51, 137, 139, 251, 253, 268, 286  
Kwarezmian: 263  
  
Lakhmids: 255, 262  
Latin: 7, 63, 161  
Lazi: 8, 9, 67, 79, 85, 87, 256, 257, 259, 260  
Lazica: 43, 49, 55, 61, 67, 69, 79, 81, 85, 87, 97, 103, 251, 253-55 *passim*, 259, 266  
Leo I: 85, 87  
Lombards: 5, 6, 8, 14, 19, 30, 129, 131, 141, 197, 217, 267, 270, 284  
  
Maeotis, lake: 251, 276  
Magian: 77, 259, 269  
Magnus: 157, 271  
Makrabandon (Bagravand): 167, 274  
Malchus: 14, 16  
Maniakh, Turkish envoy: 10, 113, 115, 117, 123, 262, 263  
Mar Yesuyahb: 282  
Marcian, Roman general: 271, 274  
Mardis: 229, 284  
Mareptici (Mardpetakan): 165, 274  
Martin, Roman general: 67, 255  
Maurice: 1, 2, 4, 5, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24-26 *passim*, 29, 30, 41, 189, 199-203 *passim*, 209, 215, 217, 231, 235, 237, 280, 282-86 *passim*  
Massagetae: 9  
Meairanos/Mairanos: 9, 199, 203  
Mebod, Persian envoy: 12, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 107-11 *passim*, 161, 163, 181-85 *passim*, 189, 191, 197-203 *passim*, 211, 262, 273, 278, 281, 283  
Mede: 9, 43, 77, 89, 101, 111, 113, 147, 201  
Median: 103  
Melitene: 278  
Menander: 1-30 *passim*, 41, 87, 145, 147, 191, 215, 247, 249  
Mermeroos, Persian general: 81, 259  
Mesopotamia: 9, 25, 199, 223, 271, 281  
Mezamer: 51  
Miusimia: 127, 266  
Moesia: 280, 287  
Mongols: 29  
Monocartum: 233  
Muses: 41  
Mygdonius, river: 231  
  
Nadoos, Persian envoy: 179-81, 278  
Nakhoergan, Persian general: 2, 81, 257, 278  
Narses, Roman general: 14, 21, 28, 45, 243, 252  
Nedao, river: 268  
Nemean Games: 251  
Nestorian: 11, 21, 259, 282  
Nisibis: 5, 11, 73, 99, 105, 155, 181, 199, 209-13 *passim*, 231, 256-58 *passim*, 271, 285  
Noricum: 267  
Nowruz: 261  
  
Oekh, river: 125, 265  
Olympic Games: 251  
Oromouskhi: 125, 266  
Ostrogoth: 12  
Ostrogothic: 260, 267  
Oxus (Amu Darya), river: 252, 265  
  
Pahlavi: 254  
Pamphronius: 45, 197, 281  
Pannonia: 14, 53, 193, 219, 253, 267, 270, 280  
Parthian: 9  
Panticapaem (see also Bosphorus): 276, 277  
Paul: 189, 201  
Paul of Cilicia, Roman envoy: 171  
Perozes (Firuz): 85, 87, 260  
Persarmenia: 151, 153, 165-69 *passim*, 179, 183-89 *passim*, 199, 205, 207, 229, 269, 278  
Persarmenian: 5, 25-27 *passim*, 185, 199, 256, 268, 269, 271  
Persia: 7, 75, 77, 105, 113, 123, 145, 155, 215, 259-62 *passim*, 265, 272, 273, 276-78 *passim*, 282  
Persian: 5, 8-15 *passim*, 17-30 *passim*, 39, 43, 55, 59-73 *passim*, 77, 81, 83, 87, 97, 99, 103-15 *passim*, 121-27 *passim*, 145, 147, 151-69 *passim*, 173, 177, 178, 181-91 *passim*, 197,

