DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

I

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO
CORPUS FONTIUM
HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

CONSIGIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS
STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE
EDITUM

VOLUMEN I

CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

EDIDIT
GY. MORAVCSIK

ANGLICE VERTIT
R. J. H. JENKINS
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I.
CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO
FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

In publishing this critical edition and translation of the text of the treatise *De Administrando Imperio*, compiled exactly one thousand years ago by the emperor Constantine VII, we feel that we should explain how our work began.

The editor of the Greek text started to work on it as long ago as 1926; but the carrying out of other academic projects interfered during many years with completing the collection of his material, and bringing it into final shape for publication. Then, the latter years of the world war made completion and publication alike impossible. Fortunately, however, the ms. survived the siege of Budapest; and immediately after the war efforts were again made to finish the work, and the question arose of bringing it out.

The first draft of the English translation was made independently. But while its publication was under consideration, chance brought it into relation with the publication of the Greek text. In the pursuit of our common purpose, we established contact with one another, and agreed that text and translation should be published together, believing that an edition of a Greek text is incomplete without a translation, and having in mind that, apart from the old Latin versions and those in the Russian and Croat languages, there is still no complete translation of the treatise in existence.

From the beginning of 1947 we have worked together, through the medium of correspondence, to bring text and translation into line with one another, and have thus been able to subject the work of each to the revision of the other. Doubtless both parts of the work have benefited from this revision. Certain deficiencies came to light in the Greek text, and the editor owes some corrections to the translator, who has also contributed a few conjectural emendations to the apparatus. At the same time, the translator wishes to own a special debt to the editor, whose long study and deep knowledge of the text have assisted in solving many difficulties of interpretation; and though the
translator takes responsibility for everything printed in the English version, he is happy to make this cordial acknowledgment to his senior colleague.

Edition and translation are complementary. For all that, their purposes are not quite identical; and it has been necessary that a few corruptions and errors which stand in the text of Constantine should be corrected in the version. We have therefore printed in italic those few words or phrases of the translation which do not correspond exactly with the text. References to the present edition are cited by chapter and line of the chapter; in such citations the letter «P» stands for «Proem» (Προοίμιον), i. e., the introductory passage which precedes chapter 1.

Fifty years ago two scholars, the Hungarian R. Vári and the Englishman J. B. Bury, were already concerning themselves with the preparation of a new edition of Constantine. In bringing to fulfilment what they were compelled to abandon, we dedicate this work to the memory of both.

Budapest — London
15th of March, 1949.

GY. MORAVOSIK — R. J. H. JENKINS
FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

This re-edition of the Text and Translation of D. A. I., which appeared in Budapest eighteen years ago, is published by the Harvard University Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., and is the first of a series of texts to be brought out by this institute. We wish to thank Dumbarton Oaks for its generosity; and also that large number of scholars whose suggestions have enlarged our apparatus and improved our translation.

Despite minor corrections, it has been possible to preserve the earlier pagination and alignment of the Greek text: so that the Commentary1, which was arranged for use with the first edition, may equally well be used with the second.

Washington, D. C.
November, 1966

Gy. M. — R. J.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus\(^1\) (905—959) was the second and only surviving son\(^2\) of the emperor Leo VI, surnamed the Wise, (866—912) by his mistress and later fourth wife, Zoë Carbunopsina.\(^3\) Constantine’s early life was clouded by a series of misfortunes for which he himself was in no way responsible. His constitution was sickly, and he was indeed invalid throughout his life.\(^4\) His father’s birth was doubtful; and he was himself born out of regular wedlock, although his legitimacy was afterwards grudgingly recognized. From his eighth to his sixteenth year he was the pawn by turns of his malignant uncle Alexander, of his mother, of the patriarch Nicholas and of the lord admiral Romanus Lecapenus. After the seizure of power by the last of these in the year 920, he was for the next twenty four years held in a degrading tutelage, cut off from all power and patronage, and, though married to the usurper’s daughter Helen, demoted successively to second, third and perhaps fifth place in the hierarchy of co-emperors. It was not until January of the year 945, at the age of nearly forty, that, with the aid of a clique of guards officers devoted to his house, he was able to expel the Lecapenid usurpers and seat himself in sole majesty on the throne that was rightfully his.

For the next fourteen years he governed, or seemed to govern: for the substance of power appears to have been in the hands of the Augusta Helen, of the hetaeriarch Basil Peteinos, of the eparch Theophilus, of the sacellarius Joseph Bringas, and of the protovestiary Basil, the emperor’s illegitimate


\(^2\) His elder brother, Basil, son of his father’s third wife Eudocia, died in infancy; see *De Cer.*, (ed. Bonn.), I, p. 643.


brother-in-law. These made or marred — for the traditions are conflicting — the internal administration. The church was scandalized by the impieties of the worldly patriarch Theophylact; he, dying in 956, was succeeded by the ascetic Polyeuctus, who soon showed that stiff-necked king Stork might be worse trouble than disreputable king Log. But abroad the imperial forces, under the leadership of Bardas Phocas and his two sons, and of the protovestiary Basil, continued, with occasional set-backs, that glorious career which had begun with the accession of Michael III and was to terminate only with the death of Basil II. The sole major disaster recorded of the reign was the failure of a costly but ill-led expedition against Crete in 949.

During these years the emperor devoted himself with tireless zeal to the minutiae of every department of administration, and to the punctilious observance of every kind of imperial ritual. His greatest personal contributions to the prosperity of his empire were externally, in the sphere of diplomacy, and internally, in the encouragement of higher education. His relaxations were the pursuits which had always lain next his heart, and which, during the long years of his enforced seclusion, he had been able to cultivate without interruption: art, literature, history and antiquities. He found domestic happiness in the society of his three daughters, whom he tenderly loved; nor is there evidence that his relations with his wife were other than uniformly affectionate, despite a difference of temperament. With his only son Romanus he was not so fortunate. To fit the youth for his future lofty station, he lavished on him a wealth of minute instruction which was probably excessive. The boy is said to have grown up weak and even vicious; but the accounts are conflicting, and he died at the age of 24.

By the age of fifty-four the emperor was old and worn out. His fourteen years of power had been years of ceaseless toil, and his infirmities grew fast upon him. A quarrel with the patriarch Polyeuctus, whom he seems to have had in mind to depose, occasioned a journey to the monks and hermits of the Bithynian Olympus; and from them he learnt the mournful tidings of his own approaching dissolution. He dragged himself back to the City guarded of

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10 Theoph. Cont., p. 446.
General Introduction

God; and there, on the 15th of November, 959, he died.\(^{16}\) In person, he was tall, broad-shouldered and erect in bearing, with a long face, an aquiline nose, blue\(^{17}\) eyes and a fair complexion. Of stainless morals, deep piety and unremitting devotion to duty, he was an emperor after the hearts of his people, who testified their affection by a spontaneous outburst of grief at his funeral.

The favourable and the unfavourable traditions concerning the character of Constantine VII provide no mutually incompatible elements.\(^{18}\) They show him to have been a weak and retiring personality, artistic, studious and laborious. If he drank wine to excess, it was his antidote to shyness. If he had fits of severity, even of cruelty, they were the obverse of his diffidence. His love of learning was inherited from his father, and was confirmed by seclusion. His lack of self-confidence was inveterated by his long durance in the hands of the Lecapenids. Yet in those years he was amassing a wealth of historical and antiquarian knowledge which bore fruit in those encyclopedic manuals and historical studies to which we owe the chief part of our knowledge of the machinery and organization of the mediaeval empire of East Rome.

His achievements in the cultural field were indeed immense. Of his patronage of the manual arts this is no place to speak. But of his encouragement of learning and research a word must be said. Himself deeply versed in classical learning,\(^{19}\) his liberal intelligence comprehended both the theoretical and the practical aspects of knowledge, the knowledge which was good in itself, and the knowledge which was necessary to enable the practical man to arrive at a correct decision in the affairs of life.\(^{20}\) To the latter branch, which was principally concerned with the study of history,\(^{21}\) he devoted especial attention; and from among the graduates of his university, of which he was, after the Caesar Bardas, second founder, he chose his higher bureaucrats and churchmen.\(^{22}\) To this practical education he naturally subjected his son Romanus also. If such knowledge was important for the governed in the conduct of their individual, everyday lives, how much more important was it for him who should govern all!\(^{23}\) How essential was it that decisions which would affect the whole world should be dictated by the utmost practical wisdom, sharpened by the widest experience and knowledge of every similar decision or parallel set of circumstances in the past!

\(^{16}\) The symptoms recorded (Theoph. Cont., p. 464) do not seem to support the later allegation that he was poisoned.

\(^{17}\) Theoph. Cont., p. 468, if that is what χαροποιούς means here; but cf. Genesis 49, 12, where the reference is to wine-induced brightness, and may in Theoph. Cont. covertly refer to the emperor's φιλονία.

\(^{18}\) Rambaud, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 41, 42.


\(^{20}\) Theoph. Cont., p. 446; \textit{D. A. I.}, P\textsubscript{eff}.

\(^{21}\) Theoph. Cont., p. 211.

\(^{22}\) Theoph. Cont., pp. 446, 447; Cedrenus, II, p. 326.

\(^{23}\) \textit{D. A. I.}, 1\textsubscript{g}. 
This belief in the practical value of learning and education, which is set out at full in the preface to the De Administrando Imperio and repeated in many subsequent parts of the book, was, of course, derived through Plutarch\(^\text{24}\) from Aristotle; and the method of education through the early inculcation of precept, which is illustrated in a long series of mediaeval manuals of gnomic wisdom, goes back ultimately to the Ad Demonicum\(^\text{25}\) of the Pseudo-Isocrates, which, with the Latin Disticha of Cato, formed the basis of primary education throughout later mediaeval and renaissance Europe. But to Constantine may be given the credit for its revival at Byzantium; for, to teach practical wisdom, the material for such teaching is required, and was in his time extremely scanty. With tireless zeal he set about the enormous task of creating such material, and set about it in three ways: first, by diligent search for and collection of books, of which the supply was quite inadequate\(^\text{26}\); second, by the compilation of anthologies and encyclopedias from such books as existed but were too tedious or prolix for any but a scholar to read\(^\text{27}\); third, by writing or causing to be written histories of recent events and manuals of technical instruction on the various departments of business and administration.\(^\text{28}\) A school of historians wrote beneath his eye, sometimes at his dictation.\(^\text{29}\) Documents from the files of every branch of the administration, from the foreign ministry, the treasury, the offices of ceremonial, were scrutinized and abstracted.\(^\text{30}\) Provincial governors and imperial envoys wrote historical and topographical reports on the areas of their jurisdiction or assignment.\(^\text{31}\) Foreign ambassadors were diligently questioned as to the affairs of their respective countries.\(^\text{32}\) From every quarter the tide of information rolled in, was co-ordinated and written down. Learning became the key to worldly advancement.\(^\text{33}\) The principle

\(^{24}\) Plutarch, De Virtute Morali, (ed. Bernardakis, Leipzig, 1891), pp. 154, 155. For this technical usage of σοφία and φρόνησες cf. D. A. I., P\(_7\); Romanus was of course to be σοφός as well as φρόνιμος, but practical wisdom is the end of our treatise.


\(^{27}\) ibid. pp. 633, 636.

\(^{28}\) Theoph. Cont., pp. 3, 4; D. A. I., P\(_\text{xx}\) (ἐσοφίσαμεν κατ' ἑαυτόν). For Constantine's own works, see Rambaud, op. cit., p. 73, and for those compiled under his aegis, ibid., pp. 78ff.; also Moravcsik, in Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini, (Rome, 1939), I, pp. 514—516, and id., Byzantinoturcica, (Budapest, 1942), I, pp. 207ff. (2nd ed. pp. 358ff.).

\(^{29}\) Rambaud, op. cit., p. 65.

\(^{30}\) Bury, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XV, 1905, pp. 539ff.

\(^{31}\) Theoph. Cont., p. 448.

\(^{32}\) Bury, op. cit., pp. 553, 556.

\(^{33}\) Theoph. Cont., p. 447.
laid down by the illiterate Basil I found its ultimate fulfilment in the educational reforms of his scholarly grandson. This is the true glory of the Porphyrogenitus. Among the great emperors who enriched the middle-Byzantine heritage between A.D. 843 and 1204, none is to be compared with Constantine VII for depth of scholarship, catholicity of interest or fineness of taste. Of the last, his Life of his grandfather is a unique memorial. It was Constantine who amassed the libraries from which his successors acquired their learning. With him Byzantium, rapidly approaching the apex of its military glory, as rapidly approached the apex of its intellectual achievement, an achievement fostered by a princely patron of the arts whose like the world scarcely saw in the thirteen centuries which divided Hadrian from Lorenzo the Magnificent.

The De Administrando Imperio, to give this nameless treatise the Latin title attached to it by Meursius, was written and complied, as we know from internal evidence, between the years 948 and 952. It is a manual of kingscraft addressed to the youthful Romanus, the emperor’s son, and is in form, like numerous other contemporary manuals on various subjects, avowedly didactic. It aims at teaching the youth to be a wise sovereign, first by a knowledge of past and present affairs, and second by giving him a summary of the experience of others in circumstances analogous to those likely to surround himself; so that, knowing what policies have succeeded or failed in the past, he may himself be able to act prudently and successfully in the future. The matter of this teaching is a political and historical survey of very wide extent, suitable to the training of one who is to rule the world. The preface divides it into four sections: the first, a key to foreign policy in the most dangerous and complicated area of the contemporary political scene, the area of the «northerners and Scythians»; the second, a lesson in the diplomacy to be pursued in dealing with the nations of this same area; the third and longest, a comprehensive historical and geographical survey of most of the nations surrounding the empire, starting with the Saracens to the south-east, fetching a compass round the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and ending with the Armenian states on the eastern frontier; the fourth, a summary of recent internal history, politics and organization, within the borders of the empire. Upon the whole, these divisions are adhered to in the text as we have it.

36 Johannes van Meurs (1579—1639); see below, p. 23.
38 D. A. I., 132 (διδασκαλία).
39 ibid., P14–21.
40 Bury, op. cit., p. 574.
The method of compilation has been elucidated in detail in the General Introduction to the Commentary. These findings can here be very briefly summarized. The work as we have it now is a rifacimento of an earlier work which corresponds to chapters 14—42 in the present arrangement. This earlier work was a historical and antiquarian treatise probably entitled Περί ἑθνῶν, which the emperor had compiled during the 940’s as a companion volume to his Περί θεμάτων. As the Περί θεμάτων described the origins, antiquities and topography of the imperial provinces, so the Περί ἑθνῶν told the traditional, sometimes legendary, stories of how the territories surrounding the empire came in past centuries to be occupied by their present inhabitants (Saracens, Lombards, Venetians, Slavs, Magyars, Pechenegs). These chapters, then, are the earliest parts of D. A. I. The remaining parts of the book (except for a few chapters — 23—25, 48, 52, 53 and perhaps 9 and 30 — of source-material included by oversight) are notices of a different kind: they are political directives, illustrated by contemporary or nearly contemporary examples.

Chapters 1—8, 10—12, explain imperial policy towards the Pechenegs and Turks. Chapter 13 is a general directive on foreign policy from the emperor’s own pen. Chapters 43—46 deal with contemporary policy in the north-east (Armenia and Georgia). Chapters 49—52 are guides to the incorporation and taxation of new imperial provinces, and to some parts of civil and naval administration. These later parts of the book are designed to give practical instruction to the young emperor Romanus II, and were probably added to the Περί ἑθνῶν during the year 951—952, in order that the whole treatise might mark Romanus’ fourteenth birthday (952). The book as it now stands is therefore an amalgam of two unequal parts: the first historical and antiquarian, the second political and diplomatic.

The sources of the various sections, where these are known, are noted in the apparatus to the present volume. But the peculiar construction of the book, with its diversity of styles and often careless expression, calls for a note of explanation regarding the English translation. The chief value of the treatise to the modern historian lies in its third section, which provides information not found elsewhere about the origins and early history of many nations established on the borders of the Byzantine empire in the tenth century of our era. This information, valuable as it is, is often given in a style so careless as to leave many statements open to more than one interpretation. Chapter 39 is a notable instance of this, but there are several others. Now, these statements have been, are and probably will continue to be the subject of controversy between scholars of many nations; and it is therefore our duty as translators, at whatever cost to elegance or even in a few cases to sense, to render

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42 D. A. I., 39-3, 7-10.
as closely as possible what the text says rather than what we are disposed to think it means to say. Interpretations may be left to a commentary. If therefore our rendering is in some cases ambiguous, so is the original. If it often halts, so does the text. If it is often inelegant and uncouth, it is no more so than the Greek. Where our author is plain and even elegant, we have tried to preserve his idiom; where he has left his sources to tell their own stories in their own styles, we have left them too.

With all its inaccuracies and shortcomings,43 the *De Administrando Imperio*, for the bulk and variety of its information on so much of foreign relations and internal administration, must be allowed to be one of the most important historical documents surviving from mediaeval Byzantium, even surpassing the great *Book of Ceremonies* compiled by the same indefatigable author. Its very omissions, the lack of any historical account of Bulgaria or of an up-to-date appreciation of the Saracen power, have their own historical lessons to teach us: for these two longstanding menaces to the empire had at length yielded, the one to the diplomacy of Romanus I, the other to the hammer of Gourgen. The first-hand information comes mainly from Italy, from the Balkans and Steppes, and from Armenia. In Armenia the advance of the Roman arms and the retreat of the Saracens involved a complicated Roman diplomacy in the numerous and jealous principalities beyond the eastern frontier. In a divided and enfeebled Italy, during the interim between the empires of Charlemagne and Otto, Byzantium was for the last time in its history a strong military and diplomatic influence. The only hint of anxiety comes from the north, where the watchful eyes of the foreign ministry observed intently the ever shifting kaleidoscope of the political scene, as Magyar and Slav, Russian and Pecheneg, Chazar and Alan made their complicated moves between the Caucasus and the Carpathians.

There is no doubt that the *De Administrando Imperio* was a secret and confidential document. It tells too much about the principles of imperial foreign policy and diplomacy, especially in the first thirteen chapters, to be safe for publication. Knowledge of these early chapters would have been worth untold sums in blackmail to the Pechenegs. Moreover, in the Armenian chapters there are several traces of information got through secret service channels,44 which the government must have been most reluctant to divulge. Nor is it probable that the outspoken criticisms which the emperor passes on his father-in-law and colleague45 were intended for general reading. These criticisms betray the justifiable resentment of a prince deprived of his throne by an interloper during a quarter of a century; but his strong regard for the imperial dignity would have debarred him from publishing this resentment to the world at

44 e.g.: *D. A. I*. 4313-16; 4648-49.
45 *ibid.*, 18149-170; 51184-186.
large. This confidential character of the book, confirmed, if confirmation be required, by its manuscript history and by the circumstance that later writers betray no knowledge of it,\textsuperscript{46} enhances its value. It is no partial document of propaganda, fudged up to impress domestic or foreign circles. Much of it is an honest appreciation of the contemporary political situation, compiled from information upon which the government based its day-to-day foreign policy. And, as such, it is unique.

\textit{R. J. H. JENKINS.}

\textsuperscript{46} See below, p. 32.
CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

1. MANUSCRIPTS

The De Administrando Imperio is preserved in four mss. Three of these contain the full text, the fourth a part only. These mss. are:

**P** = *codex Parisinus gr. 2009*: codex on vellum, of 211 numbered leaves. There are also some additional leaves, 4 at the beginning of the ms. (3 vellum, 1 paper), and 7 at the end (4 paper, 3 vellum). The leaves are of sizes varying between c. 23.8 cm — 24 cm × 15 cm. The first three of the additional leaves are blank. On the recto of the fourth is a Greek table of the contents of the codex, in a later hand; on the verso of the same leaf is gummed a small slip of paper, inscribed with the table of contents in Latin. On the first numbered page begins the first Greek text, which covers 4 pages (fol. 1r—2v); it is entitled: 'Επιστολή Πυθαγόρα προς Λαΐδα (*Letter of Pythagoras to Laïs*), and is followed, still on fol. 2v, by a table which relates to it. The *Letter* and table have been published from this ms. by P. Tannery. At fol. 3r begins the text of *D. A. I*, and it finishes at fol. 211r. This text originally constituted an independent codex, with which the *Letter of Pythagoras* was subsequently bound up, as is clear from the facts, a) that the numeration of the quaternios

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1 See Gy. Moravcsik, 'Η χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τοῦ De administrando imperio', Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών, 7 (1930), pp. 138—152.
3 «Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως Ρωμαίων Σπουδών, η Ρωμαίων Ρωμηνών τρόπων υπό κατανόησις.»
begins only at fol. 3r; and b) that the beginning of D. A. I., that is to say, the first page (fol. 3r) of the original codex, is so much worn, and the handwriting so indistinct, as to require its mending in brown ink by a later hand. In any case, the «Letter of Pythagoras» is copied in a different, and in all probability a later, hand. The subsequent history of the codex gives us, as we shall see, some clue as to when the «Letter» became attached to the ms. of D. A. I.

The text of D. A. I. ends in the middle of fol. 211r. The rest of this page and its verso, which, as it was the last page of the original codex, is very much the worse for wear, contain a number of notes in different and, in some cases, later hands. Of especial interest as casting light on the origin of the codex is that written on the then blank fol. 211v by the actual copyist of D. A. I., in the same red ink which he employed for the initial letters and headings of the chapters. Some of the letters in this note are so much worn and so dim as to render them now almost illegible. The text of this metrical epilogue is as follows: βίβλος καίσαρος 2Τωάννου του Δούκα 3γραφή(σα) χερσίν 4οίκογενούς οίκετου 5Μιχα(ή)λ όνο μάτι 6τού Φοϊζαΐτου *)", which makes it quite clear that the ms. at one time belonged to the library of the Caesar John Ducas, and that the copyist was his own confidential secretary, Michael.6 Unfortunately there is no date, but the name of the Caesar John Ducas, references to whom in Byzantine sources occur between the years 1059—1081, proves that the ms. was copied towards the end of the XI century. This is confirmed by a dated note in a later hand on the same page, which contains a reference to the year 1098/9.7

Concerning the adventures of the codex during the Byzantine age we have no other information, apart from the evidence of marginal notes to be described lower down; it emerges again only towards the beginning of the XVI century, when it was copied in 1509 by Antony Eparchus, very probably in the island of Corfu (see ms. V below). By the middle of the century our ms. was in Italy, whither it had been brought perhaps through the agency of Janus Lascaris.8 The first mention of it in Italy is in the catalogue of the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.9 On the death of Ridolfi in 1550, it passed,
τοῦ τοῦ σοῦ αυτοῦ καὶ καὶ δεξίων αὐτοῦ λέγει εὐθέως τὸ εἰς οὐκολούχην υπομνήσεως μοναχὴς οἷον τό ὅσα οἱ λείψανα οἱ καὶ οἱ θείαι ὁ θεός ὅσοι οἱ θείαι. οὕτως οὖν καὶ καὶ θεῖαι τῷ θεῷ ὁμοίως ἡμῖν.

Cod. Parisinus gr. 2009. fol. 12v
Manuscripts

along with others of his books, into the possession of Pietro Strozzi, and later, in 1560, into the collection of Catherine de Medici. At this period some chapters from it were transcribed by Andrea Darmari (see ms. M below). From Catherine's library it passed in 1599 to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, where it was numbered 2661.\(^{10}\) Now, since the relevant entry in the catalogue of Ridolfi's library is simply a Latin rendering of the Greek note on the recto of the fourth fly-leaf at the beginning of our ms. (see above), and since this entry notes \textit{D. A. I.} only, we conclude that the «Letter of Pythagoras» was attached to our ms. subsequently to its being placed in the Bibliothèque Royale. This conclusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the present sumptuous binding of gilt red morocco bears the cypher of King Henry IV (1589—1610).

This manuscript, some pages of which have been published in facsimile,\(^{11}\) I have studied by means of photographic reproductions in the Library of the Hungarian National Museum, and also by examination of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1936 and in 1948.

The text of \textit{D. A. I.} was, as we have seen, copied by a certain Michael Roïzaîtes. Only in two passages (fol. 31\textsuperscript{v}—32\textsuperscript{r} = 14\textsuperscript{2v} συμψευδομαρτυρούντος —15\textsuperscript{b} πολέμους καλ., and 35\textsuperscript{v}—36\textsuperscript{r} = 20\textsuperscript{b} καλ. τὴν νῆσον = 21\textsuperscript{13} γενέσθαι)\(^{12}\) has another hand relieved him. The text is written in single columns, and the columns vary in dimension between c. 16—17 cm. deep \(\times\) 11—12 cm. across. The medium is the usual dark brown Byzantine ink, save that initial letters and headings of chapters are in red, a detail which goes back to the original copyist. The script is a mixture of uncial and minuscule; \(\gamma, \delta, \varepsilon, \zeta, \eta, \xi, \lambda, \mu, \xi, \pi\) are written both ways indifferently; uncial forms of \(\beta, \varphi, \omega\) are uncommon, and very rare are uncial forms of \(\alpha, \upsilon, \sigma, \psi\). Here and there we find a cursive \(\theta\), while \(\tau\) occasionally rises above the height of the other letters. Rough breathing is still angular in shape, but the smooth breathing is always round. The writing is either on the ruled lines or under them, but never above them. Ligature abbreviations are frequent; short-hand abbreviations and


\(^{11}\) See \textit{Árpád és az Árpádok}, szerk. Csánky Dezső, (Budapest, 1908): fol. 111\textsuperscript{r} = p. 46/7., fol. 112\textsuperscript{r} = p. 168/9., fol. 113\textsuperscript{r} = p. 174/5., fol. 115\textsuperscript{v} = p. 140/1.; cf. Gy. Moravcsik, \textit{Byzantinoturcica}, vol. II, (Budapest, 1943), p. 51 (2nd ed. pl. II, no. 4). See also the facsimile on the opposite page.

\(^{12}\) For the principles which have been applied to the transcription of the ms. variants, see below p. 37.
abbreviations by suspension occur rarely, and mostly at the ends of lines. The copyist is fond of special ligatures for ατ, σσ, ττ, of kinds which occur in other contemporary mss.

In the orthography the most notable points are these: iota subscript is never found, iota adscript once only (53 382 τώι). As regards peculiarities of accentuation, we may note that proper names ending in -ίται in many cases carry the paroxytone accent in nom. and gen. plural (e. g. 2 3 Πατζινακίται, 814 Πατζινακίτων, 53 385 Χερσονίται, 53 385 Χερσονίτων); while the genitive plural of paroxytone racial names in -ος is sometimes perispomenon (e. g. 28 43 Φραγγών, 32 3 Σερβλών). The word ἔπει is occasionally accented with double stroke: ἐπεί (e. g. 48 32, 49 9, 49 13). With regard to misspellings due to pronunciation, it is consistently noticeable that the copyist makes the same error consistently through a series of particular words or forms. Characteristic examples of such regularly repeated misspellings are: ατ for έ at the end of 2nd person plural verbs (e. g. 8 27 ἐκαθέζεσθαι, 53 70 μάθεται, 53 347 ὑποδείξαται); ετ for η commonly in the words ετίς = ητίς (e. g. 13 36, 26 64, 29 384), ετπερ = ηπερ (e. g. 38 39, 50 139) and ετί = ητί (e. g. 31 31, 35 1, 43 187); and in the augmented forms of the verb αἰτώ (e. g. 29 157 εϊτίσατο = ητίσατο, 42 33 ειτίσατο = ητίσατο, 50 60 ειτίσατο = ητίσατο). η for ει for almost invariably in the infinitive forms -ειν and -ειν (e. g. 13 18 περιλαμβάνει, 47 9 διαπεσάται), and quite often also in the words η and ει for ηε τις = ηε τις (e. g. 13 36, 26 64, 37 3 64), ηε περ = ηε περ (e. g. 38 39, 50 139), and in the verb διέκασε = διέκασε (e. g. 38 39, 50 29, 50 81). Some confusion is seen in the use of ει and η in the different forms of the verbs λαμβάνω and λείπω (e. g. P 31 λειφεται = λήφεται, 26 64 συνελειφθη = συνελήφθη, 29 395 ἀπολείψεσθαι = ἀπολήψεσθε, 21 33 ἀπολήψασθαν = ἀποληψάσθαν, 26 30 καταληψάσθαι = καταληψάσθεις, 46 69 καταλήψης = καταληψάσθαι). ω is found consistently for ο in the -ονται termination of the 3rd person plur. pres. ind. pass. (e. g. 9 31 κατερχόνται, 31 29 περισώζονται, 37 34 εὑρίσκονται); and often also in the termination -ον of nom. neut. partic. act. (e. g. 9 37 ἔχων, 13 39 κατέλθον, 37 33 ἀποβλέπων). From verbs beginning with ο the temporal augment is usually absent (e. g. 13 88 διορίσατο, 26 27 μετονομάσθη, 30 46 ορμισαν). From the point of view of the history of Byzantine pronunciation it is significant that in our codex we frequently meet with u for οι (e. g. 20 2 οτιχήσασ = στοιχήσασ, 45 4 ονυχετήσας = μονυχετήσας, 51 3 ονυξάν = ονυξάν, and vice versa (e. g. 9 35 προϊμαν = προϊμαν, 26 62 ομονοπρεπε = ομονοετε, 53 319 φωνατόμονος = φωνατόμονος). This proves that at the period when the work was copied, the pronunciation of these two sounds was still identical (a modified u). An odd feature, which we meet here and elsewhere, is the frequent interchange between the forms ημείς and υμείς (e. g. 27 35 43 13 53 38). As regards consonants, we note uncertainty in the writing of double consonants (e. g. P 31 δικτάσεσθαι, 15 9 φοσάτων, 23 33 οληκάσσων, 19 3 ουννίον, 28 22 νησάσων, 45 34 σήμερον, 45 34 σήμερον); and the substitution of μθ, μπ for νθ, νπ (e. g. 13 37 θυμπομενον, 28 22 νησάσων, 28 22 νησάσων, 28 22 νησάσων) and of χν for ην (e. g. 29 87 σπλαχχνησθεῖς = σπλαχχνησθεῖς)
contemporary pronunciation. There is a curious use of $v$ for $\gamma$ before $\chi$, $\chi$
(e.g. 2773 Κόντωρα, 2938 ένσφύματα, 43,113 διαγογυγύζοντες, 5211 κονγκυ-
λευτακί); moreover, while on the one hand the accusative sing. in $\alpha$ of 3rd
declension substantives and the $-\theta\eta$ or $-\gamma$ of the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass. indic.
add a $v$ before a word beginning with a vowel (e.g. 1332 βασιλέαν, 2649
μίαν, 2655 θυγατέραν, 53,317 νύκταν, 3232 ἐγενήθησαν, 43,177 ἀπεστάλησαν), on
the other hand the $v$ of the acc. sing. of μέγας (e.g. 9a9, 416, 46151), and of the
1st pers. sing. aor. pass. indic. drops off before words beginning with a con-
sonant (e.g. 2793 ἐνομίσθη, 29368 ἐδιώχθη, 53,417 ἄργωγκασθη).  

In the ms. we note several words erased, amended, completed or correct-
ed. A detailed study of the original may identify traces of at least six different
hands in the text and, besides, of five other hands which have added marginal
notes. There is no doubt that the copyist himself made some erasures and
corrections; but from the styles of the handwriting and from other evidence
it can be established that many alterations have been made by hands in the
XIV and later centuries. In one place a marginal gloss bears a date which
proves it to have been written in 1361/2 (163). To determine the chronology
due to the fact that in $V$, which was
copied from $P$, we often find the true text as it was before correction, which
proves that at least these alterations in $P$ were done by a hand posterior to
the date when $V$ was copied, that is, posterior to 1509 (e.g. P19 ἕθνων $P$ $V$:
$θην$ $P$ $V$, 3844 $Αλμούτζη$ $P$ $V$, Σαλμούτζη $P$ $V$). In the margins of the ms. are notes, some of which are from the hand
of the original copyist, but others, as the style of handwriting demonstrates,
from those of later readers, principally of the XIV and XVI centuries. Some
of these notes are in Latin. In the marginal notes, too, we may distinguish at
least six hands. Those which go back to the hand of the copyist are mainly
chapter-headings and citations of the contents, which were added to the text
either by collaborators of the imperial author or by later scribes and readers.
At least one of these original notes is not contemporary with the work itself,
as is proved beyond doubt by its reference to the Abbot John Tornices as
holder of the office of Syncellus, an office which, as we know, was conferred
on him about the year 979; this note, therefore, was written about three
decades after the treatise was compiled.

A list of these original comments, and the passages to which they refer, is as follows: 1, Πε(ρί) τών Πατζινακιτῶν || 2, Πε(ρί) τών Πα-
τζινακιτῶν (καλ) τών Ἄρων || 3, Πε(ρί) τών Πατζινακιτῶν (καλ) Τούρ-
κλ(ων) || 4, Πε(ρί) τών γ' ἐθν(ῶν) || 5, Πε(ρί) τών Πατζινακιτῶν (καλ)
τ(ῶν) Βουλγάρων || 6, Πε(ρί) τών Πατζινακιτῶν (καλ) Χερσωνιτῶν || 7, Πε-
(ρί) τ(ῶν) ἀπό Χερσώνος ἀποστελλόμ(ένων) βασιλικ(ῶν) ἐν Πατζινακία || 8,

Πε(ρί) του ἀποστελλομ(ένου) βασιλικ(ού) ἐκ τ(ής) πόλ(εως) νοτ(α) μ(ῶν) Πε(ρί) του ἱεροκ(ού) Γαβριῆλ Πε(ρί) του ε(στελλομ(ένου) βασιλικ(ού) καταράκτ(ων) 823 Πε(ρί) του κληρικοῦ Γαβριήλ 9Χ Πε(ρί) του πώς κατέρχοντ(αι) οί 'Ρώς έν Κωνσταντινουπό(λει) 922 Πε(ρί) της ώς έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 939 Πε(ρί) των λεγομ(ένων) 943 Πε(ρί) του γ' φραγμ(ού) 945 Πε(ρί) του δ' φραγμ(ού) 947 Πε(ρί) του ε' φραγμ(ού) 957 Πε(ρί) του ε' φραγμ(ού) 961 Πε(ρί) του ε' φραγμ(ού) 964 Πε(ρί) του ς' φραγμ(ού) 967 Πε(ρί) του ζ' φραγμ(ού) 972 Πε(ρί) της νήσου καί του δρυος καί τών θυσιῶν 104 Πε(ρί) τής Χαζαρίας 11Χ Πε(ρί) τής Χερσώνος καί τής Βοοσπόρου 1373 Πε(ρί) του λαμπρού 16χ Τό θεμάτιν τών Σαρακιν(ών) 211β Διέρε(σις) τῶν 'Αράβων 2149 Ούτος παρεκάθ' έστελλε(ν) τήν Κωνσταντινούπολιν 2261 'Αγνή' 2230 Πε(ρί) τής νήσσου τής Κρήτης 2264 Διά τί λέγωνται Χρ(ω)βάτοι 3310 Πάλ(εν) λέγονται Ζαχλούμοι 34Χ Πε(ρί) έτέρ(ων) έθνών 3618 Πε(ρί) του άγιου άπο(στόλου) Λουκά καί Παύλου 3715 'Ότι η' άρχο(ν)τες είσί(ν) έν Πατζινακία 3733 Ότι (καί) εις μ' μέρη ή Παζινακία(α) 3810 'Ότι οί Τούρ(σκοι) είς ζ' διαιρούνται || 3815 'Ότι οί Τούρ(σκοι) είς ζ' διαιρούνται Τό θεμάτιν τῶν Σαρακιν(ών) 3817 Πόλεμος Άλήμ καί Μαβία 3825 Μαδαμά(ύκον) τό νύν Μαλαμόκ(ον) 3911 Τραγούριον 40^ Άλβονου όλες τά νύν Σέρβοι έν τή Βεροία 40^ Σέρβοι διά τί δούλοι ρωμαϊκ(ώς) 4125 Φάρα νήσος ή Λέζενα 4126 Βράτζης νήσος τά Πράτζα.
such rewriting are observable in other parts of the codex as well. Apart from these ravages of time, some leaves (fol. 59, 63, 75, 80) have received such material damage through clipping of the margins that the text itself is impaired and some letters are missing.

V = codex Vaticanus—Palatinus gr. 126: codex on paper of 271 numbered leaves; 3 additional leaves at the beginning, 1 at the end. Leaves measure 21.2 × 15.4 cm. Ms. contains several works. After D. A. I., which covers fol 2r to 127r, come works of Tzetzes, Theophrastus, Bessarion and Nicolas Secundinus, though these have been copied by other hands. At the end of the text of D. A. I., at the bottom of fol. 127r, are two notes in the hand of the copyist: δόξα τῷ θ(ε)ω τῷ λόγον καὶ γνώσιν τοῖς ἄν(θρωποῖς) δίω δωρουμένω: ἀφθ': ἰουν(ιω) ἐν ἐπελειοῦν(η): ἀφθ' χιλίω μαύρω ρ' ἐνω τοῦ Ἀντόνιον ὁ Ἐπαρχος παῖς διν κατά τό ἀφθ' χιλίω ντος ἐγέρασα τὸ ἄνωθεν έτος βιβλίου (Glory be to God who giveth understanding and knowledge to men: finished, 5th June 1509. — 16 May, 1554: I, Antony Eparchus, then a boy, wrote this book in the year 1509.) It was, then, the well-known humanist of Corfiot origin, Antony Eparchus (1491—1571), who copied the ms.—apart from a single passage at fol. 16v (= 13192—197), which is in another hand — in the 18th year of his age; three years before, in 1506, he had completed his ms. copy of the Gospels. The ms. passed into the possession of John Egnatius (1473—1553), probably very soon after it was copied, since Egnatius in the book which he published in 1516 refers to it as being already in his library. It should seem that the second note, dated 16th May 1554, was penned when Eparchus, after the death of Egnatius, came across his own copy among the relics of the deceased. The codex next passed

14 See H. Stevenson, Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae, (Romae, 1885), p. 60.
to the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg, where it appears in the catalogue compiled by Fr. Sylburg about the year 1584.18 From Heidelberg it was transferred in 1623, along with other mss., to the Vatican Library in Rome.

In the margins of V, as of P, there is a number of notes in Greek and Latin, which are the additions of later readers. An exceptionally large proportion of these notes is appended to the chapters dealing with Venice (27, 28), which obviously were of particular interest to Italian readers. Some of these are worth our attention: 27\textsuperscript{69} μαστρομήλης ό καπετάνιος || 27\textsuperscript{73} Κονκόρδια || 27\textsuperscript{80} Κόγραδον vide ne Γράδον || 27\textsuperscript{82} 'Ριβαλένσης || 27\textsuperscript{83} Λικέντζιά || 27\textsuperscript{86} Μαδοΰκον || 27\textsuperscript{87} Βρουνδουλον (sine acc.) || 27\textsuperscript{88} Λαύριτον || 27\textsuperscript{89} 'Ρίβαλτον II 28\textsuperscript{22} Άείβολας || 29\textsuperscript{24} 'Εκατέρα.

I have studied this ms. partly by means of photographic reproductions in the library of the Hungarian National Museum, and partly by examination of the original in the Vatican Library in 1927 and in 1936.

F = codex Parisinus gr. 2967: codex on paper, of 241 numbered leaves and 11 additional leaves. Leaves measure 32 × 21.5 cm. Apart from the text of D. A. I., which covers fol. 1\textsuperscript{r} to 80\textsuperscript{v}, ms. includes several other works, such as compositions of Photius, Themistius, Choricius, Polybius and Apollodorus.19 The first part of D. A. I. (fol. 1\textsuperscript{r} to 16\textsuperscript{v}) was copied by Antony Eparchus, as appears from a comparison of the script with that of V; the remainder (fol. 17\textsuperscript{r} to 80\textsuperscript{v}), together with the excerpts of Polybius and the work of Apollodorus, which are together at the end of the ms. (fol. 125\textsuperscript{r} to 241\textsuperscript{r}), is the work of another hand. Omont in his catalogue identified this copyist as the Cretan Michael Damascene, but in the index of the same catalogue we find instead the name of Valeriano de Forli.20 A comparison with the script of the last named and with other mss. of Michael Damascene21 shows that the copyist of the latter part of D. A. I. was not Valeriano de Forli, but Michael Damascene.

The first mention of F occurs in the catalogue of mss. sent by Jerome Fondulo to Fontainebleau in 1529.22 That the ms. there mentioned is in fact

19 See H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire ... III, (Paris, 1888), p. 76.
our F is proved by later catalogues, which mention not only \textit{D. A. I.}, but also the other components of the same ms. These catalogues are: the catalogue of 1544;\textsuperscript{23} that of 1550, by Angelo Vergetius and Constantine Palaeocappa;\textsuperscript{24} and that compiled in the reign of Charles IX (1550—1574).\textsuperscript{25} Since, as we shall see, F is a copy of V, it is certain that it was written between 1509—1529, to which period are assignable also the water-marks of fol. 1—80.

I have studied this ms. both through photographic reproductions and by examination of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1936 and in 1948.

\textbf{M = codex Mutinensis gr. 179 (III F 1):} codex on paper, of 104 leaves. Leaves measure 32.4 \times 22.4 cm. Fol. 2r to 6v of the ms. contain text of chh. 15—21 of \textit{D. A. I.} (15, Περί τού γένους τῶν Φατεμιτῶν — 21, ἐν ἄγρα), copied by Andrea Darmari.\textsuperscript{26} As to chronology, we know only that the dated mss. of this famous copyist fall between the years 1560—1586.\textsuperscript{27} I have studied the relevant portion of this ms. by means of photographic reproductions.

\section*{2. EDITIONS}

Of the Greek text in its entirety seven editions have hitherto been published. The first edition was published in 1611 by John Meursius (\textit{Me}) under the title \textit{«De administrando imperio»}\textsuperscript{28} a title which he himself gave to the work and which has been since then generally adopted. In his notes he informs the reader that the basis of his edition was the Vatican ms. (\textit{V}), which was at that time still in the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg. Meursius

\textsuperscript{23} «No 199. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως προς υἱόν Ἀλεξάνδρον και Φωτίου περὶ ἕγγορον.» See H. Omont, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 365.

\textsuperscript{24} «Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι. Νο 334. Βιβλίον α’ μήκους, ἐνδεδυμένον δέρματι λευκω. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι προς τὸν ἵδιον υἱόν αὐτοῦ Ὑστόρια τῶν Πορφυρογέννητος, ὅπως δεῖ γνωσσέναι παντὸς ἔθους φύσεις τα καὶ ἔθη καὶ ἔθη, καὶ τόπους καὶ χωρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ποιον εἰς αὐτῶν δύναται ἐφελθαι Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι προς τὸν ίδιον υἱόν Φωτίου περὶ ἕγγορον καὶ της χρώματι καὶ της χρήσεως ταν φυσις καὶ της ἱστορίας τινι ϊδέας. Φωτίου πατριάρχου περὶ ἕγκοποι ἐν ἔρημος ἔρημοι. Θεμιστίου . . . ». See H. Omont, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 113.

\textsuperscript{25} «No 560. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νουθεσίαι.» See H. Omont, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 449.


\textsuperscript{27} See Vogel—Gardthausen, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 16—27.

\textsuperscript{28} Constantini Imperatoris Porphyrogeniti, \textit{De Administrando Imperio}, ad Romanum F. Liber nuncquam antehac editus. Ioannes Mevrsivs primus vulgavit, Latinam interpretationem, ac Notas adjectit. Lvgdvni Batavorvm. Ex officina typographiæ Ioannis Balduni, impensis verò Ludovici Elzeviri. CIO.IOC.XI.
worked on it by favour of the then librarian, Janus Gruterus. Six years later a new edition came out, but is was simply a literal copy of the first. The text, with corrections from Bandur’s edition, was also published by John Lami in his complete edition of the works of Meursius.

A century after the first edition, that is, in 1711, the work was republished by Anselm Bandur (= BA). It appears from his introduction that Bandur collated the text of Meursius’ edition of 1617 with the original Paris ms. (P), and was thus able to introduce several corrections into his text. Bandur’s edition was twice reprinted: an uncorrected reprint appeared in 1729, in the Venetian collection of the Byzantine Historians, and in 1864 Migne republished Bandur’s text with a few corrections.

The final edition was the work of Emmanuel Bekker (= Be), who did not divulge his methods, though it is clear that he did not use any fresh ms. material.

Editions containing excerpted chapters only of D. A. I. have generally followed Bekker’s text. Such are, e. g., the editions of Fr. Rački, H. Marczali,

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31 Ioannis Meursi Operum volumen sextum ex recensione Ioannis Lami, Florentiae, CIO.IO.CC.XLV., cc. 929—1132.
33 «Imprimis textum Graeci contuli cum Codice MS. membranaceo Bibliothecae Regiae, optimeae notae num. 2661. quem annis ab hinc circaeber quingentis scriptum fuisse auiunt: innumerabiles mendas, quibus Meursiana editio unique scatebat, sustulimus, loca corrupta ac mutila quae plurima erant in textu Graeco edito ex eodem MS. Regio Saracivimus.» See op. cit., p. IV.
34 Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae ... opera et studio D. A. Banduri ... Venetiis 1729. (Corpus Historiae Byzantinae XV.) I., pp. 45—127.
35 Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeca posterior ... accurante J. P. Migne t. CXIII., Parisii 1864, c. 158—422.
37 Fr. Rački, Documenta historiae Croaticae periodum antiquum illustrantia (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium VII.) (Zagrabiae, 1877), pp. 264—419.
38 Pauler-Szilágyi, A magyar honfoglalás kútjái, (Budapest, 1900), pp. 110—136; H. Marczali, A magyar történet kútjainel kézikönyve (Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum), (Budapest, 1902), pp. 27—55.
Editions 

25

J. B. Bury,39 St. Stanojević — V. Čorović,40 A. Gombos,41 and G. Cankova-Petkova — P. Tivčev,41bis Only C. G. Cobet, who published a part of ch. 9 dealing with the Russians,42 and E. Jakubovich, who published chh. 38—40 dealing with the Hungarians,43 made a fresh collation of P. Certain variants in P are cited by V. Thomsen,44 G. Fehér,45 F. Šišić46, H. Grégoire47 and K. O. Falk47bis in their works. A new edition of the chh. on the Southern Slavs prepared by R. Vári was never published, and his ms. is in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum.48

The plan for a new critical edition of D. A. I. originated when the Hungarian scholar, R. Vári, at that time a young man, began preliminary researches in 1892 with a view to elucidating the ms. tradition.49 The plan next engaged the English historian J. B. Bury, who proposed to include the work in his collection of Byzantine Texts. But these projects came to nothing. Bury, in a letter dated 5th October, 1925, announced that he had given up the plan of an edition, which he surrendered to me.


41bis Грюцки извори за българската история V (София, 1964), pp. 198—220.


44 V. Thomsen, Der Ursprung des russischen Staates, (Gotha, 1879), p. 59.


46 F. Šišić, Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vlada, (Zagreb, 1925), p. 239.


47bis Dneprforsarnas namn i Kejsar Konstantin VII Porphyrogennetos’ De administrando imperio (Lund, 1951).


49 R. Vári, 'Jelentes Constantinus Porphyrogennitus De administrando imperio czimő munkájának köziretairól', Akadémiai Értesítő, 6 (1895), pp. 710—712.
3. TRANSLATIONS

Of the full text of D. A. I. four translations have been published, two in Latin, one in Russian, and one in Croat.

The first Latin rendering, supplied by Meursius, was printed in his edition of 1611 and afterwards reprinted without alteration in the edition of 1617: it appeared side by side with the Greek text. It was reprinted by Lami in his collected works of Meursius, as an appendix. The translation of Meursius was radically revised and amended by Anselm Bandur in his edition of 1711, and the revised version was published in the Venice edition of 1729. Bandur's rendering was also republished by Lami, side by side with the Greek text, in his collected works of Meursius. The same rendering was introduced, practically without alteration, by Bekker into his edition of 1840 and by Migne into the text of his Patrologia (1864).

D. A. I. was translated into Russian by G. Laskin, and into Croat by N. Tomašić.

Translation of select chapters or sections have been published in many works and in many languages. We may instance the following: several passages in Latin translation are to be found in Stritter's collection; N. V. Malickij published a revised Russian translation of chh. 1—14, 38—40, 42—46 and 53, which was found in ms. among the papers of V. V. Latyšev; Russian renderings of other passages are found in the works of E. Kunik, N. Protopopov, A. Zernin, V. Jurgevič, K. Grot, F. I. Uspenskij, S. P. Šestakov, F. Westberg, N. P. Kondakov and others. K. Dieterich turned some chapters into German. German translations of select passages are found in the works of A. C. Lehrberg, E. Kunik, V. Thomsen and others; French translations in the work of M. Brosset; and English in that of C. A. Macartney. Serb and Croat renderings of select passages have been published in the works of Fr. Rački, A. Pavić, F. Šišić, G. Manojlović, Stanovević—Čorović, B. Ferjančič and others; and

50 See ed. cit., p. 1133—1208.
51 'Сочинения Константина Багрянородного: „О вехах“ (De thematibus) и „О народах“ (De administrando imperio)', Чтения въ Имп. Обществѣ историк и древностей россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ 1899, 1 (188), Moskva, 1899, pp. 1—262.
53 J. G. Stritter, Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, mare Caspium et inde magis ad septentriones incolentium e scriptoribus historiae Byzantiae eraeae et digestae I—IV, Petropoli, 1771—1779.
54 (V. V. Latyšev—N. V. Malickij), 'Константина Багрянородного Об управлении государством', Известия Государственной Академии истории материальной культуры 91, Moskva—Leningrad, 1934.
Bulgarian in the work of G. Cankova-Petkova—P. Tivčev. A Hungarian version of the chh. dealing with the Hungarians may be found both in the editions of H. Marczali and in the special study of K. Szabó.

4. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

A full collation of the four mss. (P, V, F, M) and of the three editions (Me, Ba, Be) shows their mutual relationship to have been as follows:

V is a simple transcript of P. This is clear from the following considerations:

1. V contains many orthographical errors, which are due to the peculiar and individual forms of letters employed by P, that is to say, they are due to palaeographical causes. Antony Eparchus imitated faithfully in many places the peculiarities and abbreviations in the script of P, but occasionally misread some of the letters and abbreviations, e. g.: 13183 περιγίνεσθαι P: περιήνεσθαι V || 2938 Χρωμάτικων P: Χρωμάτων V || 3010 Βράτζω V || 4228 Χαράκουλ P: Χωράκουλ V || 4327 έγγραφον P: άγγραφον V || 4331 Καϊκιού P: Κικίου V || 43169 Κρινίτ(ην) P: άκρινίτην V || 50126 προβληθέντας P: προκληθέντας V || 53425 εσπευσε(ν) P: έπεσεν V || 53431 λεληθότι P: λεμβότι V.

2. In other passages some letters of P are indistinct and were in consequence omitted by the copyist of V, e. g.: 13196 προσετρίψατο P: προετρέψατο V || 1417 συναναστρεφόμενος P: συνανατρεφόμενος V || 2514 μεταπεμφθείς P: μεταπεμφθείς V.

3. Further, it is clear that in two places the copyist of V has written a passage twice over, just because the initial words of the duplicated passages happen in P to recur at the beginning of a line. These dittographies are: Μεσοποταμίαν — 50128 θέμα iter. V. || 51198 μαγίστρου — δντος om. et a' — ταξείδευεν (cf. 51198—195) iter. V.

4. Basic corruptions of P recur in V. Common to both versions are:

5. Antony Eparchus incorporated into his version additions and alterations made by later hands in P, among which is the note, already referred to, which bears the date 1361/2, e. g.: 168 post ζρι' siglo.' / adhibito νῦν δὲ (έστιν) 'ζω' (ινδικτιώνι) ιε', ός εἶναι ἀπό τότ(ε) έως νῦν χρόνοι ψι' mg. add. P3: ζρι' νῦν δὲ έστιν 'ζω' (ινδικτιώνι) ιε', ός εἶναι ἀπό τότ(ε) έως νῦν χρόνοι ψι' V || 2155 post ικανόν s. v. add. ἤτι ζ' έτη P3: ικανόν, ἤτι έτη ζ' έτη V || 2241 post Βασιλείου s. v. add. τού ἐκ Μακεδονίας P3: Βασιλείου τού ἐκ Μακεδονίας V.
6. In two passages of the text of P (2253, 2257: correction of the word 'Αράβων) we recognise unmistakably the handwriting of Antony Eparchus (= P*).

These examples prove indisputably that the youthful Antony Eparchus copied V from P in 1509. For all that, V is not a faithful, verbal transcript of P. The text of V, as compared with P, shows many significant variants, a large proportion of which has crept into the editions (Me, Ba, Be). It is unnecessary to detail all the errors of V; some examples are:

1. The copyist of V often omits words or phrases, e.g.: 915 καί απέρχονται om. V (F Me) || 1349 βασιλέως om. V (F Me Ba Be) || 2149 του Μουάμει έκράτησεν της αρχής των 'Αράβων, ούκ έκ του γένους ήν om. V (F Me) || 2557 ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδ, ἐστιν δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μουάμει γενεάς, ήτοι τοῦ Μουάμειμετ. ο ὁ δὲ δεύτερος καθίζεται om. V (F Me) || 4057 έποίησεν υίδν τον 'Εξέλεχ om. V (F Me) || 4511 χρησιτιθηκοίον om. V (F Me Ba Be) || 5059 ἰστέον, ὡ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ στρατηγής τούρμα ήν τὸ παλαίον τῆς τῶν 'Αρμενικῶν στρατηγίδος om. V (F Me) || 50152 καί om. V (F Me Ba Be) || 5174 ο τοῦ πρωτοσπάριον 'Αρσενίου καί μαγγαλβίτου πατήρ. Οὕτω δὲ, ο τε ὁ πρωτοσπάριον τοῦ Ποδάρων καί ὁ πρωτοσπάριον Λέων ὁ Ὁμάρης om. V (F Me) || 52343—344 Καὶ λέγει τῇ παρίδισκη. «Πώς εὑρεῖ το πράγμα τούτο;» om. V (F Me).

2. The copyist of V read or transcribed some words incorrectly, e.g.: 969 Phάζειν Ρ: Φθάνειν V (F Me Ba Be) || 2550 κρατηθέντος Ρ (Ba Be): κρατηθέντος V (F Me) || 2757 Βρούθεδ Ρ (Ba Be): Βρούθεν V (F Me) || 3042 έρασ&έντες Ρ: έρασ&έντες V (F Me Ba Be) || 3294 ε&οντες P (Be): ε&οντες V (F Me Ba Be) || 3842 πρ&ό έρασ&έντες Ρ: πρ&ό έρασ&έντες V (F Me) || 407 Κάβαροι Ρ (Ba Be): Βάκαροι V (F Me) || 4294 Σφενδοπλόκος P (Ba Be): Σφενδοπλόκος V (F Me) || 4296 Σπάλα Ρ: Σπάλα V (F Me Ba Be) || 4526 Άπελμάρ Ρ (Ba Be): Άπελκάρ V (F Me) || 4624 Βακάροι Ρ (Ba Be): Βακάροι V (F Me) || 4950 Βαασάκιου Ρ (Me Ba Be): Καασακίου V (F) || 50148 Βασσακιου Ρ (Me Ba Be): Κακασκιου V (F) || 5114 Πλοκάς Ρ: Πλοκάς V (F Me Be Ba) || 52371 Γυναίκα Ρ: Γυναίκα V (F Me Ba Be) || 53423 πράγματος Ρ: πράγματος V (F Me Ba Be) || 54528 Βάλεται Ρ: Βάλεται V (F Me Ba Be) || 55325 πραγματείας Ρ: πράγματος V (F Me Ba Be).

3. The copyist of V sometimes replaced the numerical cyphers of P by the verbal equivalents, or, conversely, rendered the numerals of P by numerical cyphers, e.g.: 996 α' Ρ: πρώτον V (F Me Ba Be) || 995 δ' Ρ: τέταρτον V (F Me Ba Be) || 993 δ' Ρ: V (F Me Ba Be) || 997 δ' Ρ: V (F Me Ba Be) || 175 ιβ' Ρ: χιλίων V (F Me Ba Be) || 29248 μιάς Ρ: α' V (F Me Ba Be) || 3020 α Ρ: χιλίων V (F Me Ba Be) || 466 χ' Ρ: τρεις V (F Me Ba Be) || 5045 δύο Ρ (Me Ba Be): β' V F.

4. The copyist of V occasionally changed the word-order, e.g.: 9940 αίώνιος καί ανώλε&ρος Ρ: άνώλε&ρος καί αίώνιος V (F Me Ba Be) || 71—2 περί τῶν ἀπό Χερσόνος ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν Ρ: περὶ τῶν ἀποστελλομέ-
5. The copyist of Y occasionally made stylistic changes, e. g.: 161
καί τίς ό τά σκήπτρα τής βασιλείας 'Ρωμαίων διέπω(ν) Ρ (Μ) : καί τίς ήν
tοτε ό βασιλ(εύς) 'Ρωμ(αίων) V (F Me Ba Be) || 2937_38 διαπερασάντων
ποτέ τών 'Ρωμανών, ποιήσαντες ούτοι έγκρυμα Ρ (Ba Be) : διαπεράσαν-
tές ποτέ οί 'Ρωμάνοι έποίησαν ούτοι έγκρυμα Y (F Me) \[| 38^\^\^ παρά
τών Πατζινακιτών ούκ έδέξαντο Ρ: μετά τών Πατζινακιτών ούκ έποίησαν
V (F Me Ba Be) || 46110 βαλών αυτό εις κοντάριον Ρ: λαβών αυτό εις
κοντάριον περιέθηκε καί Y (F Me Ba Be) || 5067 του τελείν αυτούς Ρ: ινα
tελώσι τά V (F Me Ba Be).

6. The copyist of V occasionally inserted words which are missing
in P, e. g.: 948 post ἀπάντα add. τά μονόξυλα τά Y (F) || 961 ante δεύτερον
add. εις τον V (F Me Ba Be) || 29_38 διαπερασάντων
ποτέ τών 'Ρωμανών, ποιήσαντες ούτοι έγκρυμα Ρ (Ba Be): διαπεράσαν-
tές ποτέ οί 'Ρωμάνοι έποίησαν ούτοι έγκρυμα V (F Me) || 38_61 παρά
tόν Πατζινακιτών ούκ έδέξαντο Ρ: μετά τόν Πατζινακιτών ούκ έποίησαν
V (F Me Ba Be) || 46110 βαλών αυτό εις κοντάριον Ρ: λαβών αυτό εις
κοντάριον περιέθηκε καί Y (F Me Ba Be) || 5067 του τελείν αυτούς Ρ: ινα
tελώσι τά V (F Me Ba Be).

If we look more closely at the variants of V, we observe that they are
only in part oversights or slips of the copyist, while others of them represent
a deliberate attempt to emend the text. Antony Eparchus, like so many other
humanists, was, it should seem, no slavish copyist, but showed some indepen-
dence in his efforts to correct what he was copying. This is clear also from the
fact that in many places he has emended not only misspellings in P, but also
textual corruptions.

Comparison of the mss. makes it clear that F is copied immediately
from V. This is proved not only by the circumstance that at the end of the
text of F we discover the same chronological note which, as we saw, Antony
Eparchus appended to V in 1509, but also by the fact that all the omissions,
repetitions and variants of V recur in F; that is to say, where P and V disagree,
F invariably follows V to the letter. The copyist of F was faithful to the text
of V, but here and there introduced noteworthy corrections of his own.

It is also beyond question that in his transcription into M of the section
relating to the Saracens, Andrea Darmari copied from P. This is proved
indisputably by the fact that where P and V disagree, M always agrees with
P, and further that Darmari introduced into his text corrections and additions made by later hands in P. Numerous errors distort his text; and in two places the copyist has incorporated marginal notes from P as though they were chapter-headings.

As for the editions, Meursius, as he tells us himself, used V: but comparison shows that in many places he has diverged from his original. These divergences are in most cases blunders on the part of Meursius, and only in a few instances can be regarded as deliberate attempts at emendation. Some of his blunders Meursius himself corrected in the «Notae breves» and «Errata» appended to his edition, but most of them perpetuated themselves in the later editions, Ba and Be.

Discrepancies between the text of Meursius and V are:


2. Meursius misread or miscopied several words, and his edition has also typographical errors, e. g.: 121 θευφυλάκτω (Ρ) V (F Be): θευφυλάκτη Me (Ba) || 910 αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβινίαι (Ρ) V (F): οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβινίοι Me (Ba Be) || 1717 ἀποκτενόμενος (P) V (F): ἀποκτενόμενος (M) Me (Ba Be) || 2730 Δαχούβαρδοι (P) V (F): Δαχούβαρδοι Me (Ba Be) || 3722 Κουρκούται (P) V (F): Κουρκούταν Me (Ba Be) || 405 Κορυτσομέριτι (P) V (F): Κορυτσομέριτιτι (Ba Be) || 4370 Κουτουγερμάτου (P) V (F Be): ἐπιτρίψας Me (Ba Be) || 43710 ἀνεβλάστησαν (P) V (F): ἐβλάστησαν Me (Ba Be) || 4964 τὸ (P) V (F Be): τότε Me || 503 τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν τελουμένον πάκτου (P) V (F): τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν τελουμένων πάκτων Me (Ba Be) || 53513 ήμεῖς (P) V (F Be): ην εεχθήναι (P) V (F Be): ἦν εεχθήναι Me (Ba).

3. Meursius in most cases replaced the numerical cyphers of V by the verbal equivalents, e. g.: 97 ε’ (P) V (F): τέμπεμπον Me (Ba Be) || 185 γ’ (P) V (F Be): τετ’ (Ba Be) || 2968 ρ’ (P) V (F): ἐκατον Me (Ba Be) || 2927 ε’ (P) V (F): δεκακάτε ρ’ Me (Ba Be) || 3098 ά (P) V (F): χιλιόν Me (Ba Be) || 3734 μ’ (P) V (F): τεσσαράκοντα Me (Ba Be) || 4038 α’ (P) V: πρῶτος (F) Me (Ba Be) || 4939 α’ (P) V (F): τρίτη Me (Ba Be) ||
51_21 β' (P) V (F) : δεύτερον Me (Ba Be) || 53_285 ι τις (P) V (F) : δέκα τις δώδεκα Me (Ba Be).

4. Meursius made occasional changes in word-order, e. g.: 27_20 ἀποσταλήναι μοι (P) V (F) : μοι ἀποσταλήναι Me (Ba Be) || 29_211 σφαγής αὐτοῦ (P) V (F) : αὐτοῦ σφαγής Me (Ba Be) || 29_288 ἐκείνες κλάδωνα (P) V (F) : κλάδωνα ἐκείνες Me (Ba Be) || 32_138 τῶν 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεύς (P) V (F) : βασιλεύς Ῥωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || 40_61 κύριοι ονόματα (P) V (F) : ὄνοματα κύριοι Me (Ba Be) || 45_141 γενέσθαι δούλος (P) V (F) : δούλος γενέσθαι Me (Ba Be) || 50_130-131 τῶν 'Ρωμαίων εξουσίαν (P) V (F) : εξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || 51_125 βασιλεύονι δρομώνιον (P) V (F) : δρομώνιον βασιλεύον Me (Ba Be) || 53_288 πληροφορήσαι ἐν δρικω (P) V (F) : ἐν δρικῳ πληροφορήσαι Me (Ba Be).

5. Meursius here and there inserts words missing in V, and hence in P also, e. g.: 9_1 ante 'Ῥωσίας add. τῆς Me (Ba Be) || 9_63 post τοῦτον add. καὶ Me || 22_29 ante 'Ἰουστινιάνον add. τῶν Me (Ba Be) || 22_64 ante τῆν add. διὰ Me || 25_2 post Βρεττανίαν add. ἄλλα Me || 25_28 post ἐσπερίων add. Λιβύης Me (Ba Be) || 27_44 ante τῶν add. διὰ Me (Ba Be) || 40_80 ante υἱοὶ add. οἱ Me (Ba Be) || 43_73 post εἰς add. τὴν Me (Ba Be) || 46_15 ante Ῥωμαίισας add. τῆς Me (Ba Be) || 50_64 post κάστρου add. τῶν Me (Ba Be) || 50_229 ante βασιλεῶς add. τῶν Me (Ba Be) || 53_288 post ταῦτα add. τὰ Me (Ba Be).

If we take into consideration that the ms. V used by Meursius contains, as we have shown, innumerable errors, we can scarcely wonder that the first edition presents a sufficiently corrupted version of the original. It should, however, be emphasized that Meursius, particularly in his notes, made a large number of emendations to the text, and of these emendations later editions have made use.

The edition of Bandur marks an advance on that of Meursius; Bandur, as he himself records, collated Meursius' text with P, and was thus able to correct, both in his text and in his notes, a large number of errors originating partly in V and partly in Me. But Bandur did not make his collation with the necessary care, with the result that many omissions and blunders escaped his attention. How many errors of Meursius were corrected by Bandur, and how many Bandur transferred to his own edition, may be easily discerned if we look at the examples given above in our examination of the relationship of V and Me, and note the proportion of the number of errors found in V Me and Me only to the number of errors found in V Me Ba or V Me Ba Be, and in Me Ba or Me Ba Be. To the number of inherited blunders Bandur added a fresh crop of his own, e. g.: 3_8 τέτερα Ba (Be) || 29_61 εἰς om. Ba || 29_82 ἔρμηνεοντα Ba (Be) || 30_94 οἱ λαοὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Ba (Be) || 40_12 Διούσινα Ba (Be) || 45_21 καὶ om. Ba (Be) || 46_111 Κωνσταντῖνο (per comp. P) ] Κωνσταντῖ Ba (Be) || 46_144 Κωνσταντῖνος (per comp. P) ] Ba (Be) Κωνσταντᾶ Ba || 51_74 προτοσπάθαρος om. Ba (Be) || 51_900 Λυγυρμαδίοι Ba (Be) || 53_218 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαράκου στρατῷ om. Ba (Be) || 53_231 ἀρχομένου Ba (Be) || 53_455 τῆς τῆν Ba (Be).
Bekker's edition marks no considerable advance. He made no study of mss., and therefore made no use of fresh ms. material. He republished Bandur's text, which he occasionally emended by his own conjectures. Although he recorded in his critical apparatus the variants between the mss. used by Meursius and Bandur, and between their respective editions, yet he merely copied this information out of Bandur's notes, as is seen from the fact that he reproduces Bandur's typographical errors. Bekker's edition therefore repeats numerous errors of earlier editions, as appears in our examination above of the relationship between V Me and Ba; and he added to their number the slips and typographical errors of his own edition, e.g.: 21\textit{42} χροβάλλονται || 26\textit{16} τὸν] τὴν || 29\textit{26} κάστρον\textsuperscript{2} om. || 30\textit{78} καὶ μόνον om. || 30\textit{88} καὶ om. || 30\textit{103—106} ordinem versuum permutavit || 37\textit{21} om. || 37\textit{18} Κουλπέη] || 37\textit{49} πλησίεστερον || 37\textit{55} κόντευξα || 45\textit{34} τὸν\textsuperscript{1} om. || 45\textit{101} προσφατίζουμενος || 45\textit{445} Ἑσακατον' || 46\textit{89} πᾶσας || 47\textit{19} ἐν om. || 49\textit{12} τάλλα || 49\textit{60} παραδόττεις || 50\textit{79} τὴν om. || 50\textit{213} Νυκῆς || 51\textit{159} νήσιον τυγχάνει τὸν βασιλέα, καθὼς εἰρήται, καὶ τὸ om. || 51\textit{174} τὸ βασιλέα || 53\textit{267} τε\textsuperscript{1} om. || 53\textit{310} τὸ χοριόν om.

In the light of our examination of the mutual relationship of mss. and editions, we may summarize as follows the history of the text of \textit{D. A. I.}

Of \textit{D. A. I.}, as of the \textit{De Cerimoniiis}, only one ms. survives from the Byzantine age.\textsuperscript{55bis} In view of the fact that none of the later Byzantine historians or chronographers makes use of the work, we must conclude that \textit{D. A. I.}, which was a confidential, indeed a most secret, document, was never published, but only preserved at the imperial court. There, probably, it was discovered by a member of the imperial family, the Caesar John Ducas, who between 1059 and 1081 had it copied for his library. But \textit{P} is not an immediate copy of the original. Since \textit{P} exhibits so many corruptions, and one marginal note refers to the year 979, we must postulate, between the archetype and \textit{P}, yet another copy, probably made towards the close of the X century after the death of the author. Marginal notes and emendations make it clear that \textit{P} continued to be read during the Byzantine age; from the note of 1361/2 and from other corrections we may conclude that the chh. on the Saracens were of peculiar interest at the period when the Ottoman Turks had crossed the Hellespont (1360) and were threatening the capital.

After this the history of \textit{P} is obscure. We do not know where it went from the library of John Ducas or what was its fate, until it came into the hands of Antony Epharchus. Certain it is that during the Renaissance the interest of Venetian humanists was aroused by the chh. of the work dealing with Venice, as is clear from the marginal notes to \textit{V}; and that it is owing to this circumstance, not merely that the copy from the library of the Byzantine

\textsuperscript{55bis} But see now C. Mango—I. Ševčenko, ‘A New MS of the \textit{De Cerimoniiis}, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 14 (1960), pp. 247—249.
Caesar reached Italy, but also that, at the beginning of the XVI century, two other complete copies of the work were made there as well. Upon the copy of Antony Eparchus was based the first edition of Meursius, the errors of which Bandur endeavoured to correct by a collation with the Byzantine copy; but even so, many inherited errors were transmitted not only to his own edition but also to the final edition of Bekker, published more than a century ago.

The relationships of mss. and editions may be seen at a glance in the following tree:

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ARCHETYPE
     (about 952)

X
  (after 979)

P
  (between 1059—1081)

V
  (1509)

F
  (between 1509—1529)

M
  (between 1560—1580)

Me
  (1611)

Ba
  (1711)

Be
  (1840)
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5. METHOD FOLLOWED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

It will be clear from our examination of the relationship of mss. and editions that all the known mss. of D. A. I. derive from a Byzantine copy of the XI century, P, which is thus the source of the whole textual tradition. On this ms. therefore, a new edition must be based. However, as we have emphasized, P exhibits additions, erasures and emendations which are partly the work of the copyst or a contemporary, and partly of various later hands. These last are again divisible into two categories: into those which were added to P before V and M were copied, and those which were added after V and M were copied. Insertions of the former class, which go back to the Byzantine age, are of unequal value: we find among them alterations which are mere arbitrary additions of later readers, such as the marginal note of 1361/2; but there are others, especially in the chh. dealing with the Arabs, which do emend errors which have occurred in the copying of P. Additions of the second category, dating from the post-Byzantine period and consisting of arbitrary alterations made by later readers, are of no value whatever; a characteristic specimen of these is the garbling from analogy of the original name ‘Almoutzis’ (see 3844, 3849). But, apart from the attentions of later hands, P has also, as we saw, sustained material damage; and to restore the occasionally faded or mutilated text we are compelled to have recourse to the copies of P, made when P was in better condition than it is to-day. For these reasons, then, to restore the original text of P, use must be made of its copies, V and M.

But even if the text of the Byzantine version preserved to us be purged of its later alterations and be restored, so far as may be, to its original state, the question remains whether P, thus restored, can be regarded as a faithful replica of the original text of Constantine. Since our new edition rests upon one ms. only, which cannot be checked by comparison with any other, the problem thus raised can be solved only by reference to internal evidence, that is, to the condition of the text as preserved in P and to the linguistic peculiarities of the work. There can be no doubt that copyst’s errors have crept even into P. It can be demonstrated that in some passages the copyst has omitted words, as is seen in cases where the text is mutilated or unintelligible (e. g. 1, 4, 919, 1377, 2261, 2671, 4695). It is also certain that, in other passages, we have to deal with more serious corruptions (e. g. 13177, 2958, 29229, 3853, 4223, 53101), which can only be conjecturally emended.

In correcting the text of P, we have to take into account the fact that D. A. I. is compiled from various sources of which the language is not uniform. In some chapters we find vulgarisms whose removal would distort the genuine

form of the work. But since, as we saw above, the orthography of P is extremely faulty, there are many places where it is not easy to determine which linguistic peculiarities are native to Constantine's text and which are to be put down to the copyist. So, for example, we see in P forms which indicate the amalgamation of the participles of ὁδὸς and εἴδον (e. g. 45140, 4928, 4934, 53193, 53419, 53429), a phenomenon exemplified also in papyri and other demotic texts. Again, as is well known, in later Greek certain forms of indicative and subjunctive coincide in pronunciation; and since P often confuses the diphthong ει with the vowel η, these forms coincide and amalgamate in its text also. It is well known, too, that in the post-classical age the conjunction τῶν is followed by indicative as well as subjunctive; and since the orthography of P is not consistent, we sometimes find after τῶν indicative and subjunctive forms used alternately even in the same sentence (e. g. 1381—83, 53516). All these and other confusions in the orthography of P (e.g. absence of the temporal augment) often make it hard to determine when we have, or have not, the right to correct it.

Again, it is common knowledge that Constantine drew one part of his material from written sources which have come down to us independently. Such sources are, apart from citations of Holy Scripture, the Chronicles of Theophanes and George Monachus, the Ethnika of Stephanus of Byzantium, the Acts of the Synod in Trullo, etc. Elsewhere, passages of D. A. I. agree so closely with parallel passages of the De Thematibus, attributed to the same imperial author, and of the work known as Theophanes Continuatus, that for these passages we must postulate a common source. Some passages, then, of D. A. I. have come down to us immediately, and do not depend on P. We can thus compare the text of P with the text of the sources of the work, which sources may be used to restore the text of D. A. I.

A comparison of the text of P with that of the sources and of other parallel passages shows that the author sometimes followed his originals faithfully, but at other times modified their styles, and occasionally supplemented his sources with others of unknown origin. But for our appraisal of the text of Constantine it is of great importance to realize that the text of D. A. I. preserved to us, when compared with the text of its sources, gives evidence in several places of serious corruption. At first sight we might conclude that

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P is a faulty copy, and that these errors must be corrected from the sources. But this is not so. A more searching examination shows that these supposed corruptions were to be found already in some mss. of the sources themselves (e.g. 2530, 4249). It follows that, as Constantine or his collaborators copied the sources they used out of mss. which were themselves corrupt, it is incorrect to attribute these corruptions to the carelessness of the copyist of P or other copyists of D. A. I.; we must, on the contrary, suppose that these very corruptions stood even in the original ms. of Constantine. Recognition of this fact, and of its bearing on the restoration of the original form of D. A. I., enjoins upon us the preservation of these corruptions in our text; since, if we emend P, we shall be disturbing the true text as Constantine wrote it. Of course, in the many cases where direct evidence is lacking, it is very hard to pronounce whether a corruption is of pre- or post-Constantinian origin, that is to say, whether it has been introduced by the copyist or existed already in the mss. of the sources and was thence transferred to the original ms. of Constantine. In this difficulty we derive some assistance from the fact that, considering the corruptions from the point of view of their nature and quantity, we note a great difference between those sections of D. A. I. which are based on contemporary information and those which the editor has derived from older, written sources. In the former sections we find fewer errors, mainly of a minor character; but in the latter, which had been subject to continual transcription over a period of a century or more, the corruptions are proportionately greater in numbers and importance. This principle cannot be used as an absolute criterion; we have in each case, according to the nature of the corruption, to judge whether the corruption in question is or is not anterior to the age of Constantine, and whether in consequence we may or may not retain it in his text.

In view of these facts, the principles applied to the new edition may thus be summarized:

The new edition is based on P, the text of which, however, in places where it is disturbed by material damage, erasures or alterations by later hands, is restored by reference to V and M. The critical text diverges from P when the text of P appears to be corrupt, that is to say, in places where it may be supposed that, owing to copyists' errors or alterations by later hands, the text of P does not correspond to the original text of Constantine's work. In such places we have taken into account the variants of the later transcripts (V, F, M) and editions (Me, Ba, Be) and the conjectural emendations of later researchers; and on the basis of these we have emended the text of P.

Besides, the critical text diverges from P in spelling also. Modern spelling has been adopted, which has involved the tacit correction of errors arising from itacism, of accentual errors (including the Byzantine system of enclitic accentuation) and of other irregularities. This has been done the more readily since in our description of P above we have pointed out its orthographical peculiarities. We have kept the forms of the codex for the *ephelcusticon* and
Method of the Edition

for elision, although P is not consistent in their use. As regards numbers in the text, P uses verbal forms and cyphers indifferently, sometimes in the same sentence; we have substituted verbal forms for cyphers in the text only where consistency absolutely demanded it.

The apparatus criticus falls into two parts, and contains

1. references to sources and parallel passages (F);
2. variants of mss. and editions, and emendations and conjectures of scholars (V).

In the first section we have directed attention not merely to the immediate sources of Constantine but also to other, parallel passages which may assist the understanding of passages to which they are referred. But we have restricted ourselves to Greek sources only, because the enumeration of all parallels in the different Western and Eastern sources would have made the apparatus too bulky. In cases where there is no question of borrowing, but only of a common source, of similar sources of information, or simply of fortuitous concord, we cite the works in question with the symbol «cf.».

In the second section, the following principles have been adopted. In each case where, for reasons already set forth, we diverge from the text of P, or where traces of emendations or erasures appear in the text of P, the fact is noted positively; i.e. we indicate the origin of the variant adopted in the text, and the reading of P, and if necessary, the readings of the later transcripts V, F, M, and of the editions Me, Ba, Be. In all other cases, that is, where the form adopted in the text differs only in spelling from the form found in P, or when noteworthy variants are recorded in later transcripts or editions, we note negatively, that is, we confine ourselves to a reference to the variants in the transcripts or editions in question.

In its references to P, the apparatus records not only the corrections of the copyist himself (P¹), but also the alterations and the marginal notes made by different later hands (P²—P⁹). By the symbol Pₓ are noted the alterations or erasures which were made by an unrecognizable hand before V was copied, and by the symbol Pᵥ are noted the alterations or erasures which were made by another unrecognizable hand after V was copied. We have left unnoted erasures or alterations which are of a purely orthographical character, or those which occur in words whose meaning is obvious, though we note all erasures and alterations met with in uncommon proper names. Unnoted also are traces of occasional attempts by later hands to amend faded writing, unless such traces suggest that the text has been altered.

Orthographical irregularities of P are noted in the apparatus only when they occur in uncommon proper names, words of foreign derivation, colloquial words, or where the handwriting of P admits of more than one reading; and lastly where the accent falls on a syllable other than that which generally carries it. Abbreviations of P are noted only where their interpretation is doubtful, or when numerals are denoted by letters.
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Variants found in V, an immediate transcript of P, are noted in the apparatus only in cases where the parallel passages of P have suffered from material damage, erasures or alterations by later hands, or where V gives a variant which differs from the variant of P and which may serve to elucidate or emend the text. Variants found in F, a transcript of V, are noted only in exceptional cases, i.e. when F supplies some emendation of substance, or where the parallel passages of both V and P show trades of alteration. Variants found in M, a transcript of P, are noted only when erasure or alteration is found in the parallel passage of P.

We regard it as unnecessary to note in the apparatus all the omissions, all the blunders and all the alterations of later transcripts and editions, especially as in our description of mss. and editions we have already given several examples. The apparatus, therefore, notes only the variants which are informative from the point of view of the restoration or history of the text (including the discrepancies between our new text and the text of Be). Note that where reference is made to the text of the editions, the abbreviations noted above (Me, Ba, Be) are employed; but where we refer to emendations or conjectures in the notes or apparatus of the editions, we cite them under the names of the respective editors (Meursius, Bandur, Bekker).

If a source copied word for word by Constantine has come down to us independently, our apparatus notes variations therefrom, but not omissions and arbitrary alterations made by Constantine, who often modified the wording of his sources. Where, however, the author has inserted anything into the text of his source, this is noted in the apparatus.

In respect to these sources, it has been found necessary in two cases to examine their mss., and make use of the results of the new collation. The relevant passages of the edition of Theophanes Continuatus I have collated with V (= codex Vaticanus gr. 167), and of De Thematibus with C (= codex Parisinus gr. 854); the variants are noted in the apparatus. Special treatment had to be applied to the text of George Monachus; for, as C. de Boor has shown, the emperor Constantine made use of that variant of his text which is represented by codex P (= cod. Coislin. gr. 305). We have therefore considered in the apparatus those variants especially which occur in this codex of George Monachus.

In the apparatus mss. variants are noted in all cases in the original spelling, omitting only the horizontal strokes above proper names and the dots over the τ and υ. Variant proper names are given an initial capital. Uncial numerical signs are replaced by the usual minuscule forms, and the horizontal stroke above them by the acute stroke universally employed to-day. Signs and technical details of the apparatus of our edition are generally in conformity with the ruling of the International Union of Academies.59

Lastly, we have included in the apparatus most of the emendations and conjectures of scholars known to us, though they are not all of equal value. This course is justified by the fact that the bibliography relating to *D. A. I.* is so rich and extensive that many individual conjectures are extraordinarily difficult to find. The work has in the past attracted so many different scholars, and their studies are published in so many different languages, that it is practically impossible for one who is not a specialist to know them all. We hope that it will be of service to those who use this edition to find collected here all the resources of previous research directed towards critical examination of the text, and that they will be able to build further upon the foundations here laid; for research on *D. A. I.* is by no means exhausted yet, and the present edition aims at providing future research with a sure and reliable substructure.

GY. MORAVCOSIK.

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60 I have also made use of some comments of Prof. Ph. Kukules (Athens) which he kindly communicated by letter, and for which I express my sincere gratitude.

LIST OF SIGNS

\( F = \) Fontes et loci paralleli
\( V = \) Variae lectiones et coniecturae

MANUSCRIPTS:

\( P = \) cod. Parisinus gr. 2009 (cf. pp. 15—21.)
\( P^1 = \) manus prima
\( P^2-9 = \) manus recentiores
\( P^x = \) manus incerta (ante a. 1509)
\( P^y = \) manus incerta (post a. 1509)
\( V = \) cod. Vaticanus-Palatinus gr. 126 (cf. pp. 21—22.)
\( V^1 = \) manus prima
\( V^2 = \) manus secunda
\( F = \) cod. Parisinus gr. 2967 (cf. pp. 22—23.)
\( F^1 = \) manus prima
\( F^2 = \) manus secunda
\( M = \) cod. Mutinensis gr. 179 [III F 1] (cf. p. 23.)

EDITIONS:

\( Me = \) editio Meursiana (cf. p. 24.)
Meursius = notae Meursii
\( Ba = \) editio Banduriana (cf. p. 24.)
Bandurius = animadversiones Bandurii
\( Be = \) editio Bekkeriana (cf. p. 24.)
Bekker = apparatus criticus Bekkeri
edd. = editiones Me Ba Be
\( Migne = \) editio a Migne curata (cf. p. 24.)
Bury = editio cap. 29—36 a J. Bury facta (cf. p. 25.)

SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES:

Georg. Mon. = Georgius Monachus, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1904)
Georg. Mon. BEPY = codices B E P V a C. de Boor collati
De Them. = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De Thematibus, ed. I. Bekkerus
(Bonnae, 1840); ed. A. Pertusi (Roma, 1952)
De Them.ª = cod. Parisinus gr. 854 a me collatus
Theoph. = Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1883)
Theoph. codd. = codices a. C. de Boor collati
Theoph. bedefghm = codices b c d f g h m a C. de Boor collati
Theoph. Cont. = Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekkerus (Bonnae, 1838)
Theoph. Cont.º = cod. Vaticanus gr. 167 a me collatus
TEXT AND TRANSLATION
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΙΩΝΙΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΣΤΕΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

Προσιμιον.

Γάρ τόσα σοφός εὐφραίνει πατέρα, καὶ πατὴρ φυλόστοργος ἐπὶ υἱῷ τέρπεται φρονίμῳ. Κύριος γὰρ δίδωσιν νοῦν, ἣνίκα δὲι εἰπεῖν, καὶ προστίθησιν οὐς τοῦ ἁκούειν παρ’ αὐτῷ θησαυρὸς σοφίας, καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ διδότα τῶν δόριμα τέλειον· καθιστὰς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ κυρίαν τοῦ 5 παντὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς. Νῦν οὖν ἁκούσον μου, υἱέ, καὶ τήνδε μεμαθηκὼς τὴν διδαχὴν ἔσῃ σοφός παρὰ φρονίμῳς, καὶ φρόνιμος παρὰ σοφοῖς.

3νρ λογισθήσῃ εὐλογήσουσι σὲ οἶκοι, καὶ μακαριοῦσι σὲ πλῆθος ἔθνων.

Διδάχθητι, οὐχ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰδέναι, καὶ νουνεχώς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας οὖς ἄντικαθοῦν. Περί τῶν ἔνεστῶν μελέτησον, καὶ περὶ τῶν 10 μελλόντων διδάχθητι, ἵνα πείραν μετ’ εὐθυμίας ἀθροίσῃς, καὶ μεγαλε-πήβολος ἔσῃ περὶ τὰ πάγιαμα. Ἡδον ἐκτίθημι σοι διδασκάλιαν, ὡστε τῇ ἐκ ταύτης παίρα καὶ γνώσει συνετισθέντα περὶ τὰς μελέτας βουλας καὶ τῷ τὸ κοινῆ συμφέρον μὴ διαμαρτάνειν· πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἔθνους κατὰ τί μὲν ὑφέλησιν δύναται Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ τί δὲ βλάψαι, 15 (καὶ πολώ) καὶ πῶς ἔκαστον τοῦτον καὶ παρὰ πολώ δύναται ἔθνους καὶ πολεμισθαί καὶ ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἐπειτα περὶ τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀκορέστου γνώμης, καὶ ἐν παραλόγως ἐξακούτουν λαμβάνειν, εἰδ’ οὕτως καὶ περὶ διαφοράς ἐτέρων ἔθνων, γενεαλογίας τε (αὐτῶν).

Proem.

A wise son maketh glad a father, and an affecionate father taketh delight in a prudent son. For the Lord giveth wit to speak in season, and addeth thereto an ear to hear; with Him is the treasure of wisdom, and from Him cometh every perfect gift; He setteth kings upon the throne and giveth unto them the lordship over all. Now therefore hearken unto me, my son, and being adept in this my teaching thou shalt be wise among the prudent, and be accounted prudent among the wise; the peoples shall bless thee, and the multitudes of the nations shall call thee blessed. Be instructed in what it behoves thee before all else to know, and lay hold skilfully upon the helm of the rule. Study the things that are now, and be instructed concerning the things that are to be, so that thou mayest amass experience with sound judgment, and thou shalt be most competent in thine affairs. Lo, I set a doctrine before thee, so that being sharpened thereby in experience and knowledge, thou shalt not stumble concerning the best counsels and the common good: first, in what each nation has power to advantage the Romans, and in what to hurt, and how and by what other nation each severally may be encountered in arms and subdued; then, concerning their ravenous and insatiate temper and the gifts they demand inordinately; next, concerning also the difference between other nations, their origins.
καὶ ἑδῶν καὶ βίοι διαγωγῆς καὶ θέσεως καὶ κράσεως τῆς κατοικουμένης 20
παρ’ αὐτῶν γῆς καὶ περιγγέγγεως αὐτῆς καὶ σταδιασμοῦ, πρὸς τούτους καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς καρποῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων και διαφόρων ἐθνῶν
συμβεβηκότων, καὶ μετὰ τούτα, διὰ ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμίς πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς κατά τινας χρόνους ἐκαντομομηῆ. Ταύτα
ἐσωθισάμην κατ’ ἐμαυτόν, καὶ εἶπα γνωστά σοι ποιήσαι, τῷ ἡγαπήμένῳ 25
μου ὤλῳ, ἐν’ ἐχθρίσατε τῆν ἐκάστου τούτων διαφοράν, καὶ τῶς ἡ

4νΡ μεταχειρίσασθαι ταύτα καὶ οἰκεῖοσθάν ἤ πολεμεῖν | καὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.
Πυγμᾶται γάρ σε ὡς μεγαλοπροφήτης, καὶ ὡς ἄρος φρεύζονται ἀπὸ
σοῦ φιμωθῆσαι ἡ κελλί αὐτῶν, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ βελών τοὺς σους κατα-
τρωθῆσαι ρήματι. 'Οφθής αὐτοῖς φοβερός, καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου 30
σοῦ τρόμος λήψεται σοῦ ταύτα καὶ οἵκειοσθαι ή πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.

5νΡ ὡς σκέπην ἐπὶ βάσιν ἀσάλευτον. 'Ὁ θρόνος σου ὡς ὁ ἡλιος ἐναντίον 35
αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὄφθαλμοι αὐτοῦ ἐσονται βλέποντες ἐπὶ σε, καὶ οὔδεν οὐ μὴ ἀποστει-
σοῦ φιμωθῆσον τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν, καὶ ὡς υπὸ βελών τοῖς σοῖς κατα-
τρωθῆσον τῷ προσώπῳ σου τρόμος λήψεται σοῦ ταύτα καὶ οἵκειο-
σθαι. Καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὡς ἀγαθόν ὑπὲρ πάντας σου εἶδοκεν, καὶ τέθεικεν

5πΡ ὡς σκέπην ἐπὶ βάσιν ἀσάλευτον. Ο θρόνος σου ὡς ὁ ἡλιος ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὄφθαλμοι αὐτοῦ ἐσονται βλέποντες ἐπὶ σε, καὶ οὔδεν οὐ μὴ ἀποστει-
ρώσωσιν ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικοῦντων τῆν γῆν. 'Αλλὰ σῦ, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, οὐ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνάλευσις, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὡς εἶπεν σοῦ τῷ προσώπῳ 40
ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν χρόνων. Καὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς
βασιλείας οὗ τῷ προσώπῳ σου ὡς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς προσώπους τῶν κατοικῶν τῆς
γῆς. 'Αλλὰ σῦ, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, οὐ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνάλευσις, εἰς τοῦ
θρόνον τοῦ προσώπου σου ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐποχήν τῶν χρόνων. Καὶ τὸν θρό
ός Σαβαοθ καὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ προσώπου σου ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐποχήν τῶν χρό
νων. Καὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ προσώπου σου ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐποχήν τῶν χρό

5νΡ χαίνειν τοῦ προσώπου σου πολέμοι, καὶ λείξουσι 45

5πΡ χαίνειν τοῦ προσώπου σου πολέμοι, καὶ λείξουσι 45

F 28 ὡς ἀπὸ — 29 ἀπὸ σοῦ: cf. Deut. 28, 7; Is. 10, 18. 31 τρόμως
λήψεται: Is. 33, 14. 31 ὁ Παντοκράτωρ ὑπερασπιεῖ: Zach. 9, 15. 32
κατευθυνεῖ σοῦ τὰ διαθήματα: cf. Psalm. 39, 3; 118, 133. 32 ἐδράσας —
33 ἀσάλευτον: cf. Sap. 4, 3. 33 ὁ θρόνος — αὐτοῦ: Psalm. 88,
37. 34 o ὄφθαλμοι — βλέποντες cf. I Paralip. 21, 3. 34 οὐδὲν — 35
χαλεπῶν: cf. Lob 5, 19; Sap. 3, 1. 35 σοῦ ἐπεξερεύνησαν ταῖς τούτου δεήσεις. Σκεπάσατο αὐτὸν ἡ χεὶρ
σου, καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐνεκεν αλήθειας, καὶ ὡς εὐθείας αὐτὸν ἡ
δεξιὰ σου κατευθυνθεῖσαν αἱ ἀνάμενην σου τῷ προσώπῳ σου τοῦ
φιλάξασθαι τὰ δικαιώματα σου. Πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πεσοῦνται πολέμοι, καὶ λείξουσι 45

5πΡ χαίνειν τοῦ προσώπου σου πολέμοι, καὶ λείξουσι 45

5πΡ χαίνειν τοῦ προσώπου σου πολέμοι, καὶ λείξουσι 45

F
and customs and manner of life, and the position and climate of the land
they dwell in, its geographical description and measurement, and moreover
concerning events which have occurred at various times between the Romans
and different nations; and thereafter, what reforms have been introduced
from time to time in our state, and also throughout the Roman empire.
These things have I discovered of my own wisdom, and have decreed that
they shall be made known unto thee, my beloved son, in order that thou
mayest know the difference between each of these nations, and how either
to treat with and conciliate them, or to make war upon and oppose. For so
shall they quake before thee as one mighty in wisdom, and as from fire
shall they flee from thee; their lips shall be bridled, and as darts shall thy
words wound them unto death. Thou shalt appear terrible unto them, and
at thy face shall trembling take hold upon them. And the Almighty shall
cover thee with his shield, and thy Creator shall endue thee with under-
standing; He shall direct thy steps, and shall establish thee upon a sure
foundation. Thy throne shall be as the sun before Him, and His eyes shall
be looking towards thee, and naught of harm shall touch thee, for He hath
chosen thee and set thee apart from thy mother's womb, and hath given
unto thee His rule as unto one excellent above all men, and hath set thee
as a refuge upon a hill and as a statue of gold upon an high place,
and as a city upon a mountain hath He raised thee up, that the nations
may bring to thee their gifts and thou mayest be adored of them that dwell
upon the earth. But Thou, O Lord my God, whose rule abideth unharmed
for ever, prosper him in his ways who through Thee was begotten of me, and
may the visitation of Thy face be toward him, and Thine ear be inclined
to his supplications. May Thy hand cover him, and may he rule because
of truth, and may Thy right hand guide him; may his ways be made straight
before Thee to keep thy statutes. May foes fall before his face, and his
enemies lick the dust. May the stem of his race be shady with leaves of
many offspring, and the shadow of his fruit cover the kingly mountains;
for by Thee do kings rule, glorifying Thee for ever and ever.
1. Περί τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τόσα συμβάλλονται μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων εἰρηνεύοντες.