- 199, 203-15 *passim*, 223, 225, 229-37 *passim*, 251, 252, 254-60 *passim*, 262-66 *passim*, 268, 269, 271, 273, 278-83 *passim*, 285, 287
- Peter, Roman envoy: 181, 278
- Peter, master of the offices: 6, 7, 11, 12, 17-20, 27-30, 55, 59, 65, 67, 69, 71, 77, 79, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 97, 101, 181, 191, 252, 254, 258, 259, 260, 262, 272, 278, 279
- Phanagoria: 275
- Phasis: 43, 127, 249, 251, 266
- Photius: 3
- Phouloi: 173, 275, 276
- Pliny: 253
- Priscus of Panium: 13, 16, 19, 29
- Procopius of Caesarea: 2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 26, 39, 147, 251, 270
- Ptolemy: 253
- Redwan, river: 282
- Reptila, nephew of Cunimund: 267
- Rogatorium: 127, 266
- Rome: 59, 197, 217
- Rosamund, daughter of Cunimund: 267
- Royal Stoa: 41
- Sabirs: 51, 163, 167, 199, 253, 273, 276, 286
- Sacae: 117, 263
- Sali (see Zali)
- Salmoxis: 6
- Sandilkh, chief of the Utigurs: 43
- Sannakhoerugan: 181, 278
- Sapoës: 199, 203
- Saracens: 8, 14, 23, 29, 30, 69-73 *passim*, 83, 99-103 *passim*, 107-11 *passim*, 199, 255-57 *passim*, 259, 262
- Saraguri: 251
- Sarapa: 85, 259, 260
- Sarmatia: 253
- Sarmatian: 253
- Sarosius (Saroës), Alan king: 49, 127, 266, 273, 276
- Sassanid: 30
- Save, river: 26, 137, 219-25 *passim*, 270, 280, 284, 285, 287
- Scandeis: 85, 259, 260
- Scythia: 53, 129, 137, 193, 245, 252, 253, 262, 267, 280, 286
- Scythian: 9, 81, 115, 119, 137, 149, 151, 171, 173, 253, 262, 263, 268
- Sebanos, monastery: 63, 254
- Sebaste: 278
- Sebokhth, Persian envoy: 17, 19, 21-24 *passim*, 151-55 *passim*, 270, 271
- Sesostris: 6, 65, 67, 255
- Sethus, commander at Singidunum: 219-23 *passim*
- Sigisbert, Frankish king: 127, 129, 267
- Silzibul, Turkish khagan (see also Sizabul): 45, 173, 177, 179, 252, 286
- Singara: 213, 282
- Singidunum: 219, 221, 281, 283, 286
- Šinope: 171, 275
- Širak: 283-85 *passim*
- Sirmium: 4, 5, 10, 15, 18-20 *passim*, 26, 28, 39, 131, 133, 134-43 *passim*, 219-27 *passim*, 239, 241, 267-70 *passim*, 281, 284-86 *passim*
- Sizabul, Turkish khagan (see also Silzibul): 269, 276, 277
- Slav: 5, 9, 14, 26, 28, 29, 191-95 *passim*, 219, 223, 225, 280, 283
- Slavic: 253, 284
- Sogdian: 111-17 *passim*, 262, 263
- Sogdiana: 252, 264
- Solakh, Avar envoy: 10, 20, 24, 225
- Solomon, commander at Sirmium: 241, 286
- Sophanene: 282, 283
- Sophia: 24, 157, 159, 272, 278
- Spain: 14
- Suani: 8, 11, 67, 69, 81, 85, 87, 103, 105, 255, 260
- Suania: 23, 27, 28, 67, 69, 77-89 *passim*, 97, 103, 107, 127, 191, 255, 257, 259, 261, 267, 279
- Surenas: 69, 71, 151, 262, 269, 271
- Syria: 5, 27, 209, 254, 271, 284
- Tagma: 123, 269
- Talas: 121, 264-66 *passim*
- Taman peninsula: 276
- Tankhosdro, Persian general: 15, 28, 161-63 *passim*, 197, 201, 213, 231-37 *passim*, 273, 279-83 *passim*, 285
- Taranni (Taron): 167, 274
- Tardu, Turkish chief: 179, 277
- Targitius/Targites: 9, 10, 18, 23, 24, 139-43 *passim*, 217, 261, 268
- Tarkhan: 265
- Taurice: 173, 275
- Tekes, river: 264
- Tiberius II: 4, 5, 8, 10, 14, 18, 19, 21, 24-30 *passim*, 143, 149, 151, 157-65