"Ακουσον τῶν, νέε, ά μοι δοκεί σε μή άγνοείν, καὶ εἶναι καλῶν τῶν ὅποτεταγμένων τὴν μάθησιν, διαφέροντος δὲ σοί, τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας ὁρείνοντι διαμερισμένον καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν ὀλκάδα προσλαμβάνειν τε καὶ κυβέρνην. Εἰ δὲ σαφεῖ καὶ κατημαξομένοις ἔκολογοι καὶ οἷον εἰκῆ ἑσταίνου πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἐχρησάμην δήλωσιν, μηδὲν θαυμάσῃς, νέε. Οὔ γάρ ἔποιείν καὶ καταλαβείν χαλλιγραφίας φίλας ἡ φράσεως ἡττικισμένης καὶ τὸ δισεξαρίνου δισευκούσας καὶ ὑψηλον ποιήσαι ἐποίησα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθαυτῷ ἐπικεκατερίσεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας διδάξαι σοι πρεζενεῖν καὶ ἐπηγείρειν τέ καὶ κυβερνᾶν. Εἰ δὲ σαφείς καὶ κατημαξομένοις ἔκολογοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἐχρησάμην δήλωσιν, μηδὲν θαυμάσῃς, νέε. Οὔ γάρ ἔποιείν καὶ καταλαβείν χαλλιγραφίας φίλας ἡ φράσεως ἡττικισμένης καὶ τὸ δισεξαρίνου δισευκούσας καὶ ὑψηλον ποιήσαι ἐποίησα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθαυτῷ ἐπικεκατερίσεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων σωτηρίας διδάξαι σοι πρεζενεῖν καὶ ἐπηγείρειν τέ καὶ κυβερνᾶν. Εἰ δὲ σαφείς καὶ κατημαξομένοις προεξεῖν.
1. Of the Pechenegs, and how many advantages accrue from their being at peace with the emperor of the Romans.

Hear now, my son, those things of which I think you should not be ignorant, and be wise that you may attain to government. For I maintain that while learning is a good thing for all the rest as well, who are subjects, yet it is especially so for you, who are bound to take thought for the safety of all, and to steer and guide the laden ship of the world. And if in setting out my subject I have followed the plain and beaten track of speech and, so to say, idly running and simple prose, do not wonder at that, my son. For I have not been studious to make a display of fine writing or of an Atticizing style, swollen with the sublime and lofty, but rather have been eager by means of every-day and conversational narrative to teach you those things of which I think you should not be ignorant, and which may without difficulty provide that intelligence and prudence which are the fruit of long experience.

I conceive, then, that it is always greatly to the advantage of the emperor of the Romans to be minded to keep the peace with the nation of the Pechenegs and to conclude conventions and treaties of friendship with them and to send every year to them from our side a diplomatic agent with presents befitting and suitable to that nation, and to take from their side sureties, that is, hostages and a diplomatic agent, who shall be collected together under charge of the competent minister in this city protected of God, and shall enjoy all imperial benefits and gifts suitable for the emperor to bestow.

This nation of the Pechenegs is neighbour to the district of Cherson, and if they are not friendly disposed towards us, they may make excursions and plundering raids against Cherson, and may ravage Cherson itself and the so-called Regions.

2. Of the Pechenegs and the Russians.

The Pechenegs are neighbours to and march with the Russians also, and often, when the two are not at peace with one another, raid Russia, and do her considerable harm and outrage.

The Russians also are much concerned to keep the peace with the
Πατζινακιτών. Ἀγοράζουσι γὰρ ἀυτῶν βόσας καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων εὑμφορέτερον διαχωσί καὶ τρυφερότερον, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν τῶν προειρημένων ζῴων ἐν τῇ 'Ῥωσίᾳ καθέστηκεν. 'Ἀλλ' οὔδε πρὸς ὑπερορίους πολέμους ἀπέρχομαι δύνανται ὅλως οἱ 'Ῥώς, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντες, διότι δύνανται — ἐν τῷ ἕκεινον τῶν οἱκείων ὑποχωρεῖν — ταύτα ἐπέρχομενοι τὰ ἕκεινον ἀφανίζειν τε καὶ λυμαίνειν. Τὸ μάλλον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάττονται καὶ τῆς βοηθείας καταπολαύοιεν. 10

'Ὅτι ὁδὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλέωσιν ταύτην τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων πόλιν οἱ 'Ῥώς παραγίνεσθαι δύνανται, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντες, ὡστε πολέμου χάριν, ὡστε πραγματείας, ἐπειδὴ — ἐν τῷ μετὰ τῶν πλοίων εἰς τοὺς φραγμοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γίνεσθαι τοὺς 'Ῥώς καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, μὴ ἐξαγάγωσι τὸ ποταμὸν τὰ πλοῖα τῶν, καὶ 20

7οΒε στι τῶν οὖς αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάττονται καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης μεγάλως ἐν μιᾶ τῆς πολέμου ὑπέρ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν παρά τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τοῖς Πατζινακίτας, καὶ συστελλόμενοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

3. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακίτων καὶ Τούρκων.

"Ὅτι καὶ τῶν Τούρκων γένος μεγάλως πτοεῖται καὶ δέδιε τοὺς εἰρημένους Πατζινακίτας διὰ τοὺς πολλάκις ἠττηθήναι παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τελείως σχεδόν παραδοθῆναι ἀφανισμφ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀτε φοβεροὶ τοῖς Τούρκοις οἱ Πατζινακίται νομίζονται, καὶ συστέλλονται ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 5

4. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακίτων καὶ 'Ῥώς καὶ Τούρκων.

"Ὅτι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακίτων εἰρηνευόντος, οὔτε ὁδὲ 'Ῥώς πολέμου νόμομ κατὰ τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειας, ὁπότε οἱ Τούρκοι δύνανται ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὔτε | ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης μεγάλα καὶ ὑπέρογκα χρήματα τε καὶ πράγματα παρὰ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων δύνανται ἀπαντεῖν, δεδέστε τὴν διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ἐθνοῦς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κατ' αὐτῶν ἐσχὼν ἐν τῷ ἕκεινον κατὰ 'Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύειν. Οἱ 5 

V 21 τῶν V edd.: τὸν Ρ || θιαβήσωσιν edd.
Pechenegs. For they buy of them horned cattle and horses and sheep, whereby they live more easily and comfortably, since none of the aforesaid animals is found in Russia. Moreover, the Russians are quite unable to set out for wars beyond their borders unless they are at peace with the Pechenegs, because while they are away from their homes, these may come upon them and destroy and outrage their property. And so the Russians, both to avoid being harmed by them and because of the strength of that nation, are the more concerned always to be in alliance with them and to have them for support, so as both to be rid of their enmity and to enjoy the advantage of their assistance.

Nor can the Russians come at this imperial city of the Romans, either for war or for trade, unless they are at peace with the Pechenegs, because when the Russians come with their ships to the barrages of the river and cannot pass through unless they lift their ships off the river and carry them past by portaging them on their shoulders, then the men of this nation of the Pechenegs set upon them, and, as they cannot do two things at once, they are easily routed and cut to pieces.

3. Of the Pechenegs and Turks.

The tribe of the Turks, too, trembles greatly at and fears the said Pechenegs, because they have often been defeated by them and brought to the verge of complete annihilation. Therefore the Turks always look on the Pechenegs with dread, and are held in check by them.

4. Of the Pechenegs and Russians and Turks.

So long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Russians nor Turks can come upon the Roman dominions by force of arms, nor can they exact from the Romans large and inflated sums in money and goods as the price of peace, for they fear the strength of this nation which the emperor can turn against them while they are campaigning against the Romans. For the Pechenegs, if they are leagued in friendship with the emperor and won over by him through letters and gifts, can easily
κατά τῆς χώρας τῶν τε Ρώς καὶ τῶν Τούρκων ἐπέρχεσθαι καὶ ἔξανδρα-
pοδίζεσθαι τὰ τοῦτον γύναια καὶ παιδάρια καὶ ληίζεσθαι τὴν χώραν
αὐτῶν.

5. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακίτων καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων.

"Οτι καὶ τοὺς Βουλγάρους φοβερότερος αὖ εἶναι δίξειν ὁ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἡσυχίας ἐπιτίθεναι τούτους δύναται
ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰργασθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς 5
τοὺς Βουλγάρους οἱ εἰρημένοι Πατζινακίται πλησιάζουσιν, καὶ ἥνικα
βουληθῶσιν, ὃ δὲ οἰκεῖον κέρδος ἢ τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 'Ῥωμαίων
χάριτι εὐχερείας δύνανται κατὰ Βουλγαρίας ἐκστρατεύειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
περίοντος πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῶν ὑπερνικάν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἤτταν.
Αἀ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Βουλγαροὶ ἁγώνα καὶ σπουδὴν διηνεκῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ 10
eἰργασθεῖν καὶ ὑμονοεῖν μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν. Ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ πολλάκις
ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταπολεμηθῆναι καὶ πρακτεωθῆναι τῇ πείρᾳ ἐγκώμασι
Ῥουκλὼν καὶ συμφέρον 10 εἶναι τὸ εἰργασθεῖν ἀεὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

6. Περὶ τῶν Πατζινακίτων καὶ Χερσωνιτῶν.

"Οτι καὶ έτέρος λαὸς τῶν τοιούτων Πατζινακιτῶν τῷ μέρει
ἡς Χερσονοὺς παράκειναι, οὔτινες καὶ πραγματεύονται μετὰ τῶν
Χερσωνιτῶν, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰς δουλείας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βασιλέας εἰς
tε τῆς 'Ῥωσίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν καὶ τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖθεν 5
μέρη, διηλογίται λαρμάνοντες παρὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν τὸν προσμπερφόρη-
7Βο μένον μισθὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας κατὰ τὸ | ἀνήκουν τῆς
dουλείας καὶ τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν, οἷον βλαττία, πράνδια, χαρέρια, σεμέντα, πέπεριν,
ΙΦΡδερμάτια άληθινά ΙΙάρ|θικα καὶ ετερα εἴδη τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν έπιζητούμενα,
καθώς ἂν ἐκαστὸς Χερσονίτης ἐκαστὸν Πατζινακίτην πείσῃ συμφωνών 10
ἡ πεισθῆ. Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ οἷον αὐτόνομοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι Πατζινακί-
tαι οὐδεμίαν δουλείαν ἄνευ μισθοῦ ποιουσὶ ποτε.
come upon the country both of the Russians and of the Turks, and enslave their women and children and ravage their country.

5. Of the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians.

To the Bulgarians also the emperor of the Romans will appear more formidable, and can impose on them the need for tranquillity, if he is at peace with the Pechenegs, because the said Pechenegs are neighbours to these Bulgarians also, and when they wish, either for private gain or to do a favour to the emperor of the Romans, they can easily march against Bulgaria, and with their preponderating multitude and their strength overwhelm and defeat them. And so the Bulgarians also continually struggle and strive to maintain peace and harmony with the Pechenegs. For from having frequently been crushingly defeated and plundered by them, they have learned by experience the value and advantage of being always at peace with them.

6. Of the Pechenegs and Chersonites.

Yet another folk of these Pechenegs lies over against the district of Cherson; they trade with the Chersonites, and perform services for them and for the emperor in Russia and Chazaria and Zichia and all the parts beyond: that is to say, they receive from the Chersonites a prearranged remuneration in respect of this service proportionate to their labour and trouble, in the form of pieces of purple cloth, ribbons, loosely woven cloths, gold brocade, pepper, scarlet or «Parthian» leather, and other commodities which they require, according to a contract which each Chersonite may make or agree to with an individual Pecheneg. For these Pechenegs are free men and, so to say, independent, and never perform any service without remuneration.
7. Περί τῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν ἐν Πατζινακίς.

"Οτι ἡνίκαι περάση βασιλικῶς εἰς Χερσῶνα ἑνεκα τῆς τοιούτης διακονίας, ὑψέλει εὐθύς ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Πατζινακίαν καὶ ἐπιζητεῖν ὅψιδας παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ διασώστας, καὶ ἐρχομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὅψιδας εἰς τὸ κάστρον Χερσῶνος κρατουμένους καταλιμπάνειν, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλικὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν διασωστῶν πρὸς Πατζινακίαν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐπιτελεῖν. Οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι Πατζινακίται ἀπληστοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅψιδας, καὶ ερχομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὅψιδας ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅψιδας τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατάλιμπας καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀποσώσται τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅψιδας τᾶν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν γονέων ἃντων. 'Αλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τῷ μέρει τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν ὑποστρέφονται πρὸς Χερσῶνα κατέλθοσιν μετὰ αὐτοῦ, ζητοῦσι παρ’ αὐτῶν ρογιδίζεσθαι διὰ τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλογων αὐτῶν.

8. Περί τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοφύλακτος πόλεως ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν μετὰ χελανδίων διὰ τοῦ Δανουβίου καὶ Δάναπρι καὶ Δάναστρι ποταμῶν ἐν Πατζινακίς.

"Οτι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Βουλγαρίας καθέζεται λαός τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ Δάναστρι καὶ τοῦ Δάναπρι καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν ἐκεῖστε ὅψιδας τῶν ποταμῶν. Καὶ βασιλικὸς ἀποστελλόμενον ἐντεύθεν μετὰ χελανδίων, δύναται καὶ χωρίς τοῦ εἰς Χερσῶνα ἀποστεῖλετοι ἐνταῦθα συντόμως καὶ ταχέως εὑρίσκει τοὺς αὐτούς. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ εἰς Χερσῶνα ἀποστείλοντος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῖς χελανδίοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γυναικοῖς καὶ πατέρων καὶ γονέων αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ κράτησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς χελανδίους, καὶ τότε συμφωνεῖ μετὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τοῖς θεοφύλακτος Πολεως ἀποστελλόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ διὰ τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἅλων αὐτῶν.
7. Of the dispatch of imperial agents from Cherson to Patzinacia.

When an imperial agent goes over to Cherson on this service, he must at once send to Patzinacia and demand of them hostages and an escort, and on their arrival he must leave the hostages under guard in the city of Cherson, and himself go off with the escort to Patzinacia and carry out his instructions. Now these Pechenegs, who are ravenous and keenly covetous of articles rare among them, are shameless in their demands for generous gifts, the hostages demanding this for themselves and that for their wives, and the escort something for their own trouble and some more for the wear and tear of their cattle. Then, when the imperial agent enters their country, they first ask for the emperor's gifts, and then again, when these have glutted the menfolk, they ask for the presents for their wives and parents. Also, all who come with him to escort him on his way back to Cherson demand payment from him for their trouble and the wear and tear of their cattle.

8. Of the dispatch of imperial agents with ships of war from the city protected of God to Patzinacia along the Danube and Dnieper and Dniester river.

In the region of Bulgaria also is settled a folk of the Pechenegs, toward the region of the Dnieper and the Dniester and the other rivers of those parts. And when an imperial agent is dispatched from here with ships of war, he may, without going to Cherson, shortly and swiftly find these same Pechenegs here; and when he has found them, the imperial agent sends a message to them by his man, himself remaining on board the ships of war, carrying along with him and guarding in the ships of war the imperial goods. And they come down to him, and when they come down, the imperial agent gives them hostages of his men, and himself takes other hostages of these Pechenegs, and holds them in the ships of war, and then he makes
ποιήσουσιν οἱ Πατζινακίται πρὸς τὸν βασιλικὸν τοὺς ὄρκους κατὰ τὰν 19τὸν Ζάκανα αὐτῶν, ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς βασιλικὰς δωρεὰς, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται φίλους ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅσους βούλεται, καὶ ὑποστρέφει. Οὕτω δὲ χρὴ συμφωνεῖν μετὰ αὐτῶν, ὅστε, ὅπου ἂν χρεώποιηθῇ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ποιήσωσι δουλείαν, ἐφετεῖ εἰς τοὺς 'Ρώς, ἐφετε εἰς τοὺς Βουλγάρους, ἐφετε 2074Βεκαὶ εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους. Εἰσὶ γὰρ δυνατοὶ | τοῦ πάντας τούτων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πολλάκις κατὰ αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες, φοβεροὶ νῦν καθεστήκασιν. Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον καὶ ἐνετεῦθεν ἐστιν. Τὸ γὰρ χληρὸκο Παρισία ποτὲ πρὸς τοὺς Τούρκους ἀποσταλέτοις ἀπὸ κελεύσεως βασιλικῆς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπόντος, ὡς 'Ὁ βασιλεὺς δηλοποιεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἀποδιώξαι 12τὸν Ράτον Πατζινακίτας ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν καὶ καθεσθῆναι ὑμᾶς (ὑμεῖς γάρ καὶ πρὸτερον ἐκεῖσε ἐκάθεζετε) πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πλησίον τῆς βασιλείας μου, καὶ ὅτε θέλω, ἀποστέλλω, καὶ ἐν τάχει εὐφράστων ὑμᾶς», πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Τούρκων μᾶζ φωνὴ ἐξεβόησαν, ὡς 'Ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἴσωτος οὐ βάλλομεν οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθα πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὡς καὶ χώρα μεγάλη καὶ λαὸς πολὺς καὶ κακὰ παιδία εἰς καὶ τοῦ λουποῦ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πρὸς ἧμᾶς μὴ εἴπης οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτῶν; 'Οτι καὶ οἱ Πατζινακίται ἐκεῖνον τὸν Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἔκ τε διέρχονται, καὶ εἶ δε ἐκεῖσε καλοκαιρίζουσιν. 35

13Ρ 9. Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ρωσίας καταρχομένων ἐν κωνσταντινούπόλει.

"Οτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω Ρωσίας καταρχομένως ἐν Κωνstantinoupoli εἰσὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς, ἐν οὐρ σφενδοθλάβος, ὁ υἱὸς Ἰγγωρ, τοῦ ἀρχοντος Ρωσίας, ἐκάθεζετο, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ 5 κάστρον τῆς Μιλινίσκαν καὶ ἀπὸ Τελιούτζαν καὶ Τζερνιγώταν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσεγραδέ. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐπανάλη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταρχομένως 75Βε Δανάπρεως, καὶ ὑπισυνάγονται εἰς τὸ κάστρον | τὸ Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπονομάζομεν Σαμβατάς. Οἱ δὲ Σκλάβοι, οἱ πακτιώται αὐτῶν, οἱ Κριβηταιη-13Ρνοί λεγόμενοι, καὶ οἱ Λενζανήνοι καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβηνίαι εἰς τὰ δρῆς κόπτουσι τὰ μονόξυλα ἐν τῷ χειμῶνος καιρῷ, καὶ καταρτίζουσιν τοὺς. Καὶ ἀπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι εἰσβάλουσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Δάναπριν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν

V 16 Πατζινακίται Ρ. || 34 Πατζινακίται Ρ. 9. 1 ante 'Ρωσίας add. τῆς edd. || 4 Νεμογαρδάς: Νευγαρδά (sine acc.) coni. Bayer Νευγαρδά (sic) coni. Rački Νευγαρδάς coni. Bury Obolensky Νευγαρδάς Kukules ||
agreement with them; and when the Pechenegs have taken their oaths to the imperial agent according to their 'zakana', he presents them with the imperial gifts, and takes from among them as many ‘friends’ as he sees fit, and returns. Agreement must be made with them on this condition, that wherever the emperor calls upon them, they are to serve him, whether against the Russians, or against the Bulgarians, or again against the Turks. For they are able to make war upon all these, and as they have often come against them, are now regarded by them with dread. And this is clear from what follows. For once when the cleric Gabriel was dispatched by imperial mandate to the Turks and said to them, «The emperor declares that you are to go and expel the Pechenegs from their place and settle yourselves there (for in former days you used to be settled there yourselves) so that you may be near to my imperial majesty, and when I wish, I may send and find you speedily», then all the chief men of the Turks cried aloud with one voice, «We are not putting ourselves on the track of the Pechenegs; for we cannot fight them, because their country is great and their people numerous and they are the devil’s brats; and do not say this to us again; for we do not like it!»

When spring is over, the Pechenegs cross to the far side of the Dnieper river, and always pass the summer there.

9. Of the coming of the Russians in 'monoxyla' from Russia to Constantinople.

The ‘monoxyla’ which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Russia, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad. All these come down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city of Kiev, also called Sambatas. Their Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lenzanenes and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the ‘monoxyla’ on their mountains in time of winter, and when they have prepared them, as spring approaches, and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighbouring lakes. And since these lakes debouch into the river Dnieper, they enter thence on to this same
αὐτὸν ποταμόν εἰσέρχονται, καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν Κίοβα, καὶ σύρουσιν 15 εἰς τὴν ἐξάρτιν, καὶ ἀπεμπόλοντες αὐτὰ εἰς τοὺς 'Ρώς. Οἱ δὲ 'Ρώς σκαρφίδια καὶ μόνα ταῦτα ἀγοράζοντες, τὰ παλαιὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα καταλύοντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν βάλλουσιν πέλλας καὶ σκαρμοῦσι εἰς αὐτὰ καὶ

14ηρ λουπάς | χρεῖας ** εξοπλίζουσιν αὐτά. Καὶ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δανάπρεως ἀποκινοῦντες, κατέρχονται εἰς τὸ Βιτετζέβη, 20 ὅπερ ἐστὶ πακτιωτικὸν κάστρον τῶν 'Ρώς, καὶ συναθροιζόμενοι ἐκείσε μέχρι δύο καὶ τριῶν ἁμέρων, ἦνδικα ἂν ἀπάντη ἀποσυναχθῆται τὰ μονόξυλα, τότε ἀποκινοῦσιν, καὶ κατέρχονται διὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμὸν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον 'Εσσουπῆ, δ ἐρμηνεύεται 'Ρωσιτὶ καὶ Σκλαβηνιστὶ 'μη κοιμάσαι - 25 σαι'- δ ἡ τοῦτον φραγμὸν τοσοῦτον ἐστὶν στενός, δὸς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ 14ηρ ζωαναστηρίου μέσον δὲ αὐτοῦ πέτραι εἰς ρίζαν καὶ υψώσιν

76Βδίκαν ἀποφαίνεται. Πρὸς αὐτὰς οὖν ἐρωύσιν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ | πλημμυροῦν κακεῖδον ἀποκινοῦμεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω μέρος ἥχων μέγαν καὶ φόβον ἀποτελέσει. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέσον αὐτῶν οὐ τολμᾶται οἱ 'Ρώς διελθεῖν - 30 θεῦν, ἀλλὰ πλησίον σκαλώσαντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκβάλοντες εἰς τὴν ξηρᾶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πράγματα έάσαντες εἰς τὰ μονόξυλα, εἰθ' οὔτως γυμνοὶ τοὺς ποσίν ψηλαφοῦντες ** *, ἵνα μὴ τινὶ λίθῳ προσκρούσωσιν. Τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτον οἱ μὲν πλάρη, οἱ δὲ μέσον, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πρύμναν μετὰ κονταρίων κοντοβευόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης 35 ἀπάσης ἀκρίβειας διέρχονται τὸν τοιοῦτον πρῶτον φραγμὸν διὰ τῆς 15ηρ γωνίας καὶ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ηνίκα δὲ διέλθεσι | τὸν τοιοῦτον φραγμὸν, πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥχους ἀναλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποτελέσει, καὶ κατέρχονται εἰς τὸν ἐπόνομον φραγμὸν, τὸν ἐπελεγόμενον 'Ρωσιτὶ μὲν Ὄδυβορσί, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ἑσσουπῆ, δ ἐρμηνεύεται 'εἰς τὸ νῆσιον τοῦ φραγμοῦ'. 'Εστιν κάκεινος ὁμοίος τῷ πρώτῳ, χαλεπός τε καὶ δυσδιέξοδος. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκβαλόντες τὸν λαόν διαβαίνοντες τὰ μονόξυλα, καθὼς καὶ πρόπετρον. 'Ομοίος δὲ διέρχονται καὶ τὸν τρίτον φραγμὸν, τὸν λεγόμενον Θελανθρί, δ ἐρμηνεύεται ' εἰς τὸν τέταρτον φραγμὸν, τὸν μέγαν, τὸν ἐπελεγόμενον 45 νῦν 'Ρωσιτὶ μὲν Ἀειφῶρ, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Νεασήτ, διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκάνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ. 'Εν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ φραγμῷ 15ηρ σκαλώνουσιν ἀπαντα | εἰς τὴν γήν ὅρθοπλωρα, καὶ ἐξερχόνται οἱ ὄρι-
river, and come down to Kiev, and draw the ships along to be finished and sell them to the Russians. The Russians buy these bottoms only, furnishing them with oars and rowlocks and other tackle from their old 'monoxyla', which they dismantle; and so they fit them out. And in the month of June they move off down the river Dnieper and come to Vitichev, which is a tributary city of the Russians, and there they gather during two or three days; and when all the 'monoxyla' are collected together, then they set out, and come down the said Dnieper river. And first they come to the first barrage, called Essoupi, which means in Russian and Slavonic 'Do not sleep!'; the barrage itself is as narrow as the width of the Polo-ground; in the middle of it are rooted high rocks, which stand out like islands. Against these, then, comes the water and wells up and dashes down over the other side, with a mighty and terrific din. Therefore the Russians do not venture to pass between them, but put in to the bank hard by, disembarking the men on to dry land leaving the rest of the goods on board the 'monoxyla'; they then strip and, feeling with their feet to avoid striking on a rock, ***. This they do, some at the prow, some amidships, while others again, in the stern, punt with poles; and with all this careful procedure they pass this first barrage, edging round under the river-bank. When they have passed this barrage, they re-embark the others from the dry land and sail away, and come down to the second barrage, called in Russian Oulvorsi, and in Slavonic Ostrovouniprach, which means 'the Island of the Barrage'. This one is like the first, awkward and not to be passed through. Once again they disembark the men and convey the 'monoxyla' past, as on the first occasion. Similarly they pass the third barrage also, called Gelandri, which means in Slavonic 'Noise of the Barrage', and then the fourth barrage, the big one, called in Russian Asifor, and in Slavonic Neasit, because the pelicans nest in the stones of the barrage. At this barrage all put into land prow foremost,
σμένοι ἄνδρες φυλάττειν τὴν βίγλαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέρχονται, καὶ
tὰς βίγλας οὕτω διὰ τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἄχρυπως φυλάττουσιν. Οἱ δὲ 50
7Βελοτιταὶ τὰ | πράγματα, ἀπέρ ἔχουσιν εἰς τὰ μονόξυλα, ἀναλαμβάνομεν,
tὰ ψυχὰρια μετὰ τῶν ἄλογοιον διὰ τοῦ ξηροῦ αὐτὰ διαβιβάζουσι
μίλια ἢ, ἡς ἀν διέλθωσι τὸν φραγμόν. Εἰθ’ οὕτως οἱ μὲν σύροντες,
οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους βαστάζουσι τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα εἰς τὸ
tο τοῦ φραγμοῦ ἑκεῖθεν μέρος διαβιβάζουσιν· καὶ οὕτως βίπτοντες αὐτὰ εἰς 55
τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ πετζιμέντα αὐτῶν ἐμβλησκόμενοι, εἰσέρχονται,
16Ρ καὶ αὐθές ἐναπολέουσιν. Ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὸν πέμπτον φραγμόν,
tὸν ἐπονομάζομεν Ρωσίτι μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βουλιν-
πράχ, διότι μεγάλην λίμνην ἀποτελεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γωνίας
tὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα διαβιβάζουσι· καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὸν πρώτον φραγμόν 60
καὶ δεύτερον, καταλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἐκτὸν φραγμὸν, λεγόμενον μὲν
Ῥωσιτί Λέαντι, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Βερουτζ’, ἦς ἐστὶν ‘βράσμα νεροῦ’,
καὶ διαβιβάζουσι καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοίως. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναπολέουσι καὶ
πρὸς τὸν ξηρόμον φραγμὸν, τὸν ἐπιλέγομεν Ῥωσίτι μὲν Στρούκουριον,
Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ναπρεζ’, δ ἐρμηνεύεται ‘μικρός φραγμός’. Καὶ διαβαί- 65
νουσι εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον πέραμα τοῦ Κραφιοῦ, ἐν διαπερῶσιν ἀπὸ
16Ρ Ρωσίας οἱ Χερσωνίται | καὶ οἱ Πατζινακίται ἔπι Χερσώνα, ἔχουν τὸ
αὐτὸ πέραμα τὸ μὲν πλάτος, ὡς τὸν ἐπιποδρομόν, τὸ δὲ ύψος ἀπὸ κάτω
ἐως ὧν προκύπτουσιν ύφάλοι, ὡς καὶ φθάζειν σαγίττὰ τοῦ τοξευτό-
να τοῦ ἑκεῖθεν ἐκεῖσε. “Οθεν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον τόπον κατέρχονται οἱ 70
Πατζινακίται, καὶ πολεμοῦσι τοὺς Ῥώς. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ διαλείπειν τὸν
7Βοιοῦτον τόπον τὴν νῆσον, τὴν ἐπιπλέομενην | ὁ Ἀγιος Γρηγόριος
καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν τῇ νησίῳ καὶ τὰςθυσίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτελοῦσι διὰ τὸ
ἐκεῖσε ἵσταθαι παραμεγέθη δρῶν, καὶ θόουσι πετεινοὺς ᾠδάντας. Πη-
γυνοῦσι δὲ καὶ σαγίττας γυρόθεν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ψωμία καὶ κρέατα, καὶ
75 εξ αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν, ὡς τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατεῖ. Ὁποτε δὲ καὶ
17Ρ σκαρφία περὶ τῶν πετεινῶν, εἴτε σφάξει αὐτούς, | εἴτε καὶ φαγέτες, εἴτε
καὶ ᾠδάντας ἐδεικνύει αὐτούς. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νησίου τοῦτον Πατζινακίτην οἱ
Ῥώς οἱ φοβοῦνται, ἐως ἃν φθάσωσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σελινάν.
Εἰθ’ οὕτως ἀποκινοῦσιν καὶ ἀποκινοῦσιν, διὰ τὸ τὸ τοῦτον τὸν Πατζινακίτην
καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκεῖσε· ἐκεῖσε ἐν διακεχώρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ
τοῦτον τοῦτον τῶν βέλων τοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ στόμιον ὡς, ἐν τῇ
τῇ νησίῳ τοῦ Ἀγίου Αιθέριον. Καταλαμβάνοντες οὖν οὕτως τὴν
τοιαύτην νῆσον, προσαναπαύοντος ἐκαθόρως ήκείσε ἐς δύο καὶ τρίων
ἤμερῶν. Καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα, εἰς ὧς ἃν λὶπωτοῦνται χρείας,
περιποιοῦνται, τὰ τε ἁρμενιὰ καὶ τὰ κατάρτια καὶ τὰ αὐχένια, ἀπερ 85

F 72 τῆν νῆσον — Γρηγόριος: cf. Not. episc. (s. XIV.), ed. G. Parthey
p. 130. No 3, 754.
and those who are deputed to keep the watch with them get out, and off they go, these men, and keep vigilant watch for the Pechenegs. The remainder, taking up the goods which they have on board the 'monoxyla', conduct the slaves in their chains past by land, six miles, until they are through the barrage. Then, partly dragging their 'monoxyla', partly portaging them on their shoulders, they convey them to the far side of the barrage; and then, putting them on the river and loading up their baggage, they embark themselves, and again sail off in them. When they come to the fifth barrage, called in Russian Varouforos, and in Slavonic Voulniprach, because it forms a large lake, they again convey their 'monoxyla' through at the edges of the river, as at the first and second barrages, and arrive at the sixth barrage, called in Russian Leanti, and in Slavonic Veroutzi, that is 'the Boiling of the Water', and this too they pass similarly. And then they sail away to the seventh barrage, called in Russian Stroukoun, and in Slavonic Naprezi, which means 'Little Barrage'. This they pass at the so-called ford of Var, where the Chersonites cross over from Russia and the Pechenegs to Cherson; which ford is as wide as the Hippodrome, and, measured upstream from the bottom as far as the rocks break surface, a bow-shot in length. It is at this point, therefore, that the Pechenegs come down and attack the Russians. After traversing this place, they reach the island called St. Gregory, on which island they perform their sacrifices because a gigantic oak-tree stands there; and they sacrifice live cocks. Arrows, too, they peg in round about, and others bread and meat, or something of whatever each may have, as is their custom. They also throw lots regarding the cocks, whether to slaughter them, or to eat them as well, or to leave them alive. From this island onwards the Russians do not fear the Pecheneg until they reach the river Selinas. So then they start off thence and sail for four days, until they reach the lake which forms the mouth of the river, on which is the island of St. Aitherios. Arrived at this island, they rest themselves there for two or three days. And they re-equip their 'monoxyla' with such tackle as is needed, sails and masts and rudders, which they bring with them. Since this
ἐπιφέρονται. Ἡ ἐπεί δὲ τὸ στόμιον τοῦ τοιούτου ποταμοῦ ἔστιν ἡ τοιαύτη
17ς λίμνη, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ χρατεῖ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
θάλασσαν κεῖται ἡ νῆσος τοῦ Ἀγίου Αἰθέριου, ἐκ τῶν ἑκείσε ἀπέρχονται
πρὸς τὸν Δάναστριν ποταμόν, καὶ διασωθέντες ἑκείσε πάλιν ἀναπαύον-
tαι. Ἡνίκα δὲ γένηται καιρὸς ἐπιτίθεσις, ἀποσκαλοῦντες ἔρχονται 90
ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον ἂνστρον, καὶ ὁμοίως κάκειται ἀνα-
pαισώμενοι, πάλιν ἀποκατοικοῦντες ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν Σελινάν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ
Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ λεγόμενον παρακλάδιον. Καὶ ἑώς οὐ διέλθωσι τὸν
79ς Σελινάν | ποταμόν, παρατρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Πατζινακίται. Καὶ ἐὰν
πολλὰς ἡ θάλασσα μονόξυλοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπορρίπτῃ, σκαλώνουσιν 95
18ς ὅλα, ἵνα τοὺς Πατζινακίτας ἀντιπαρα|ταχθῶσιν ὁμοί. Ἡ ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν
Σελινάν οὐ φοβοῦνται τίνα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς Βουλγαρίας γῆν ἐνυδασάμενοι,
εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δανουβίου στόμιον ἔρχονται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δανουβίου κατα-
λαμβάνουσιν εἰς τὸν Κωνοπάν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωνοπά εἰς Κωνστάντιαν
99 εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βάρνας, καὶ ἀπὸ Βάρνας ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν ποταμόν100
τὴν Διτζίναν, ἄτερ πάντα εἰσὶ γῆ τῆς Βουλγαρίας. Ἡ ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διτζίνας
εἰς τὰ τῆς Μεσημβρίας μέρη καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ οὕτως μέχρι τούτων
ὁ πολυώδυνος αὐτῶν καὶ περίφοβος, δυσδιέξοδός τε καὶ χαλεπώς ἀπο-
περαίνεται πλοῦς. 'Η δὲ χειμέριος τῶν αὐτῶν 'Ρώς καὶ σκληρά διαγωγή
ἐστὶν αὐτῆς. Ἡνίκα ὁ Νοέμβριος μὴ εἰσέλθῃ, εὐθέως οἱ αὐτῶν ἐξέρχον-105
18ς ταὶ ἐρχοντες | μετὰ πάντων τῶν 'Ρώς ἀπὸ τὸν Κίαβον, καὶ ἀπέρχονται
eἰς τὰ πολύδια, δ λέγεται γύρα, ήγουν εἰς τὰς Σκλαβηνίας τῶν τε Βερβιά-
νων καὶ τῶν Δρουγουβιτῶν καὶ Κριβιτζῶν καὶ τῶν Σεβερίων καὶ λοιπῶν
Σκλάβων, οἰτινές εἰσὶν πακτιώται τῶν 'Ρώς. Δι* ὁλείρως ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος
ἐξερχόμενοι, πάλιν ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου, διαλυομένου τοῦ110
πάγου τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ, κατέρχονται πρὸς τὸν Κίαβον. Καὶ
εἰθ' οὕτως ἀποκατοίκουν τὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα, καθώς προείρηται, καὶ
ἐξοπλίζονται, καὶ πρὸς 'Ρωμανίαν κατέρχονται.
"Οτι οἱ Οὐζοὶ δύνανται τοῖς Πατζινακίταις πολεμεῖν.

80Βe 10. Π ε ρ ἰ τ ης Χαζαρίας, πῶς δεῖ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ παρ'τίνων.

19ς "Οτι οἱ Οὐζοὶ δύνανται πολεμεῖν τοὺς Χαζάρους, ὡς αὐτοῖς
πλησιάζοντες, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐξουσιοδότωρ Ἀλανίας.
lake is the mouth of this river, as has been said, and carries on down to the sea, and the island of St. Aitherios lies on the sea, they come thence to the Dniester river, and having got safely there they rest again. But when the weather is propitious, they put to sea and come to the river called Aspros, and after resting there too in like manner, they again set out and come to the Selinas, to the so-called branch of the Danube river. And until they are past the river Selinas, the Pechenegs keep pace with them. And if it happens that the sea casts a ‘monoxylon’ on shore, they all put in to land, in order to present a united opposition to the Pechenegs. But after the Selinas they fear nobody, but, entering the territory of Bulgaria, they come to the mouth of the Danube. From the Danube they proceed to the Konopas, and from the Konopas to Constantia, and from Constantia to the river of Varna, and from Varna they come to the river Ditzina, all of which are Bulgarian territory. From the Ditzina they reach the district of Mesembria, and there at last their voyage, fraught with such travail and terror, such difficulty and danger, is at an end. The severe manner of life of these same Russians in winter-time is as follows. When the month of November begins, their chiefs together with all the Russians at once leave Kiev and go off on the ‘poliudia’, which means ‘rounds’, that is, to the Slavonic regions of the Vervians and Drugovichians and Krivichians and Severians and the rest of the Slavs who are tributaries of the Russians. There they are maintained throughout the winter, but then once more, starting from the month of April, when the ice of the Dnieper river melts, they come back to Kiev. They then pick up their ‘monoxyla’, as has been said above, and fit them out, and come down to Romania.

The Uzes can attack the Pechenegs.

10. Of Chazaria, how and by whom war must be made upon it.

The Uzes can attack the Chazars, for they are their neighbours, and so can the ruler of Alania.
"Ότι τα έννεα κλίματα της Χαζαρίας τη 'Αλανία παράκεινται, και δύναται δ' 'Αλανός, ει δρα και βουλεταί, ταύτα πραιδεύει και μεγάλην βλάβην και ένδειξαν έντειθεν τοίς Χαζάροις ποιείν' ει γάρ τον έννεα τούτων κλιμάτων κλιμάτων ή πάσα ζωή και άφθονια της Χαζαρίας καθόστηκεν.

11. Περί τού κάστρου Χερσόνος και τού κάστρου Βοσπόρου.

"Ότι τού εξουσιοκράτορος 'Αλανίας μετά τον Χαζάρων μη ειρηνεύοντος, αλλ' μάλλον προτιμότεραν τιθέμενου την φιλίαν τού βασιλέως Ρωμαίων, εάν οι Χάζαροι ου βουλεύονται την | προς τον βασιλέα 5 φιλίαν και ειρήνην τηρείν, δύναται μεγάλως αυτούς κακοῦν, τάς τε οδούς ένεδρεύον και αφυλάκτως αυτούς ἐπιτιθέμενον εν τῷ διέρχονται πρός το τό Σάρκελ και τά κλίματα και την Χερσονέα. Και ει ποιήσηται σπουδήν δ τοιούτους εξουσιοκράτωρ τού κωλύου τού μεγάλως και καθώς ειρήνης μετέχουσιν ή τε Χερσονέα και τα κλίματα: φοβούμενοι 10 γάρ οι Χάζαροι τήν τον 'Αλανόν ἐπιθέσαν και μη ευρίσκοντες άδειαν μετά φοσσάτου ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ Χερσονεί και τοῖς κλίμασιν, ὡς μη πρός άριστος περπατήσειν εξίσωσιντες, ειρηνεύειν ἄνακακαστήσονται.

12. Περί τῆς μαύρης Βουλγαρίας καί τῆς Χαζαρίας. 'Οτι καί η μαύρη λεγομένη Βουλγαρία δύναται τοίς Χαζάροις πολεμεῖν.

13. Περί τῶν πλησιάζοντων οί Τούρκοι. 'Ότι τοῖς Τούρκοις τά τοιαύτα έθνη παράκεινται· πρός μέν το τυπικότερον μέρος αυτῶν ή Φραγγία, πρός δ' το βορειότερον οι Πατζινακίται, και πρός το μεσημβρινόν μέρος ή μεγάλη Μοραβία, ήτοι ή 5 χώρα τού Σφενδοπλόκου, ήτις καί παντελώς ήφανίσθη παρά τοιούτων Τούρκων, και παρ’ αυτῶν κατεσχέθη. Οί δ’ Χροβάτοι πρός τά ἄρη τοῖς Τούρκοις παράκεινται.

V 'Αλανίας, δτι Be || 5 έννεα edd.: 9' Ρ || κλήματα Ρ || 7 έννεα edd.: 9' Ρ || 8 κλημάτων τούτων V Me Ba κλημάτων τούτων Be || κλημάτων Ρ.
Nine regions of Chazaria are adjacent to Alania, and the Alan can, if he be so minded, plunder these and so cause great damage and dearth among the Chazars: for from these nine regions come all the livelihood and plenty of Chazaria.

11. Of the city of Cherson and the city of Bosporus.

If the ruler of Alania is not at peace with the Chazars, but thinks preferable the friendship of the emperor of the Romans, then, if the Chazars are not minded to preserve friendship and peace with the emperor, he, the Alan, may do them great hurt by ambushing their routes and setting upon them when they are off their guard, in their passage to Sarkel and the Regions and Cherson. And if this ruler will act zealously to check them, then Cherson and the Regions may enjoy great and profound peace; for the Chazars, afraid of the attack of the Alans and consequently not being free to attack Cherson and the Regions with an army, since they are not strong enough to fight both at once, will be compelled to remain at peace.

12. Of black Bulgaria and Chazaria.

The so-called black Bulgaria can also attack the Chazars.

13. Of the nations that are neighbours to the Turks.

These nations are adjacent to the Turks: on their western side Francia; on their northern the Pechenegs; and on the south side great Moravia, the country of Sphendoplokos, which has now been totally devastated by these Turks, and occupied by them. On the side of the mountains the Croats are adjacent to the Turks.

The Pechenegs too can attack the Turks, and plunder and harm them greatly, as has been said above in the chapter on the Pechenegs.
'Επίστησον, υιε, διανοίας ὑμμα τής σής λόγους ἐμοὶς, καὶ γνώθι, ἵνα σου ἐνέπλημψαι, καὶ ἐξείς ἐν καρίῳ ὡς ἐκ πατρικῶν ἡγεμών ἐπορεύεσθε πλοῦτον φρονήσεως καὶ ἐπιθεῖκνυονθῆσαι χῶμα συνεσεως. Ἡσθὲν οὖν, ὅτι τοῖς βορείοις ἀπαντήσῃ γένεσι φύσις ὑστερ καθέστηκεν τὸ ἐν χρήμασι 15 λίχνον καὶ ἀπλήστον καὶ ἁμέντοτε ποιηκόν μενομένον, ὅθεν πάντα ἐπικηθηκαὶ πάντων ἀφετράς, καὶ οὐκ ἦχε τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὅρη περιγραφομένας, ἀλλὰ ἂν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμεῖτο, καὶ ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ὄφελείας μεγάλα κέρδη προσπορίζονται | βούλεται. Διὸ δεῖ τὰς τοῦτον ἀναγοράς αἰθήμων καὶ παρασκευαστικὰς ἀξιώμασι τὰς λόγους πιθανῶν καὶ φρονίμων καὶ 20 συνετῶν ἀπολογιῶν ἀνατρέπεται καὶ ἀποκρούεται, αἰτιεῖ. ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἡμεῖς καταλαβεῖν ἥδυνθημεν ὥς ἐν τῷ περιλαβεῖν, τοιαῦτα τινὲς ἔσονται.

Εἴ ἂν σοι ἐντέλλομαι, καὶ αἰτησόνται εἴτε Χάζαροι, εἴτε Τούρκοι, εἴτε καὶ Ῥωσ, ἡ ἠτέρον τῷ ἔθνος τῶν βορείων καὶ Σκυθικῶν, οἴα πολλά 25 συμβαίνει, ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἀνθικῶν ἡ στεμματῶν ἡ στολῶν ἐνεκά τίνος δουλείας καὶ ὑπουργίας αὐτῶν ἀποσταλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, οὕτως συν. εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἔποιηται, ὅτι 'Αἴ τοιαῦτα στολαί καὶ τά στέμματα, ἐπάρυμισσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κατεσκευάστησαν, οὔτε ἐξ άνθρωπίνων τεχνῶν ἐπενοήθησαν ή έπενήσαν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐξ παλαιὰς ἱστορίας ἐν ἀπορρήτως λόγοις γεγραμμένον εὑρίσκομεν, ἡνίκα ὁ Θεός βασιλεύσας Κωνσταντίνον τὸν μέγαν, τὸν πρώτον Χριστιανὸν βασιλεύσαντα, δι' ἀγγέλου αὐτῷ τὰς τοιαύτας στολὰς ἐξεπέστειλεν καὶ τὰ στέμματα, ἀπερ ὑμεῖς καμελαύκια λέγετε, καὶ διωρίσατο αὐτῷ θείαι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγίᾳ εὐκλησίᾳ, διὸ δημοτελῆς καὶ μεγάλη τυγχάνῃ δεσποτική εορτή. Διό δὴ Θεοῦ προστάγματι ταῦτα ἀπέθετο, ἀτινα καὶ ἀνωθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἐν τῷ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἀποκρέμαται, καὶ εἰς κόσμον τῆς εὐκλησίας καθέστηκεν. Τά δέ λοιπά ἱμάτια καὶ σαγία βασιλικὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ἐπίκεινται ἐφαπλούμενα. Ήνίκα δὲ καταλάβη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Τησού Χριστοῦ εορτή, ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων στολῶν καὶ στεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς τὸν καιρόν ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἀφοῦξοντα ὁ πατριάρχης, καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ 45 ἀμφιέννυται αὐτά ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ὑπηρέτης Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονος, ἐν τῇ προελεύσει καὶ μόνον, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἀντιστρέφει αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀπόκεινται ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἄλλα καὶ κατάρα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ

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F 12 Ἐπίστησον — σής cf. Prov. 23, 5. 13 δ ὑς ἐνέπλημψαι Prov. 6, 3.
Fix, my son, your minds’s eye upon my words, and learn those things which I command you, and you will be able in due season as from ancestral treasures to bring forth the wealth of wisdom, and to display the abundance of wit. Know therefore that all the tribes of the north have, as it were implanted in them by nature, a ravening greed of money, never satiated, and so they demand everything and hanker after everything and have desires that know no limit or circumscription, but are always eager for more, and desirous to acquire great profits in exchange for a small service. And so these importunate demands and brazenly submitted claims must be turned back and rebutted by plausible speeches and prudent and clever excuses, which, in so far as our experience has enabled us to arrive at them, will, to speak summarily, run more or less as follows:

Should they ever require and demand, whether they be Chazars, or Turks, or again Russians, or any other nation of the northerners and Scythians, as frequently happens, that some of the imperial vesture or diadems or state robes should be sent to them in return for some service or office performed by them, then thus you shall excuse yourself: «These robes of state and the diadems, which you call ‘kamelaukia’, were not fashioned by men, nor by human arts devised or elaborated, but, as we find it written in secret stories of old history, when God made emperor the former Constantine the great, who was the first Christian emperor, He sent him these robes of state by the hand of His angel, and the diadems which you call ‘kamelaukia’, and charged him to lay them in the great and holy church of God, which, after the name of that very wisdom which is the property of God, is called St.Sophia; and not to clothe himself in them every day, but only when it is a great public festival of the Lord. And so by God’s command he laid them up, and they hang above the holy table in the sanctuary of this same church, and are for the ornament of the church. And the rest of the imperial vestments and cloaks lie spread out upon this holy table. And when a festival of our Lord and God Jesus Christ comes round, the patriarch takes up such of these robes of state and diadems as are suitable and appropriated to that occasion, and sends them to the emperor, and he wears them in the procession, and only in it, as the servant and minister of God, and after use returns them again to the church, and they are laid up in it. Moreover, there is a curse of the holy and great emperor Constantine en-
μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τάφῃ τραπέζῃ τῆς
toῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐγγεγραμμένη, καθὼς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἁγγέλου ὁ 50
Θεὸς διωρίσατο, ἵνα, ἐὰν βουληθῇ βασιλέως διὰ τινα χρείαν ἢ περίστασιν
ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀκαίριον εξ αὐτῶν ἐπάρακαὶ καὶ ἂν αὐτὸς καταχρῆσασθῇ ἢ
ἐτέροις χαρίσασθαι, ὡς πολέμιος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσταγμάτων
ἐγθάρησθαι, ἀναθεματίζεται καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκήρυττεται: εἰ δὲ καὶ
ἀυτὸς ἐτέρα ὁμοίω καμένος βουληθῇ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία 55
ἀναλαμβάνηται, τῶν ἀρχερείων πάντων ἐς ταῦτα παρρησιάζόμενον

23ρ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου· καὶ μὴ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν μήτε τόν βασιλέα, μήτε
tὸν πατριάρχην, μήτε ἐτεραὶ τῶν τού ἄγια τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ φόβος μέγας
ἐπήρτηται τοῖς βουλομένοι ἀνατρέπειν τι τῶν τοιούτων θεϊκῶν διάταξεων. Εἰς γάρ τις τῶν βασιλέων, Λέων ὄνοματι, δὲς καὶ ἄπο Χαζαρίας
γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο, ἄβούλω τόλμη χρησάμενος Ιν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνελαβεῖ τοῖς

84βε στεμμάτων, δεσποτικῆς μή παροῦσαι | ἑορτῆς, καὶ δῆκα γνώμης τοῦ
πατριάρχου τοῦτο περιεβάλετο. Καὶ εὐθέως ἄνθρακα ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου
ἐκβαλὼν καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦτο ὄντος κατατρυχόμενος ἀπέρρηκεν τὸ ζήν, 70
καὶ πρὸ καὶ πρὸ τόν θάνατον ἐπεσπάσατο. Καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου

62 Οὐσιωτὸς κρῆ σε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἄγιον πυρῶν, τοῦ διὰ τῶν σφάνων
ἐκφερομένων μεριμνὰν τε καὶ μελετᾶν, διὸς εἰπερ ποτὲ τοιοῦτος τὺν

24ρ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπιζητήσαι, καθὼς καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐζήτησαν, τοιοῦτοι
τοὺς ἐχεῖς ἀποκρούσαι καὶ ἀποπέμπεσαι ῥήμασιν, διὸ «Καὶ

αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγγραφήναι πεποίηκεν, ἵνα δ έκ τοῦ τοιούτου πυρὸς εἰς
graved upon this holy table of the church of God, according as he was charged by God through the angel, that if an emperor for any use or occasion or unseasonable desire be minded to take of them and either himself misuse them or give them to others, he shall be anathematized as the foe and enemy of the commands of God, and shall be excommunicated from the church; moreover, if he himself be minded to make others like them, these too the church of God must take, with the freely expressed approval of all the archbishops and of the senate; and it shall not be in the authority either of the emperor, or of the patriarch, or of any other, to take these robes of state or the diadems from the holy church of God. And mighty dread hangs over them who are minded to transgress any of these divine ordinances. For one of the emperors, Leo by name, who also married a wife from Chazaria, out of his folly and rashness took up one of these diadems when no festival of the Lord was toward, and without the approval of the patriarch put it about his head. And straightway a carbuncle came forth upon his forehead so that in torment at the pains of it he evilly departed his evil life, and ran upon death untimely. And, this rash act being summarily avenged, thereafter a rule was made, that when he is about to be crowned the emperor must first swear and give surety that he will neither do nor conceive anything against what has been ordained and kept from ancient times, and then may he be crowned by the patriarch and perform and execute the rites appropriate to the established festival.

Similar care and thought you must take in the matter of the liquid fire which is discharged through tubes, so that if any shall ever venture to demand this too, as they have often made demands of us also, you may rebut and dismiss them in words like these: «This too was revealed and taught by God through an angel to the great and holy Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and concerning this too he received great charges from the same angel, as we are assured by the faithful witness of our fathers and grandfathers, that it should be manufactured among the Christians only and in the city ruled by them, and nowhere else at all, nor should it be sent nor taught to any other nation whatsoever. And so, for the confirmation of this among those who should come after him, this great emperor caused curses to be inscribed on the holy table of the church of God, that he who

\[ V 49 \text{ βασιλέως om. V edd.} \quad 50/1 \delta \text{ Θεός διὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου V edd.} \quad 51 \deltaιορίσατο P \quad 54 \text{ ἀναθηματίκηται Meursius Ba Be} \quad \text{ἀποκηρύττηται Meursius Ba Be} \quad 65 \text{ κακὴν κάκος P} \quad 69 \text{ φυλαττόμενος edd.: φυλαττόμενοι P} \quad 70 \text{ τολμήσῃ Ba Be} \quad 73 \text{ χρήσαι P} \quad 76 \text{ αὐτοῖς edd.: αὐτοίς P} \quad 77 \text{ άπό τοῦ om. edd.} \quad 77/8 \text{ Χριστιανῷ Meursius Ba Be: Χριστιανών P} \quad 82 \text{ παραπέμπηται edd.: παραπέμπεται P} \]
έτερον ἐθνὸς δοῦναι τομήσας μήτε Χριστιανὸς ὄνομάζεται, μήτε ἄξιας
tινὸς ἢ ἄρχης ἄξιοντα: ἀλλ' εἰ τινα καὶ ἔχον τὸχ, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκβάλληται καὶ εἰς ἀλώνας ἀλώνων ἀνάκτητητα καὶ παραδειγματιζή-
tαι, εἰτε βασιλεῖς, εἰτε πατριάρχες, εἰτε τις ἄλλος ὁ ἄλοιπον ἄνθρωπος,
ieτε ἄρχων, εἰτε ἄρχομενος τυχανόν τὸν τοιούτον ἐν τοιούτων παραβαίνειν 90
περώμενον. Καὶ προετρέψατο πάντας τοὺς θ' ἦλων καὶ φόβον Θεοῦ
ἐχνάτως, ὡς κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ παραβάτην τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης ἐντολῆς,
tόν τοιούτον ἐπιχειροῦντα ποιεῖν ἄναιρεν σπουδᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐκθίστω
καὶ χαλεπώ παραπέμπεσθαι θανάτω. Συνέβη δὲ τοπε, τῆς κακίας
25Ρ' ἔρων εὐφροσύνης, τινά τῶν ἡμέτερων στρατηγῶν δόμα παρὰ 95
tινῶν ἑθνικῶν πάμπολλα εἰληφόντα μεταδόντας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον
πυρός, καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνεκδίκητον καταλιφέν τὴν παρά-
βασιν, εἰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσίναι εἰκονιστήρι
ἐκ τοῦ ὄφραν κατελθὼν τοῦτον κατέφαγε καὶ ἀνάλυσεν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε
φόβος μέγας καὶ τρόμος ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὐκέτι100
οδείς τοῦ λυποῦ, οὔτε βασιλείας, οὔτε ἄρχων, οὔτε ἰδιοτῆς, οὔτε στρα-
τηγός, οὔτε οἱ ἄλοιποι ἄλοιπον ἄνθρωπος κατέκλησε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑνμη-
θήναι, μήτι γε καὶ ἔργον ἐπιειρήσαντα ποιήσαν εἰ διαπράξασθαι.»
'Αλλ' ἄγε δή μετάβηθι, καὶ πρὸς ἑτερον εἴδος αἴτησεως παραλόγου
καὶ ἀπρεποῦς εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀρμόζοντας λόγους ἀναζήτει καὶ ἀναμάθη-
ητα. Εί γάρ ποτε θνὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπιστῶν τούτων καὶ ἀτιμῶν βορείων
γενῶν αἴτησήν μετανησθήσατε καὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως παραγγειλάτε, καὶ διὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ εἰς νύφην λαμβάνετε ἢ ἐπιδοῦντες
οἰκεία θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα χρηματίσατε βασιλέως ἢ βασιλέως υἱόν, χρῆνες καὶ τοιοῦτος ἰδιοτῆς
καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτῶν παρὰλογον ἀποκρούσατε αἴτησιν, λέγοντες,110
ὅτι μετά τοῦτο τῆς ἡποθέσεως παραγγειλάτε καὶ διάταγε ὠλοκλήρως
καὶ ἀπαραπόητος τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀγίου Κωνσταντίνου ἐναπογέγραπται
ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ τῆς καθολικῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἁγίας
Σοφίας τῷ μηδέποτε βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων συμπενθεριάσατε μετὰ ἑθνοῦς
25Ρ' παραλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐξεῖνος ἐθείς χρωμένον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καταστάσεως,115
μάλιστα δὲ ἀλλοπάτητον καὶ ἀβαπτισμόν, εἰ μή μετὰ μόνων τῶν Φράγγων'
tοῦτος γάρ μόνων ὑπομενείτω ὁ μέγας ἄρχων ἀνὴρ, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἄγιος, ὡς
καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἑνεκεῖν ἄντο τῶν τοιούτων ἔσχε μερῶν, ὡς
συγγενείας καὶ ἐπιμίξεις πολλῆς τυχανοῦσας Φράγγων θεὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίους.
Καὶ διὰ τό μετὰ τοιοῦτον μόνων προετρέψατο συνιστάν γαμικά συναλ-120

F  98 πυρ — 99 ἀνάλωσαν: cf. IV Reg. 1, 10—12; Apos. 20, 9; Socrates, Hist. eccl. VII. 43. 100 φόβος — τρόμος: cf. Exod. 15, 16; Psalm. 54, 6. 104 'Αλλ' ἄγε δη μετάβηθι: Homeri Od. VIII. 492.

V  86 ὄνομάζεται edd. || 88 ἐκβάλλεται Be || αἴλων V edd. || ἀνακτήτη
should dare to give of this fire to another nation should neither be called a Christian, not be held worthy of any rank or office; and if he should be the holder of any such, he should be expelled therefrom and be anathematized and made an example for ever and ever, whether he were emperor, or patriarch, or any other man whatever, either ruler or subject, who should seek to transgress this commandment. And he adjured all who had the zeal and fear of God to be prompt to make away with him who attempted to do this, as a common enemy and a transgressor of this great commandment, and to dismiss him to a death most hateful and cruel. And it happened once, as wickedness will still find room, that one of our military governors, who had been most heavily bribed by certain foreigners, handed over some of this fire to them; and, since God could not endure to leave unavenged this transgression, as he was about to enter the holy church of God, fire came down out of heaven and devoured and consumed him utterly. And thereafter mighty dread and terror were implanted in the hearts of all men, and never since then has anyone, whether emperor, or noble, or private citizen, or military governor, or any man of any sort whatever, ventured to think of such a thing, far less to attempt to do it or bring it to pass.»

'But come, now, turn', and to meet another sort of demand, monstrous and unseemly, seemly and appropriate words discover and seek out. For if any nation of these infidel and dishonourable tribes of the north shall ever demand a marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and either to take his daughter to wife, or to give a daughter of their own to be wife to the emperor or to the emperor's son, this monstrous demand of theirs also you shall rebut with these words, saying: «Concerning this matter also a dread and authentic charge and ordinance of the great and holy Constantine is engraved upon the sacred table of the universal church of the Christians, St. Sophia, that never shall an emperor of the Romans ally himself in marriage with a nation of customs differing from and alien to those of the Roman order, especially with one that is infidel and unbaptized, unless it be with the Franks alone; for they alone were excepted by that great man, the holy Constantine, because he himself drew his origin from those parts; for there is much relationship and converse between Franks and Romans. And why did he order that with them alone the emperors of the Romans should
λάγια τοὺς βασιλεῖς 'Ρωμαίων; Διὰ τὴν ἀνοικθὲν τῶν μερῶν ἐκείνων καὶ γενῶν περιφάνειαν καὶ εὐγένειαν. Μετ' ἄλλου δὲ τοῦ οὐλοδητοῦ ἐθνοῦς μὴ δυναμένους τούτῳ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τομήσας ἵνα, ὡς παραβάτης πατριαρχῶν εὐσήγησαι καὶ βασιλείων θεσμῶν, ἀλλ'—

26ος τροπὸς κρίνοιτο τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραβαίνει τούτῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ προφητείας. Ο δὲ προμνημονευθεὶς Λέων ἐκείνος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ καὶ | τῷ στέμμα, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται, παρανόμως καὶ τολμηρῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δίχα γνώμης τοῦ τότε πατριαρχοῦντος λαβῶν καὶ περιθέμενος καὶ τὴν δίκην συντόμως δοὺς ἄξιαν τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρὰς ἐγχειρήσεως, ἐτόλμησε καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐντολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως ἐκείνου, ἣτις, ὡς ἤδη διδήλωται, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀναγραμμένῃ καθέστηκεν, παρὰ φαύλον θέσθαι καὶ ὡς μηδέν λογίσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀπας ἐξω τοῦ Θεοῦ πόθο καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἡματόν, συνεστήσατο καὶ μετὰ τοῦ χαγάνου Χαζαρίας | γαμικόν συναλλάγιον, καὶ τὴν ὑγατέρα αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μέγα ἔξω τοῦ ἐνδείκος καὶ τῇ ἁγία τοῦ ἑρμασάμου καὶ τῆς ἀνατροπῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἁγίων κατεδέξατο;» Εἶ δὲ ἀντείπωσιν «Πῶς ό κύρις 'Ρωμανός ό βασιλεύς μετὰ Βουλγάρων εὐθυνεῖται, καὶ τὴν ιδίαν ἐκγόνην δέδωκεν τῷ κυρίῳ Πέτρῳ τῷ Βουλγάρῳ;», δεῖ ἀπολογῆσασθαι, διὸ «Ό κύρις 'Ρωμανός, δ βασιλεύς, ιδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος ἄνθρωπος ήν, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀνωθεν ἐν βασιλείοις τεθραμμένων, οὔτε τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων ἐκ τίς 'Ρωμαϊκοῦ ἐθίσμοις, οὐτε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατηκολούθησεν, άλλ' ἐκ γνώμης αὐθαίδευτος καὶ άξιον τῆς τῆς Ηπείρου καταστάσεως; *Η τίς τῶν ἐγκριτῶν καὶ εὐγένων καὶ σοφῶν βασιλέων 'Ρωμαίων κατεδέξατο;» Διὸ χάριν τῶν ἀνωθεν προείρηται, παρ' οὐδέν λογισάμενος· πλὴν οὐδὲ ορθόδοξος ήν, άλλ' αιρετικός καὶ εἰκονομάχος. Διό χάριν τῶν τοιούτων ἀναθεμάτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία ἀποκηρύττεται καὶ ἀναθεματίζεται, ὡς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Αγίου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου διατάξεως παραβάτης καὶ ἀνατροπῆς. Πῶς γάρ ἐστιν τῶν ἐνδεχομένων Χριστιανοῦς καταστάσεως ἀπάσης ἀλλότριον αὐτῷ λογιζόμενος καὶ έξο τῆς Ἑρμασάμους καταστάσεως; "Η τίς τῶν ἑρμασάμων, οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καταστάσεως; "Η τίς τῶν ἑρμασάμων, οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καταστάσεως; Εἰ δὲ ἀντείπωσιν: Πῶς ο κύριος 'Ρωμανός ο βασιλεύς μετὰ Βουλγάρων καθεδέστερον καὶ εὐκρίνειας, καὶ τήν ίδίαν | ἐκγόνην δέδωκεν τῷ κυρίῳ Πέτρῳ τῷ Βουλγάρῳ;", δεῖ ἀπολογήσασθαι, διὸ «Ό κύριος 'Ρωμανός, ο βασιλεύς, ιδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος άνθρωπος ήν, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀνωθεν ἐν βασιλείοις τέθραμμένων, οὔτε τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς 'Ρωμαϊκοῖς ἑθισμοίς, οὔτε ἀπὸ γένους βασιλείου καὶ εὐγενοῦς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐθαίδετερον καὶ ἐξουσιαστικὸτερον τὰ πολλὰ κατεπράττετο, καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ διατάξεων τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου κατηκολούθησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ γνώμης αὐθαίδευτος καὶ αὐτοβουλοῦ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀμαθῶν καὶ μὴ βουλομένης.
intermarry? Because of the traditional fame and nobility of those lands and races. But with any other nation whatsoever it was not to be in their power to do this, and he who dared to do it was to be condemned as an alien from the ranks of the Christians and subject to the anathema, as a transgressor of ancestral laws and imperial ordinances. And that emperor Leo aforesaid, who also, as has been described above, unlawfully and rashly, without the consent of him who was then patriarch, took from the church the diadem and put it about his head and was summarily punished in full for his wicked attempt, dared to make light of and to disregard this commandment also of that holy emperor, which, as has already been made clear, is engraved on the holy table; and as he had once put himself outside the fear of God and His commandments, so also he contracted an alliance in marriage with the chagan of Chazaria, and received his daughter to be his wife, and thereby attached great shame to the empire of the Romans and to himself, because he annulled and disregarded the ancestral injunctions; yet he, however, was not even an orthodox Christian, but an heretic and a destroyer of images. And so for these his unlawful impieties he is continually excommunicated and anathematized in the church of God, as a transgressor and perverter of the ordinance of God and of the holy and great emperor Constantine. For how can it be admissible that Christians should form marriage associations and ally themselves by marriage with infidels, when the canon forbids it and the whole church regards it as alien to and outside the Christian order? Or which of the illustrious or noble or wise emperors of the Romans has admitted it? » But if they reply: «How then did the lord Romanus, the emperor, ally himself in marriage with the Bulgarians, and give his grand-daughter to the lord Peter the Bulgarian? », this must be the defence: «The lord Romanus, the emperor, was a common, illiterate fellow, and not from among those who have been bred up in the palace, and have followed the Roman national customs from the beginning; nor was he of imperial and noble stock, and for this reason in most of his actions he was too arrogant and despotic, and in this instance he neither heeded the prohibition of the church, nor followed the commandment and ordinance of the great Constantine, but out of a temper arrogant and self-willed and untaught in virtue and refusing to follow what was
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έπεσθαι τω πρέποντι καί καλφ, μηδέ ταΐς πατροπαραδότοις στοιχεΐν
διατάξεσιν τοΰτο ποιήσαι τετόλμηκεν, ταύτην μόνην εύλογον δηλονότι
προβαλλόμενος πρόφασιν, τοσοΰτον πλήθος αιχμαλώτων Χριστιανών
διά τής τοιαύτης πράξεως άναρρύεσθαι, καί τό Χριστιανούς είναι καί τούς160
Βουλγάρους <καί]> όμοπίστους ημών, άλλως τε καί ότι ουδέ αύτοκράτορος
καί ένθέσμου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ ή έκδιδομένη έτύγχανεν, αλλά τρίτου
28νΡ καί έσχατου καί έτι ύποχει|ρίου καί μηδεμίαν εξουσίαν εν τοΐς τής αρχής
μετέχοντος πράγμασι* καί ούδέν διέφερεν τό τοιοΰτον τοΰ καί άλλην
τινα τών βασιλικών συγγενίδων, τών πορρωτέρω τε καί εγγύς τής βασι-165
λείας εύγενείας τυγχανουσών, καί διά τινα κοινωφελή δουλείαν, καί τοΰ
εσχάτου καί μηδέν σχεδόν έξουσιάζοντος. Έ π εί έξω τοΰ κανόνος καί τής
εκκλησιαστικής παραδόσεως καί τής τοΰ μεγάλου καί άγιου βασιλέως,
Κωνσταντίνου διαταγής τε καί έντολής τοΰτο πεποίηκεν, πολλά καί
89Ββζών ώνειδίσθη ό προρρηθείς κύρις 'Ρωμανός, καί διε[βλήθη καί έμι-170
σήθη παρά τε τής συγκλήτου βουλής καί τοΰ δήμου παντός καί τής
έκκλησίας αυτής, ώς καί τό μΐσος άπό τοΰ τέλους γενέσθαι καταφανές,
29ΓΡ καί μετά θάνατον | ομοίως έξουθενεΐται καί διαβάλλεται καί υπό καταγνώμην τίθεται καί οδτος, άνάξιον πράγμα καί απρεπές εις την εύγενή
πολιτείαν 'Ρωμαίων καινοτομήσας.» 'Έκαστον γάρ έθνος διάφορα έχον175
έθη καί διαλλάττοντας νόμους τε καί θεσμούς οφείλει τά οίκεΐα κρατυνειν καί άπό τοΰ αύτοΰ έθνους τάς προς άνάκρασιν βίου κοινωνίας ποιεΐσθαι καί ένεργεΐν. 'Ώσπερ γάρ έκαστον ζώον μετά τών ομογενών τάς
μίξεις έργάζεται, ουτω καί έκαστον έθνος ούκ έξ άλλοφύλων καί άλλογλώσσων, άλλ3 έκ τών ομογενών τε καί ομοφώνων τά συνοικέσια τών180
γάμων ποιεΐσθαι καθέστηκεν δίκαιον. Έντεΰθεν γάρ καί ή προς άλλή29νΡ λους ομοφροσύνη καί συνομιλία καί προσφιλής συνδιατριβή καί συμβί |ωσις
περιγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν' τά δέ άλλότρια έθη καί διαλλάττοντα νόμιμα
άπεχθείας μάλλον καί προσκρούσεις καί μίση καί στάσεις εΐωθεν άπογεννάν, άπερ ου φιλίας καί κοινωνίας, άλλ3 έχθρας καί διαστάσεις φιλεΐ185
άπεργάζεσθαι. Καί ότι μή δει τά κακώς παρά τινων έξ άμαθείας ή
αύθαδείας καταπραχθέντα τούς έννόμως άρχειν βουλομένους μιμεΐσθαί
τε καί ζηλοΰν, άλλά τών έννόμως καί δικαίως βεβασιλευκότων τάς
άοιδίμους πράξεις έχειν, ώς εικόνας άγαθάς εις παράδειγμα προκειμένας
μιμήσεως, καί κατ3 έκείνας πειράσθαι καί αυτόν άπευθύνειν πάντα τάΐ90
παρ3 αύτοΰ ένεργούμενα, έπεί καί τό διά τάς τοιαύτας αύτοβούλους
90Be I πρά|ξειζ αύτοΰ έπελθόν αύτφ τέλος, φημί δη τώ κυρω 'Ρωμανώ,

V 157 στοιχεΐν B a B e: τυχεΐν Ρ
[|
158 δηλονότι edd.: δηλόθεν Ρ
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right and good, or to submit to the ordinances handed down by our forefathers, he dared to do this thing; offering, that is, this alone by way of specious excuse, that by this action so many Christian prisoners were ransomed, and that the Bulgarians too are Christians and of like faith with us, and that in any case she who was given in marriage was not daughter of the chief and lawful emperor, but of the third and most junior, who was still subordinate and had no share of authority in matters of government; but this was no different from giving any other of the ladies of the imperial family, whether more distantly or closely related to the imperial nobility, nor did it make any difference that she was given for some service to the commonweal, or was daughter of the most junior, who had no authority to speak of. And because he did this thing contrary to the canon and to ecclesiastical tradition and the ordinance and commandment of the great and holy emperor Constantine, the aforesaid lord Romanus was in his lifetime much abused, and was slandered and hated by the senatorial council and all the commons and the church herself, so that their hatred became abundantly clear in the end to which he came; and after his death he is in the same way vilified and slandered and condemned inasmuch as he too introduced an unworthy and unseemly innovation into the noble polity of the Romans.* For each nation has different customs and divergent laws and institutions, and should consolidate those things that are proper to it, and should form and develop out of the same nation the associations for the fusion of its life. For just as each animal mates with its own tribe, so it is right that each nation also should marry and cohabit not with those of other race and tongue but of the same tribe and speech. For hence arise naturally harmony of thought and intercourse among one another and friendly converse and living together; but alien customs and divergent laws are likely on the contrary to engender enmities and quarrels and hatreds and broils, which tend to beget not friendship and association but spite and division. Mark, too, that it is not for those who wish to govern lawfully to copy and emulate what has been ill done by some out of ignorance or arrogance, but rather to have the glorious deeds of those who have ruled lawfully and righteously as noble pictures set up for an example to be copied, and after their pattern to strive himself also to direct all that he does; since the end which came upon him, I mean, the lord Romanus, through these
ικανόν ἔστιν πρὸς σωφρονισμὸν παράδειγμα τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κακῶς παρ’ ἑκείνῳ πραχθέντα ζηλοῦν.

Χρεών δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτα σε γνώσκειν, οὐ πολυέραστε, ἀντὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης, σοφίαν ἐπιτεληθείσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν διεσυρόμενος ἐνήπαρεν εὐθυμενῶς, γενεαλογίας τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔθνων καὶ θέσεως καὶ κράσεως τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν κατακεκομμένης γῆς καὶ περιγραφῆς αὐτῆς καὶ σταδιασμοῦ, καθὼς ἔξεις πλατύτερον διηρμῆνεται.

14. Περί τῆς γενεαλογίας τοῦ Μουχούμετ.

Γενεαλογεῖται ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ ἀκάθαρτος Μουχούμετ, ὁν λέγουσιν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ προφήτης αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἐξ φυλῆς γενεκομμένης Ἰσμαήλ, ὕιοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καταγόμενος. Ζιναρός γὰρ, ὁ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ ἀπόγονος, πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀναγορεύεται πάντων. Οὕτως οὖν γεννᾶ ὑιὸς δύο, Μοῦνδαρος καὶ Ραβίαν, ὁ δὲ Μοῦνδαρος τίκτει Κούσαρον καὶ Κάγιον καὶ Θεμίμην καὶ Ἀσανδον καὶ ἄλλους τυχόν ἀνδρόμοις, οἱ καὶ τὴν Μαδιανΐτιν έρημόν κληρωσάμενοι, ἐκτητοράνθρωπον ἐν σκηναίς κατοικούσας. Ἐσι δὲ καὶ ἐνδότεροι τῶν ἄλλων οὖς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς αὐτῶν, ἦλη τοῦ Ἑκτάν, οἱ λέγουσιν Μουχούμετ.


V 196 μεγάλας V μεγάλος οδ. || 197 τάδε P || 198 γενεαλογίας οδ.:

his headstrong acts is a sufficient warning to restrain anyone who is minded to emulate his evil deeds.

But now, with the rest, you must know also what follows, my well-loved son, since knowledge of it may greatly advantage you and render you the object of greater admiration. That is, once again, knowledge 'of the difference between other nations, their origins and customs and manner of life, and the position and climate of the land they dwell in, and its geographical description and measurement', as they are more widely expounded hereafter.

14. Of the genealogy of Mahomet.

The blasphemous and obscene Mahomet, whom the Saracens claim for their prophet, traces his genealogy by descent from the most widespread race of Ishmael, son of Abraham. For Nizarios, the descendant of Ishmael, is proclaimed the father of them all. Now he begat two sons, Moundaros and Rabias, and Moundaros begat Kousaros and Kaïsos and Themimes and Asandos and various others whose names are unknown, who were allotted the Madianite desert and reared their flocks, dwelling in tents. And there are others further off in the interior who are not of the same tribe, but of Iektan, the so-called Homerites, that is, Amanites. And the story is published abroad thus. This Mahomet, being destitute and an orphan, thought fit to hire himself out to a certain wealthy woman, his relative, Chadiga by name, to tend her camels and to trade for her in Egypt among the foreigners and in Palestine. Thereafter by little and little he grew more free in converse and ingratiated himself with the woman, who was a widow, and took her to wife. Now, during his visits to Palestine and intercourse with Jews and Christians he used to follow up certain of their doctrines and interpretations of scripture. But as he had the disease of epilepsy, his wife, a noble and wealthy lady, was greatly cast down at being united to this man, who was not only destitute but an epileptic into the bargain, and so he deceived her by alleging: «I behold a dreadful vision of an angel called Gabriel, and...»
Γαβριήλ ὄνοματι, καὶ μὴ ὑποφέρων αὐτοῦ τὴν θέαν ὀλγωρῶ καὶ πίπτω», 31

Επιστεύθη, | συμψευδομαρτυροῦντος αὐτῷ Ἄρειαν τίνος μοναχοῦ ψευδονύμου δι' ἀληθροκέρδεσιν. Καὶ οὕτως ἡ γυνὴ πλανηθείσα καὶ ἄλλαις γυναιξὶν ὑμοφύλαις κηρύξασα προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, προῆλθεν τὸ φεῦδος τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα φύλαξαν τοῦνομα Βουβάχαρ. 25 Προς τὸν γυνὴν παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἄνδρα φύλαρχον τοῦ Βουβάχαρ. Καὶ οὕτως δὲ παράφρων καὶ πεφενακισμένος τοὺς πειθομένους, δτι ό

θανοῦσα καὶ τούτον διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον καταλείψασα τῶν έαυτῆς, ἐγένετο περιφανής καὶ ἀγαν υπερούσιος, καὶ κατέσχεν ἡ πονηρὰ πλάνη τε καὶ αἵρεσις αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθρίβου. Καὶ έδίδαξεν οὕτως ὅ παράφρων καὶ πεφενακισμένος τοὺς πειθομένους, δτι ό

15. Περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Φατεμίτων.

Ἰστεόν, δτι ἡ Φατέμ θυγάτηρ ἤν τοῦ Μουχούμετ, καὶ ἀπ' ἡμῶν γεννώνται οἱ Φατεμίται. Οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ άπό τῆς Αἰθρίβου χώρας, αλλὰ κατοικοῦσι προς τὰ βορειότερα μέρη τοῦ Μέκε, βαθύτερα τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Μουχούμετ. Εἰσὶ δὲ άπό τῆς Αραβίας, πρὸς 5


being unable to endure his sight, I faint and fall; and he was believed because a certain Arian, who pretended to be a monk, testified falsely in his support for love of gain. The woman being in this manner imposed on and proclaiming to other women of her tribe that he was a prophet, the lying fraud reached also the ears of a head-man whose name was Boubachar. Well, the woman died and left her husband behind to succeed her and to be heir of her estate, and he became a notable and very wealthy man, and his wicked imposture and heresy took hold on the district of Ethribos. And the crazy and deluded fellow taught those who believed on him, that he who slays an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters into paradise, and all the rest of his nonsense. And they pray, moreover, to the star of Aphrodite, which they call Koubar, and in their supplication cry out: «Alla wa Koubar», that is, 'God and Aphrodite'. For they call God 'Alla', and 'wa' they use for the conjunction 'and', and they call the star 'Koubar', and so they say 'Alla wa Koubar'.

15. Of the tribe of the Fatemites.

Fatem was a daughter of Mahomet, and from her are begotten the Fatemites. But these are not from Fatemi, from the country of Libya, but dwell in the district north of Mecca, away behind the tomb of Mahomet. They are an Arab nation, carefully trained to wars and battles; for with the aid of this tribe Mahomet went to war, and took many cities and subdued many countries. For they are brave men and warriors, so that if they be found to the number of a thousand in an army, that army cannot be defeated or worsted. They ride not horses but camels, and in time of war they do not put on corselets or coats of mail but pink-coloured cloaks, and have long spears and shields as tall as a man and enormous wooden bows which few can bend, and that with difficulty.
16. 'Εκ τοῦ κανόνος, οὗ ἔθεματίσεν Στέφανος ὁ 33Ραθήματικὸς περὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔξοδου, ἐν ποιῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως ἐγένετο, καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σχηματρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων διέπων.

'Εξήλθον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ μνήμε πεπερατίσης, εἰς τὸ δωδεκάτον ἔτος Ἰερακλεῖον, ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑκατόν τέσσαρα. Τὸ δὲ θεματίν τῶν αὐτῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐγένετο εἰς μήνα Σεπτεμβρίου τρίτην, ἡμέρα πέμπτη. Εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πρώτος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν 'Αράβων Μουάμεθ, διὸ οἱ Ἀράβες καλοῦσι Μουχούμετ, καὶ καὶ πρὸ φήτης αὐτῶν χρηματίσας, ἐκφάτησε δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν 'Αράβων ἐπὶ ἐνέκεια.

17. 'Εκ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ μαχαρίου Θεοφάνους.

Τούτω τῷ ἔτει, ήγουν Ἐφραὴμ, ἀπεβίω Μουάμεθ, ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ἑφεδροπροφήτης, προχειρισάμενος ἐν |τῇ αὐτῷ 'Ἀβουβάχαρ-ρον, τῶν καὶ Βουπάκτωρα, συγγενῆ αὐτῶ. Οἱ δὲ πεπλανημένοι Ἐβραῖοι εἰς τὴν παρουσία τῶν αὐτῶν ἐγνώσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαναλημμένοι Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τινὰς τῶν προφητῶν αὐτῶν προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ δέξασθαι τῇ αὐτῶ θρησκείᾳ, καὶ καταλίπειν τὴν τοῦ θεότητος Μωσέως. Θεωρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσθοντα ἀπὸ καμήλου, ἐγνώσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦστεν, διὸ ἐνόμισαν. Ἐξήλθον δὲ αὐτῶν ἄθεμιτα κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὥς καὶ δυτίγον σὺν αὐτῷ. Οὕτω εἰσίν οἱ διδάζοντες αὐτὸν παραδέχεσθαι μέρη τινὰ τοῦ νόμου, τὴν τε περιτομὴν καὶ ἔξω τινὰ, ἀπὸ παραφυλάττοντοι οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ. Πρῶτος οὖν 'Ἀβουβάχαρ ἡκολούθησεν αὐτὸν καὶ προφήτην ἐκήρυξεν, διὸ καὶ διάδοχον αὐτῶν κατέλιπεν. Ἐκφάτησεν δὲ ἡ αἴρεσις αὐτῶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθρίβου, πρώτως μὲν ἐν χρυσῷ ἐτη ἐδέξα, τὸ δὲ ἐσχατον διὰ πολέμου ὅμοιος ἐτη ἐδέξα, 15


16. From the canon which Stephen the astrologer cast from the stars concerning the Exodus of the Saracens, in what year of the foundation of the world it took place, and who then held the sceptre of the empire of the Romans.

The Exodus of the Saracens took place on the third day of the month of September of the tenth indiction, in the twelfth year of Heraclius, in the year from the creation of the world 6130. And the horoscope of these same Saracens was cast in the month of September, on the third day of the month, the fifth day of the week. At this same time Mouameth was first chief of the Arabs, whom the Arabs call Mahomet, who was also their prophet, and he held rule over the Arabs nine years.

17. From the Chronicle of Theophanes, of blessed memory.

In this year. 6139, died Mouameth, chief and false prophet of the Saracens, having appointed in his stead Aboubacharos, or Boupaktor, his kinsman. And the deluded Jews at his first appearance had taken him for the Christ whom they expect, so that some of their leading men approached him and received his religion and forsook that of Moses who beheld God. But when they saw him eating camel's flesh, they realized that he was not what they had thought him. But they taught him to do nefarious crimes against the Christians and continued in his company. These are they who taught him to accept some parts of the Law, both the circumcision and other matters, which the Saracens observe. The first to come after him, then, was Aboubachar, who had proclaimed him to be a prophet and was for that reason left behind to succeed him. And his heresy prevailed in the district of Ethribos, at first in secret ten years, and at last through
καὶ φανερῶς ἐτή ἐννέα. Ἐδίδαξεν δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπηκόους, ὅτι ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἀπὸ ἐχθροῦ ἀποκτεννόμενος ἀκολούθως εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσέρχεται, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον σαρκικῆς βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ μίξεως γυναικῶν ἔλεγεν, ποταμῶν δὲ οὖν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος καταρρεῖν, καὶ γυναικῶν τὴν ὀρασίαν ἀσύγκριτον, οὗ τῶν παρόντων, ἢ ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι, καὶ τὴν μίξιν πολυχρόνων ἔφασκεν καὶ διαρκῆ τὴν ἄρεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀσωτικὰ καὶ μωριάς ἐμπελά, συμπαθεῖν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὐτοί ἐκκοιμήσϵναι.

18. Δεύτερος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἀράβων, Ἀβουβάχαρ, ἵνα τρία.

Οὗτος ὁ Ἀβουβάχαρ πρῶτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν Γάζαν καὶ πάσαν αὐτῆς τὴν περιόριον. Τελευτά δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀβουβάχαρ ἀμηρεύσας ἐτή τρία, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν Οὔμαρ, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν Ἀράβων ἤδη δώδεκα.

19. Τρίτος ἀρχηγὸς Ἀράβων, Οὐμάρ.

ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν Ὑμαρ ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, καὶ παρακαθίσας έπολιρροήσε τὴν Ιερουσαλήμ διετὴ χρόνον, καὶ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν ἰδιός. Σωφρόνιος γὰρ, ὁ Ἰεροσολύμων ἀσφαλετάτος, ἑώρη κινούμενος ζήλου καὶ ἀγάπη τῆς διαπρέπους, λόγον ἔλαβεν παρ’ τούτοι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἁσφαλέστατον, ὅστε αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέσθης | μενεῖν τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀπορθήτων. Τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Ὑμαρ ἐξηγήσε. "Επ’ ἀλήθειας τούτο ἐστίν τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρήμωσεως, τὸ ἀποκτενόμενος τῆς εἰρήμωσεως, τὸ ἀποκτενόμενος. Οὗτος τὸν ναὸν ἐξήτησεν τῶν Ιουδαίων, ὅμως ἐρμη καὶ ἀποφαζόμενος τῶν Ιουδαίων, πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀυτὸν προσκυνητήριον τῆς αὐτοῦ βλασφημίας. Καὶ ἐστὶ ἐκεῖ τῆς σήμερον.
war another ten years, and openly nine years. And he taught his subjects
that he who has slain an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters unhindered
into paradise, and said that it is a paradise of carnal eating and drinking
and lying with women, and that a river of wine and honey and milk flows
down it and the women are incomparable to look upon, not such as we
know here but other, and he fabled that intercourse with them is of long
duration and the pleasure continuous, and other matters replete with
libertinism and folly; and they are to forgive one another and aid one
another when wronged.

18. The second chief of the Arabs, Aboubachar,
three years.

This Aboubachar first took the city of Gaza and all the terri-
tory round about it. And the same Aboubachar died after ruling as emir
three years, and Oumar succeeded to the rule and governed the Arabs
twelve years.

19. The third chief of the Arabs, Oumar.

This same Oumar marched against Palestine, and laid siege in it
and blockaded Jerusalem for the space of two years, and took it by guile.
For Spohronius, bishop of Jerusalem, one moved with divine zeal and
excellent in sagacity, received from him a most sure undertaking concerning
the churches throughout Palestine, so that the churches were neither de-
stroyed nor sacked. When Sophronius saw him, he said: «Of a truth this
is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, that
standeth in the holy place.» He demanded the temple of the Jews that
Solomon built, to make it the place of worship of his blasphemy. And it is
so to this day.
20. Τέταρτος Ἄράβων ἀρχηγός, ὁ Υθμάν.

Οὗτος λαμβάνει τὴν Ἀφρικήν πολέμω, καὶ σταιχήσας φόρους μετὰ τὸν Ἀφρων ὑπέστρεψεν. Τούτου στρατηγὸς χρηματίζει Μαυίας, ὁ παραλύσας τὸν κολοσσὸν Ῥόδου καὶ παραδὸς Κύπρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς. Οὗτος παραλαμβάνει καὶ νῆσον τὴν Ἀραβίαν, 5

35[Ψ]κολοσσὸν μετὰ χάλια τῇ ἐτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ | ἱδρύσεως, δὴ Ἰουδαίος τις ἐμπορὸς ὑπήρξε καὶ θρασύνασσας 'Εδεσσην, ὃ καμήλους ἐφόρτωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν χαλκὸν. Οὗτος ὁ Μαυίας ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 10 καὶ ἐλυμήνατο τὴν τέ Έφεσον καὶ Άλικαρνασσόν καὶ Σμύρνην καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις Ιωνίας, δὲ καὶ γέγονεν τῶν Ἄραβων ἀρχηγὸς πέμπτος μετὰ τὴν Οθωμᾶν τελευτήν ἐτῇ εἴκοσι τέσσαρα.

21. 'Εκ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ Θεοφάνους ἐτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως χώσμου, ἁρωνοῦ.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν τελευτήν Μαυίου, τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγοῦ, 36[Ψ] εἰσῆλθον οἱ Μαρδαϊται εἰς τὸν Λίβανον, καὶ ἔκρατησαν ἀπὸ τῷ Μαύρου ὄρους ἑως τῆς Αγίας πόλεως, καὶ ἐγειρισάτας τὰς τῆς Λίβανος περιοχὰς. 5 καὶ πολλοὶ δακοὶ καὶ αὐτοχθόνες πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον, διὸ δὲ δίδυμου χρόνου εἰς πολλὰς χιλιάδας γενέσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο μαθών Μαυίας καὶ οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ, ἐφόβηθησαν σφόδρα. Καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ ἔπραγμαν τὴν τῆς Βασιλείας Πιτζηκαύδης. Τούτου δὲ καταλαβόντος ἐν Συρίᾳ, Μαυίας ἔδεξε ἀυτὸν μετὰ μεγάλης τιμῆς,
20. The fourth chief of the Arabs, Outhman.

He took Africa by war, and arranged imposts with the Africans and returned. His general was Mauias, who pulled down the colossus of Rhodes and took the island of Cyprus and all its cities. He took the island of Arados also and burnt its city, and made the island desolate to this day. When he came to the island of Rhodes, he demolished the colossus in it, one thousand and 360 years after it had been set up, and a Jewish merchant of Edessa bought it and loaded 300 camels with the bronze of it. This Mauias also made an expedition against Constantinople and ravaged Ephesus and Halicarnassus and Smyrna and the rest of the cities of Ionia, and after the death of Outhman was fifth chief of the Arabs for twenty-four years.