## 304 Index of Names and Places

- Tiberius II *cont.*  
*passim*, 171, 173, 191, 193, 199,  
205-209 *passim*, 219, 223, 229, 241,  
268-69 *passim*, 272, 274, 280-84  
*passim*, 287
- Tigris: 211, 283
- Timotheus: 105
- Thaunnarios: 201, 282
- Theodora: 278
- Theodorus, son of Peter, Roman  
envoy: 181, 278
- Theodorus, son of Bacchus, Roman  
envoy: 5, 25, 27, 165-71 *passim*,  
179, 273, 274, 282
- Theodorus, guardsman, Roman envoy:  
205-209 *passim*, 213, 282, 283
- Theodorus, doctor: 19, 133
- Theodorus, Roman general: 165, 167,  
274
- Theodosiopolis (Karin): 27, 167-71 *pas-*  
*sim*, 269, 274, 278, 282
- Theodosiopolis (Resaina): 281
- Theodosius I: 256
- Theodosius II: 85, 87, 257, 258, 260
- Theognis, Roman general: 10, 18, 28,  
239, 241, 285
- Theophanes of Byzantium: 3, 19
- Theophylact: 3, 4, 6, 14, 15, 20, 25, 39,  
272
- Thucydides: 6, 7, 12, 13, 17, 269
- Thrace: 15, 43, 95, 129, 191, 253, 270,  
276, 286
- Thracian: 6, 263
- Trajan, Roman envoy: 159, 165, 197,  
272, 274
- Transcaucasia: 262
- Trapezus: 127
- Trapezus Mountains: 275
- Turk: 5, 8-11 *passim*, 13, 14, 17-19  
*passim*, 25, 28, 45, 47, 111-21 *pas-*  
*sim*, 125, 127, 147, 171-79 *passim*,  
225, 252, 253, 262-65 *passim*, 271,  
273, 275-78 *passim*, 286
- Turks, Ottoman: 277
- Turkish (Turkic): 113, 117, 125, 179,  
251, 252, 254, 256, 262-66 *passim*,  
269, 276, 277, 284, 286
- Turkomen: 265
- Turxanthus, Turkish chief: 6, 10, 15,  
28, 173-79 *passim*, 263, 276, 277
- Tzath, Suanian chief: 67
- Tzon: 71, 255
- Uarkhonitai (Avars): 175, 252, 276
- Ugurs: 125, 266
- Unigurs: 51, 175, 253, 276
- Ural (see Daikh)
- Urogi: 266
- Usdibad, Gepid leader: 135, 139, 141,  
267
- Ust-urt, plateau: 266
- Utigurs: 10, 14, 43, 139, 141, 173, 251,  
253, 266, 268, 275, 276, 278, 286
- Valentinus, Roman envoy: 5, 10, 13,  
29, 51, 171-79 *passim*, 253, 273-78  
*passim*, 286
- Van, lake: 274
- Vandals: 22, 49
- Varanes (Varahran V): 87, 157, 260
- Vardan, Persarmenian leader: 271
- Varaz Vzur, Persian governor: 283
- Verona: 251, 252
- Visigoths: 22
- Vitalian, interpreter: 133, 139, 268
- Vittigis, Ostrogothic king: 49
- Volga (see Attila)
- Widin, Gothic chief: 252
- Yezdegerd II: 257
- Yezdegusnaph (see also Zikh), Persian  
envoy: 28, 55, 71, 103, 263
- Zabergan, Kutrigur chief: 43
- Zacharias, Roman envoy: 12, 19, 25,  
28, 29, 159, 161, 181, 187-91 *pas-*  
*sim*, 197, 205-209 *passim*, 213, 229-  
35 *passim*, 237, 260, 265-67 *passim*,  
272, 273, 278, 283
- Zali: 51, 253, 286
- Zemarchus, Roman envoy: 13, 18, 19,  
29, 117-27 *passim*, 155, 157, 173,  
264, 269, 271, 277
- Zikh (see also Yezdegusnaph), Persian  
envoy: 2, 6, 7, 11, 28, 30, 55, 59-71  
*passim*, 77, 83, 103, 105, 109, 191,  
252, 254, 255
- Zoroastrian: 258, 269
- Zoroastrianism: 269

## Index of Quotations and Citations

The third number in the references to Menander and Priscus is the line number of the larger fragments in my editions of these writers.