21. From the Chronicle of Theophanes: the year from the creation of the world 6171.

At the end of the life of Mauias, chief of the Arabs, the Marda'ites entered the Lebanon and took possession of it from the Black mountain to the holy city, and made themselves masters of the summits of the Lebanon; and many slaves and natives ran to them for refuge, in numbers which shortly amounted to many thousands. On learning this, Mauias was greatly alarmed, and his counsellors with him. And he sent envoys to the emperor Constantine, seeking for peace. Therefore, the emperor Constantine, the orthodox, son of Pogonatus, dispatched John surnamed Pitzikaudis. And when he arrived in Syria, Mauias received him with great honour, and it
και συνεφώνηθη προς ἀμφοτέρους ἐγγραφὸν γενέσθαι | εἰρήνης μεθ'

ἔρχον τὸν ζόγον ἐπὶ συμφώνου ἐπισίου πάκτου, παρέχεσθαι τῷ τῶν Ῥω-

μαῖων βασιλέως ζαυλεῖ παρά τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χρυσίου | χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ 15

ἀνδράς αἰχμαλώτους ὦ καὶ ἵππους εὐγενεῖς ν. Ἐπὶ τούτου διηρέθη ή τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχή εἰς μέρη δύο. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν Αἰθριμβὸν ἐκφάγη τὴν ἁρχήν ὁ Ἀλή, τὴν δὲ Αϊγυπτίων καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκόν ἐκφάγη ὁ Μαυίας. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν Αἰθριμβὸν ἀκούσαντες μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἀλῆ ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ τοῦ Μαυίου. ὁ δὲ Μαυίας ἀνθωπλισάτο 20 κατ' αὐτὸν, καὶ συνήψαν πόλεμον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ ἤττήθη τὸ μέρος Ἀλῆ, καὶ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μαυίας τὴν Αἰθριμβὸν καὶ τάσσαν τὴν γῆν τῆς Συρίας. Ἐκφάγην δὲ ἡ αὐτὸς γενεὰ ἐπὶ τη'. Καὶ 37μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξήλθον οἱ λεγόμενοι Ὀκαυρομάριοι ἀπὸ Περσίδος, | οἱ κρατοῦν-

τες ἐς τῆς σήμερον, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν τὴν γενεὰν τοῦ Μαυίου καὶ ἡφαί-

σαν αὐτήν. Ἐςφάγεν δὲ καὶ Μαρουάμ, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. Ὕπελευθή-

σαν δὲ όλοί τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ ἐσπέρσαν παρὰ τῶν Μαυροφόρων ἐς τῆς Ἀρὰχινῆς μετὰ καὶ ἔνας ἐκγόνον τοῦ Μαυίου. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶς ἐκ-

γόνος τοῦ Μαυίου μετ' όλοί τῶν τινῶν διεπέρασαν εἰς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἐν
tοῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ρινοτμήτου, οὐχί δὲ τοῦ Πωγόνατος. 30
Τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱστορικοῖς οὐ γέγραπται. Ἀφ' οὖ γάρ

παρελήφθη η μεγάλη Ῥώμη παρὰ τῶν Γότθων, ἠρξατο ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἱστορικῶν τῆς Ἰσπανίας 37
μερῶν ἐποίησαν μνείαν, οὐτε τῆς γενεὰς | τοῦ Μαυίου. Ἐχει δὲ τοῦ

μακαρίου Θεοφάνους οὗ ιστορία οὕτως. Άπεβίω οὖν ὁ Μαυίας, ὁ τῶν 35
Σαρακηνῶν ἁρχηγός, γεγονός στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸν Ἁμήρευσας δὲ ἐτῆς
καθώς. Καὶ ἐκφάγην τῆς ἁρχής τῶν Ἀράβων Ἰζίδι, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐτῆς ζ'.
Τούτῳ τελευτάσαντος, ἐπαράγαθηκαν οἱ Ἀραβες τῆς Αἰθριμβόο καὶ διεγερθέντες κατέστησαν αὐτούς ἀρχηγούς Ἀβδελάν, τὸν ἔκγονον τοῦ Ζουβέρ. Τούτῳ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκόν κατοικοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί, ἐρχομένοι πρὸς Ούσαν, άμηράν Παλαιστίνης, καὶ προβάλλοντες Μαρουάμ, καὶ ἢστώσιν αὐτόν αρχηγὸν, καὶ κράτησαν ἡ ἁρχής μῆνας Θ'. Τούτῳ δὲ τελευτάσαντος, Ἀβιμέλιης, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ

p. 403, 12—13; 424, 12—16; 425, 13—15; 426, 1—7. 35 Ἀπεβίω — 37 ζ'': Theoph. p. 356, 15—17; 360, 13—17. 38 Τούτου —

was agreed on both sides that a convention of peace should be drawn up in writing and sworn to, on the basis of an agreed annual tribute, the Agarenes to pay to the emperor of the Romans three thousand pieces of gold and 800 prisoners and 50 thoroughbred horses. At this time the empire of the Arabs was divided in two parts. In Ethribos Ali held rule, but Mauias held Egypt and Palestine and Damascus. And the dwellers in Ethribos marched with the sons of Ali against Mauias. And Mauias armed himself against them and joined battle by the river Euphrates, and the party of Ali was defeated, and Mauias took Ethribos and all the land of Syria. And his family held rule 85 years. And after him came forth the so-called Black-robed out of Persia, who hold rule to this day, and they fought with the clan of Mauias and utterly destroyed it. And they slew Marouam also, who was its head. And few of the party of Mauias were left, and they, together with one grandson of Mauias, were pursued by the Black-robed as far as Africa. Now this same grandson of Mauias with a few followers crossed over into Spain in the days of Justinian Rhinotmetus, not of Pogonatus. But this has not been written by our historians. For from the time of the capture of old Rome by the Goths, the Roman possessions began to be lopped off, and none of the historians has made mention of the region of Spain, nor of the clan of Mauias. But the history of Theophanes, of blessed memory, has the following account: And so Mauias, chief of the Saracens, died, who had been general 26 years, and had ruled as emir 24 years. And Izid, his son, held rule over the Arabs 6 years. On his death the Arabs of Ethribos were disturbed, and they arose and set up Abdelas, son of Zouber, to be their chief. When they heard this, the Arabs who dwelt in Phoenicia and Palestine and Damascus came to Ousan, the emir of Palestine, and appointed Marouam and set him up to be chief, and he held the rule 9 months. On his death, his son Abimelech succeeded to the rule and held it 22 years and 6 months. And
διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ κρατεῖ ἐτή κβ' καὶ μῆνας ζ'. Καὶ χειροῦται

'Εν τούτοις τελευτᾶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐδ' ὅπως τοῦ Ποιγ-


καί Άπεστάλη κατὰ τῆς Ρωμαίων πολιτείας μετὰ χειρὸς ἱσχυρὰς καὶ καταφράκτων νηῶν ἔν τούτοις τελευτά Κωνσταντίνος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πωγω-


θείος "Αράβων αρχηγός, ὅ δς πέμπτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουάμεθ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἀρχής τῶν Αράβων, οὔκ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἤν τοῦ 50 Μουάμεθ, ἀλλ' ἕξ ἐτέρας φυλῆς. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐγειροτομήνθη στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος παρὰ Οὔθμαν, ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Αράβων, καὶ ἀπεστάλη κατὰ τῆς Ρωμαίων πολιτείας μετὰ χειρὸς ἱσχυρὰς καὶ καταφράκτων νηῶν ικανόν, λεηλατήσας τε τά ἐξω τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπράκτος. Έλθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ρόδου καθεΐλεν τὸν κολοσσόν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ἱστάμενον. "Αγαλμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἥλιου χαλκοῦν, κεχρυσωμένον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐως ποδῶν, ἔχον ύψος πήχεις π καὶ πλάτος ἀνάλογῳ τοῦ υψου, καθώς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον, ἔχον οὕτως Καί εἰσήλθεν ἐως τῆς Ρόδου, κάκεΐθεν ἐξοπλισάμενος ἀνήλθεν Τόν ἐν Ρόδῳ κολοσσὸν ὀκτάκις δέκα Λάχης ἐποίει πήχεων, ὃ Λίνδιος. "Ελαβεν δὲ τὸν χαλκὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διεπέρασεν αὐτὸν ἐν Συρία, καὶ ἐστήσεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἄγοραν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁμάστικο στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος παρὰ Οὔθμαν, ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Αράβων, καὶ ἀπεστάλη κατά τῆς Ρωμαίων πολιτείας μετὰ χειρὸς ἱσχυρὰς καὶ καταφράκτων νηῶν Εὐθύνων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ρόδῳ καθεΐλεν τὸν κολοσσὸν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ἱστάμενον. "Αγαλμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἥλιου χαλκοῦν, κεχρυσωμένον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐως ποδῶν, ἔχον ύψος πήχεις π καὶ πλάτος ἀνάλογῳ τοῦ υψου, καθώς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον, ἔχον οὕτως ἔν ταύταις ήμέραις διήγερθησαν πρὸς πόλεμον κατ' ἀλλήλων...
he overcame the rebels, and slew Abdeias, son and successor of Zouber. Meanwhile, the emperor Constantine, son of Pogonatus, died, having held rule over the Romans 17 years; and his son Justinian reigned in his stead.

The chief of the Arabs who was fifth after Mouameth to hold rule over the Arabs was not of the family of Mouameth, but of another tribe. And first he was appointed general and admiral by Outhman, chief of the Arabs, and was sent against the state of the Romans with a strong force and 1200 decked ships. He proceeded to Rhodes, and thence, after fitting out his expedition, came up to Constantinople, and lingered a long time, and laid waste the environs of Byzantium, but returned with his purpose unachieved. When he came to Rhodes, he pulled down the colossal that stood in it. It was a brazen statue of the sun, gilded from head to foot, 80 cubits in height and broad in proportion, as witness the inscription written on the base of its feet, running like this:

The Rhodian colossal, eight times ten
Cubits in height, Laches of Lindos made.

He took the bronze of it and carried it over into Syria, and put it up for sale to any who wanted it; and a Hebrew of Edessa bought it and brought it up from the sea laden on 980 camels. On the death of Outhman, then, this Mauias succeeded to the rule of the Arabs. And he ruled over the holy city and the regions of Palestine, over Damascus and Antioch and all the cities of Egypt. But Alim, who was son-in-law of Mouameth, having married his daughter called Fatime, ruled over Ethribos and all Arabia Tracheia. Now, in these days Alim and Mauias were roused up to war against one
ο τε 'Αλήμ καί ο Μαυίας έρίζοντες περί τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὶς αὐτῶν κυριεύει

Καὶ εισελθόντος τῶν δύο γέροντων | άνακρίβως 85
tῆς παραμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου τῶν δύο μερών καὶ σταθέντων ἐν τῷ μεταχειμέρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀντιπροσώπων, τοῦ μὲν 'Αλήμ ο γέρων ὅπτηρεν κατὰ τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνος εὐλαβῆς, οὗ έξεινό λέγουσι καθῆς, τοῦτοτε πιστοὶ καὶ ἑγιασμένοι· ο δὲ τοῦ Μαυίου γέρων ἐν σχήματι μόνον ήν εὐλαβῆς, τὸ δ' ἀλλὰ δολερὸς καὶ αὐθάδης καὶ πονηρῷ πάντας ύπερβάλλων ἀνθρώπους. Εἶπεν δὲ ο τοῦ Μαυίου γέρων πρὸς ΙΟΙΒοτόν γέροντα τοῦ 'Αλήμ, δτι* 'Σύ πρώτος εἶπε, δπερ βούλη, | δς εἴ τε φρόνιμος καί εὐλαβής καὶ μακρὰ κατὰ τούς χρόνους ύπερβαλλόμενος.'

Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ γέρων τοῦ Άλήμ τοῦτο, δτι* 'Έξέβαλον τὸν Άλήμ τής αρχῆς, ώς έξήγαγον τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς χειρός αὐτοῦ καὶ είσήγαγον εἰς τὸν δάκτυλόν μου, συνεκβαλών αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.'

Καὶ τότε διεχωρίσθησαν απ' ἀλλήλων. Παραλαμβάνει οὖν ο Μαυίας πάνταν τήν εξουσίαν Συρίας, έπειδὴ ομοῖος αἱ πάντες, ώς* 'Ό τι άν εἴπωσιν οί γέροντες, ΐνα έπώμεθα εἰς τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν.' ο γούν 'Αλήμ παραλαβὼν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη 41ΓΡ Διὸ θηρίζου μετὰ πάσης τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ, κάκεισε τελευταίοι.
another, disputing over the rule, which of them should be lord of all Syria. They encountered one another by the river Euphrates, and joined in fierce battle one against the other. But when the battle was at its height and many were falling on either side, the multitudes of the Agarenes of both parties cried out: "Why is this, that we slay and are slain, and our tribe perishes from among living men? But let two elders be chosen apart from both the parties, and whomsoever they prefer, let him have the rule." Alim and Mauias were pleased at this saying of theirs, and, drawing off from their hands their rings, which are a token of rule of the Agarenes, they gave them to the two elders, and placed their authority at the disposal of the two elders, confirming the matter by an oath and settling it so that whomsoever the elders might prefer, he should be lord and chief of all the Saracens. The two elders entered into the middle of the battle array of the two parties, and took their stand face to face in the space between the armies; the elder of Alim was a man devout according to the nation of the Saracens, one such as they call 'cadi', that is, faithful and sanctified; but the elder of Mauias was devout only in appearance, but in all else deceitful and arrogant and surpassing all men in mischief. The elder of Mauias said to the elder of Alim: "Do you speak first what you will, for you are prudent and devout, and far surpassing my years." And the elder of Alim answered thus: "I cast Alim off from the rule, as I drew his ring from his hand and drew it on to my own finger; now will I cast off the ring of Alim from my finger and therewith cast him off from his rule also." The elder of Mauias made answer again: "I drew Mauias into the rule, as I drew his ring on to his finger; now will I draw the ring of Mauias on to his finger." And then they parted one from the other. So Mauias took all the dominion of Syria, since all the emirs had sworn to each other, saying: "Whatever the elders say, we will be obedient to their words." And so Alim took his army and departed to the region of Ethribos with all his kin, and there ended his life. After
τών βιων. Μετά δέ τόν θάνατον τού Ἀλήμ λήρον ἰγγησάμενοι οἱ τούτου υιοί τήν τοῦ πατρός αὐτῶν βουλήν, ἐπανέστησαν κατὰ τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ συνήφαν πόλεμον ἱσχυρὸν μετά τοῦ Μαυίου, καὶ ἤττηθέντες ἐργοῦν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποστείλας Μαυίας ἀπέκτεινεν ἀπαντας. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἤλθε πάσα ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς τὸν Μαυίαν.

110 Ἐντέλειον δὲ, ὅτι οὖν ὁ Μαυίας ἐγγονος ἦν τῷ Σοφιάμ. Ἐγγονος δὲ τοῦ Μαυίου υἱήρχην ὁ Μάσαλμας, ὁ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκστρατεύσας, οὔτινος καὶ δὲ αἰτήσεως ἐκτίθη τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν

102Βε μαγίσδιον ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ πραιτωρίᾳ. Οὔκ ἦν δὲ οὖν ἐργαζόμενος τῶν Αράβων, ἀλλὰ Σουλειμάν ὑπήρχετο ἐργαζόμενος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, ὁ δὲ 115 Μάσαλμας ἐν τάξει στρατηγοῦ ἐχρηματίζει. Ἡθελε δὲ Σουλειμάν μετά τοῦ στόλου αὐτοῦ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, δὲ Μάσαλμας διὰ ξηρᾶς, καὶ διεπέρασεν ἐν Λαμπάκῳ ἔπει τῇ μέρῃ τῆς Θρᾴκης, ἐγγονος μεθ' ἕκαστος στρατιώτας χιλιάδας π'. Καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας δὲ τοὺς στόλους Σουλειμάν, τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ οὗ τούτου στρατός 120 τοῦ Μάσαλμα υπέστρεψαν ἀπαντας μετ' αἰσχύνης, ἠττηθέντες καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες παρά τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. Καὶ εἰρήνευσεν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεία ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, στρατηγοῦσα καὶ περιεπούσα τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ Αἱματον Μαρίας τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνετράπη καὶ τοῦ ίππου κατέπεσεν.

22. Ἐκ τοῦ Χρονογράφου τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους περί τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γενεάς αὐτοῦ, διπώς διεπέρασεν ἐν Ἰσπανία. Ρωμαίων βασιλεύς Ἰουστινιανός ὁ Ρινώτμητος. Αὐτῇ ἔστω ἁρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξεβελθη ὅπως Λεοντίου, καὶ πάλιν ἀντίστρεφεν ἐκκαλών τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχ υπὸ Λεόντιου. Περί τοῦ Χρονογράφου τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους περί τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γενεάς αὐτοῦ, διπώς διεπέρασεν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ. Ρωμαίων βασιλεύς Ἰουστινιανός ὁ Ρινώτμητος. Αὐτῇ ἔστω ἁρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξεβελθη ὅπως Λεοντίου, καὶ πάλιν ἀντίστρεφεν ἐκκαλών τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχ ὁ Ρινώτμητος; Καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἔστω ἀποστέλλει ὁ Ἰουστινιανός ὁ Ρινώτμητος.
the death of Alim, his sons, regarding their father's counsel as nonsense, rebelled against Mauias, and joined fierce battle with Mauias, and being worsted fled from before his face, and Mauias sent after and put them all to death. And thereafter the rule over all the Arabs came into the hands of Mauias.

Now, this Mauias was grandson of Sophiam. And Mauias’ grandson was Masalmas, who made an expedition against Constantinople, and at whose request was built the mosque of the Saracens in the imperial prætori­um. He was not chief of the Arabs; Souleiman was chief of the Saracens, and Masalmas held the rank of general. Souleiman came with his fleet against Constantinople, and Masalmas came overland, and crossed over at Lampsacus into the region of Thrace, carrying with him 80 thousand troops. And through the Providence of God both the fleet of Souleiman and the infantry army of Masalmas all retired with ignominy, being worsted and utterly overthrown by the fleet and soldiers of the emperor. And our state was at peace for many a long year, for this city was guided and guarded by Our Lady the ever-virgin Mary, the Mother of God, by whose inviolate and holy image Souleiman himself was awed and put to shame, and he fell from his horse.

22. From the Chronicle of Theophanes, of blessed memory, concerning the same events and concerning Mauias and his clan, how it crossed over into Spain. Emperor of the Romans, Justinian Rhinotmetus.

This is the beginning of his reign; and thereafter he was expelled by Leontius, and then in his turn came back again and expelled Leontius and Apsimarus, and held his triumph over them both in the hippodrome, and put them to death. In this year Abimelech sent to Justinian to ratify the
τὴν εἰρήνην οὕτως, ἵνα δ' ἐξαποθεόητον τὸν Ἐραβάττιν τάχιστα 10
τὸν Λιβάνον καὶ διακολάσσῃ τὰς ἑπιτροπὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἄβιμέλης
dύση τοῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰβρικίας. Καὶ ἔστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
Παύλος τὸν μαγιστράδον πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχ ἄφοσισθαι τὰς στοιχεῖαν
θέντα, καὶ γέγονεν ἐγγράφος ἀσφάλεια μετὰ μισθώρων. Καὶ ἔπετυχε
ὁ μαγιστράδος ὑπεστρεψεν. Καὶ ἠκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελάβετο τοὺς
Μαρδαϊτας χιλιάδας ἑν', τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν δυναστείαν ἀκρωτηρίας. Πάσαι
γὰρ αἱ νῦν οἰκέθηκεν παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς τὰ ἄκρα πόλεως
ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσοποστίακα καὶ ἐς τετάρτης Ἀρμενίας καὶ ἀκοιπήτων 20
43Ρ ἐκτύγχανεν διὰ τὴν ἕφοδον τῶν Μαρδαϊτῶν, ὅν παρατελέσθη, πάντες
κακὰ Τέκνην δήσαντο ἡ Ῥωμανία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. Ὅτι δ' ἰ
αὐτῶ ἤτοι εἰσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, ἐκεῖ ἐδίδαξε τοὺς ἐν τῷ
Λιβάνῳ Μαρδαϊτας, χάλκεον τείχος διαλύσας. Παρέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὴν
μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων παγιωθείσαν εἰρήνην, διαταράξας τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ 25
οἰκείου υπτρόκην εὐνοῦχον γεγονότας τούς.
peace on these conditions: the emperor to withdraw the Mardaïte legion from the Lebanon and check their incursions, and Abimelech to give to the Romans daily a thousand nomismata and one thoroughbred horse and one Ethiopian slave, and the taxes of Cyprus and Armenia and Iberia to be held commonly and in equal shares by both parties. The emperor dispatched Paul the imperial agent to Abimelech, to confirm the terms agreed upon, and a confirmation was drawn up in writing and attested. The imperial agent was presented with gifts, and returned. And the emperor sent and took in the Mardaïtes, 12 thousand of them, thereby crippling the Roman power. For all the frontier cities now inhabited by the Arabs from Mopsouestia and as far as Armenia Quarta were defenceless and uninhabited because of the incursion of the Mardaïtes, by whose drawing away Romania has suffered terrible damage at the hands of the Arabs, and suffers it still. And in the same year the emperor went to Armenia and there took in the Mardaïtes of the Lebanon, thus destroying his brazen wall. Moreover, he broke the pledge of peace with the Bulgarians, disturbing the treaty made by his own father.

It was also during the reign of Abimelech that the Arabs marched against Africa and took it, and placed in it a garrison of their troops. At that time Leontius had expelled Justinian from the rule over the Romans, and had exiled him to Cherson and had possessed himself of the empire. But after Apsimarus Tiberius had ousted Leontius from the throne and had possessed himself of the sceptre of the Romans, Abimelech, chief of the Arabs, died, and Oualid his son ruled nine years. In the same year Justinian returned once more to his throne, and during his slack and careless government the Agarenes obtained complete control of Africa. Then, the grandson of Mauias with a very few men crossed over into Spain, and, having collected together all of his tribe, gained control of Spain even to this day, and that is why the Agarenes who dwell in Spain are called Mauiates. Their descendants are the Agarenes who live in Crete. For when Michael the Lisper had got possession of the rule over the Romans, and the rebellion of Thomas broke out and lasted three years, then, while the emperor was

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engrossed with the troubles which had arisen, the Agarenes who lived in Spain saw their chance had come, fitted out a large fleet and started out from the region of Sicily and desolated all the islands of the Cyclades, and, coming to Crete and finding it rich and carelessly guarded, since none opposed or engaged them, they took it, and hold it to this day. Qualid was succeeded by Souleiman, who ruled three years. In his time Masalmas, the general of Souleiman, made an expedition with an army overland, and Oumar by sea, and by God's aid they returned with shame, their purpose unachieved. Souleiman was succeeded by Oumar, who held the rule over the Arabs two years. Oumar was succeeded by Azid, who held the rule for four years. He was succeeded by Isam, who held rule for 19 years. On his death Marouam held the rule six years. On the death of Marouam Abdelas became master of the rule over the Arabs, and held it 21 years. On his death Madis became chief of the Arabs, and held the rule nine years. When he had passed away Aaron became master of the rule over the Arabs, and held the rule 23 years.

In this year, that is to say, when the rule over the Romans *** Irene and Constantine, the year from the creation of the world 6288. In the same year Aaron, the chief of the Arabs, died in inner Persia, that is called Chorasan, and Moamed his son succeeded to the rule, a stupid, unbalanced man in every way, against whom his brother Abdelas came in revolt out of that same country of Chorasan together with the powers that had been his father's, and brought about a civil war. And thereafter those who dwelt in Syria and Egypt and Libya were split up under different governments, and destroyed the public weal and one another, in a welter of slaughter and rapine and outrage of every sort against themselves and their Christian subjects. Then it was that the churches in the holy city of Christ our God...
Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεού ἡμῶν πόλιν ἐκκλησία ἡ ῥήμονται, τα τε μοναστηρία τών δύο μεγάλων λαυρών, τού ἐν ἅγιοι Χαρίτου καί Κυρίακου καί τού ἅγιου Σάβα, καί τά λοιπά κοινόβια τών ἅγιων Εὐθυμίου καί Θεοδοσίου. Ἐπεκράτησεν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναρχίας ἡ κατ’ ἄλληλους καί 76 ἡμῶν μακρονία ἐτή πέντε.

"Εςως δὲ ἔκανόνεστε τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀράβων ὁ ἐν ἅγιοι Θεοφάνης, ὁ τὴν μονήν ὑπηκοότας τοῦ κοιμομένου μεγάλου Ἄγρον, μητρὸθεῖος τυγχάνων τοῦ μεγάλου καί εὐσεβοῦς καί χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, ὕπο Λέοντος, τοῦ σοφωτάτου καί ἁγαθοῦ 80 βασιλέως, ἐγώνων δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ ἐν μικράς τῆς μνήμης τά σκήπτρα τῆς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.

23. Περὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ 'Ισπανίας.

Ἰβηρίας δύο ἡ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς Ἡρακλείαις στήλαις, ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας τοιούτους ἡμῶν, οὔ μερίνεται Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν τῇ Περὶ γῆς β’. Ἐντὸς δὲ Πυρήνης Ἰβηρὶ τ’ ἔστι μέγας ποταμός φερόμενος ἐνδοτέρω. Ταύτης δὲ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον ἐνδοτέρω, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Περὶ Ίβηρίας καὶ 'Ισπανίας.

ΒοINESS Iβηρίαι δύο ἡ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς Ηρακλείαις στήλαις, ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας τοιούτους ἡμῶν, οὔ μερίνεται Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν τῇ Περὶ γῆς β’. Ἐντὸς δὲ Πυρήνης Ἰβηρὶ τ’ ἔστι μέγας ποταμός φερόμενος ἐνδοτέρω. Ταύτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.

Τάυτης δέ πολλά φασιν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς παράλληλοις νῦν διαφέρεσθαι, καθὰτέρα τ’ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρηνῶν καὶ Ἡράκλειας.
were desolated, and the monasteries of the two great Laurai, those of SS. Charito and Cyriac and of St. Sabas, and the other coenobite monasteries of SS. Euthymius and Theodosius. This anarchy, during which they murdered one another and us, lasted five years.

Up to this point the history of the Arabs is set in order chronologically by St. Theophanes, who founded the monastery of the so-called Megas Agros and was uncle on the mother's side of the great and pious and most Christian emperor Constantine, son of Leo, the most wise and virtuous emperor, and grandson of Basil, of blessed memory for his tenure of the sceptre over the empire of the Romans.

23. Of Iberia and Spain.

There are two Iberias: one, at the Pillars of Hercules, is so called from the river Iber, mentioned by Apollodorus in 'Concerning the Earth', II: «Within the Pyrenees is the Iber, a great river running towards the interior.» In this country are said to be many distinct nations, as Herodorus has written in the 8th book of his 'History Relating to Herakles': «This Iberian race, which, I say, lives on the shores of the strait, though one race, is distinguished by names according to its tribes: first, those who inhabit the western parts at the farthest verge are called Kynetes (and after them, if one travels northward, are the Gletes); then, Tartessians; then, Elbusinians; then, Mastienoi; then, Kelkianoii; and then, thereafter, the Rhône.» Artemidorus, in book II of the 'Geography', says that the country is divided thus: «The interior between the Pyrenees mountains and the district about Gadara is denominated alternatively Iberia and Spain. It has been divided by the Romans into two provinces *** the whole extending

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τῆς Καινῆς Καρχηδόνος καί τῶν τοῦ Βαύτιος πηγῶν, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἐπαρχίας τὰ μέχρι Γαδείρων καί Λυσιτανίας. Ἀνέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἰβηρίτης. Παρθένοις ἐν Λυσιτανίας: ʻἸβηρίτης πλέοσει ἐν αἰγιαλῷ. Ὅ θʼ ἐτέρα

108ΒΔΕ Ἰβηρία | πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστὶν. Τὸ ἔθνος Ἰβηρίων, ός Περσαῖ, Βοῦς.

47Ρ Διονύσιος | Ἀγχοῦ στηλάου μεγαθύμων ἔθνος Ἰβήρων. Καὶ Ἀριστο- 20 φάνης Τριφάλητη: Ἐπαρχίαιν τοὺς Ἰβηρίας τοὺς Ἀριστάρχου τῶι καὶ Ἰβηρα, οὐς χορηγείς μοι, βοηθήσαι δρόμῳ. Καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωγραφομένων. Ἐπαρχία δὲ χρώται τῇ τῶν ἴταλῶν ὁ παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκοντες τῶν Ἰβήρων. Καὶ ἄπο τῆς Ἰβηρίας γενικῆς Ἰβηρίας το θηλυκόν. ʻΕλληνίς, οὐκ Ἰβηρίς Μένανδρος Ἀσπίδι. 25 Λέγεται καὶ Ἰβηρικός ἂν πρὸς τίνος Ἰβηρικὸς ἁρχομένοις. Διεφθοῦτο δὲ Ἰβήρια εἰς δύο, νῦν δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, ὡς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν Περίπλῳ κυπρίτης. · Ἔκτερον μὲν οὖν Ἰβηρία εἰς δύο διήρετο ὑπὸ Ρομαίων, νυν δὲ εἰς τρεῖς: Βαστίκυρ Στανίαν καὶ Στανίαν καὶ Ταρρα-κονισίαν. Ἀντὸ τῆς γενικῆς Ἰβηρίας εὐθείων Ἀπολλώνίων, ὡς τῆς 30 φίλακας ἢ φίλακας. Ἐν τοῖς Παρυπομοίοις φησιν: Ἀπὸ γενικῶν εὐθείαι παράγονται, ὡς τὸ μὲν ὠδαρ δὲ συλλαβᾶς ὁμοίως τῇ εὐθείᾳ κατὰ τὸ τῶν τύνον παρεξυμνόμενον, καὶ ἐν ἀπλὰ σχήματι ἐν συνθέτῃς. Ἀπλὸν μὲν οὖν Ἰβηρίας ἡ Μάρτυρ, ἡ Μάρτυρ, ὁ Πόρος, Χάρος, Χάροπος, Χάρος, Χάροπος.

from the Pyrenees mountains as far as New Carthage and the sources of the Baetis, while the second province *comprehends* the area reaching to Gadara and Lusitania.» The form ‘Iberite’ is also found. Parthenius in ‘Leucadiea’: «Thou shalt coast along the ‘Iberite’ shore.» The other Iberia is over toward the Persians. The ethnic term is ‘Iberians’, like ‘Pierians’, ‘Byzerians’. Dionysius: «Nigh unto the Pillars the nation of great-hearted ‘Iberians’» And Aristophanes, ‘Triphales’: «Learning that the ‘Iberians’, who ancienly of Aristarchus», and, «The ‘Iberians’, whom thou lendest me, to run to my aid.» And Artemidorus in part two of ‘Geography’: «Those of the ‘Iberians’ who live on the coast use the alphabet of the Italians.» Also, from genitive ‘Iberos’ *is formed* the feminine ‘Iberis’. «A Greek woman, not an ‘Iberis’,» Menander, ‘Aspis’. The form ‘Iberic’ is also found: «The first sea is the ‘Iberic’ at the outset.» Iberia used to be divided in two, but now in three, as Marcian says in its ‘Circumnavigation’: «Now of old Iberia was divided in two by the Romans, but now in three: Baetic Spain and Lusitanian Spain and Tarragonese Spain.» From genitive ‘Iberos’ Apollonius *derives* a nominative, as ‘phylakos’ from genitive ‘phylakos’. In ‘Paronyma’ he says: «Nominatives are derived from genitives of more than two syllables which, like the derivative nominative, carry the proparoxytone accent, whether these *are* in simple or compound form. Simple are: martyr, martyros, nominative *martyros*; Charops, Charopo, nominative Charopo, ‘of king Charopo’; Troezen, Troezenos, nominative Troezenos, ‘son of Troezenos’; Iber, Iberos, nominative Iberos; whence in Quadratus, ‘Roman Millennium’,
κής χιλιάδος <ε'> ἦστιν 'Ἰβήρουσιν οὕτως: «Καὶ τοι τὸν Λίγυσί θ’ ἀμα
καὶ 'Ἰβήρουσι πολεμέστεντες.» Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ "Αβρων ἐν Παρωνύμοισι φησι.
48ος Καὶ αὐτὸς "Ἰβήρος τραγοπώγων" ἐν Μαλθακοῖς εἰρη|ται Κρατίνου.
Δέγονται οἱ "Ἰβήρες ύδροποτεῖν, ὡς "Ἀθηνίους ἐν Δειπνοσοφιστῶν β’
40 οὕτως: "Φύλαρχος μὲν ἐν τῇ ζ’ καὶ τοὺς "Ἰβήρας φησι ύδροποτεῖν πάντας,
καὶ τοι πλουσιοτάτους πάντων ἄνθρωπον τυγχάνοντας (κέκτηνται γάρ
καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν πλεῖστον), μονοσιτεῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ λέγει διὰ
μικρολογίαν, ἐσθήτας τε ψορεῖν πολυτελεστάτας."}

24. Περὶ Ἰσπανίας.
Πόθεν εἰρηται Ἰσπανία; Ἀπὸ Ἰσπάνου γίγαντος οὕτω καλούμένου. Ἰσπανίαι δύο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπαρχίαι: ἡ μὲν μεγάλη, ἡ δὲ μικρά.
Ταύτης ἐμνήσθη Χάραξ ἐν Ι’ Χρονικῶν: «Ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ τῇ μικρᾷ τῇ
48ος Εξο Λουσιανάκων πάλιν ἀποστάντων, ἑπέμφθη ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατη-
γοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Κύντος.» Ὅ αὐτὸς ὁμοίο περὶ τῶν δύο «Κύντος ὁ
tόν Ῥωμαίων πολέμαρχος ἐν ἀμφότεραις ταῖς Ἰσπανίαις. Ἡσσόμενος
dὲ ὑπὸ Οὐριάθου σπονδάς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο.» Ταύτην κεκλήσθαι
110ος φησιν Ἰβηρίαν ἐν Ἑλληνικῶν γ': «Τὴν δὲ Ἰσπανίαν Ἑλληνες τὰ | πρὸτα
Ἰβηρίαν ἔκαλον, οὕτω ἐξυμπαντός τοῦ θέου τὴν προσηγορίαν μεμαθη-
κότες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς γῆς, δ' ἦστιν πρὸς ἐπαύμιὸν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ἀπ'
ἐκείνου ὀνομάζεται, τὴν πᾶσαν οὕτω καλοῦντες.» Ὅστερον δὲ φασὶν
αὐτὴν μετακεκλήσθαι Πανωνίαν.

25. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ οσίου Θεοφάνους τῆς Σιγριανῆς.
Τούτω τῷ ἔτει Οὐαλεντιανὸς οὐ μόνον Βρεττανίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν
49ος καὶ Ἰσπανίαν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἴσχυσε, αλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον Λιβύην,
23, 24, 25

7, occurs the dative plural 'Iberoisin', thus: «Though warring at once with the Ligurians and 'Iberoi'.» Habro says the same in 'Paronyma'. And «the goat-bearded 'Iberos' himself» is found in the 'Effemirates' of Cratinus. The Iberians are said to drink water, as Athenaeus says in 'Deipnosophists', II: «Phylarchus in book VII says that all the Iberians too drink water, though they are the wealthiest of mankind (for they possess very great quantities of silver and gold), and he says that they never eat but once in the day out of their parsimony, and wear the most magnificent clothes.»


Whence is the name Spain? From Hispanus, a giant so called. The Spains are two provinces of Italy: one is large, the other small. The country is referred to by Charax in 'Chronicles', X: «In Little, or Outer, Spain the Lusitanians again revolted, and the Romans sent against them their general Quintus». And, of the two provinces together, the same author writes: «Quintus, the Roman commander-in-chief in both the Spains. He was defeated by Viriathus and made a truce with him.» He says the country is called Iberia, in 'Greek History', III: «Spain the Greeks originally called Iberia, not yet having learnt the title of the whole nation but calling it all after that part of the country which is near the river Iber and derives its name therefrom.» Afterwards, they say, the name was changed to Spain.

25. From the history of the holy Theophanes of Sigriane.

In this year Valentinian was not merely too weak to recover Britain and Gaul and Spain, but also lost western Libya as well, the so-called land
τὴν τῶν Ἀφρων καλουμένην χώραν προσαπώλεσε τρόπω τοιωδέ. Δύο στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀέτιος καὶ Βονιφάτιος, οὓς Θεοδόσιος κατὰ αἰτησιν Οὐαλεντιανοῦ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν. Βονιφάτιος δὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν τῆς ἐσπερίου Λιβύης λαβὼν, φθονήσας Ἀέτιος διαβολὴν ποιεῖται κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἄνταρσιαν μελετῶντος καὶ τῆς Λιβύης κρατήσαι σπεύδοντος. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς Πλακιδίαν ἔλεγε, τὴν τοῦ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ μητέρα. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Βονιφατίω, ὅτι Ἐάν μεταπεμφθής, παραγενέσθαι μὴ θελήσῃς· διεβλήθη γάρ, καὶ δόλω σε οἱ βασιλεῖς βούλονται χειρώσαντες. Καὶ ταῦτα μέν πρὸς Πλακιδίαν ἔλεγε, τὴν τοῦ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ μητέρα. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Βονιφατίω, ὅτι Ἐάν μεταπεμφθής, παραγενέσθαι μὴ θελήσῃς· διεβλήθη γάρ, καὶ δόλω σε οἱ βασιλεῖς βούλονται χειρώσαντες. Καὶ ταῦτα μέν πρὸς Πλακιδίαν ἔλεγε, τὴν τοῦ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ μητέρα. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Βονιφατίω, ὅτι Ἐάν μεταπεμφθής, παραγενέσθαι μὴ θελήσῃς· διεβλήθη γάρ, καὶ δόλω σε οἱ βασιλεῖς βούλονται χειρώσαντες.
of the Africans; it happened like this. There were two generals, Aëtius and Boniface, whom Theodosius had sent to Rome at the request of Valentinian. Boniface was given the command over western Libya, and Aëtius out of jealousy slanderously accused him of meditating rebellion and working to seize Libya. This he communicated to Placidia, the mother of Valentinian. But he wrote also to Boniface, saying: «If you are sent for, do not come, for you have been slanderously accused, and the emperor and empress are trying to get you into their hands by a trick.» This message Boniface received and, trusting in Aëtius as in a true friend, did not go when he was sent for. Then the emperor and empress accepted Aëtius as a loyal servant. At that time the Goths and many very large nations were settled in the regions of the far north down as far as the Danube. Of these the most notable are the Goths, Visigoths, Gepedes and Vandals, who differ from one another in name only and in nothing else, and speak one and the same tongue; and all are of the misbelief of Arius. These in the time of Arcadius and Honorius crossed the Danube and settled in the territory of the Romans. The Gepedes, from whom were later divided off the Lombards and Avars, lived in the territories about Singidunum and Sirmium. The Visigoths, under Alaric, after taking Rome, went off to the Gallic provinces and possessed themselves of those regions. The Goths first held Pannonia, but afterwards were permitted by Theodosius the younger, in the 19th year of his reign, to dwell in the territories of Thrace, and after remaining 58 years in Thrace they obtained permission of Zeno to possess themselves of the western kingdom, with their leader the patrician and consul Theodoric. The Vandals, joining up with the Alans and Germans, who are now called Franks, crossed the river Rhine, and, under the leadership of Gogidisclus, settled in Spain, the first country of Europe from the side of the western Ocean. Now, Boniface, fearing the emperor and empress of the Romans, crossed over from
Ουανδήλους ήλεν, καί ευρών τὸν μὲν Γογίδισκλον τελευτήσαντα, τοὺς δὲ ἔκεισθιν παιδάς, Γοτθαρὸς τε καὶ Γηζέριχον τὴν ἀρχήν διέποντας, 35 τούτους προτρεψάμενος τὴν ἑσπέριον Λιβύην εἰς τρία μέρη διέλειν ὑπέσχετο, ἐρ' ὧ ἐκαστὸν τοῦ τρίτου μέρους ἀρχέειν σὺν αὐτῷ, κοινῇ δὲ ἀμόνεσθαι τοὺς οἰονόμος τολόμοι. Ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ὁ Ουανδήλος τον πορθμόν διαβάντες, τὴν Λιβύην κατώκησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ιπταμένου μέχρι τῆς Κυρήνης. Οἱ δὲ Ισίγοτοι ἀνὰ- 40 στάντες ἀπὸ Γαλλίας, ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν 'Ισπανίαν. Τινὲς δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου 'Ρωμαίων, φίλοι Βονιφατίου, τὴν 'Αετίον ψευδοκατηγορίαν ἀνήγγειλαν τῇ Πλακιδίᾳ, ἐμφανῆ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὴν πρὸς Βονιφατίου 'Αετίου ἑπιστολῆν, τοῦ Βονιφατίου ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἀποστείλαντος. 'Η δὲ Πλακίδια ἐκπλαγεῖσα τοῦ μὲν 'Αετίου οὐδὲν ἡδίκησεν, Βονιφάτω δὲ λόγον προτρπετικὸν ὅρκῳ ἀπέστειλεν. Τοῦ δὲ Γοτθαρίου τελευτήσαντος, Γηζέριχος τῶν Ουανδήλων γέγονεν αὐτοκράτωρ. Βονιφάτιος δὲ τὸν λόγον δεξάμενον τῶν Ουανδήλων κατεστράτευσεν, στρατευόμενος μεγάλου 51Ρ ἐλόντος αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ καὶ τοῦ Βυζαντίου, στρατηγούντος Ἀσπάρος. Πολέμου δὲ κροτηθέντος πρὸς Γηζέριχον, ἠττήθη ὃ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων στρατός. Καὶ οὖν Βονιφάτιος μετὰ 'Ἀσπάρος εἰς 'Ρώμην ἐλόν, τὴν υποψίαν διέλυσεν, ἀποδείκνυσθην τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ή δὲ Αφρική ὑπὸ Ουανδήλων γέγονεν. Τότε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς στρατιώτης ὃς καὶ δουλεύων Ἀσπάρα ζών συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Γηζερίχου, ὃ μετὰ ταύτα βασιλεύσας. 55

'Ιστέον, δὴ τρεῖς ἀμερμομυνεῖς εἰσὶν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Συρίᾳ, ἦσον ἐν τῷ 'Αράβῳ ἀρχῇ, ὃς ἦν καθέζεται ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδι, ἦστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μουάμεθ γενεᾶς, ήτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ, ἦστι δὲ δεύτερος ἐν Αφρικῇ, ἦτοι τῆς Φυγατρῶς Μουάμεθ, ήτοι του Μουχούμετ, ἤνωτερον μετὰ Φατεμίται καὶ τῆς Φυγατροῦ Μουάμεθ, ήτοι του Μουχούμετ, ἦστι δὲ τρίτος καθέζεται ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, ἦστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Μαουίου.

'Ιστέον, δὴ κατὰ ἀρχὰς ἐν τῷ κατακυριεύσαι τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς πάσης τῆς Συρίας ἐκατέσθη ἀμερμομυνής εἰς τὸ Βαγδάδι. 'Εδέσποζεν δὲ πάσης τῆς Περσίας καὶ τῆς 'Αφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου καὶ τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Αραβίας. Καὶ ἔχειν ἀμηραδίας μεγάλας, ἦτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ, έξ οὗ καὶ Φατεμίται 60 ὀνομάζονται ὃ δέ τρίτος καθέζεται ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, ἦστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Μαουίου.
Libya into Spain and came to the Vandals, and finding that Gogidisclus was dead and that his sons Gottharus and Gezerichus held the rule, he incited them by a promise to divide western Libya in three parts, so that each of them, with himself, should rule over a third part, but should unite to repel any enemy whoever he might be. These terms being agreed upon, the Vandals crossed the strait and settled in Libya, from the Ocean as far as Tripolis by Cyrene. The Visigoths, advancing from Gaul, took possession of Spain also. Now, some Roman senators who were friends to Boniface exposed to Placidia the falsity of Aëtius' accusation, and showed her also the letter of Aëtius to Boniface, which Boniface had sent them. Placidia, much amazed, forbore to injure Aëtius, but dispatched to Boniface a message recalling him to his duty, together with promises on oath. Now, on the death of Gottharius Gezerichus had become sole chief of the Vandals. Boniface, then, on receipt of the message, marched against the Vandals, with a large force which had come to him from Rome and Byzantium under the command of Aspar. Battle was joined with Gezerichus and the army of the Romans was defeated. So Boniface, accompanied by Aspar, came to Rome and dispelled suspicion by exposing the truth. But Africa fell beneath the Vandals. It was then that Marcian, the future emperor, who was a soldier in the service of Aspar, was taken alive by Gezerichus.

There are three commanders of the faithful in the whole of Syria, that is, in the empire of the Arabs, the first of whom has his seat at Bagdad and is of the family of Mouameth, or Mahomet; the second has his seat in Africa, and is of the family of Alim and Fatime, daughter of Mouameth, or Mahomet, whence the Fatemites are so called; the third has his seat in Spain, and he is of the family of Mauias.

Originally, when the Saracens made themselves masters over all Syria, the commander of the faithful had his seat at Bagdad. He was absolute ruler over Persia and Africa and Egypt and Arabia Felix. He had beneath him mighty emirates, or military provinces, as follows: first, the emirate of Persia, or Chorasan; second, the emirate of Africa; third, the emirate...
52ς άμηραδίαν την Φιλιστήμη, ήτοι | το 'Ράμβλε, πέμπτην άμηραδίαν την 
Δαμασκόν, έκτην άμηραδίαν το Χέμψ, ήτοι το 'Εμεσα, εβδόμην άμη - 70
114υραδίαν το Χάλεπ, έκτην άμηραδίαν την 'Αντιόχειαν, ένάτην άμηρα- 
δίαν το Χαράν, δεκάτην άμηραδίαν το 'Εμεσα, ενδεκάτην άμηραδίαν 
την 'Εσιβή, δωδεκάτην άμηραδίαν το Μούσελ, τρισκαιδεκάτην άμηραδίαν 
το Τικρίτ. Τῆς δὲ 'Αφρικής άποσπασθείσης άπό της του άμερμουμνή 
έν τῷ Βαγδάδ εξουσίας καί ίδιοκρατησάσης καί άμηράν ίδιον άναγορεύ - 75 
σάτης, γέγονεν, καθὼς και προτύρχεν, πρώτη άμηραδία ή Περσια, 
δευτέρα ή Αίγυπτος καί καθεξῆς αι λοιπαί, καθώς προείρηται. Ἄρτιος 
δὲ πάλιν τού άμερμουμνή τού ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδ άδυνατάσσατος, γέγονεν 
53ρ ιδιόρρυθμος | ὁ τῆς Περσίας άμηράς, ήγουν του Χωρασάν καί ἀπεκάλε- 
σεν ἑαυτὸν άμερμουμνήν, φορῶν καί τὸ κουράν διά πινακίδων εἰς τὸν 80 
τράχηλον τού δίκην μανιακίου. Λέγει δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἁ ἑν τῆς γενεᾶς 
τοῦ 'Αλήμ. Ὅ δέ άμηράς τῆς εύδαίμονος 'Αραβίας ύπήρχεν αεί καί 
πάντοτε υπό τήν έξουσίαν τού άμηρά Αίγυπτου. Γέγονεν δέ καί αὐτός 
ιδιόρρυθμος, καί ἀπεκάλεσεν καί αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν άμερμουμνήν· λέγει δὲ 
καί αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἃ εκ τῆς τοῦ 'Αλήμ γενεᾶς. 85

26. 'Η γενεαλογία τού περιβλέπτου ρηγού Οδγωνος.