Agapius of Menbidj	2,260ff.: 268	6,22: 283
p.436: 217	3,151ff.: 261	6,23: 18, 263, 265, 267,
Agathias	3,258: 261	269
<i>praef.</i> 3: 251	3,271-307: 261	6,24: 270
1,3,4: 261	3,311-98: 261	6,26: 285
2,15,7: 251	3,399-400: 261	6,27: 282
2,18,5: 6, 255	Demosthenes	6,30: 284
2,22,5: 258	<i>Or.</i> 18,12: 281	6,31: 284
2,23-27: 13	<i>Or.</i> 56,44: 282	6,32: 285
2,27,9: 258	Diodorus Siculus	John of Epiphania
2,28-32: 12	1,58: 255	<i>Fr.</i> 2 p.274: 266
2,28,2: 258	Evagrius, <i>HE</i>	<i>Fr.</i> 5 p.276: 273
3,1,4: 251	4,24: 3	Jordanes
3,2-4: 255	5,7: 269, 271	<i>Getica</i> 49,255: 277
3,5,4: 6	5,12: 272	Malchus
3,5,9: 287	5,20: 283	<i>Fr.</i> 20: 16
3,15,8: 266	6,1: 2, 251	Menander
3,19,8ff.: 251	Gregory of Tours, <i>Hist.</i>	<i>Fr.</i> 1,1: 1, 19
4,22,2: 258	4,23: 267	1,2: 1, 3
4,23,2: 258	4,28: 267	2-13: 5
4,26,4-7: 3	Herodotus	2: 14, 22, 29, 254, 286
4,29,7-10: 282	2,38,2: 259	3: 14, 254
4,30,4: 3	2,102-103: 255	3,1: 8
4,30,8: 2	4,94: 6	3,2: 28
4,30,9: 251	Hesiod	4,2: 8, 10, 28, 262
5,14: 22, 261	<i>Erg.</i> 210: 270	4,3: 8
5,23,7-24,1: 268	Homer	4,5: 21
5,24-25: 251	<i>Il.</i> 6,339: 252	4,7: 6, 21
5,24,1-2: 22	John of Biclarum	5,1: 22, 253
5,25,5: 268	<i>Chron.</i> a.	5,2: 7, 22, 260, 268,
Ammianus	570,3: 270	276, 286
17,5: 29	572,1: 267	5,3: 3, 8, 29, 268
23,6,59: 265	John of Ephesus, <i>HE</i>	5,4: 8, 14, 22, 28, 256,
25,7,9: 283	1,19: 278	267, 286
26,5,4ff.: 1	2,11: 278	6,1: 4, 7, 19, 20
Cedrenus	2,18-22: 269	6,1,6: 7
I p.690: 283	2,20-21: 279	6,1,8-9: 29
<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	3,4: 272	6,1,11-14: 2
4,36,4: 256	4,35: 278	6,1,19-98: 252
Constantine Porphyro-	6,8: 273	6,1,25-27: 11
genitus	6,10: 21, 278, 279, 282	6,1,38-39: 21
<i>De Caer.</i> 1,89: 11	6,11: 271	6,1,41-50: 17
Corippus	6,12: 278, 279	6,1,48-96: 17
<i>In Laud. Iust.</i>	6,13: 273	6,1,94-96: 30
<i>praef.</i> 4: 261	6,14: 282	6,1,100-101: 11, 28
2,178-274: 23	6,15: 282	6,1,132-34: 11