'Ιστεύον, ὅτι ὁ Ῥήξ 'Ιταλίας, ὁ μέγας Λωθάριος, ὁ πάππος τοῦ 
53το περιβλέπτου ρηγού Οδγωνος, ἀπὸ | τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου Καρούλου 
κατήγετο, περὶ συ πολὺς ἐπαινος, ἐγκώμια τε καί διηγήματα καί περὶ 
115ε πολέμου ἀνδραγαθήματα. Οὕτος οὖν ὁ Κάρουλος | ἦν μονοκράτωρ 5 
πάντων τῶν ρηγῶν, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Φραγγίαν. Τοῦτος 
τοῖς ήμέραις αὐτοῦ οὔδεὶς τῶν υπολοίπων ρηγῶν έτολμησε ρήγα ἑαυτὸν 
καλέσαι, ἀλλά πάντες ύπήρχον υπόσπονδοι αὐτοῦ, δἐστις χρήματα ικανά 
καί πλοῦτον άφθονον ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀποστείλας, ἔδειματο μοναστήρια 
πάμπολλα. Ὅ τοίνυν Λωθάριος οὕτως ἀναλαβόμενος τά ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύ- 10 
54σα, κατὰ Ὁρμής ἐκστρατεύσας, ἀπὸ πολέμου | ταύτην ἐκφάτησον, 
καί ἐστέφθη παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα. Καί ἤνικα ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν 
ἔξουσιαν, ήγουν εἰς Πάπιαν, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον Πλαζέντα, 
τὸ ὅν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα μιλίων τῆς Παπίας. Κάκεϊσε μὲν οὕτως τελευτᾷ, 
ἔστεκεν δὲ υἱὸν, οὐνοματε 'Αδέλβερτον, δε ἐγημεν γυναίκα τὴν μεγάλην 15 
Βέρταν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν προφητεύθην ρήγα, τὸν Οὐγωνα ἔστεκεν. Μετὰ 
δὲ τὸ τελευτῆσαι τὸν μέγαν Λωθάριον Λοδόίκος, ὁ ἰδιος τοῦ Λοδοίκου,

V 69 Φιλιστήμη. V edd. || πέμπτην edd.: ε' Π || 70 έκτην V edd.: γ' Π ||
'Εμεσα Π edd. || εβδόμην edd.: ζ' Π || 71 έκτην edd.: γ' Π || 72 
Be: θ' Π || 73 δεκάτην edd.: ι' Π || ενδεκάτην edd.: ι' Π || 73 δωδεκάτην edd.: 
ιβ' Π || τρισκαιδεκάτην Moravcsik: ιγ' Π τρισεκατεκάτην edd. || 75 ante εν adden-
of Egypt; fourth, the emirate of Philistiem, or Rambleh; fifth, the emirate of Damascus; sixth, the emirate of Homs, or Emesa; seventh, the emirate of Aleppo; eighth, the emirate of Antioch; ninth, the emirate of Harran; tenth, the emirate of Emet; eleventh, the emirate of Esibe; twelfth, the emirate of Mosul; thirteenth, the emirate of Tikrit. But after Africa was torn away from the dominion of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad and had become self-governing and had proclaimed an emir of its own, then Persia was the first emirate, as it had been before, and Egypt became the second, and the rest thereafter in the order given above. But now, again, owing to the impotence of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad, the emir of Persia, or Chorasan, has become independent; and he has usurped the style of commander of the faithful, wearing the koran on tablets about his neck like a necklace. And he says he is from the family of Alim. Moreover the emir of Arabia Felix used always invariably to be beneath the dominion of the emir of Egypt. But he too has become independent, and he too has usurped the style of commander of the faithful; and he too says he is of the family of Alim.

26. The genealogy of the illustrious king Hugh.

The elder Lothair, king of Italy, grandfather of the illustrious king Hugh, was by descent of the family of the elder Charles, a man much celebrated in song and story and author of heroic deeds in war. This Charles was sole ruler over all the kingdoms, and reigned as emperor in great Francia. And in his days none of the other kings dared call himself a king, but all were his vassals; and he sent much money and abundant treasure to Palestine and built a very large number of monasteries. Well, this Lothair took his forces and marched against Rome and assaulted and got possession of it, and was crowned by the pope of that time. And when he was on his way back to his domain, that is, to Papia, he got as far as the city of Piacenza, thirty miles distant from Papia, and there he died; he begat a son called Adalbert, who took to wife the elder Bertha, and begat on her the aforesaid king Hugh. Now, after the death of the elder Lothair, Lewis, kinsman
άπο τῆς μεγάλης Φραγγίας ἐλθὼν, ἐκράτησεν τὴν Πάπιαν. Καὶ ἦν μὲν
54οι άστεπτος. Υποπέπτων δὲ ἤλθεν εἰς Βερούναν, εἰς τὸ κάστρον, τὸ ὄν | ἄπο ρχ' 
μιλίων τῆς Παπίας, καὶ ἐδύνατος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖστε, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ οἱ 20 
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου, καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐτύφλωσαν. Καὶ τότε ἐκράτησαν 
Βεριγγέριος, ὁ πάππος τοῦ νυνί Βεριγγέρη, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν Ρώμη 
ἐστέρηκεν. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδήλωτο ἐκείνῳ λαὸς πολὺς τῷ Ῥοδούλφῳ 
eἰς Βεργώνιαν ὄντι, λέγοντες, ὅτι: Ἔσθη ἐνταύθα, καὶ παραδίδομέν σοι
116οι τῷ ἀγάτῳ καὶ ἀποκτενοῦμεν τὸν Βεριγγέρη. Οἱ δὲ ἤλθεν ἀπὸ 25 
Βεργώνιαν πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Παπίας, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢμισυς λαῶς ἦν μετὰ 
tοῦ Βεριγγέρη, ὃ δὲ λοιπὸς μετὰ τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου. Καὶ πολεμήσαντες, 
ἐνίκησαν ο Ἱβίβββτό ρήγατον καὶ ἀποκτενοῦμεν τὸν Βεριγγέριον, καὶ πάλιν πολεμήσαντες,
55οὶ ἐνίκησαν τὸ Ροδούλφος. Καὶ ἐφυγεν ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Βεριγγέρη, καὶ μόνος 
kαταλειψαὶ ο Ἱβίβββτό Βεριγγέρης ἐποίησεν ἑαυτὸν ώς τεθνεώτα, καὶ ἐπεσεν 30 
μέσον τῶν τεθνεώτων, σκεπάσας αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς δόρκας αὐτοῦ, τόν 
δὲ πόδα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἔξω. Ἁλθὼν δὲ εἰς ἕκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ῥο­
δούλφου, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ μετὰ μεναύλου εἰς τὸν πόδα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ σύνολον 
οὐκ ἐπάλωσάν τοῦ δὲ μὴ σαλευθέντος, ἀφίσαν αὐτὸν ὡς δῆθ'ν ποῖ ἐντα ἄντα. Ἡγνώει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου λαὸς, ὅτι ο Βεριγγέρης ἐστίν. Καὶ 35 
pαύσαντος τοῦ πολέμου, ἡγέρθη ὁ Βεριγγέρης καὶ ἤλθεν εἰς τὸ παλά­
tιον αὐτοῦ μόνος, καὶ πάλιν ἐκράτησεν τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ἐπολέμησεν
55οὶ τοῦ Ῥοδούλφου καὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν. Μετὰ δὲ | τοῦτο συνεβιβάσθησαν 
eἰς ἄλληλους, καὶ ἐμερίσθησαν τὴν χώραν εἰς δύο· καὶ οὶ μὲν εἰς ἀνέλα­
βετο τὸ ἐν μέρος τῆς χώρας, ὃ δὲ ἐτέρω καὶ τό ἐπεροῦν. Ἡν δὲ ὁ Ῥοδούλφος 40 
ὑπὸ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Βεριγγέρη. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον 
ἀπὸ Βεργώνιαν τρεῖς μαρκήσιοι προς Πάπιαν τοῦ ἐκδιώξαν τοὺς κρατοῦν­
tας καὶ κρατήσαντας αὐτοῦ ἤσαν δὲ οὐκ ἔστενεν αὐτοῦ ὡς δῆθεν 
τὸν Βόζος καὶ Οὐγών, δ άδελφός τοῦ Βόζου, δ προρρηθείς εὔγενεστατος, 
45 
Βορήξ. Ἡλθεν δὲ μετὰ λαοῦ ἰκανοῦ. Καὶ μαθὼν δ Βεριγγέρης ἢτοιμάσθη, καὶ ἐπεσεν 30 
τὸν Βόζος καὶ Οὐγών, δ ἅδελφος τοῦ Βόζου, δ προρρηθείς εὔγενεστατος, 
45 
Βορής. Ἡλθεν δὲ μετά λαοῦ ἰκανοῦ. Καὶ μαθὼν δ Βεριγγέρης ἢτοιμάσθη, καὶ ἐπεσεν 30 
τὸν Βόζος καὶ Οὐγών, δ ἅδελφος τοῦ Βόζου, δ προρρηθείς εὔγενεστατος, 
50οὶ μὴ φονεύειν | τινὰ, ἀλλ' ὅποι ἂν κρατήσω τινά εἰς αὐτῶν, κάτωσαν 
τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δύο ωτὰ καὶ ἀπολυόμεν, δ ἢ δὲ ἐποίουν. Θεοσά­
μενοι οὖν τοῦτο ἄριστον τρεῖς κραφλαί, ἄραντες ἀνυπόδετοι 50 
τὰ θεῖα εὐαγγέλια εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ἤλθον πρὸς τὸν Βεριγγέρην, 
ἀποφθέγαν τοῦ μηκέτι στέσθην ένθάδε μέχρι 
τέλους ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε εἴσαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ιδίαν χώραν.
of Lewis, came from great Francia and took possession of Papia. He was not crowned. And afterwards he came to Verona, a city 120 miles from Papia, and on his arrival there the folk of that same city rose up against him and seized and blinded him. Then the rule was seized by Berengar, grandfather of the present Berengar, and he entered Rome and was crowned. After this, a large body of the folk made a declaration to Rodolf, who was in Burgundy, saying: «Come here, and we will give the kingdom over to you and will kill Berengar.» So he came from Burgundy to the region of Papia, and one half of the folk sided with Berengar, and the rest with Rodolf. They fought and Berengar was victorious in the first battle, and they fought again and Rodolf gained the victory. And the army of Berengar fled, and Berengar, left alone by himself, made as though he were dead, and fell down among the dead and covered himself with his shield, but left his leg protruding. One of Rodolf’s soldiers came up and stabbed him in the leg with a spear, but he never stirred a muscle; and when he did not stir, he let him alone, supposing him in truth to be a corpse. And the army of Rodolf did not know that he was Berengar. When the battle was over, Berengar got up and came to his palace alone, and again got possession of his throne and fought with Rodolf and gained the victory over him. Thereafter they came to terms with one another and divided the country in two; and one of them took one part of the country, and the other the other. But Rodolf was subject to the counsel and authority of Berengar. After this, again, three marquises came from Burgundy to Papia with intent to expel its possessors and possess it themselves; they were Hugh Tagliaferro, and Boso, and Boso’s brother Hugh, the most noble king aforesaid. And he came with a large army. When Berengar heard of it, he made ready and advanced to meet him in battle, and began to blockade and to reduce them by hunger, and gave orders to his army not to kill any, but if they should take any of them prisoner, to cut off his nose and his two ears and let him go; and so they did. When they saw this, the three chiefs aforesaid took the holy gospels in their hands and came barefoot to Berengar and begged his pardon and swore that they would never more come there so long as he should live; and then he let them depart to their

Τότε τοῦ Βεριγγέρη ἀπελθόντος έλς Βερώναν, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν Φαλεμβέρτος, ὁ σύντεκνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἐκράτησεν ὅλον τὸ βραγάτον Ἄποδολφος. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐμήνυσεν ὅ λαος τῆς χώρας ἅλης, ἐλς Βεργώνιαν τῷ Οὐγώνῳ, τῷ προφητείντος βηγή, λέγοντες, ὅτι: «Εἰλθέ, καὶ παραδίδωμαι σοι τήν χώραν.» Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπήρεν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ἐπῆγαγον εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ ἀπεκατέστησαν αὐτὸν βήγα. 
Τόν δὲ 'Ροδούλφον εἶπον, ὅτι: «Ἀπελθε μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου σου, θέλῃς, εἰς τήν χώραν σου, θέλῃς, ἀλλαχοῦ.» 'Ο δὲ ἐπῆλθεν εἰς Βεργώνιαν, εἰς τήν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατέτησεν εἰς τὰ παλάτια ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Όυγώνου, τὸ προφητείντος βηγή, εἰς Βεργώνιαν, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ 'Ροδούλφου, ἡτίς καὶ Βέρτα ὁμολόγητο, ἐλαβεν εἰς γυναίκα.

27. Περὶ τοῦ θέματος Λαγουβαρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πριγκιπάτων καὶ αρχοντιῶν.

Ἡ ἡν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις κατεκρατεῖτο η πάσα έξουσία  Ἄποδολφος, ἡ τε Νεάπολις καὶ Κάπυα καὶ ἡ Βενεβενδός, τὸ τε Σαλερίνον καὶ ἡ Άμάλφη καὶ Γαιτή καὶ πάσα η Λαγουβαρδία παρά τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, δηλονότι βασιλευομένης τῆς 'Ρώμης. Μετά δέ τοῦ βασιλείου εἴσ Κωνσταντινούπολος έπείρεν αὐτόν καὶ Αμάλφην καὶ Γαιτήν καὶ Νεάπολιν καὶ Άμαλφην, καὶ τῆς μάμμης αὐτῆς, ἤγουν τῆς μεγάλης Βέρτας, ἡτίς κατὰ τὴν Βέρτα τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, άνδρός, έβασίλευσεν έτη ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει καὶ συναφθείσα 'Ρωμαίων τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ, ύπί τού Ρουμανοῦ, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ήτοι ή θυγάτηρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιβλέπτου έπαθέν τοῦ Άδελβέρτου, άνδρός, έβασίλευσεν έτη τῆς Βέρτας, ήγουν τῆς μεγάλης Βέρτας, ήτοι ή θυγάτηρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιβλέπτου Βέρτα τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου.


V 54 Βεργώνιαν Ρ || 55 Φαλαμβέρτος V mg. Ρ* Φαλαμβέρτος edd. || βίγατον Ρ || 56 6' om. edd. || 57 Βεργώνιαν edd. || βίγα Ρ || 58 ἐπηράνοι Ρ: ἐπηράνοι Be || ἐπηράνοι Migne || 59 ἀπεκατέστησαν Be || βίγα Ρ || 61 Βεργώνιαν Ρ:
own country. But afterwards, when Berengar had gone to Verona, he was slain by Flambert, whose child he had held at the font, and then Rodolf became possessed of the whole kingdom. And after that the folk of the whole country sent a message to Burgundy, to the aforesaid king Hugh, saying: «Come, and we will give the country over to you.» And when he came, the folk raised him up, and brought him away to the palace and made him king again. But to Rodolf they said: «Depart with your treasure, either to your country or elsewhere, as you will.» So he went off to Burgundy, to his country, and there ruled over a large folk. And when he died, the aforesaid king Hugh went off to Burgundy and took to wife the widow of Rodolf, who was also called Bertha. And her daughter, Adelesa by name, he gave to Lothair his son, who is now king of Italy. Now, she who came up to Constantinople and was joined in marriage to Romanus, the son born in the purple of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign, was the daughter of the same illustrious king Hugh, and she was called Bertha after the name of her grandmother, I mean the elder Bertha, who after the death of Adalbert her husband reigned ten years; but she, the young Bertha, changed her name to Eudocia, after that of the grandmother and sister of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign.

27. Of the province of Lombardy and of the principalities and governorships therein.

In ancient times the whole domain of Italy, both Naples and Capna and Beneventum, Salerno and Amalfi and Gaêta and all of Lombardy, was in the possession of the Romans, I mean, when Rome was the imperial capital. But after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, all these territories were divided into two governments, and therefore two patricians used to be dispatched by the emperor in Constantinople; one patrician would govern Sicily and Calabria and Naples and Amalfi, and the other, with his seat at Beneventum, would govern Papia and Capna and all the rest. They used to remit annually to the emperor the sums due to the treasury.
Βοδημοσίω. Αὕτα δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι χώραι κατὰ πολλὸν παρὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων. Ἡν δὲ τοὺς καφοῦς Εἰρήνης τῆς βασιλίδος ἀποστάλεις ἡ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς ἔκρατε τὴν Βενεβενδοῦν καὶ τὴν Ρώμην καὶ Ζαχαρίαν καὶ Ζαχαρίαν, ἔν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς Εἰρήνης τῆς βασιλίδος ἀποστάλεις ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς ἔκρατε τὴν Παπίαν καὶ τὴν Ζαχαρίαν, ὁ παπάς Αθηναίος ἔκρατε τὴν 'Ρώμην. Συνέβη δὲ πολέμους γενέσθαι εἰς τὰ τῆς Παπίας μέρη, καὶ ἐξοδίασεν ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς εἰς τὸν στρατόν τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πάκτα τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεστάλη ἡ κατὰ τὸν παπᾶ τὸν εἰσκομιδὴ παρ’ αὐτοῦ. Ὅ δὲ Ναρσῆς ἀντεήμυςεν, οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐξοδίασεν ἀποσταλήναι μοι χρήματα, ἐπειδή 20

Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη καὶ οργισθεὶσα, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῶι άτράκτον καὶ ἡλάκατην, γράψασα πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι «Λάβε ταῦτα, καὶ ἀρμόζει σοι’ νῆθειν σε γάρ μᾶλλον ἐκρίναμεν δίκαιον, ἡ μὲτὰ 25 ὑμῶν ἄνδρα διεκδίκειν καὶ διευθύνειν καὶ ὑπερπολεμεῖν ὑμῖν Ρωμαίοιν.» Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πατρίκιος Ναρσῆς ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὴν βασίλιδα, ὅτι «Εἰπεί οὕτως παρ’ ὑμῖν νῆθειν καὶ κλώθειν, καθάπερ γυνὴ, θεάσασθε γῆν ρέουσαν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον μέλι καὶ γάλα, ὡς, ὡς οίμαι, ὁ Θεός κρείττονα οὐκ ἔχει* καὶ εἰ ἐστίν ὑμῖν ἀρεστόν κατοικῆσαι εἰς αὐτή, ἡ μέχρις αἰώνας μακαρίζητε με». Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι καὶ πεισθέντες, ἀναλαβόμενοι τὰς φαμίλιας αὐτῶν, ἠλθοὺν εἰς Βενεβενδοῦν. 120

Οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάστρου Βενεβενδοῦ οὐκ ἐνδοθεν τὸ κάστρον οὐκ ἐσέλθειν, ἔκακα δὲ έξωθεν τοῦ κάστρου πλησίον τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐκεῖσε κάστρον μικρόν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ονομάζεται Τζιβιτανόβα, τουτέστιν νεόκαστρον, κατοικῆσαι έν αὐτή, ἡ μέχρις τῆς σήμερον συνίσταται. Εἰσήρχοντο δὲ καταθεν τὸ κάστρον καὶ ἐν τῇ εκκλησίᾳ, καὶ διά μηχανῆς κυριεύσαντες τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ κάστρου Βενεβενδοῦ, ἀνεύθυναν πάντας καὶ κατέσχον τὸ κάστρον. Ἡσυχασθηκαί τῶν ράβδων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ εκκλησίᾳ έπὶ τὸν κάστρον μάχην, πάντας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀπεκτείναν. Καὶ ἐκτοτε ἕκστρατεύσαν-
All these countries aforesaid used to be inhabited by the Romans. But in the time of the empress Irene the patrician Narses was sent out and was governing Beneventum and Papia; and pope Zacharias, the Athenian, was governing Rome. It happened that fighting had been going on in the region of Papia, and the patrician Narses had expended on the army the tribute collected for the treasury, and the regular revenue was not remitted by him. Narses sent back a reply, saying: «I expect, rather, that money should be sent to me from your side, since I have exhausted all the revenues incoming from here upon the fighting that has broken out; but, on the contrary, it is you who are demanding revenues from here.» When the empress Irene heard this she was angry and sent him a spindle and distaff, and wrote to him: «Take these, your proper instruments; for we have judged it fit that you should spin, rather than that as a man at arms you should defend and guide and do battle for the Romans.» On hearing this the patrician Narses wrote in reply to the empress: «Since I am thus judged by you fit to spin and twist like a woman, I will twist you hanks with spindle and distaff such as the Romans shall never be able to unravel so long as they endure». Now, at that time the Lombards were dwelling in Pannonia, where now the Turks live. And the patrician Narses sent to them fruits of all kinds and made them this declaration: «Come hither and behold a land flowing with honey and milk, as the saying is, which, I think, God has none to surpass; and if it please you, settle in it, that you may call me blessed for the ages of ages.» The Lombards heard and obeyed and took their families and came to Beneventum. The inhabitants of the city of Beneventum did not allow them to come inside the city, and they settled outside the city, near the wall and by the river, where they built a small city, which for that reason is called Civita Nova, that is, New City, and it stands to this day. But they began to come inside the city also and into the church, and having by a stratagem gained the upper hand of the inhabitants of the city of Beneventum, they made away with them all and took possession of the city. For they carried swords inside their staves, and in the church they wheeled round and attacked all together and, as has been said, killed everyone. And thereafter they marched out and sub-
τήν γην ἐκείνην ὑπέταξαν τοῦ τε Θέματος Λαγού | βαρδίας καὶ Καλαβρίας καὶ ὅσα Πάττας ἦν τῆς Τρεντοῦ καὶ Καλλιπόλεως καὶ τοῦ ῾Ρουσιάνου καὶ τῆς Νεαπόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαϊτῆς καὶ Συρεντῶς καὶ ῾Αμάλφης. Πρῶτον δὲ κάστρον ὑπήρχεν ἀρχαῖον καὶ μέγα Κάπυα, 50 δεύτερον ή Νεάπολις, τρίτον ή Βενεβενδός, τέταρτον ή Γαϊτή, πέμπτον ή ῾Αμάλφη. Τὸ δὲ Σαλερινὸν ὁμίσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ Σικάρδου, ὅτε διεμέρισαν οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι τὰ πρυγκνεῖτα. Εἰς δὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἦτις ἐστὶν Καλαβρίας, ήτ δὲ ἅπε τοῦ ποταμοῦ µονοι', ἀφ’ οὗ ἔμερισθῆ η Ἀλαγούβαρδία, ἡ τε' ὑπήρχον δέ ἄδελφοι δύο, οὗ Σίκον καὶ οὗ Σικαρδός. Καὶ 55 ο µὲν Σίκον ἐκράτησε τὴν Βενεβενδον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βάρεως καὶ τῆς 60' Σικελίας. Ἡ δὲ Νεάπολις ήν ἀρχαῖον πραιτώριον τῶν κατεχομένων πατρικίων, καὶ ἔκρατο δὲ τὴν Νεάπολιν κατείχεν καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ ἴνα κατέλαβεν ὁ πατρικὸς ἐν Νεάπολε, ἀπήρχετο ο δούξ Νεαπόλεως ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Η δὲ Κάπυα ἦν πόλις ἐν Ναυανδήλων, ὥς τοῦ ἀραίους Απρίκων, καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται οὔτως. 'Ερμιοκάστερν δὲ οὗτος, ὕπερ οὗτος οἱ Λαγούβαρδοι. Καὶ πάλιν τῶν Ἀφρικών ἐπερχομένων κατ’ αὐτάν, ὕποδομησεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Λανδούλφος κάστρον τῆς γέφυραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὑποστήσασθαι τῆς Κάπυα, εἰσίν έτη οὐν' | έποίησαν, οὓς τῶν Οὐανδήλων, ἦτοι τῶν Ἀραίων, καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτήν. 'Ερμιοκάστερν δὲ οὗτος ὑπήρχε τῆς Ασίας, οὗτος δοῦξ Νεαπόλεως ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Καὶ πάλιν τῶν Ἀφρικών ἐπερχομένων κατ’ αὐτάν, ὕποδομησεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Λανδούλφος κάστρον τῆς γεφύραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὑποστήσασθαι τῆς Κάπυα.
due all that land, both the province of Lombardy and Calabria
and as far as Papia, except for Otranto and Gallipoli and Rossano and
Naples and Gaeta and Sorrento and Amalfi. The first city, ancient and
mighty, was Capua, the second, Naples, the third, Beneventum, the fourth,
Gaeta, the fifth, Amalfi. Salerno was settled in the time of Sicardus, when
the Lombards divided the principalities. From the division of Lombardy
until to-day, the 7th indiction, the year 6457 from the creation of the world,
it is 200 years. There were two brothers, Sicon and Sicardus. Sicon governed
Beneventum and the districts of Bari and Sipontum, and Sicardus governed
Salerno and Capua and the district of Calabria. Naples was anciently the
praetorium of the patricians who came out, and the governor of Naples
had Sicily beneath him as well, and when the patrician arrived in Naples,
the duke of Naples would go off to Sicily. Capua was a very large city indeed,
and was captured by the Vandals, or Africans, who demolished it. When
it was lying a deserted city, the Lombards settled in it. When the Africans
came against them once more, bishop Landulf built a city at the bridge
over the river and called it New Capua, and it still survives. From the
foundation of this Capua, it is 73 years. Naples and Amalfi and Sorrento
have always been subject to the emperor of the Romans.

‘Mastromilis’ means in the Roman tongue captain-general of the army.

Before the Venetians crossed over and settled in the islands in which
they live now, they were called Enetikoi, and used to dwell on the mainland
in these cities: the city of Concordia, the city of Justiniana, the city of
Nonum and very many other cities.

When those who are now called Venetians, but were originally called
Enetikoi, crossed over, they began by constructing a strongly fortified city,
in which the doge of Venice still has his seat to-day, a city surrounded by
some six miles of sea, into which 27 rivers also debouch. There are other
islands also to the east of this same city. And upon these same islands also
they who are now called Venetians built cities: the city of Cogradon, in
πολὺς ἐστὶν μεγάλη καὶ πολλὰ λείψανα ἀγίων ἐν ταυτῇ ἀπόκεινται·
κάστρον Ἔρεβαλενσῆς, κάστρον Λουλιανών, κάστρον Ἀφανοῦ, κάστρον
Ῥωματίνα, κάστρον Λικεντία, κάστρον Πίνεται, ὅπερ λέγεται Στρόβι-
λος, κάστρον Βινιόλα, κάστρον Βόες, ἐν ὧν ὑπάρχει ναός τοῦ ἄγιον
ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, κάστρον Ἡλιούαλβα, κάστρον Λικεντία, κάστρον Πίνεται, ὅπερ λέ
γεται Στρόβιλος, κάστρον Βινιόλα, κάστρον Βόες, ἐν ὧν ὑπάρχει

Ἰστέον, ὅτι εἰσὶ καὶ ἑτεραι νῆσοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ Βενετίας.
Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ στερεά εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπάρχουσι:
κάστρα τῶν Βενετικῶν, ὅτι εἰσὶν ταῦτα· κάστρον Κάπρε, κάστρον
Νεόκαστρον, κάστρον Φινές, κάστρον Αἴκυλον, κάστρον Ἀειμάνας,
ἐμπόριον μέγα τὸ Τορτζελών, κάστρον Μουράν, κάστρον Ἐρβαλτοῦ,
ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται 'τόπος υψηλότατος', ἐν ὧν καθίζεται ὁ δούς Βενετίας,
κάστρον Καβερτζέντζης.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐμπόρια εἰσὶ καὶ καστέλλια.

Διήγησις πώς κατωκίσθη ἡ νῦν καλούμενη Βενετία.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Βενετία τὸ μέν παλαιὸν ἦν τόπος ἐρημός τις ἀοίκη-
τος καὶ βαλτώδης. Οἱ δὲ νῦν καλούμενοι Βενετικοί ὑπήρχον Φράγγοι
ἀπὸ Ἀκουίλεγίας καὶ ἃπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τῆς Φραγγίας, καὶ κατφ-
κοῦν εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν ἀντίκρυ τῆς Βενετίας. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀττίλα, τοῦ βασιλέως
τῶν Ἀβάρων, ἔλθοντο καὶ πάντες τὰς Ἀκουίλεγίας καὶ ἃπὸ πάντων οἱ Φράγγοι ἀπὸ Ἀκουίλεγίας
καὶ ἃπὸ τῶν ἀνεμών τῆς Φραγγίας κάστρων, ἔρχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰς
ἀοίκητος νήσους τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ποιεῖν ἑκεῖσε καλύβια διὰ τὸν τοῦ
βασιλέως Ἀττίλα φόβον. Αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττίλα λησαμένου

τὰς νῆσους τῆς Χώρας τῆς Χάρας, καὶ μέχρι Ρώμης καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐλθόντος
καὶ τὴν Βενετίαν μακρύθεν καταλαμβάνοντος, ἀδειαν εὑρόντες οἱ προσφευ-
γότες ἐν τοῖς νῆσοι τῆς Βενετίας καὶ οἶον τὴν δειλίαν ἀποκείσαμενοι,
ἀκολαύτος ἔβουλεύσατο καὶ κατάκτησε ἑκεῖσε, ὅπερ καὶ ἐποίσαν, 15
κατοικήσαντες ἑκεῖσε μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ
Ἀττίλαν, μετὰ χρόνους πολλοὺς παραγεγένετο πάλιν Πιπίνος ὁ βῆς, ὃς

123Bo 28. Διήγησις πώς κατωκίσθη ἡ νῦν καλούμενη Βενετία.
which is a great metropolitan church with many relics of saints laid up in it; the city of Rivalensis, the city of Lulianon, the city of Apsanon, the city of Romatina, the city of Licenzia, the city of Pinetai, which is called Strobilos, the city of Biniola, the city of Boes, in which is a church of the holy apostle Peter, the city of Littoualba, the city of Litoumangersis, the city of Bronion, the city of Madaucon, the city of Ebola, the city of Pristinai, the city of Clugia, the city of Brundon, the city of Phosoaon, the city of Lauriton.

There are other islands also in the same country of Venice.

On the mainland, also, in the land of Italy, there are cities of the Venetians, as follows: the city of Capre, the city of Neokastron, the city of Phines, the city of Aikylon, the city of Aeimanas, the great trading station of Torcello, the city of Mouran, the city of Rivalto, which means ‘highest point’, where the doge of Venice has his seat; the city of Caverzenzis.

There are also trading stations and forts.

28. Story of the settlement of what is now called Venice.

Of old, Venice was a desert place, uninhabited and swampy. Those who are now called Venetians were Franks from Aquileia and from the other places in Francia, and they used to dwell on the mainland opposite Venice. But when Attila, the king of the Avars, came and utterly devastated and depopulated all the parts of Francia, all the Franks from Aquileia and from the other cities of Francia began to take to flight, and to go to the uninhabited islands of Venice and to built huts there, out of their dread of king Attila. Now when this king Attila had devastated all the country of the mainland and had advanced as far as Rome and Calabria and had left Venice far behind, those who had fled for refuge to the islands of Venice, having obtained a breathing-space and, as it were, shaken off their faintness of heart, took counsel jointly to settle there, which they did, and have been settled there till this day. But again, many years after the withdrawal of Attila, king Pippin arrived, who at that time was ruling over
διδασκόντες τρεις, οίτις ἤρχον πασῶν τῶν Φραγγίων καὶ Σκλαβηνίων.

124Β Τού δὲ ἰχνός | Πιπίνου ἐλθόντος κατά τῶν Βενετίκων μετὰ δυνάμεως 20

63*Ρ | καὶ λαοῦ πολλοῦ, παρεκάθισαν διὰ τῆς ἥραξ ἐκείθεν τοῦ περάματος
tῶν νήσου τῆς Βενετίας εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον 'Αειβόλας. Οἱ οὖν Βενετικοὶ

ιδόντες τὸν βήγα Πιπίνου μετὰ τῆς ἐκατού δυνάμεως κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπερχό-

μενον καὶ μέλλοντα μετὰ τῶν ἱππῶν ἀποπλεῦσαν πρὸς τὴν νῆσον τοῦ

Μαδαμάκου (ἐστιν γάρ αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλησίον τῆς ἥρας), βαλόντες 25

κερατάρια, ἀπὰ τὸ πέραμα ἐναπέφραξαν. Εἰς ἀμηχανίαν οὖν έλθὼν ὁ

τοῦ βήγας Πιπίνου λαός (οὔδὲ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν αὐτοὺς ἀλλαχοῦ περάσαι),

παρεκάθισαν αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ἥρας μήνας ἐξ, πολεμοῦντες καθ’ ἐκάστην

64*Ρ ἤμεραν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. Καὶ | οἱ μὲν Βενετικοὶ εἰς ἥραχυντο εἰς τὰ πλοῖα

αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσταντο ὑπῆσάν τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν βιβέντων κερατάριων, 30

ὁ δὲ βήγα Πιπίνου ἔστατο μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ οἰκισμῷ. Καὶ οἱ

μὲν Βενετίκοι μετὰ τοξείας καὶ βιβερίων ἐπολέμουν, μὴ ἐξωτερικῆς αὐτῶν

πρὸς τὴν νῆσον διαπεράσασθαι. 'Ἀπορήσασας οὖν ὁ βήγα Πιπίνος, ἐπεν πρὸς

τοὺς Βενετικοὺς, ὅτι: 'Τὸ τὴν ἐμὴν χεῖρα καὶ πρόνοιά μου γίνεσθαι, ἐπειδή

ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χώρας καὶ εξουσίας ἐμὴν.' Οἱ δὲ Βενετικοὶ άντέλεγον

35 ὅτι: 'Ἡ μείζον δοῦλοι θέλουμεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ρωμαίων καὶ

οὐχί σοῦ.' Εὗ πολὺ δὲ βιασθέντες οἱ Βενετικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γεγονυίας

64*Ρ ἤλθες αὐτῶν, | ἐποιήσαντο εἰρήνηκας σπονδάς πρὸς τὸν βήγα

Πιπίνου τοῦ παρέχειν αὐτῷ πλείστα πάκτα. Ἐκτοτέ δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν

125Β χρόνον ἔλαττον τὸ πάκτον, ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον διαφθόνησεν. 40

Ταλοῦτι γὰρ οἱ Βενετικοὶ τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ βήγατον Ἰταλίας, ἦτοι Παπίας,

διαβραίς ἀσήμιν λίτρας λς' καθ’ ἐκαστὸν χρόνον. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ

ἐπαύεσθαι οὖν μεταξὺ Φράγγων καὶ Βενετικῶν πόλεμος. "Οτε δὲ ἤρξατο

36 ἀποφεύγειν ὁ λαός πρὸς Βενετίαν καὶ ἀποσυνάγεσθαι, ὡστε πολλοὺς

γίνεσθαι, ἀναγόρευσαν ἐκατούς δύοκα τὴν εὐγενεία τῶν ἀλλῶν διαφέροντα. 45

'Εγεγόνει δὲ ὁ πρῶτος δοῦξ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς ἡ ἐλθεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ

65*Ρ Πιπίνος. 'Ἡν δὲ τῷ τότε καθάρι τὸ δουκάτο εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Τζίβιντα-

νουβά, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται 'νεόκαστρον'. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι τὸ προειρημένον

νησίον πλησίον τῆς ἥρας κοινῆ βουλῆ μετέτθηκαν τὸ δουκάτο εἰς ἔτερον

νησίον, ἐν δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν σήμερον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι μήκος τῆς ἥρας, 50

ὄσον βλέπει τις ἄνδρα ἱππότης ἐφεζύμενον.
Papia and other kingdoms. For this Pippin had three brothers, and they were ruling over all the Frank and Slavonic regions. Now when king Pippin came against the Venetians with power and a large army, he blockaded them along the mainland, on the far side of the crossing between it and the islands of Venice, at a place called Aebolas. Well, when the Venetians saw king Pippin coming against them with his power and preparing to take ship with the horses to the island of Madamancon (for this is an island near the mainland), they laid down spars and fenced off the whole crossing. The army of king Pippin, being brought to a stand (for it was not possible for them to cross at any other point), blockaded them along the mainland six months, fighting with them daily. The Venetians would man their ships and take up position behind the spars they had laid down, and king Pippin would take up position with his army along the shore. The Venetians assailed them with arrows and javelins, and stopped them from crossing over to the island. So then king Pippin, at a loss, said to the Venetians: «You are beneath my hand and my providence, since you are of my country and domain.» But the Venetians answered him: «We want to be servants of the emperor of the Romans, and not of you.» When, however, they had for long been straitened by the trouble that had come upon them, the Venetians made a treaty of peace with king Pippin, agreeing to pay him a very considerable tribute. But since that time the tribute has gone on diminishing year by year, though it is paid even to this day. For the Venetians pay to him who rules over the kingdom of Italy, that is, Papia, a twopenny fee of 36 pounds of uncoined silver annually. So ended the war between Franks and Venetians. When the folk began to flee away to Venice and to collect there in numbers, they proclaimed as their doge him who surpassed the rest in nobility. The first doge among them had been appointed before king Pippin came against them. At that time the doge's residence was at a place called Civitanova, which means 'new city'. But because this island aforesaid is close to the mainland, by common consent they moved the doge's residence to another island, where it now is at this present, because it is at a distance from the mainland, as far off as one may see a man on horseback.
29. Περί τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ παρακείμένων ἐθνῶν.

"Οτι Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάνυ τῆς χώρας Δελματίας ἥρασθη, διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρώμης λαὸν ἀγαγὼν μετὰ τὰς φαμηλίας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῆς Δελματίας χώρῃ τούτως κατεσκήνωσαν, οἱ καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι 5 προσηγγερεύθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης μετοικισθῆναι, καὶ ταῦταν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τὴν ἐπονυμίαν ἐναποφέρονται. Οὕτως οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον ὁκοδόμησεν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ παλάτια ἐδείχματο λόγου καὶ γραφῆς ἀπότης ἐπέκειναι, διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τῆς παλαίς εὐδαιμονίας λείψανα φέρονται, καὶ ὁ πολὺς χρόνος αὐτὰ κατηγάλωσεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια, τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ὁκοδόμησεν, διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπονυμίαν Διοκλητιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι τοῖς τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἐκείνης ἐναποφέρονται. Ἡ δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ρωμανῶν διακράτησεν ἐν μέχρι τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ, οἱ καὶ ποτὲ θελόντες τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεράσαι καὶ καταμαθεῖν, τίνες κατοικοῦσιν ἐκείνοις, διαπεράσαντες εδρον Σκλαβήνικα ἐπάλωσαν ἐνθεν καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Αβάρους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπαρασκευάστους 20 καταπολεμήσαντες, ἐαυτοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπονυμίαν ὁκοδόμησαν. Καὶ ἐκτότε ποιήσαντες ἀλλάγια δύο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπὸ πάσχα έως πάσχα τοῦ παραμονίου καταπολεμήσαντες, ἐπεκίνουν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Καὶ ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κελέσα τῆς παλαιότερης περιφέρειας ἐκείνης, μέχρι τῆς παλαιοῦς συναντάται τοῖς μεγάλοις καὶ ἁγίοις σάββατοις, ὅπου τοῖς ἐκείνοις οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπαρασκευάζοντες, τοὺς ἐν θάλασσαν καὶ κατασφερόντας, ἐκτὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου κατακαλύπτοντες, τῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καλείται Κλείσα διὰ τὸ συγκλείειν τοὺς κατερχομένους ἐκείνους. Καὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ πρὸς πάσχα τοῦ παραμονίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τῇ θάλασσαν καὶ κατασφερόντας, τοὺς ἐκτὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου κατακαλύπτοντες, τοὺς καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς δουλείας ἐκκαθάρισαν.
29. Of Dalmatia and of the adjacent nations in it.

The emperor Diocletian was much enamoured of the country of Dalmatia, and so he brought folk with their families from Rome and settled them in this same country of Dalmatia, and they were called ‘Romani’ from their having been removed from Rome, and this title attaches to them until this day. Now this emperor Diocletian founded the city of Spalato and built therein a palace beyond the power of any tongue or pen to describe, and remains of its ancient luxury are still preserved to-day, though the long lapse of time has played havoc with them. Moreover, the city of Dioclea, now occupied by the Diocletians, was built by the same emperor Diocletian, for which reason those of that country have come to be called by the name of ‘Diocletians’. The territory possessed by these Romani used to extend as far as the river Danube, and once on a time, being minded to cross the river and discover who dwelt beyond the river, they crossed it and came upon unarmed Slavonic nations, who were also called Avars. The former had not expected that any dwelt beyond the river, nor the latter that any dwelt on the hither side. And so, finding these Avars unarmed and unprepared for war, the Romani overcame them and took booty and prisoners and returned. And from that time the Romani formed two alternating garrisons, serving from Easter to Easter, and used to change their men about so that on Great and Holy Saturday they who were coming back from the station and they who were going out to that service would meet one another. For near the sea, beneath that same city, lies a city called Salona, which is half as large as Constantinople, and here all the Romani would muster and be equipped and thence start out and come to the frontier pass, which is four miles from this same city, and is called Kleisa to this day, from its closing in those who pass that way. And from there they would advance to the river. This exchange of garrisons went on for a number of years and the Slavs on the far side of the river, who were also called Avars, thought it over among themselves, and said: «These Romani, now that they have crossed over and found booty, will in future not cease coming over against us, and so we will devise a plan against them.» And so, therefore, the Slavs, or Avars, took counsel, and on one occasion when the Romani had crossed over, they laid ambushes...
ποιήσαντες οὗτοι ἐγκρύμματα καὶ πολεμήσαντες, ἐνέκρισαν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἀναλαβόμενοι τὰ τὸ ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φλάμμουλα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολεμικὰ σημεῖα, διαπεράσαντες οἱ προειρημένοι Σκλάβοι τὸν τοπαμών, ήλθον 40 εἰς τὴν κλεισούραν, οὕς καὶ ἴδοντες οἱ ἔκεισε ὄντες Ἱομάνοι, θεασάμενοι δὲ τὰ φλάμμουλα καὶ τὴν ἐξόπλισιν τῶν ὅμορφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς αὐτῶν ὅμορφοις εἶναι νομίζαντες, ἴδοι κατέλαβον οἱ Σκλάβοι οἱ προπηγθέντες εἰς τὴν κλεισούραν, παρεχώρησαν αὐτοὺς διελθέντες. Τοιούτων δὲ, εὐθὺς τοὺς Ἱομάνους οὗτοι ἐξήλασαν, καὶ τὴν Σαλώνα, τὸ προειρημένο κάστρον ἐκράτησαν. Καὶ κατοικήσαντες ἐκεῖσε, ἐκτοτε κατὰ μικρὸν ἀρχέμενοι πραιδεύειν τοὺς Ἱομάνους, τοὺς εἰς τὸς κάμπος καὶ εἰς κλεισούραν, ἄτινα εἴσοδον Ἱομάνοι κολούνται.

"Ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἱομάνων, καὶ δυνάται πρὸ τῶν ἤμησυσθαι ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Χρωβάτων καὶ Σέρβων 55 συγγραφῇ, πάσα ἡ Δελματία καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔθνη, οἰον Χρωβάτοι, Σέρβιοι, Ζαχλούμοι, Τερβουνιώται, Καναλίται, Διοκλητιανοί καὶ Ἀρεντανοί, οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, " * * * . Τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἱομάνων βασιλείας διά τὴν τὸν τότε κρατοῦντας νοπρόβητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν εἰς τὸ 68ἑτέῳ μνημείῳ μικρὸς δὲν ἐναντιονευσάσθη, καὶ μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ Μιχαήλ 60 τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμορίου, τοῦ Τραυλοῦ, οἱ τὰ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρα οἰκοῦντες γεγόνασιν αὐτοκέφαλοι, μήτε τῷ βασιλείῳ Ἱομάνων, μήτε ἑτέρῳ τινι ὑποκείμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἔθνη, οἱ τῶν Χρωβάτων καὶ Σέρβων καὶ Ζαχλούμοι καὶ Τερβουνιώται τε καὶ Καναλίται καὶ Διοκλητιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Παγανοὶ, τῆς τῶν Ἱομάνων βασιλείας ἀργυριάσαντες γεγόνασιν 65 ἑτέρῳ ὑποκείμενοι, καὶ ἀυτοκέφαλοι, τινὶ μὴ ὑποκείμενοι. Ἀρχοντας δὲ, ὡς φασὶ, ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη μὴ ἔχειν, πλὴν ζουσάνος γέροντας, καθὼς καὶ αἱ 129Βε οἱ τῶν τοιούτων Ἱομάνων οἱ δὲ ἔραβιτίζοντο, ἀλλὰ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἔμενον ἀβάπτιστοι.
and attacked and defeated them. The aforesaid Slavs took the Roman arms and standards and the rest of their military insignia and crossed the river and came to the frontier pass, and when the Romani who were there saw them and beheld the standards and accoutrements of their own men they thought they were their own men, and so, when the aforesaid Slavs reached the pass, they let them through. Once through, they instantly expelled the Romani and took possession of the aforesaid city of Salona. There they settled and thereafter began to make plundering raids and destroyed the Romani who dwelt in the plains and on the higher ground and took possession of their lands. The remnant of the Romani escaped to the cities of the coast and possess them still, namely, Decatera, Ragusa, Spalato, Tetrangourin, Diadora, Arbe, Vekla and Opsara, the inhabitants of which are called Romani to this day.