306 *Index of Quotations and Citations*

*Menander Fr., cont.*

- 6,1,147-49: 256  
 6,1,155: 7  
 6,1,164: 8  
 6,1,168: 8  
 6,1,175-83: 16  
 6,1,179-83: 29  
 6,1,184-87: 19  
 6,1,190: 7  
 6,1,191: 7  
 6,1,192: 272  
 6,1,197: 272  
 6,1,207-10: 263  
 6,1,213-36: 6  
 6,1,249: 8  
 6,1,253: 8  
 6,1,285-87: 280  
 6,1,289: 8  
 6,1,304-12: 20  
 6,1,308: 272  
 6,1,339: 9  
 6,1,366-84: 279  
 6,1,389-93: 281  
 6,1,399: 20  
 6,1,408-23: 16, 20  
 6,1,426-28: 6, 20  
 6,1,437-57: 12  
 6,1,456: 8  
 6,1,500: 8  
 6,1,501: 278  
 6,1,525-34: 262  
 6,1,539: 18  
 6,1,545-62: 279  
 6,1,553: 18  
 6,1,571: 8  
 6,1,582: 8  
 6,1,592: 18  
 6,1,597-602: 262  
 6,2: 11, 12, 18, 20  
 7: 14  
 7,6: 21  
 7,7-9: 23  
 8: 10, 18, 22, 23, 284  
 9: 67  
 9,1-2: 12  
 9,1-3: 5  
 9,1: 29, 268  
 9,1,3-4: 6  
 9,1,6-16: 23  
 9,1,13-16: 255  
 9,1,22: 6  
 9,1,23: 23  
 9,1,25: 6  
 9,1,34-38: 255  
 9,1,36: 22  
 9,1,67-69: 30, 262  
 9,1,79-85: 255  
 9,1,108: 7, 22  
 9,3: 8, 23, 25, 28, 278  
 10: 6, 13  
 10,1: 6, 10, 17, 22, 28,  
 252, 254, 277  
 10,2: 6, 7, 9  
 10,3: 8, 10, 13, 263,  
 269, 277  
 10,4: 6, 265, 276  
 10,5: 8  
 11: 6, 14  
 12: 6, 270  
 12,1: 8, 28  
 12,2: 19, 28, 267  
 12,3: 15, 254  
 12,3-8: 15  
 12,4: 28, 267, 268  
 12,5: 18, 19, 23, 28,  
 254, 267, 268,  
 270, 286  
 12,6: 18, 24, 271, 286  
 12,7: 18, 23, 271, 286  
 13,1-4: 27  
 13,3: 2  
 13,3-4: 20  
 13,5: 7, 22, 23, 24, 263,  
 269  
 14,1-2: 5  
 14,2: 3, 6  
 15,1: 7, 24, 26, 254,  
 267, 270  
 15,2: 15, 287  
 15,3: 268  
 15,5: 276, 284  
 15,6: 284  
 16,1: 11, 17, 19, 21, 22,  
 23, 24, 28, 270  
 16,2: 5  
 17: 3, 5, 13, 15  
 18,1: 11, 19, 20, 24, 25,  
 27  
 18,1-3: 5, 7  
 18,2: 4, 24, 254, 272,  
 273  
 18,3: 8, 281  
 18,4: 6, 24, 25, 281  
 18,4-6: 5  
 18,5: 253, 273  
 18,6: 6, 7, 8, 16, 27,  
 273, 278, 282  
 19: 5, 13  
 19,1: 4, 6, 10, 15, 25,  
 252, 262, 286  
 19,1,1: 6  
 19,1,4: 8, 253  
 19,1,7-69: 264  
 19,1,10-15: 277  
 19,1,15: 263  
 19,1,16: 9  
 19,1,18: 277  
 19,1,20: 6  
 19,1,25-6: 264  
 19,1,28: 277  
 19,1,32-33: 277  
 19,1,69: 7  
 19,1,85: 7  
 19,1,85-90: 273  
 19,1,91: 7  
 19,1,91-92: 28  
 19,1,120-31: 7  
 20,1: 6, 8, 16, 17, 25,  
 27, 28, 29, 272  
 20,2: 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16,  
 17, 19, 21, 25,  
 26, 27, 28, 29,  
 257, 272, 280  
 20,3: 15, 28, 287  
 20,4: 287  
 20,4-8: 9  
 20,6: 25  
 20,7: 7  
 21: 4, 7, 8, 26, 28, 29,  
 283, 284  
 22: 7, 14, 26, 30  
 23,1: 4, 7, 15, 25, 27,  
 28  
 23,2: 7, 26  
 23,3: 15, 26  
 23,4: 21, 286, 287  
 23,5: 28  
 23,6: 28, 281  
 23,7: 15, 20, 21, 26, 29  
 23,8: 6, 8, 21, 25  
 23,9: 7, 8, 22, 25, 27,  
 28, 256  
 23,11: 26, 287  
 24: 14, 26, 30  
 25: 15, 26, 30  
 25,1: 6, 7, 8, 20, 28,  
 270, 280, 287  
 25,2: 10, 18, 20, 22, 24,  
 26, 28, 277, 285  
 25,7: 261  
 26,1: 2, 7, 8, 12, 15, 19,  
 21, 22, 25, 28,