Since the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, as will be related in the narrative concerning the Croats and Serbs, the whole of Dalmatia and the nations about it, such as Croats, Serbs, Zachlumi, Terbouniotes, Kanalites, Diocletians and Arentani, who are also called Pagani ***. But when the Roman empire, through the sloth and inexperience of those who then governed it and especially in the time of Michael from Amorion, the Lisper, had declined to the verge of total extinction, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia became independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else, and, what is more, the nations of those parts, the Croats and Serbs and Zachlumites, Terbouiniotes and Kanalites and Diocletians and the Pagani, shook off the reins of the empire of the Romans and became self-governing and independent, subject to none. Princes, as they say, these nations had none, but only ‘zupans’, elders, as is the rule in the other Slavonic regions. Moreover, the majority of these Slavs were not even baptized, and remained unbaptized for long enough. But
Έπει δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως, ἀπέστειλαν ἀποκρισιαρίους, ἐξαιτούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἅβαπτίστους βαπτίσθηναι καὶ εἰναι, ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὑποτεταγμένους τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὄντινοι εἰςακούσας οὐ μικράριος ἢ κεῖνος καὶ αὐτοίς βασιλεῖς, ἔξαπέστειλεν βασιλείαν μικρᾶς καὶ ἵπτερων καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς τῶν προφητεύοντων ἐδόμων ἅβαπτισθὼς τυγχάνοντος, καὶ 75 μετὰ τὸ βαπτίσαι αὐτοὺς τότε προεβάλετο εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀρχοντας, οὐς ἐκεῖνοι ἦλθον καὶ προέκριναν, ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἡγαίναν καὶ ἐστηργον.

69ρ Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ τρίτοι προεβάλετος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀρχοντας, οὕς ἐκεῖνοι ἦλθον καὶ προέκριναν, ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἡγαίναν καὶ ἐστηργον.

Καὶ ἔκτοτε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γενεῶν γίνονται ἀρχοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὡς εἰς ἄντρας. Οἱ δὲ Παγανοὶ, οἳ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διάλεξῃ Ἀρενταῖος καλοῦμενοι, εἰς δυσβάτους τόπους καὶ 80 κρημνώδεις κατελείφθησαν αὐτούς. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκλάβων γλώσσαν ἀβαπτιστῶς ερμηνεύεται. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοί ἀποστιλάντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοκυρίον βασιλέα, ἐξήθησαντο βαπτισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ ἀποστιλάντες ἐβαπτίστησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς. Εἰπεί δὲ, ὡς προεφήμημεν, ότι διὰ τὴν τῶν προτούντων νοθρότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν εἰς κατόπιν 85 τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠλθον πράγματα, καὶ οἱ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρα.

100ρ ἐκοινώνες γεγόναν αὐτῷ κέφαλον, μήτε τῷ βασιλείῳ Ῥωμαίων, μήτε ἐλθοντος εἰς τὸν βασιλείῳ Ῥωμαίων, ἐκτότε ἀποστείλαντες οἱ Παγανοὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ἐξήθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ ἀποστείλας ἐβαπτίστησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς. Οἱ δὲ Παγανοὶ ἐπείδης εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα ἐίδος πρώτους, καὶ οἱ τῶν μοναχῶν κατοικούντων

70ρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βασιλείῳ καὶ ἀκηρυκτοῦντι καὶ ἀμαρτούσου βασιλεῖς, ἐλθόντων Ἀσσυρίων ἀπὸ 'Αρρίψεως, τοῦ τε Σαλαμινοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σαβίττα καὶ τοῦ Καφροῦ, μετὰ 90 καραβίων λέοντος, κατέλαβαν ἐν Δελματίας καί ἐπορθήσαν τὸ κάστρον τὰ Ἐπίδρυτα καὶ τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς Ρώσας καὶ τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς Δεκάτερα, τῷ κάστῳ. Καὶ ἠλθον καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρον Ραουσίου, καὶ παρεκάθισαν αὐτοὶ μήνας δεκαπέντε. Τότε βιασθεὶς οἱ Ραουσάιοι, κατέστησαν τοὺς τούτους Χριστοὺς. Οὔ δὲ βασιλεύς σπλαγχνισθεὶς αὐτοὺς, λέγοντες αὐτοὺς ὡς «Εἷς ἐλθοντος ἰμάντος, καὶ μή ἔσοχες ἀπολέσαι παρὰ τῶν ἀρνητῶν τῷ Χριστῷ.» Ο ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πατριάρχην Νικηπόρου, δρούματό του τοῦ πλοίου, οὐ τῷ ἔπολεν Ἡρώδας, μετὰ χελώνης ἠκόμηκεν. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσσυρίωντας κατεναπέφυγαν παρὰ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ ἀνετῶν τοῦ κάστρου ἔστησαν.
in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, they sent diplomatic agents, begging and praying him that those of them who were unbaptized might receive baptism and that they might be, as they had originally been, subject to the empire of the Romans; and that glorious emperor, of blessed memory, gave ear to them and sent out an imperial agent and priests with him and baptized all of them that were unbaptized of the aforesaid nations, and after baptizing them he then appointed for them princes whom they themselves approved and chose, from the family which they themselves loved and favoured. And from that day to this their princes come from these same families, and from no other. But the Pagani, who are called Arentani in the Roman tongue, were left unbaptized, in an inaccessible and precipitous part of the country. For ‘Pagani’ means ‘unbaptized’ in the Slavonic tongue. But later, they too sent to the same glorious emperor and begged that they too might be baptized, and he sent and baptized them too. And since, as we said above, owing to the sloth and inexperience of those in power things had gone the wrong way for the Romans, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia also had become independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else. But after some time, in the reign of Basil the glorious and ever-memorable emperor, Saracens from Africa, Soldan and Saba and Kalphus, came with 36 ships and reached Dalmatia and took the city of Butova and the city of Rossa and the lower city of Decatera. And they came also to the city of Ragusa and blockaded it fifteen months. Then in their strait the Ragusans made a declaration to Basil, the ever-memorable emperor of the Romans, saying this to him: «Have pity on us and do not allow us to be destroyed by them that deny Christ.» The emperor was moved with compassion and sent the patrician Nicetas, admiral of the fleet, surnamed Ooryphas, with one hundred ships of war. When the Saracens learnt of the arrival of the patrician admiral of the fleet with
ρίου τού πλοίου, ἐφυγον καταλιπόντες τὸ κάστρον Ῥαουσίου, καὶ ἀνεπέρασαν ἐν Λαγοβαρδίᾳ, καὶ πολιορκήσαντες τὸ κάστρον Βάρεως, τοῦτο ἐπόρθησαν. Τότε ὁ Σολδανός κτίσας ἐκείσε παλάτια, κατεκράτησεν τὴν πάσαν Λαγοβαρδίαν μέχρι Ῥώμης ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν Λοδόχον, τὸν 71ρήγα Φραγγίας καὶ τὸν πάπα Ῥώμης, ἵνα συνεπαμύνηται τῷ παρέξοι5 τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντι στρατῷ. Οἱ δὲ ὑπείχαντες τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτήσει, οὐ τῇ ἤέξι καὶ οἱ πάπας, ἤθελον ἀμφότεροι μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, 131καὶ ἐνωθέντες τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντι στρατῷ ἀμα τῷ Χρωβάτῳ καὶ Σέρβῳ καὶ Ζαχούμῳ καὶ Τερβουνιώταις καὶ Καναλίταις καὶ Ῥαουσαίοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Δελματίας κάστρων (οὗτοι10 γὰρ πάντες βασιλικὴ κελεύσει παρῆσαν), καὶ περασάντων ἐν Λαγοβαρδίᾳ, παρεκάθισαν τὸ κάστρον Βάρεως καὶ ἐπόρθησαν αὐτὸ.

Ἀστεῖον, ὅτι τοὺς Χρωβάτους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σκλαβάρχους εἰς ἄδων τοῦ κάστρου Ῥαουσίου ὀικήτορες μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν καράβιων διεπέρασαν ἐν Λαγοβαρδίᾳ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν κάστρον Βάρεως καὶ τὴν χώραν115 καὶ τὴν ἀλμαλωσίαν πάσαν ἀνελάβετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὸ δὲ Σολδανὸν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἀνελάβετο Λοδόχος, ὁ Ῥήγα Φραγγίας, καὶ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτούς ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Καπύης καὶ ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Βενεβενδοῦ. Καὶ οὔθεν αὐτῶν εἶδεν γελώντα. Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ῥήγα, ὅτι «Εἰ τις μοι τὸν Σολδανὸν μετὰ ἀληθείας ἀναγγέλῃ ἢ υπόδειξῃ γελώντα,120 δώσω αὐτῷ χρήματα πολλὰ.» Καὶ μετά τούτῳ ἔτειν τις αὐτὸν γελώντα, καὶ τῷ Ῥήγα Λοδόχῳ ἀπήγαγεν. Ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Σολδανὸν 72ρήτησεν αὐτὸν, τόλμω τρόπῳ ἐγέλασεν. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν «Ἀμαξαὶ εἶδον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τροχοὺς κυλιομένους, καὶ τοῦτο ἀχρῶν ἐγέλασα, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ποτὲ κεφαλῇ ἐγενόμην, καὶ ἀρτίως εἰμὶ ὑποκάτω πάντων, καὶ πάλιν25 δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ὑψώσαι με.» Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε προσκαλεύτηκαν αὐτὸν ὁ Λοδόχος

his squadron, they quitted the city of Ragusa and took to flight and crossed over into Lombardy and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it. Then Soldan built a palace there and was for forty years master of all Lombardy as far as Rome. On this account, therefore, the emperor sent to Lewis, king of Francia, and to the pope of Rome, asking their cooperation with the army which he, the emperor, had sent. The king and the pope acceded to the emperor’s request, and both of them came with a large force and joined up with the army sent by the emperor and with the Croat and Serb and Zachhumian chiefs and the Terbouniotes and Kanalites and the men of Ragusa and all the cities of Dalmatia (for all these were present by imperial mandate); and they crossed over into Lombardy, and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it.

The Croats and the other chiefs of the Slavs were carried over into Lombardy by the inhabitants of the city of Ragusa in their own vessels. The city of Bari and the country and all the prisoners were taken by the emperor of the Romans, but Soldan and the rest of the Saracens were taken by Lewis, the king of Francia, who carried them off to the city of Capua and the city of Beneventum. And no one saw Soldan laughing. And the king said: «If anybody truly reports to me or shows me Soldan laughing, I will give him much money. » Later, someone saw him laughing and reported it to king Lewis. He summoned Soldan and asked him, how he had come to laugh? And he said: «I saw a cart and the wheels on it turning round and therefore I laughed because I too was once at the top and am now lowest of all, but God may raise me up again. » And thereafter Lewis would summon...
132Ββ εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συν ἴσηθεν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῆς Καπύης καί Βενεβενδοῦ ἤρχοντο πρὸς τὸν Σολδανὸν ἐρωτώντες αὐτὸν περὶ ἱστρεῖων καί θεραπείαις ἁλώνων καί λοιπῶν ὑποθέσεων, ὡς γέροντα καί πεπειραμένον. 'Ὁ δὲ Σολδανὸς πανούργος οὐ καί σκολιός εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι· «Πράγμα θέλω εἶπείν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καί δέδοΐκα τού μή παρά τὸν οἴκον, καί ἀπολέσω τὴν ζωήν.» Οἱ δὲ ομοσαν αὐτῷ, καί θαρρήσας εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι· «Ὁ ρήξ ἔξορίσαι θέλει πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φραγγία, καί εάν άπιστήτε, ἐκδέξασθε μικρόν, κάγω πληροφορώ ὑμᾶς.» Καί ἀπελθών εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Λοδόϊχον, ὅτι· «Οί ἄρχοντες τοῦ τόπου τούτου κακοί εἰσίν, καί σὺ οὐ δύνασαι κυριεύσαι τὴν χώραν ταύτην, εάν μή ἀφανίσῃς τοὺς δυνατούς, τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας σε ἀλλά δέσμευσον τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ κάστρου, καί ἀπόστειλον αὐτούς εἰς τὴν χώραν σου, καί τότε, ὡς Θεέλεις, οἱ λοιποὶ οὑκοταχύσασθαι σοι.» Καί ὅτε παρέπεισεν αὐτόν, ένα πληρώση τὴν βουλήν αὐτού, καί ὦρισεν γενέσθαι αλύσεις σιδηράς εἰς τὸ ἐξορίσαι αὐτοὺς, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Σολδανὸς καί εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅτι· «Ακμήν οὔ πιστεύετε ὅτι ὁ ρήξ ἐξορίστους ὑμᾶς ποιεί, καί παντελώς ἐν ἄνθρωπῳ γίνεται τὸ μνημόσυνον ὑμῶν; 'Ὅμως εἰ θέλετε τελείως πληροφορηθῆναι, ἀπελθόντες θεάσασθε, τί ἀρα ἐργάζονται πάντες οἱ χαλκείς τή προστάξει. Καί εἴ οὔχ εὑρεῖτε αὐτούς ἐργαζόμενους τὰς αλύσεις καί τὰ δεσμά, γινώσκετε, ὅτι πάντα τὰ παρὰ ἡμῶν λαλοῦμεν ἐστίν ψευδή, εἰ δὲ ἀλήθεια, φροντίσατε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν καί ἐμε ἐνεργητῆσατε, τὸ τὰ χρήστα καὶ σωτηρία ὑμῖν βουλευσάμενον.» Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες πεισθέντες τῷ τοῦ Σολδανοῦ λόγῳ, θεασάμενοι δὲ καί τὰς αλύσεις καί τὰ δεσμά, ἀπτῇ λέει τῆν τοῦ Σολδανοῦ λόγον, έκτοτε πληροφορίαν ελαβον, καί τότε πληροφορήσασθαν. "Τποστρέψαντος δὲ, οἱ τούτου άρχοντες ἐκράτησαν τὸ κάστρον, μή ἀνέσαντε αὐτὸν εἰσελθεΐν. Ὁ δὲ ρήξ Λοδόϊχος τὴν τῶν άρχόντων ἐνστάσιν θεασάμενος, εἶς τὴν ιδίαν χώραν ἐπέστρεψε. Ό δὲ ἄρχοντες εἰπον πρὸς τὸν Σολδανόν «Τί αρα Θεέλεις ἡμᾶς ποιήσά σοι περὶ τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν παρά σού σωτηρίας;» 'Ο δὲ ἔτησά σοι ἐν τῇ ιδίᾳ χώρα ἀπολύσασαν αὐτῶν, καί τούτῳ γενομένῳ, ἀπήλθεν εἰς Ἀφρικήν, πρὸς τὸν Λοδόϊχον. "Τούτο ζητήσατο τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῆς Καπύης καί τῆς Βενεβενδοῦ. Μή ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτοῦ κακίας ἐστρατολόγησε; καί ἦλθεν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐν Καπύη καί ἐν Βενεβενδῷ πρὸς τὸ κυνηγῆσαι καί ἐξορίσαι." Καύτω οὖν καί παντελώς—μνημόσυνον ἡμῶν: cf. Psalm. 9, 7; 108, 15; Job 9, 2.
him to his table and would eat with him. And the nobles of Capua and Beneventum used to go to Soldan and ask him questions about the treatment and care of cattle and other matters, because of his age and experience. And Soldan, who was cunning and crooked, said to them: «I would like to say a thing to you, but I fear to be betrayed by you to the king and I shall lose my life.» But they swore to him, and he took heart and said to them: «The king is minded to banish all of you to great Francia, and if you disbelieve it, wait a little, and I will satisfy you.» And he went off and said to Lewis: «The nobles of this place are evil, and you cannot be master of this country unless you destroy the powerful men who oppose you; but do you bind the first men of the city and send them off to your country, and then the rest will be submissive to you, as you desire.» When he had won him to carrying out his advice, and the king had instructed that chains of iron should be made for their banishment, Soldan went off and said to the nobles: «Do you still not believe that the king is sending you into banishment, and that all remembrance of you will vanish from among men? Yet, if you will be perfectly satisfied, go and see what all the smiths are making by order of the king. And if you do not find them making the chains and fetters, know that all I have told you is lies; but if I speak truth, look to your safety and reward me for my valuable and salutary advice to you.» The nobles obeyed the word of Soldan, and when they had seen the chains and fetters, they were completely satisfied, and thereafter began to devise the destruction of king Lewis. The king, in ignorance of all this, went out hunting. But when he came back, his nobles had taken possession of the city and did not allow him to enter. King Lewis, seeing himself thus opposed by the nobles, went back to his own country. The nobles said to Soldan: «What, then, would you have us do for you, in return for the salvation wrought for us by you?» And he requested them to dismiss him to his own country, which they did, and he went off to Africa, to his own country. But, mindful of his ancient malice, he made an expedition and came with a force to Capua and to Beneventum, to lay siege to and subdue them. The rulers of these cities sent envoys to king Lewis in Francia, asking him to come and help them fight against Soldan and the Africans. But king Lewis, when he heard of it, having learnt
Λοδόηχος ταύτα μαθών καὶ, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν τρόπον ὁ Σολδανός, πεισάστι τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὡς: «Δεσμίους μέλλει ὃμιᾶς ὁ φίλης ἐν Φραγγία ἔξωρι-165
134Βεσαν», ἀντεδῆδοσθεὶς αὖτοῖς, ὡς: «Καὶ ἀπέποιησα πρότερον εἰς ὑμᾶς, μεταμέλησαι, ὥσα ἔσωσα ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀντιπεδώ-
κατε μοι πονηρά ἀντὶ ἁγαθῶν, καὶ καθὸς ἐδιώχθην παρ’ ὑμῶν, ἀφτίς ἁγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ ὑμῶν.» Τότε ἀπορήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ φήγης Λοδόηχου,
74ν ἄπεστείλαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἑσαύων τῷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς 170
βοήθειαν καὶ λυτρώσασθαι τοῦ τοιούτου κινδύνου. Ο` ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπεσκότο βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς. Τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρισιαρίου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑποστρέψαντος καὶ ἀγαθάς αἴγυπτος πέμψασαν αὐτὸν ἀποκομίσα-
τος περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλείας συμμαχίας, μῆπος τοῦτον ἀποσωθῆντος ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ, ἀκρατήθη παρὰ τῶν βιγλῶν τοῦ Σολδανοῦ. Προεγνώκει 175
γὰρ ὁ Σολδανὸς τὴν γεγονύσκει ἀποστολὴν πρὸς Ικεσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑσαύων, καὶ ἐπυκτείνουσαν τὸν ἀποκρισιαρίον αὐτῶν κρατήσας,
75ν ἄπερ καὶ γέγονεν. Κρατηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἔμαθεν τὴν ἀποτελεσθεὶς ἵππας τῷ αὐτῷ δουλεῖαν, καὶ ὡς δὲ ἐλγὼν ἡμερῶν καταλαμβάνει ἵτο τοῦ βασιλείας Ἑσαάυων βοήθεια. Ὁ δὲ Σολδανὸς εἶπεν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποκρισιαρίῳ, ὃ ἐποίησεν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀντίων, ἀπόκρισιαρίῳ, 180
ὅτι: «Εἰ ποιήσεις, ὅπερ σοι εἶπον, ἐλυτρώσασθαι τοὺς ἀντιπάτους ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν δουλείαν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέα Ἑσαύων περί υμῶν ἐδύσωπησα πλήν οὐν γινώσκετε, ὅτι τῇ κενῷ γενόσθη τῇ ὑμῶν ἀποπέλασθε.» Τοῦ δὲ ὕποσχομένου ἐκπληρώσατα κατελευσεῖν εἰς κενὸν ἐγένετο τῇ οδῷ, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πάμφαν ἐθετεὶ τῇ γεγονυ宾客 ἰκεσίαν ὑμῖν, μὴ ἑπεξεργασθῆτε εἰς τὸν ἐαυτόν τῷ τείχῳ καὶ προσκεκαλέσασθαι τους ἀποστελλαντάς σε καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς: «Ἔγὼ μὲν τὴν δουλείαν, 185
135Βε ἢν ὄφειλον τοιῷ σας, πεποιηκα, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἑσαύων περί ὑμῶν ἐποίησαν 75ν ἄπεστείλαν πρός τοὺς ἀρχοντας προσκαλεσαμένου τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου εἰπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξουσιάζοντας τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου, Εγώ μὲν τὴν δουλείαν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλείας Ἑσαύων περί υμῶν ἐποίησαν 75ν ἄπεστείλαν πρός τοὺς ἀρχοντας προσκαλεσαμένου τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου, εἰπεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξουσιάζοντας τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου, ἐθετεὶ τῇ γεγονυγείᾳ ἰκεσίαν ὑμῖν, μὴ ἑπεξεργασθῆτε εἰς τὸν ἐαυτόν τῷ τείχῳ καὶ προσκεκαλέσασθαι τους ἀποστελλαντάς σε καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς: «Ἔγὼ μὲν τὴν δουλείαν, 185
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V 164 Λοδόηχος litteras λο in ras. sor. Π || 167 μεταμέλησαι Ba Be || 168 ἐδιώχθην Meursius Ba Be: ἐδιώχθη P || 169 Λοδόηχος P || 172 ἀπο-
how Soldan had acted in persuading the nobles that, «the king purposes to send you in chains to banishment in Francia», declared in answer to them: «I repent my former conduct towards you, when I saved you from your enemies, and you returned me evil for good; and as I was cast out by you, now I rejoice at your destruction.» Then, having failed with king Lewis, they sent envoys to the emperor of the Romans, asking that he should give them aid and deliver them out of this danger. The emperor promised to aid them. But when the diplomatic agent had left Constantinople on his homeward way, bringing back to them who had sent him fair tidings of the alliance with the emperor, he was still short of the city when he was captured by the scouts of Soldan. For Soldan had obtained previous intelligence of the sending of a mission of supplication to the emperor of the Romans and had made efforts to capture their diplomatic agent, which he did. From his captive he learnt of the service he had performed, and that in a few days the succours of the emperor of the Romans would arrive. So Soldan said to this same diplomatic agent: «If you do what I tell you, you shall be awarded freedom and very great gifts; but if not, you shall lose your life and your death shall be cruel.» The man promised to carry out his orders, and Soldan said to him: «I order you to stand close to the wall and to summon those who sent you and say to them: 'For my part, I have carried out the service laid upon me, and have importuned the emperor of the Romans on your behalf; however, know that my journey was vain, and that the emperor has altogether spurned the supplication you made, and do not expect succour from the emperor'.» When he had promised to perform this gladly, they conducted him close to the city, where, disregarding all that Soldan had said, neither fearing his threats nor seduced by his promises, but setting the fear of God in his heart, he communed thus with himself: «It is expedient that I alone should die, and not by my word entrap and betray so many souls to their death.» So, when he was near the wall and had summoned the nobles, he thus addressed those who were in authority over that city: «I, my lords, have discharged my office and will announce to you what was declared by the emperor of the Romans; but I adjure you by the Son of God and the salvation of all the city and of your very souls, to reward, instead of me, my children...»
σητε τὰ τέκνα μου καὶ τὴν ἐλπίζουσαν ἀπολαβεῖν με σύμβιον μου· ὡς γὰρ ποιήστε μετὰ αὐτῶν, παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μισθαποδότου ἁγαθοῦ θεοῦ, μέλλουντος κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, τὸν μισθόν ἀπολήψεσθε.»

76Ρ. Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπόν παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· «Ἐγώ μὲν ἄπο τοῦ Ἴτου τῶν σφαγῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν αὐτουργός. Τοῦ δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνωρθητόν, πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σολδανὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατερχομένην δυναστείαν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ιδίαν χώραν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ οἱ τῆς Καπύης· καὶ οἱ τῆς Βενεβενδοῦ εἰσίν υπὸ τὴν εξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τελείαν δούλωσιν καὶ ὑποταγήν διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτούς γενομένην μεγάλην ἐυεργεσίαν.

"Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ 'Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται 'Ῥαούσι τή 'Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτω, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν χρημάτων ἱστατὶ, λέγεται ρωμαϊστί 'ὁ χρημάτων λαύ’· ἔκληθησαν δὲ ἐκ τούτου Λαυσαΐοι, ἤκουσαν ‘ὁ καθεξίμην εἰς τὸν χρημάν’· 'Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια, ἡ πολλάκις μεταφθείρουσα222 τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ ἑναλλαγή τῶν γραμμάτων, μεταβαλούσα τὴν κλήσιν 'Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ 'Ῥαουσαίοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἑκάτερον τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα, καὶ ἐπετείχε, ἥνικα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐνεργήτησαν· κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλαβῶν τῶν θυσίων· ἐν τῷ θέρματι, ἐκράτει τὸ τοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ225 ἡμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖσαν καὶ διασώθησαν εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμνους τόπους κατώκησαν, ἐν φέστι πάλιν τὸ κάστρον, ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸ πρότερον μικρόν, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα μείζον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ τείχος αὐτοῦ αὐξηθάντας μέχρι δ’ ἔχει τὸ κάστρον διὰ τὸ πλατύνεται αὐτὸς κατ’ ὀλίγαν καὶ πληθύνεται. Ἔκ τῶν μετοικησάντων εἰς τὸ 'Ῥαούσιον εἰσίν οὖν· Γρηγόριος, Άρσάφιος, Βικτωρίνος, Βιτάλιος, Βαλεντίνος, οἱ πατήρ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Στεφάνου. Ά φ’ οὖ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλώνα μετώπησαν εἰς τὸ 'Ῥαούσιον, εἰσίν ἐτη φ’ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἡτὶς ἰνδικτιών ζ’ ἐν δέ τῷ 'Ῥαούσιει, κατέχοντοι τὴν ἁγίαν Στεφάνου, τῷ άγιω Στεφάνου, τῷ άγίῳ 'Ῥαουσίου, τῷ οἴκῳ μέσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου.
and her who is hoping to receive me back, my wife; for as you deal with them, so shall your reward be from God, the just and righteous rewarder, who shall judge the quick and the dead." When he had so spoken, he fortified them with these words: "For my part I shall be destroyed by Soldan and the threat of death is upon me; but do you stand fast and be not faint-hearted, but endure a little while, and in a few days shall arrive the salvation which has been sent to you by the emperor of the Romans." When he had so spoken, the servants of Soldan who had charge of him, hearing his unexpected message, gnashed with their teeth upon him, and each outran the other to be the author of his murder. But after he was made away by them, Soldan, dreading the powers of the emperor that were coming upon him, withdrew to his own country. And from that time until this day the men of Capua and the men of Beneventum have been under the authority of the Romans in perfect servitude and subjection, for that great benefit which was done to them.

The city of Ragusa is not called Ragusa in the tongue of the Romans but, because it stands on cliffs, it is called in Roman speech 'the cliff, lau'; whence they are called 'Lausaioi', i.e. 'those who have their seat on the cliff'. But vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, has changed the denomination and called them Rausaioi. These same Rausaioi used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached its present size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory, Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius, in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.
"Οτι του Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρου, ὅπερ 'παλάτινον μικρὸν ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς τούτῳ ἔκτισεν' εἶχεν δὲ αὐτὸ ώς τίθεν οἶκον, καὶ κύκλῳ οἰκοδομήσας ἐνδοθεὶς καὶ παλάτια, εἴς ὅν τὰ πλεόνα κατελθήσαν. Σώζεται δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁλίγα, εἴς ὃν ἐστιν τὸ ἑπισκοπεῖον τοῦ 240 κάστρου καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἅγιου Δόμνου, ἐν ὃι κατάκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὑπὲρ ὧν κοιτῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸν. Ὅπως οὗ ἑτοὶ ὑπάρχουσιν εἰληματικαὶ καμάραι, αἰτοὺς ὑπήρχον φυλακαὶ, ἐν αἷς τοὺς παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ βασανίζομένους ἁγίους ἑναπέκλειεν ἀπήνως.

Αυτὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος 'Αναστάσιος.

"Οτι τὸ τείχος τοῦ τοιοῦτον κάστρου ὡς ἀπὸ βησσάλων ἐστιν ἐκτισμένον, ὡς ἀπὸ ἐγχορήγου, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ Λήθων τετραπεδίκων, ἔχοντων εἰς μήκος ἀνὰ ὀργυίας μίας, πολλάκις καὶ ἀνὰ δύο, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀνὰ ὀργυίας μίας, οἰτίνες εἰς συνηρμοσμένοι καὶ συνδεδεμένοι εἰς ἀλλήλους, μετὰ σιδήρων ἐν μολύβδῳ ἐγχυλιασμένων. Ἰστανται δὲ εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον 250 κάστρον καὶ ἱκέτες πυκνοὶ, ἔχοντες τοὺς παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ βασανίζομένους, εἰς ὃις ἐμελλεν δὲ αὐτὸς ἁγιος Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων παλάτινος Κάστρου οὔτε περίπατον ἔχει, οὔτε προμαχώνας, ἀλλὰ τό κάστρον αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὕπαρχον εἰληματικὰς ἔγειραι καμάρας, καὶ σκεπάσαι τὸ κάστρον διὸν, καὶ ποίσαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων διώροφα καὶ τριώροφα, ὡστε καὶ ἄγιος τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου ἑσκέπασεν. Τοῦ τοῦτον κάστρον τὸ τείχος οὔτε περίπατον ἐχει, οὔτε προμαχώνας, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου ἑσκέπασεν. Τοῦ τοῦτον κάστρον τὸ περίπατον οὔτε προμαχώνας, ἀλλὰ τοίχους μόνους υψηλούς καὶ τοξικάς φωταγωγοὺς.

"Οτι τὸ κάστρον τῶν Δεκατέρων ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ 'Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἐστενωμένον καὶ πεπνιγμένον' διότι ἐεστιν ή θάλασσα ὡσπερ γλώσσα έστενωμένη μέχρι τῶν Ἰερικάρων καὶ κυκλώματος, εἰς τὸν κάστρον διὸν. Τετραγγούριν καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἅγιος μᾶρτυς Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων παλάτινος. Βουκολότοι καὶ τοιούτων κυκλώματος ἐν αὐτῷ κάστρῳ ἔγειραι καμάρας, καὶ σκεπάσαι τὸ κάστρον διὸν, καὶ ποίσαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων διώροφα καὶ τριώροφα, ὡστε καὶ οὐδὲς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κάστρου ἑσκέπασεν. Τοῦ τούτου κάστρου τὸ τείχος οὔτε περίπατον ἔχει, οὔτε προμαχώνας, ἀλλὰ τοίχους μόνους υψηλούς καὶ τοξικάς φωταγωγοὺς.

"Οτι τὸ κάστρον τῶν Διαδώρων καλείται τῇ 'Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ Ώσπερ γλώσσα έστενωμένη μέχρι τῶν Ἰερικάρων καὶ κυκλώματος, εἰς τὸν κάστρον διὸν. Τετραγγούριν καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἅγιος μᾶρτυς Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων παλάτινος. Βουκολότοι καὶ τοιούτων κυκλώματος ἐν αὐτῷ κάστρῳ ἔγειραι καμάρας, καὶ σκεπάσαι τὸ κάστρον διὸν, καὶ ποίσαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων διώροφα καὶ τριώροφα, ὡστε καὶ οὐδὲς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἑσκέπασεν. Τοῦ τούτου κάστρου τὸ τείχος οὔτε περίπατον ἔχει, οὔτε προμαχώνας, ἀλλὰ τοίχους μόνους υψηλούς καὶ τοξικάς φωταγωγοὺς.
The city of Spalato, which means 'little palace', was founded by the emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling-place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e. g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St. Domnus, in which lies St. Domnus himself, and which was the resting-place of the same emperor Diocletian. Beneath it are arching vaults, which used to be prisons, in which he cruelly confined the saints whom he tormented. St. Anastasius also lies in this city.

The defence-wall of this city is constructed neither of bricks nor of concrete, but of ashlar blocks, one and often two fathoms in length by a fathom across, and these are fitted and joined to one another by iron cramps puddled into molten lead. In this city also stand close rows of columns, with entablatures above, on which this same emperor Diocletian proposed to erect arching vaults and to cover over the city throughout, and to build his palace and all the living-quarters of the city on the top of those vaults, to a height of two and three stories, so that they covered little ground-space in the same city. The defence-wall of this city has neither rampart nor bulwarks, but only lofty walls and arrow-slits.

The city of Tetrangourin is a little island in the sea, with a very narrow neck reaching to the land like a bridge, along which the inhabitants pass to the same city; and it is called Tetrangourin because it is long-shaped like a cucumber. In this same city lies the holy martyr Lawrence the archdeacon.

The city of Decatera means in the language of the Romans 'contracted and strangled', because the sea enters like a contracted tongue for 15 or 20 miles, and the city is on this marine appendix. This city has high mountains in a circle about it, so that the sun can be seen only in summer, because it is then in mid-heaven, and in winter it cannot be seen at all. In the same city lies St. Tryphon entire, who heals every disease, especially those who are tormented by unclean spirits; his church is domed.

The city of Diadora is called in the language of the Romans 'iam era', which means, 'it was already': that is to say, when Rome was founded,

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30. Διήγησις περί τοῦ θέματος Δελματίας.

Εἰ πάσιν ἡ γνώσις καλῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἁρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν γνώσιν καταλαμβάνοντες οὐ πόρρω τούτου γίνομεθα. "Οθεν καὶ πάσι φανερῶν ποιοῦμεν τῶν μεθ᾽ ἡμάς πή μέν τούτων τὴν δήλωσιν, πή δὲ ἐτέρων ἡξιολόγων τοῖς, ἕνα καὶ διπλῶν ἐπακολουθή τοῦ καλῶν. 5

141 Τοῖς οὖν καὶ τῆς Δελματίας | τὴν παράληψιν ζητοῦσιν, ὡς τῶν Σκλαβικῶν έθνῶν, ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν θέσιν αὐτῆς διήγησιν. 'Εξ παλαιοῦ τοίνυν ἡ Δελματία τὴν 295

this city had already been founded before it; it is a big city. Vulgar usage gives it the name Diadora. In the same city lies in the flesh St. Anastasia, the virgin, daughter of Eustathius, who was on the throne at that time; and St. Chrysogonus, monk and martyr, and his holy chain. The church of St. Anastasia is a basilica like the church of the Chalcopratia, with green and white columns, and all decorated with encaustic pictures in the antique style; its floor is of wonderful mosaic. Near it is another church, a domed one, Holy Trinity, and above this church again is another church, like a triforium, domed also, into which they mount by a spiral staircase.

Under the control of Dalmatia is a close-set and very numerous archipelago, extending as far as Beneventum, so that ships never fear to be overwhelmed in those parts. One of these islands is the city of Vekla, and on another island Arbe, and on another island Opsara, and on another island Lumbricatlon, and these are still inhabited. The rest are uninhabited and have upon them deserted cities, of which the names are as follows: Katautrebeno, Pizouch, Selbo, Skerda, Aloëp, Skirdakissa, Pyrotima, Meleta, Estiounez, and very many others of which the names are not intelligible. The remaining cities, on the mainland of the province, which were captured by the said Slavs, now stand uninhabited and deserted, and nobody lives in them.

30. Story of the province of Dalmatia.

If knowledge be a good thing for all, then we too are approaching it by arriving at the knowledge of events. For this reason we are giving, for the benefit of all who come after us, a plain account both of these matters and of certain others worthy of attention, so that the resulting good may be twofold.

They, then, who are inquiring into the taking of Dalmatia also, how it was taken by the nations of the Slavs, may learn of it from what follows; but first of all its geographical position must be told. In olden times, there-
81 κρήνες μὲν εἶχεν | ἀπὸ τῶν συνόρων Δυρραχίου, ἤχουν ἀπὸ Ἁντιβάρας, καὶ παρετείνετο μὲν μέχρι τῶν τής Ἱστορίας ὀρών, ἐπιλατύνετο δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Δανούβιος ποταμοῦ. Ἡν δὲ ἄπασα ἡ τοιαύτη περίχωρας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἱστορίας κρήνην, καὶ ἐνδοξότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτειχίου θεμάτων τὸ τοιοῦτον θέμα ἐστύγγετο, πλὴν παρελήφθη παρὰ τῶν Σκλαβικῶν ἐθνῶν τρόπῳ τοιῶθε. Κάστρον ἦτον πλησίον Ἀσπαλάθου, ο παρετείνετο μέχρι τῆς Φατρίας ορῶν, ἐπλάτυνε δὲ μέχρι 10 τοῦ Δανούβιου ποταμοῦ. Ἡν δὲ απασά ἡ τοιαύτη περίχωρας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἱστορίας κρήνην, καὶ ἐνδοξότερον τῶν άλλων εσπεριῶν -θεμάτων τὸ τοιοῦτον -θέμα έτύγχανε, πλὴν παρελήφθη παρά τῶν Σκλαβικῶν εθνῶν τρόπῳ. Κάστρον έστίν πλησίον Ἀσπαλάθου, δ Σαλώνα λέγεται, ἐργον Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Ἀσπαλάθος καὶ αὐτή παρὰ 15 Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐκτίσθη, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ βασιλικὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐστύγγετο, εἰς 82 Γ Ρ δέ Σαλώνα κατώκουν οἱ τε μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁχλῶν ἵκανοι. Υπήρχε δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον κεφαλή πάσης τῆς Δελματίας. Επίθετο στὸ τοῦ Δανούβιου ποταμοῦ τάς διατριβάς ἔποιούντο, ἐνθα ἄρτιώς εἰσίν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νομάδα βίον ζώντες. Ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελματίας κατ' έτος ἐξελευσιον πολλάκις ἐκείσε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τα τε κτήνη καὶ τοὺς ἅμιν οδν. Ἡθρόιζον οδν άνά παν έτος εκ τῶν λοιπῶν κάστρων Δελματίας στρατιώται ἐφίπποι, καὶ ἀπεστέλλοντο ἀπὸ Σαλώνος μέχρι τῶν χιλίων, καὶ ἐφύλατον 20 εἰς τὸν Δανούβιον ποταμὸν ἐνεκεν τῶν Άβαρῶν. Οἱ γάρ Ἀβαρείς ἐκείθεν τοῦ Δανούβιου ποταμοῦ τάς διατριβάς ἐποιοῦσαν, ἐνθα ἄρτιώς έχοντες. Κατά τινα χρόνον διαπεράσαι καὶ ἐρευνήσαι 25 οδν αὐτοῖς κατά τινα χρόνον διαπεράσαι καὶ ἐρευνήσαι, εἰς 82 ΓΡ τίνες είσίν οἱ έκείσε τήν δίαιταν έχοντες. Περάσαντε οδν εδρον τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Άβαρῶν καὶ τὰ παιδία μόνα, τοὺς άνδρας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν ἐν ταξιδίῳ. Ἀρφο οὖν ἐπιπέσαντες ἡμικλούσεις αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν ἀταλαιπώρως, ἐπιπέσαντες τήν τοιαύτην πραΐδαν εἰς Σαλώνα. Άφνω οὖν ἐπιπέσαντες οἱ ταξεώται κατά τοῦ ταξιδιού καί τὸ γενόμενον, αἵτων ήτοι, ήγνόουν δέ, οπόθεν αὐτοῖς ή τοιαύτη πληγή προσεγένετο. Εἶδοξεν οὖν παραφυλάξαι αὐτοὺς τον καιρόν καί μαθείν τό παν έξ αὐτοῦ. Εἶδοξεν οὖν παραφυλάξαι αὐτοὺς τον καιρόν καί μαθείν τό παν έξ αὐτοῦ. Εἶδοξεν οὖν παραφυλάξαι αὐτοὺς τον καιρόν καί μαθείν τό παν έξ αὐτοῦ.
fore, Dalmatia used to start at the confines of Dyrrachium, or Antibari, and used to extend as far as the mountains of Istria, and spread out as far as the river Danube. All this area was under the rule of the Romans, and this province was the most illustrious of all the provinces of the west; however, it was taken by the nations of the Slavs in the following manner. Near Spalato is a city called Salona, built by the emperor Diocletian; Spalato itself was also built by Diocletian, and his palace was there, but at Salona dwelt his nobles and large numbers of the common folk. This city was the head of all Dalmatia. Now, every year a force of cavalry from the other cities of Dalmatia used to collect at, and be despatched from Salona, to the number of a thousand, and they would keep guard on the river Danube, on account of the Avars. For the Avars had their haunts on the far side of the river Danube, where now are the Turks, and led a nomad life. The men of Dalmatia who went there every year would often see the beasts and men on the far side of the river. On one occasion, therefore, they decided to cross over and investigate who they were that had their abode there. So they crossed, and found only the women and children of the Avars, the men and youths being on a military expedition. Falling suddenly upon them, therefore, they made them prisoner, and returned unmolested, carrying off this booty to Salona. Now when the Avars came back from their military expedition and learnt from their losses what had happened, they were confounded, but know not from what quarter this blow had come upon them. They therefore decided to bide their time and in this way to discover the whole. And so, when according to custom the garrison was once more dispatched from Salona, not the same men as before but others, they too decided to do what their predecessors had done. So they crossed over against them, but finding them massed together, not scattered abroad as on the previous occasion, not merely did they achieve nothing but actually suffered the most frightful reverse. For some of them were slain, and the remainder taken alive, and not one escaped the hand of the enemy. The latter examined them as to who they were and whence they came, and having learnt that it was from them that they had suffered the blow aforesaid, and having moreover found out by enquiry the nature of their homeland and taken a fancy to it as far as they might from hearsay, they held the survivors captive and dressed themselves up in their clothes, just as the others had worn them, and then, mounting the horses and taking
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83\nu Ιππούς ἀναβάντες, (λαβόντες) ἐπὶ χειρὰς τὰ τὰ φλάμουλα καὶ τὰ
143\nu λαβόντες μετ’ αὐτῶν, ἀπήραν πάντες φοσατικῶς καὶ κατὰ τῆς Σαλώνος ὀρμησαν. Ὡς οὖν καὶ τὸν καυτὸν ἐμαθόν ζητήσαντες, καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος, δὲ ἐξίππως εἶναι, ὡς τὸν πλῆθος εἶναι, ἐγένετο τὸν φοσσάτου ἀπεκρούθη, μέχρι δὲ τῶν χιλίων, οὗτες τοὺς τοὺς Ιππούς καὶ τὰς στολὰς εἰς ἀπάτην ἐκέκτησαν 50
tῶν Δελματινῶν, ἐξήλασαν. Ἀναγνωρίσαντες δὲ οἱ τοὺς κάστρον τὰ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀμφίασιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς ἔσωσεν οὕτως
84\nu τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἤνοιξαν τὰς πόρτας, καὶ ἐπεδέχαντο αὐτοὺς μετὰ περιχαρείας. Ἔκεῖνοι δὲ ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν τὰς τὰς πόρτας ἐκέρατησαν, καὶ δὴ θηλυκά σημεῖα τὴν πραξίν τὸ φοσσάτω πεποιηκότες, 55
cυνεισδραμένων καὶ συνεισδραμένων παρακεχώρεσεκαὶ. Κατέσφαξαν οὖν πάντας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἠκούσαν κατεκράτησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν Δελματίας, καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς αὐτῇ. Μόνα δὲ τῇ πόροι τὸ υποστρέφειν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐνθα πάντας τοὺς τούς τούς πόλεως, οἵνες τοὺς τοὺς ἱπποῖς καὶ τὰς στολὰς εἰς ἀπάτην ἐκέκτησαν, ἐξήλασαν. Άναγνωρίσαντες δὲ οἱ τούς κάστρον τὰ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, εἴθει εἰς τὸν πόρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Ηδονές οὖν οἱ "Αβαρεῖς 60
cαλλίστην ὅσαν τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν, κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς αὐτῇ. Οἱ δὲ Ἑχρω-
84\nu βάτοι καὶ τόπων τυγκαίτεσε ἐκείθεν Βαγιβαραί, ἐνθα ἕλει τῶν ἀρτιῶν οἱ Βελοχρωβάτοι. Μία δὲ γενέων διαχωρισθέντα εἰς αὐτῶν, ἤνοιξαν ἀδελφοὶ τέντε, οἱ τῇ θαλασσαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀσβέσκοντες καὶ οἱ Μυσσυλλο καὶ
144\nu Χρωβάτος καὶ ἄδελφοι δύο, ἡ Μουγιά καὶ ἡ Μουγιά, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ 65
αὐτῶν ἠλθοὺς εἰς Δελματίαν, καὶ ἔδρον τοὺς "Αβαρεῖς κατέχοντας τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν. Ἐπὶ τινας οὖν χρόνον πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὑπερισχύσαν οἱ Χρωβάται, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν "Αβάρων κατέσφαξαν, τόσον δὲ λοιπός ὑποταγὴν κατηνάγκασαν. "Εκεῖστε οὖν κατεκράτησθε τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν παρὰ τῶν Ἑχρωβάτων, καὶ εἰσίν ἀκριβῶς εἰς Χρωβατία ἐκ [τούς] τῶν "Αβαρέων 70
85\nu χρόνας, καὶ ἐκάθετον ἐκείθεν "Αβαρείς ἡν. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Χρωβάτοι ἐμείναν πρὸς Φαραγγίαν, καὶ λέγονται ἀρτίως Βελοχρωβάτοι, ἠγοῦν ἀδελφοὶ τούς Ἐλεμπράτοι, ἔχοντες ἑδίκην ἔρχονται ὑποταγῆς δὲ "Ὅτως, τῷ μεγάλῳ ἡγῇ Φαραγγίας, τῆς καὶ Σαξιας, καὶ ἄραταις τυγχάνονται, συμπενθερίας μετὰ τούς Τούρκους καὶ ἀγάπας ἔχοντες. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Χρωβατῶν, τῶν 75 ἐλαχῶν ἐν Δελματίᾳ, διεχωρίσθη μέρος τοῦ, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τὸ Ἰλυρικὸν καὶ τὴν Παννόνιαν εἰόν οὐ καὶ τούς ἄρχοντας ἀνατρευόμενοι, διαπεμπόμενοι καὶ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Χρωβατίας κατὰ φιλίαν. Μέχρι δὲ χρόνων τινῶν ὅπως ἀπέκτασαν καὶ οἱ ἐν Δελματίᾳ ἄντες Χρωβατοί τοῖς Φράγ-