- Menander *Fr.* 26,1 *cont.*  
 30, 260, 269  
 26,3-4: 9  
 26,6: 7, 26  
 26,7: 26  
 27: 15, 28, 30  
 27,2: 10, 18, 28, 286  
 27,3: 7, 28  
 28,3: 283  
 30,1: 21, 28  
 31: 15  
 38: 13  
 39: 7, 15  
 40: 13, 15, 287
- Michael Syrus  
 2,312: 272
- Nonnos  
*Dion.* 29,107: 7
- Paulus Diaconus  
*Hist. Lang.* 2,2: 252  
 2,10: 267
- Pliny, *N.H.*  
 38,52: 255
- Plutarch  
*Solon* 19: 282
- Priscus  
*Fr.* 11,1: 16  
 11,1,195-97: 286  
 11,2,280: 264  
 13,1: 16  
 15,4: 19  
 24,1: 277  
 31,1: 16  
 28,1: 266  
 40: 252, 253  
 47: 268
- Procopius  
*Anecdota* 11,5-7: 22  
 19,5ff.: 22  
 24,24: 2  
*De Aed.* 1,11,12: 251  
 2,2,1-3,26: 261  
 2,3: 257  
 2,6,14-16: 282  
 3,5,1-12: 274  
*Wars* 1,17: 283  
 2,1: 254  
 2,1,4-5: 256  
 2,5-14: 254  
 2,24,14: 261  
 2,25,1-3: 283  
 2,28,23: 255  
 6,6,4-34: 12  
 7,33,8: 268  
 7,33,10-11: 267  
 7,39,3: 261  
 8,2,24-26: 266  
 8,2,32-33: 266  
 8,3,4: 255  
 8,13,15-20: 260
- Sebeos  
 p.6: 274  
 p.10: 283
- Stephen of Taron  
 pp.59f.: 269  
 p.60: 271
- Suda*  
 B401: 3  
 B508: 3  
 E304: 286  
 Θ449: 3, 4  
 Π1026: 264
- Theophanes  
*Chron. a.m.* 6064: 263
- Theophanes of Byzantium  
*Fr.* 1: 261  
 2: 263  
 3: 263, 269  
 4: 273, 276
- Theophylact  
 1,3,5: 4, 286  
 1,4,1: 286  
 1,8,2-9: 286  
 3,12,10: 273  
 3,12,10-11: 273  
 3,15: 279  
 3,15,11: 281  
 3,16,2: 282  
 3,16,7: 282  
 3,17,2: 25  
 3,18,1-3: 285  
 5,12,2: 25  
 6,6,6: 286  
 6,10,7-13: 267  
 7,8,3-6: 252
- Thucydides  
 3,30,1: 281  
 5,99: 269  
 5,111,3: 269  
 8,81,2: 261
- Zonaras  
 14,10,22-23: 4  
 14,11,16: 282  
 14,11,18-19: 270