in their hands the standards and the rest of the insignia which the others had brought with them, they all started off in military array and made for Salona. And since they had learnt by enquiry also the time at which the garrison was wont to return from the Danube (which was the Great and Holy Saturday), they themselves arrived on that same day. When they got near, the bulk of the army was placed in concealment, but up to a thousand of them, those who, to play the trick, had acquired the horses and uniforms of the Dalmatians, rode out in front. Those in the city, recognizing their insignia and dress, and also the day, for upon this day it was customary for them to return, opened the gates and received them with delight. But they, as soon as they were inside, seized the gates and, signaling their exploit to the army, gave it the cue to run in and enter with them. And so they put to the sword all in the city and thereafter made themselves masters of all the country of Dalmatia and settled down in it. Only the townships on the coast held out against them, and continued to be in the hands of the Romans, because they obtained their livelihood from the sea. The Avars, then, seeing this land to be most fair, settled down in it. But the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now. From them split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land. After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject to them. And so from that time this land was possessed by the Croats, and there are still in Croatia some who are of Avar descent and are recognized as Avars. The rest of the Croats stayed over against Francia, and are now called Belocroats, that is, white Croats, and have their own prince; they are subject to Otto, the great king of Francia, or Saxony, and are unbaptized, and intermarry and are friendly with the Turks. From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the prince of Croatia. For a number of years the Croats of Dalmatia also...
νοµοί, καθώς καί πρότερον έν τῇ χώρᾳ αυτῶν τοσούτον δὲ ἐσκληρύνοντο οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς τὰ υπομάστια τῶν Χρωβάτων φονεύοντες προσέρριπτον αὐτὰ σκύλαξιν. Μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ οἱ Χρωβάται ταῖτα παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων ὑφίστασθαι, διεστίγαν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, φονεύσαντες καὶ οὓς εἶχον ἁρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν. "Ὅθεν ἐστράτευσαν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Φράγγιας φοσσάτον μέγα, καί ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ χρόνους πολεμήσαντες ἔτη ἐπερίσχυσαν οἱ Χρωβάτοι, καί ἀνεῖλον τοὺς Φράγγους πάντας καὶ τὸν ἁρχόντα αὐτῶν Κοτζίλιν καλοῦμενον. "Εκτοτε δὲ μείναντες αὐτοδέσποτοι καὶ αὐτόνομοι, ἔξηθάμενο τὸ ἄγιον βάπτισμα ἐξ αὐτῶν, φονεύσαντες καὶ οὓς εἶχον ἁρχοντας άρχοντος. "Ὅποιος τούτων ἔστρατος ἀναθετοῦντας καὶ ἐπικατάλησαι ἐπικατόρτους, καὶ ἐβάπτισαν αὐτούς άλλήλοις, καί ἐξέπεσαν τοις Ψαρίτσις, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ρώμης ἐξήτησαν τὸ ἁγιόν βάπτισμα παρὰ τοῦ "Ρώμης, καί ἐπέσταλεν ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ ἐβάπτισαν αὐτούς δὲ τῷ Ρούμοις, τοῦ ἀρχοντος αὐτῶν. "Ενδεικτικόν ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ζούπανίας ηγουν ἡ Χρωβατία, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ Ρούμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Σερβλία, ἀπὸ εἰς τὴν Σερβλία. Ἅπο δὲ τοῦ κάστρου τῶν Δεκατέρων ἔστρατος, καί ἐρέχθετο καὶ ἐζητήσαντο τὴν ιεραρχίαν τῆς Σερβλίας, τῆς Σερβλίας, καὶ ἐμείλετο καὶ ἔπεσαν τῷ Ραουσίῳ, καὶ παρεκτείνετο μέχρι τῆς Σερβλίας. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ραουσίου ἔστρατος, καὶ παρεκτείνετο τῆς Σερβλίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σερβλίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πολυνίου ἔστρατος, καὶ παρεκτείνετο τῆς Σερβλίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σερβλίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ορονίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ παρεκτείνετο μέχρι τῆς Σερβλίας. Καὶ ἐνακτήσαν τῇ παραθαλάσσῃ, καὶ ἐξισότατος καὶ ἑυφόρωτος καὶ ἐρήμοκαστρά ἐχοντας πολλούς· οἱκούσι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔχουσι τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔζωσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ζεντίνας, ἔστρατος, καὶ παρεκτείνετο, καὶ ἔζωσιν. Ὁ κατὰ τὴν Σερβλίαν, καὶ παρεκτείνετο τῆς Σερβλίας, καὶ παρεκτείνετο καὶ ἔζωσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πολυνίου ποταμοῦ ἔστρατος, καὶ παρεκτείνετο, καὶ ἔζωσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πολυνίου ποταμοῦ ἔστρατος, καὶ παρεκτείνετο, καὶ ἔζωσιν.
were subject to the Franks, as they had formerly been in their own country; but the Franks treated them with such brutality that they used to murder Croat infants at the breast and cast them to the dogs. The Croats, unable to endure such treatment from the Franks, revolted from them, and slew those of them whom they had for princes. On this, a large army from Francia marched against them, and after they had fought one another for seven years, at last the Croats managed to prevail and destroyed all the Franks with their leader, who was called Kotzilis. From that time they remained independent and autonomous, and they requested the holy baptism from the bishop of Rome, and bishops were sent who baptized them in the time of Porinos their prince. Their country was divided into 11 ‘zupanias’, viz., Chlebiana, Tzenzina, Imota, Pleba, Pesenta, Parathalassia, Breberi, Nona, Tnina, Sidraga, Nina; and their ban possesses Kribasa, Litza and Goutziska. Now, the said Croatia and the rest of the Slavonic regions are situated thus: Dioclea is neighbour to the forts of Dyrrachium, I mean, to Elissus and to Helcynium and Antibari, and comes up as far as Decatera, and on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From the city of Decatera begins the domain of Terbounia and stretches along as far as Ragusa, and on the side of its mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From Ragusa begins the domain of the Zachlumi and stretches along as far as the river Orontius; and on the side of the coast it is neighbour to the Pagani, but on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to the Croats on the north and to Serbia at the front. From the river Orontius begins Pagania and stretches along as far as the river Zentina; it has three ‘zupanias’, Rhastotza and Mokros and that of Dalen. Two of these ‘zupanias’, viz., Rhastotza and that of Mokros, lie on the sea, and possess galleys; but that of Dalenos lies distant from the sea, and they live by agriculture. Neighbour to them are four islands, Meleta, Kourkoura, Bratza and Pharos, most fair and fertile, with deserted cities upon them and many olive-yards; on these they dwell and keep their flocks, from which they live. From the river Zentina begins the country of Croatia and stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is, to the city of Alburnum, and on the side of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon
τινός τοῦ θέματι Ἰστρίας, πλησιάζει δὲ πρὸς τὴν Τζέντινα καὶ τὴν Χλέβενα τῇ χώρᾳ Σερβίας. Ἡ γὰρ χώρα Σερβίας εἰς κεφαλήν μὲν ἔστιν πασῶν τῶν λοιπῶν χωρῶν, πρὸς δὲ κατεσκήνωσαν οἱ εἰρημένοι Σκλάβοι, κατεκράτησαν πάσαν τὴν περίχωρον Δελματίας. ἵνα γάρ κατεσκήνωσαν οἱ εἰρημένοι Σκλάβοι, κατεκράτησαν πάσαν τὴν περίχωρον Δελματίας* ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐργαζόμενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοί δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοί δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοί δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοί δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον. Αὐτοί δὲ οἱ Διάδωροι καὶ Παγανοί καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαιχμαλωτιζόμενοι καὶ ἀφανίζομενοι κατέλιπον τὰς τοιαύτας νήσους, καὶ τοὺς Σκλάβους τῷ στρατηγῷ ταῦτα παρέρχον.
the province of Istria, and at Tzentina and Chlebena becomes neighbour to the country of Serbia. For the country of Serbia is at the front of all the rest of the countries, but on the north is neighbour to Croatia, and on the south to Bulgaria. Now, after the said Slavs had settled down, they took possession of all the surrounding territory of Dalmatia; but the cities of the Romani took to cultivating the islands and living off them; since, however, they were daily enslaved and destroyed by the Pagani, they deserted these islands and resolved to cultivate the mainland. But they were stopped by the Croats; for they were not yet tributary to the Croats, and used to pay to the military governor all that they now pay to the Slavs. Finding it impossible to live, they approached the glorious emperor Basil and told him all the above. And so that glorious emperor Basil ordered that all that was then paid to the military governor they should pay to the Slavs, and live at peace with them, and that some slight payment should be made to the military governor, as a simple token of submission and servitude to the emperors of the Romans and their military governor. And from that time all these cities became tributary to the Slavs, and they pay them fixed sums: the city of Spalato, 200 nomismata; the city of Tetrangourin, 100 nomismata; the city of Diadora, 110 nomismata; the city of Opsara, 100 nomismata; the city of Arbe, 100 nomismata; the city of Vekla, 100 nomismata; so that the total amounts to 710 nomismata, exclusive of wine and various other commodities, which are in excess of the payments in cash. The city of Ragusa is situated between the two countries of the Zachlumi and of Terbounia; they have their vineyards in both countries, and pay to the prince of the Zachlumi 36 nomismata, and to the prince of Terbounia 36 nomismata.

31. Of the Croats and of the country they now dwell in.

The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey and next to Francia, and have for Slav neighbours the unbaptized Serbs. 'Croats' in the Slav tongue means 'those who occupy much territory'. These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius.
'Ῥωμαίων, Ἡράκλειον πρόσφυγες παρεγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ τοῦς Σέρβλους προσφυγεῖν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, Ἡράκλειον κατὰ τὸν καρόν, διὸ τοῖς Ἁβαρέσις τοιοῦτοι Ἡράκλειος ἤναπτεῖλον, οὗ τοῖς βασιλεῖς Διοκλητιανοῦ ἀπὸ Ἐκλήτης ἁγάγον ἔκειστε κατεσκήνωσαν, διό καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετοίκους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ἐν ταῖς τοιοῦταις χώραις, ἤγουν τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Χρωβατίας καὶ Ἡράκλειος. Παρὰ μὲ τὸν Ἀβάρων ἐκδιώχθησαν οἱ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἁπάντῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, Ἡράκλειος, αἱ τοῦτον ἐρήμοι καθεστήκασιν χώρα. Προστάξει οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάται καταπλημμέναις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε τοὺς Ἁβαρέας ἐκδιώξαντες, Ἡράκλειος τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἁβάρων χώρᾳ, εἰς ἵνα νῦν ὀλικοῦσιν, κατεσκήνωσαν. Εἶχον δὲ αὐτοὶ Χρωβάται τῷ τότε καρῷ ἄρχοντα τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ποργά. Ὡ δὲ βασιλέως Ἡράκλειος ἀποτελέσατας καὶ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἁγάγων Ιερέας καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ποιήσας αρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, τοὺς Χρωβάτους ἐβάπτισεν· εἶχον δὲ τῷ τότε καρῷ οἱ τοιοῦτοι Χρωβάται ἄρχοντα τὸν Ποργά. "Οτι ἡ τοιαύτη χώρα, εἰς ἣν οἱ Χρωβάται κατασκεύασαν, εἴς ἄρχης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, εἴ οὐ καὶ παλάτια καὶ Ἰσποδρόμια τοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑτερῇ τῶν Ἁβάρων χώρᾳ μέχρι τῆς νῦν περισώζονται εἰς τὸ κάστρον Σαλώνας πλησίον τοῦ Ασπαλάθου. "Οτι αὕτη οἱ Χρωβάται ἐξωθεὶς τῆς ἒκείσε χώρας, αὕτως καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἁγίον Πέτρον, τὸν Ἀπόστολον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐφοίτησαν καὶ κατασκεύασαν καὶ ἐρήμους τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶχον δέ τῷ τότε καιρῷ οἱ τοιοῦτοι Χρωβάται ἐξοθεντήσαντες χρήσμον γὰρ τινα καὶ ορισμόν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, τοῦ Ἑρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, ἐφοίτησαν καὶ κατασκεύασαν καὶ ἐκπολεμήσαντες καὶ ἀπὸ Ποργατίας ἁγάγων Ιερέας καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πολεμοῦσαν.
before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius, at that time when the Avars had fought and expelled from those parts the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian had brought from Rome and settled there, and who were therefore called ‘Romani’ from their having been translated from Rome to those countries, I mean, to those now called Croatia and Serbia. These same Romani having been expelled by the Avars in the days of this same emperor of the Romans Heraclius, their countries were made desolate. And so, by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell. These same Croats had at that time for prince the father of Porgas. The emperor Heraclius sent and brought priests from Rome, and made of them an archbishop and a bishop and elders and deacons, and baptized the Croats; and at that time these Croats had Porgas for their prince.

This country in which the Croats settled themselves was originally under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and hence in the country of these same Croats the palace and hippodromes of the emperor Diocletian are still preserved, at the city of Salona, near the city of Spalato.

These baptized Croats will not fight foreign countries outside the borders of their own; for they received a kind of oracular response and injunction from the pope of Rome who in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, sent priests and baptized them. For after their baptism the Croats made a covenant, confirmed with their own hands and by oaths sure and binding in the name of St. Peter the apostle, that never would they go upon a foreign country and make war on it, but rather would live at peace with all who were willing to do so; and they received from the same pope of Rome a benediction to this effect, that if any other foreigners should come against the country of these same Croats and bring war upon it, then might God fight for the Croats and protect them, and Peter the disciple of Christ give them victories. And many years after, in the days of prince Terpimer, father of prince Krasimer, there came from Francia that lies between Croatia and Venice a man called Martin, of the utmost piety though clad in the garb of a layman, whom these same Croats
ματα ίκανα ποιήσαι: ἁθενής δὲ ἀν ὁ τοιοῦτος εὐλαβής ἀνήρ καὶ τοὺς
tόδας ἥκρουτηρισμένος, ὡστε ὑπὸ τεσσάρων βασιλεύσαναι καὶ περι-
πέρεσθαι, ὅπου δ’ ἄν καὶ βούλεται, τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάτα
ετολὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστίταις διατρείμεν μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτῶν τοῖς
ἐπεθέστεισιν, ἐπευξάμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀμολογίαν καὶ τοῖς
evχήν. Διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι αἱ σαγήναι τῶν τοιούτων Χριστίτων, οὔτε αἱ

91ν Χριστίταις οὐδέποτε κατά τινος πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπέρχονται, εἰ μὴ ἄρα
tic ταυτόν ἀπέθανον. Πλὴν δη τῶν τοιούτων πλοίων ἀπέρχονται τοῖς
βουλώμενοι τῶν Χριστίτων διουκεῖν ἐμπόρια, ἀπὸ κάστρων εἰς κάστρων 55
περιερχόμενοι τὴν τε Παγανίαν καὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς Δελματίας καὶ μέχρι
Βενετίας.

"Οτι ὁ ἄρχων Χριστίταις εἰς ἄρχης, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας
Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως, δουλικός ἐστιν ὑποτεταγμένος τῷ βασιλεῖ
Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ οὐδὲποτε τῷ ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας καθυπετάγη. 'Αλλ' 60
οὔτε δε Βούλγαρας ἀπήλθεν πρὸς πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Χριστίτων, εἰ μὴ
Μιχαήλ, ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας, ὁ Βορίσης, ἀπελήθων καὶ πολεμήσας
92τοὺς | καὶ μηδὲν ἄνοιξε δυνητέες εἰρήνευσε μετ' αὐτῶν, ξενιάσας
tοὺς Χριστίτους καὶ ξενιάσεις παρὰ τῶν Χριστίτων. 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ πώ-
151ετοτοὶ οἱ Χριστίται οὕτω τοῖς Βουλγάροις πάκτον δεδώκασιν, εἰ μὴ 65
τοιούτως ἀμφότεροι ξένια τινα πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέσχον φιλοφρονήσεως
ἐνεκά.

"Οτι <έν> τῇ βαπτισμένη Χριστίται εἰσίν κάστρα οἰκομένα: ἡ
Νόνα, τὸ Βελέγραδον, τὸ Βελετζίν, τὸ Σκόρδον, τὸ Χλεβένα, τὸ Στόλ-
tον, τὸ Τενή, τὸ Κόρι, τὸ Κλαβώξα. 70

"Οτι η βαπτισμένη Χριστίται ἐκβάλλει καβαλλαρικόν ὡς τῶν
ξ’ χιλιάδων, πεζικόν δὲ ἐως χιλιάδων ρ’ καὶ σαγήνας μέχρι τῶν π’ καὶ
κονδούρας μέχρι τῶν ρ’. Καὶ αἱ μὲν σαγήναι ἔχουσιν ἄνδρῶν μ’, 
92θα αἱ | δὲ κονδούραι ἄνδρῶν κ’, αἱ δὲ μικρότεραι κονδούραι ἄνδρων κ’. 

"Οτι τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ πληθὸς εἴχεν 75
ἡ Χριστίται μέχρι τοῦ ἀρχοντος Κρασημέρη, Κάκεινοῦ μὲν τελευτή-
σαντος, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Μιροσλάβου ἀρχείτος ἐτή τέσσαρα καὶ
ὡπὸ τοῦ Πριβουνία βοεάνου ἀνακατέθητον, καὶ διχονοίων καὶ πολλῶν
dichostasiων εἰς τὴν χώραν γενομένων, ἠλάττωται καὶ τὸ καβαλλαρικὸν
cαὶ τὸ πεζικὸν καὶ αἱ σαγήναι καὶ αἱ κονδούραι τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν Χριστί-
tων. 'Αρτίως δὲ ἐξει σαγήνας λ’, κονδούρας μεγάλας καὶ μικρὰς * *
cαὶ καβαλλαρικὸν * * * καὶ πεζικὸν * * *

V 47 εὐλαβής: εὐσεβής cons. Meursius || 48 post τεσσάρων add. καὶ V edd. || 49
declare to have wrought abundant miracles; this pious man, who was sick and had had his feet amputated, so that he was carried by four bearers and taken about wherever he wanted to go, confirmed upon these same Croats this injunction of the most holy pope, that they should keep it so long as their life should last; and he himself also pronounced on their behalf a benediction similar to that which the pope had made. For this reason neither the galleys nor the cutters of these Croats ever go against anyone to make war, unless of course he has come upon them. But in these vessels go those of the Croats who wish to engage in commerce, travelling round from city to city, in Pagania and the gulf of Dalmatia and as far as Venice.

The prince of Croatia has from the beginning, that is, ever since the reign of Heraclius the emperor, been in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans, and was never made subject to the prince of Bulgaria. Nor has the Bulgarian ever gone to war with the Croats, except when Michael Boris, prince of Bulgaria, went and fought them and, unable to make any headway, concluded peace with them, and made presents to the Croats and received presents from the Croats. But never yet have these Croats paid tribute to the Bulgarians, although the two have often made presents to one another in the way of friendship.

In baptized Croatia are the inhabited cities of Nona, Belgrade, Belitzin, Skordona, Chlebena, Stolpon, Tenin, Kori, Klaboka.

Baptized Croatia musters as many as 60 thousand horse and 100 thousand foot, and galleys up to 80 and cutters up to 100. The galleys carry 40 men each, the cutters 20 each, and the smaller cutters 10 each.

This great power and multitude of men Croatia possessed until the time of prince Krasimer. But when he was dead and his son Miroslav, after ruling four years, was made away with by the ban Pribounias, and quarrels and numerous dissensions broke out in the country, the horse and foot and galleys and cutters of the Croat dominion were diminished. And now it has 30 galleys and *** cutters, large and small, and *** horse and *** foot.
152 Ότι ή μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ή και άστρη έπονομαζόμενη, αξιόπιστος έκμερι τής σήμερον, καθώς και οί πλη σιάζοντες αύτήν Σέρβλοι.

93Ρ τυγχάνει μέχρι τής σήμερον, καθώς και οί πλη σιάζοντες αύτήν Σέρβλοι.

152Β Ολιγώτερον δέ καβαλλαρικόν έκβάλουσι, ομοίως καί πεζικόν παρά την βαπτισμένην Χρωβατίαν, ώς συνεχέστερον πρακτικού έν τοίς Φράγγων και Τούρκων καί Πατζινακιτών. 'Αλλ’ ουδέ σαγήνας κέκτηνε, ούτε κονδούρας, ούτε έμπορευτικά πλοία, ώς μή κείθενν σάγην τής θαλάσσης; άπό γάρ τών έκέεσε μέχρι τής θαλάσσης όδός έστεν ήμερών λ’ Όλιγώτερον δέ καβαλλαρικόν έκβάλουσι, ομοίως καί πεζικόν παρά την βαπτισμένην Χρωβατίαν, ώς συνεχέστερον πρακτικού έν τοίς Φράγγων και Τούρκων καί Πατζινακιτών. Άλλ’ ουδέ σαγήνας κέκτηνε, ούτε κονδούρας, ούτε έμπορευτικά πλοία, ώς μήκος τής θαλάσσης; άπό γάρ τών έκέεσε μέχρι τής θαλάσσης όδός έστεν ήμερών λ’.

32. Περί τῶν Σέρβλων καί ής νῦν οίχοισι χώρας.

'Ιστέον, ότι οί Σέρβλοι από τῶν αβάπτιστῶν Σέρβλων, τῶν καὶ άστρον έπονομαζόμενων, κατάγονται, τῶν τῆς Τουρκίας έκείσε τοῖς Σέρβλοι καὶ ή Θεσσαλονίκης εις τῆς Ιεράκλειον βασιλεύοντος, διά τούς εις τήν ιεράκλειον κατασκευασμένον; έκτοτε τήν τοίνυν κατασκευαστική ήμερών λ’ έκτοτε τήν τοίνυν κατασκευαστική ήμερών λ’. Άλλ’ ουδέ σαγήνας κέκτηνε, ούτε κονδούρας, ούτε έμπορευτικά πλοία, ώς μήκος τής θαλάσσης; άπό γάρ τών έκείσε μέχρι τής θαλάσσης όδός έστεν ήμερών λ’. Ότε δέ θάλασσα, είς ήν διά τῶν λ’ ήμερών κατέρχοντα, έστιν 90 ή λεγομένη σκοτεινή.

153Β Περί τών Σέρβλων καί ής νῦν οίχοισι χώρας.

Ιστέον, ότι οί Σέρβλοι από τῶν αβάπτιστῶν Σέρβλων, τῶν καὶ άσπρων έπονομαζόμενων, κατάγονται, τῶν τῆς Τουρκίας εκείσε τοῖς Σέρβλοι καὶ ή Θεσσαλονίκης εις τῆς Ιεράκλειον βασιλεύοντος, διά τούς εις τήν ιεράκλειον κατασκευασμένον; έκτοτε τήν τοίνυν κατασκευαστική ήμερών λ’. Άλλ’ ουδέ σαγήνας κέκτηνε, ούτε κονδούρας, ούτε έμπορευτικά πλοία, ώς μήκος τής θαλάσσης; άπό γάρ τών έκείσε μέχρι τής θαλάσσης όδός έστεν ήμερών λ’. 45 Και επειδή ή νῦν Σερβλία καί Παγανία καί ή όνομασθεΐσα Ζαχλούμων χώρα καί Τερβουνία καί ή τῶν Καναλιτών υπό τήν εξουσίαν τού βασιλέων ήπάλησαν, έγένοντο δέ αί τοιαύται χώραι έρημοι παρά τῶν Άβαρων (άπο τῆς Ρωμαίους τούς νυν Δελματίαν καί τό Δυρράχιον οίκοις). 20 Και επειδή ή νῦν Σερβλία καί Παγανία καί ή όνομασθεΐσα Ζαχλούμων χώρα καί Τερβουνία καί ή τῶν Καναλιτών υπό τήν εξουσίαν τού βασιλέων ήπάλησαν, έγένοντο δέ αί τοιαύται χώραι έρημοι παρά τῶν Άβαρων (άπο τῶν έκέεσε γάρ Ρωμαίους τούς νυν Δελματίαν καί τό Δυρράχιον οίκοις). 25

Great Croatia, also called ‘white’, is still unbaptized to this day, as are also the Serbs who are its neighbours. They muster fewer horse and fewer foot than does baptized Croatia, because they are more constantly plundered, by the Franks and Turks and Pechenegs. Nor have they either galleys or cutters or merchant-ships, for the sea is far away; for from those parts to the sea it is a journey of 30 days. And the sea to which they come down after the 30 days is that which is called ‘dark’.

32. Of the Serbs and of the country they now dwell in.

The Serbs are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, also called ‘white’, who live beyond Turkey in a place called by them Boiki, where their neighbour is Francia, as is also Great Croatia, the unbaptized, also called ‘white’; in this place, then, these Serbs also originally dwelt. But when two brothers succeeded their father in the rule of Serbia, one of them, taking one half of the folk, claimed the protection of Heraclius, the emperor of the Romans, and the same emperor Heraclius received him and gave him a place in the province of Thessalonica to settle in, namely Serbia, which from that time has acquired this denomination. ‘Serbs’ in the tongue of the Romans is the word for ‘slaves’, whence the colloquial ‘serbula’ for menial shoes, and ‘tzerboulianoi’ for those who wear cheap, shoddy footgear. This name the Serbs acquired from their being slaves of the emperor of the Romans. Now, after some time these same Serbs decided to depart to their own homes, and the emperor sent them off. But when they had crossed the river Danube, they changed their minds and sent a request to the emperor Heraclius, through the military governor then holding Belgrade, that he would grant them other land to settle in. And since what is now Serbia and Panagia and the so-called country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of the Kanalites were under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and since these countries had been made desolate by the Avars (for they had expelled from those parts the Romani who now live in Dalmatia and
τοὺς αὐτούς Σέρβλους ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις χώραις, καὶ ἦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ 'Ῥωμαίων ὑποτασσόμενοι, οὕς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρεσβύτας ἀπὸ 'Ῥώμης ἁγίων ἑβαπτίσει, καὶ διδάξας αὐτοὺς τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τελεῖν καλῶς, αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν ἔδειχθε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Βουλγαρία ὅπω τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἦν τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων, ** αὐτοῦ οὖν τὸ ἄρχοντος τοῦ 30
95ρ Σέρβλου, τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλεία προσφυγόντος, τελευτήσαντος, κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἤρξεν τῷ άρχοντῷ ἡ χώρα, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἄγιος, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς 154ρ αὐτοῦ οἱ καθεξῆς ἢρχοντες. | Μετὰ δὲ χρόνων τινὰς ἐγεννήθη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Βουσέσθιλαβος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Ῥοδόσθιλαβος, καὶ ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου ὁ Προσγάνης, καὶ ἐξεκάθαρσεν ἀγαπατώντες ἀλλήλους, ἤρχοντες δὲ δούλους καὶ ὑποταγὴν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεύς τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐθερευόμενοι παρ᾿ αὐτῶν. Ἐπι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Βλαστιμήρου ἤθεν μετὰ πολέμου Πρεσάμι, ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας, κατὰ τῶν Σέρβλων θέλων αὐτοὺς ὑποτάξαι, 40
95ρ ἀλλ᾿ ἐπὶ τριετίαν πολεμήσας, οὐ μόνον ὡσεν ἤμυνεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαὸν αὐτοῦ πλεῖστον ἀπόλεσαν. Μετὰ δὲ ἡναταν Βλαστιμήρου τοῦ ἄρχοντος διεδέχατο τὴν ἀρχήν τῆς Σερβίας οἱ τρεῖς υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μουντιμήρος καὶ ὁ Στρούμηρος καὶ ὁ Γοϊνικός, μερισάμενοι τὴν χώραν. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον παρεγένετο ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας ἢρχων, Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης, ἐπειδὼς τὴν ἡτταν Προσγάνης, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολεμήσας, εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐπτόησαν οἱ Σέρβλοι, ὡστε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Βλαδίμηρον ἔκρατησαν δέσμιον μετὰ καὶ βοϊλάδων δώδεκα μεγάλων. Τότε δὴ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ θλήσει καὶ μὴ θέλων δ Βορίσης εἰρήνευσε μετὰ τῶν Σέρβλων.
96ρ Μέλλον δὲ ὑποστρέφειν ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ | καὶ φοβηθείς, μήποτε ἐνεδρεύσωσιν αὐτόν οἱ Σέρβλοι καθ᾿ ἄδων, ἐπεζήτησεν εἰς διάσωσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχήν Μουντιμήρου παιδία, τὸν Βόρενα καὶ τὸν Στέφανον, οἱ καὶ
155ρο σδεσώσαντι αὐτῶν ἡμικυμάτων τῶν συνόρων, | ἐξω τῆς 'Ῥάσης. Καὶ ἃπαντα τῆς τοιαύτης χάρας ἐνάκει καὶ ἀποκλείει, Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης, θέλων διεκδικήσαι 45 καὶ τὴν ἡτταν Προσγάνης, τὸν πατρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολεμήσας, εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐπτόησαν οἱ Σέρβλοι, ὡστε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Βλαδίμηρον ἔκρατησαν δέσμιον μετὰ καὶ βοϊλάδων δώδεκα μεγάλων. Τότε δὴ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ θλήσει καὶ μὴ θέλων δ Βορίσης εἰρήνευσε μετὰ τῶν Σέρβλων.
Dyrrachium), therefore the emperor settled these same Serbs in these
countries, and they were subject to the emperor of the Romans; and the
emperor brought elders from Rome and baptized them and taught them
fairly to perform the works of piety and expounded to them the faith of
the Christians. And since Bulgaria was beneath the dominion of the Romans
when, therefore, that same Serbian prince died who had claimed the
emperor’s protection, his son ruled in succession, and thereafter his grandson,
and in like manner the succeeding princes from his family. And after some
years was begotten of them Boiseslav, and of him Rodoslav, and of him
Prosigois, and of him Blastimer; and up to the time of this Blastimer the
Bulgarians lived at peace with the Serbs, whose neighbours they were and
with whom they had a common frontier, and they were friendly one toward
another, and were in servitude and submission to the emperors of the Ro-
mans and kindly entreated by them. But, during the rule of this same
Blastimer, Presiam, prince of Bulgaria, came with war against the Serbs,
with intent to reduce them to submission; but though he fought them three
years he not merely achieved nothing but also lost very many of his men.
After the death of prince Blastimer his three sons, Muntimer and Stroïmer
and Goïnikos, succeeded to the rule of Serbia and divided up the country.
In their time came up the prince of Bulgaria, Michael Boris, wishing to avenge
the defeat of his father Presiam, and made war, and the Serbs discomfited
him to such an extent that they even held prisoner his son Vladimer,
together with twelve great boyars. Then, out of grief for his son, Boris
perforce made peace with the Serbs. But, being about to return to Bulgaria
and afraid lest the Serbs might ambush him on the way, he begged for his
escort the sons of prince Muntimer, Borenas and Stephen, who escorted him
safely as far as the frontier at Rasi. For this favour Michael Boris gave
them handsome presents, and they in return gave him, as presents in the
way of friendship, two slaves, two falcons, two dogs and eighty furs, which
the Bulgarians describe as tribute. A short while after, the same three
brothers, the princes of Serbia, fell out, and one of them, Muntimer, gained
the upper hand and, wishing to be sole ruler, seized the other two and
handed them over to Bulgaria, keeping by him and caring for only the son

\[\text{Σέρβλου: τῆς Σερβίας} \]  
Bekker Bury || 32 ἢγγον \( \text{V edd. ήγγον} \) \( \text{P: ήγγονος} \) \( \text{Ρ}: \) \( \text{33 ήγεννηθη edd.: ήγεννηθην} \) \( \text{P: ήγεννηθης} \) \( \text{edd.} \) 35 Βλαστήμερος edd. || 35/6 Βλαστήμερον edd. || 39 Βλαστήμερον edd. \( \text{|| 41 πολεμίας P} \) \( \text{|| 42 απόλεσαν} \) \( \text{P} \) \( \text{|| Βλαστήμερον edd.} \) \( \text{|| 43 Μοντίμηρος Bury} \) \( \text{|| 44 Στροήμηρος} \) \( \text{P: Στρόημηρος Ba Be} \) \( \text{|| 45/6 διεκδικήσα: έκβιησα} \) \( \text{edd.} \) 46 πολεμίας P || 47 διεκδικήσαν edd.: διεκδικήσαν edd. Κυριακίδες \( \text{|| Βλαδήμηρον} \) \( \text{Moravcsik: Βλαστήμερον V Βλαστήμηρον P Βλαστήμηρον edd. Βλαδήμηρον} \) \( \text{εσι.} \) \( \text{Safarík Rački Dümmler Grot Zlatarski} || 48 βολάδων εσι. Moravcsik: βολάδων P edd. \( \text{|| δύθευτα edd.: ήβ' P} \) \( \text{|| δη: δε edd.} \) 51 καθ' οδινί edd. Bekker: καθ' οδινί edd. καθιστοὺ P || 56 γούναν Π || οδηγούμενα Moravcsik π' P: ένενήκοντα Moravcsik Π' P: ένενήκοντα Με ένενήκοντα Ba Be || 57 αύτοι om. edd. || 58 γενόμενος edd. || 59 Μοντίμηρος edd. \}
δότις καὶ φυγῶν ἠλθέν ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ, περὶ οὗ μετ’ ὅλουν ἤρθησεται. Ὁ
dὲ προαρρητείς ἀδελφὸς ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ, Στροήμηρος εἶχεν ὑδίν τὸν Κλονί-
μηρον, δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα παρέσχεν ὁ Βορίσης Βουλγάραν. Ἡ ἐκ αὐτοῦ γεν-
νάται ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ ὁ Τζέεσθλάβος. Ὁ δὲ Μουντιμήρος, οὗ τὸς δύο ἀδελφῶν διάκες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δεξαμενός, γεννᾶ ὑδίν τρεῖς, τὸν Πρι-
βέσθλαβον καὶ τὸν Βράνον καὶ τὸν Στέφανον, καὶ μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν θάνατον διαδέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ πρῶτος ὑδίν, ὁ Πριβέσθλαβος. Μετὰ οὖν χρόνον

97ρ ἔνα ἔξελθον ἀπὸ Χρωβατίας ὁ προειρημένος Πέτρος, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γοῦν-
κου, διώκει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν εξάδελφον αὐτοῦ, Πριβέσθλαβον μετὰ 70
tῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, κακείνος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ φυγόντες εἰσέρχονται εἰς Χρωβατία. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τρεῖς ἐλθὼν ὁ Βράνος πρὸς

156Βε τὸ πολεμήσαι τὸν Πέτρον καὶ ἤττηθεις καὶ κρατηθεῖς παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ

97ρ καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἦτερα ἐτῶν καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλον Παύλον, τὸν υἱόν Βράνου, δὲ Πέτρος, ἔκτυφλώσεν. Δόλῳ οὖν ἔπελθόντες οἱ Βουλγάροι πρὸς τὸν Αρχοντα Σερβλίας καὶ συνταξῆ ξινοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 85

157Βε ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενοι Συμεών κατὰ τὸν άρχοντος Σερβλίας, Πέτρου, ἀπέστειλε τὸν Σιγρίτζη Θεόδωρον καὶ τὸν Μαρμαίρον μετὰ φοσσάτου, ἐξερχόμενος καὶ ἀρχινοτοπολούν Παύλον, τῶν ὑδίν Βράνου, ἐν ὁ Πέτρος, ὁ άρχοντα Σερβλίας ἐτυφλώσεν. Δόλῳ οὖν ἔπελθον οἱ Βούλ-95

98ρ γαρ ἐν τῷ Αρχοντι τῶν Συμεών περὶ τοῦ Αρχοντα Σερβλίας καὶ συνταξῆ ξινοῦ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ποιησά-

V 62 ἐν Χρωβατίᾳ: εἰς Χρωβατίαν V edd. || Χρωβατίᾳ litterae χ et οὐβ in ras.
sed. P1 || 63 Στροήμηρος P: Στροήμηρος edd. || 64 ω Β edd.: ω P || 65 ω
of the one brother Goïnikos, Peter by name, who fled and came to Croatia, and of whom we shall speak in a moment. The aforesaid brother Stroïmer, who was in Bulgaria, had a son Klonimer, to whom Boris gave a Bulgarian wife. Of him was begotten Tzeëslav, in Bulgaria. Muntimer, who had expelled his two brothers and taken the rule, begat three sons, Pribeslav and Branos and Stephen, and after he died his eldest son Pribeslav succeeded him. Now, after one year the aforesaid Peter, son of Goinikos, came out of Croatia and expelled from the rule his cousin Pribeslav and his two brothers, and himself succeeded to the rule, and they fled away and entered Croatia. Three years later Branos came to fight Peter and was defeated and captured by him, and blinded. Two years after that, Klonimer, the father of Tzeëslav, escaped from Bulgaria and he too came and with an army entered one of the cities of Serbia, Dostinika, with intent to take over the rule. Peter attacked and slew him, and continued to govern for another 20 years, and his rule began during the reign of Leo, the holy emperor, of most blessed memory, to whom he was in submission and servitude. He also made peace with Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, and even made him god-father to his child. Now, after the time that this lord Leo had reigned, the then military governor at Dyrrachium, the protospatharius Leo Rhabduchus, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister and office of foreign minister, arrived in Pagation, which was at that time under the control of the prince of Serbia, in order to advise and confer with this same prince Peter upon some service and affair. Michael, prince of the Zachlumi, his jealousy aroused by this, sent information to Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, that the emperor of the Romans was bribing prince Peter to take the Turks with him and go upon Bulgaria. It was at that time when the battle of Achelo had taken place between the Romans and the Bulgarians. Symeon, mad with rage at this, sent against prince Peter of Serbia Sigritzis Theodore and the late Marmaïs with an army, and they took with them also the young prince Paul, son of Branos whom Peter, prince of Serbia, had blinded. The Bulgarians proceeded against the prince of Serbia by treachery, and, by binding him with the relationship of god-father and giving a sworn undertaking that he should suffer nothing untoward at their hands, they tricked him into coming out to them, and then on the instant bound him
ἐν Βουλγαρίας, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει ἐν φυλακῇ. Ἐξήλθεν δὲ ἄντι αὐτοῦ Παύλου, ὁ υἱὸς Βράνου, καὶ ἔκρατησεν ἐν τῇ τρία. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ὁ χύρις 'Ῥωμανός ἔχων ἀρχοντόπουλον ἐν τῇ τολεί Ζαχαρίαν, τὸν υἱὸν Πριμεσθάλβου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος Σερβλίας, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀρχοντα ἐν Σερβλία, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν καὶ πολεμήσας, ἥττηθη παρὰ τοῦ Παύλου· κρατήσας γάρ αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν τοῖς Βουλγάροις, καὶ ἔκρατεῖτο δέσμιος. Έττα 105 μετὰ χρόνους τρεῖς, τοῦ Παύλου ἔναν τιωθέντος τοῖς Βουλγάροις, ἀπέστειλεν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν, τὸν πρότερον παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ 'Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντα, καὶ διώξας τὸν Παύλον, κρατεῖτο αὐτός τὴν αρχήν τῶν Σέρβλων, διότι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ῥωμαϊῶν ἐπιμνησθεῖς, ἐγένετο κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων, μηδὲ ὄλος θελήσας ὑποτάγηναι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλείου μᾶλλον 'Ῥωμαϊῶν δεσπότων. "Ωστε καὶ τοῦ Συμεών φοσσάτον κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαντος 110 παραλαβεῖν ἀρχοντα τοῦ Σέρβλος, ὑποτασσόμενος καὶ δουλεύων αὐτοῖς, Πάλιν δὲ ἀπέστειλεν έτερον φοσσάτον διὰ τοῦ Κνήνου καὶ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, συναποστείλας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τζεέσθλαβον. Τότε δὲν Ζαχαρίας φοβηθεῖς φεύγει ἐν Χρωβατία, οἱ δὲ Βουλγαροὶ μηνύσαντες τοῖς ζουπάνοις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἀρχοντα τον Ζαέσθλαβον καὶ δι' ὀρκού τούτους ἀπατήσαντες καὶ ἕξαγαγόντες μέχρι τοῦ πρώτου χωρίου τοῦ Περστλάβου είσήλθεν ἐν Σερβλία, οὐχ οἱ δὲν εἴς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μή πεντήκοντα μόνους μήτε γυναίκας μήτε παιδία, ἀλλὰ 120 διατρέφοντες. Μετά τούτων κρατήσας τὴν χώραν, ξυνησίσει πρὸς τον βασιλέα 'Ῥωμαϊῶν, τὴν εξ αὐτοῦ ἀντίληψιν καὶ βοηθείαν ἐπιζητῶν, ὑπείκειν τῷ προστάξει
and carried him off to Bulgaria, and he died in prison. Paul, son of Branos, took his place and governed three years. The emperor, the lord Romanus, who had in Constantinople the young prince Zacharias, son of Pribeslav, prince of Serbia, sent him off to be prince in Serbia, and he went and fought, but was defeated by Paul; who took him prisoner and handed him over to the Bulgarians and he was kept in prison. Then, three years later, when Paul had put himself in opposition to the Bulgarians, they sent this Zacharias, who had previously been sent by the lord Romanus the emperor, and he expelled Paul and himself took possession of the rule over the Serbs; and thereupon, being mindful of the benefits of the emperor of the Romans, he broke with the Bulgarians, being not at all wishful to be subjected to them, but rather that the emperor of the Romans should be his master. And so, when Symeon sent against him an army under Marmam and Sigritzis Theodore, he sent their heads and their armour from the battle to the emperor of the Romans as tokens of his victory (for the war was still going on between the Romans and the Bulgarians); nor did he ever cease, like the princes also that were before him, to send missions to the emperors of the Romans, and to be in subjection and servitude to them. Again, Symeon sent another army against prince Zacharias, under Kninos and Himnikos and Itzboklias, and together with them he sent also Tzeëslav. Then Zacharias took fright and fled to Croatia, and the Bulgarians sent a message to the 'zupans' that they should come to them and should receive Tzeëslav for their prince; and, having tricked them by an oath and brought them out as far as the first village, they instantly bound them, and entered Serbia and took away with them the entire folk, both old and young, and carried them into Bulgaria, though a few escaped away and entered Croatia; and the country was left deserted. Now, at that time these same Bulgarians under Alogobotour entered Croatia to make war, and there they were all slain by the Croats. Seven years afterwards Tzeëslav escaped from the Bulgarians with four others, and entered Serbia from Preslav, and found in the country no more than fifty men only, without wives or children, who supported themselves by hunting. With these he took possession of the country and sent a message to the emperor of the Romans asking for his support and succour, and promising to serve him and be obedient to his command, as had been the princes before him.
αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντες. Καὶ ἔκτοτε οὗ διέλιπεν ὅλου τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως εὐεργετῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡστε καὶ ἀ(ἱ) εἰς Χροβατίαν καὶ Βουλγαρίαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς χώραις διάγοντες Σέρβλοι, οὓς ὁ Συμεών διεσκορπίσεν, τούτῳ ἀκούσαντες συνήχθησαν εἰς αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλοὶ ἀπὸ Βουλγαρίας φυγόντες εἰσῆλθον, οὓς καὶ ἐνδύσας καὶ εὐεργετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Τζεέσθλα-

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βον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων δωρεῶν τῶν | βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων 

συστησάμενος καὶ ἐνοικίας τῆς χώρας, ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἐστὶν ὑποτεταγμένος δουλοπρεπῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἔτοις τῆς βασιλείας συνδρομῆς καὶ τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίων τῆς τοιαύτην χώραν συστήσας καὶ ἄρχον ἐν αὐτῇ βεβαιωθεῖς. 145

"Ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων Σερβλίας ἔς ἄρχης, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡράκλειου τοῦ βασιλεῶς, δουλικῶς ἐστίν ὑποτεταγμένος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεί, καὶ ὀδύσης τῷ ἄρχοντι Βουλγαρίας ἐκάθυτην.  

"Ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαπτισμένη Σερβλία ἐστὶν κάστρα οίκουμενία τὸ Δεστινίκον, τὸ Τζερναβουσκέη, τὸ Μεγυρέτους, τὸ Δρεσνεήκ, τὸ Λεσνήκ, τὸ Σαληνές καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον Βόσονα | τὸ Κάτερα καὶ τὸ Δεσνήκ.

160 Be 33. Περὶ τῶν Ζαχλούμων καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκουσί

"Ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων χώρα παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρότερον ἐκράτειτο, Ῥωμανῶν δὴ φημί, οὓς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετόκισεν, καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Χροβατῶν ἱστορίαν εἰρήται περὶ 5 αὐτῶν. Ὡτὸ τῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν Ζαχλούμων αὐτή χώρα ὄσπρευκεν ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀβάρων, αἰχμαλωσιωθείσα ἦτο χώρα καὶ ὁ ταύτης λαὸς τῷ παράπαν ἡρήμωται. Οἱ δὲ νῦν οἰκονόμους ἐκείνης Ἑρακλείου προσφυγόντων. Ζαχλουμοῦ δὲ ὄνομασθήσαν ἀπὸ ὅρους οὗτοι 10

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καλὸν Χλούμον, καὶ ἀλλὰς γε παρὰ τῇ τῶν Ἐκλήσων διαλέκτω ἐρμηνεύεται τὸ Ζαχλούμοι ἐγουν 'δπίσω τοῦ βουνοῦ', ἐπειδή ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χώρᾳ λόγῳ βουνοῦ ἐστὶν μέγας, έχου ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τῷ Βόνα καὶ τῷ Χλούμ, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ βιοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλολυμπορέον Bόνα, ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται 'καλὸν'.

"Ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ πατρικίου Μιχαὴλ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Βουσεβούτζη, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν Ζαχλούμων, ἤθελεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατοι-

V 136 τῶν om. edd. || βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων edd. || οἱ addendum coni. Bekker Bury || 137 διάγοντες lūteras in ras. scr. P1 || 142 ἐνοικίας V edd. || 150 Δεστινίκον: Δεστινίκον coni. Skok || Τζερναβουσκῆ Be Ba Τζερναβρυσκῆ
And thenceforward the emperor of the Romans continually benefited him, so that the Serbs living in Croatia and Bulgaria and the rest of the countries, whom Symeon had scattered, rallied to him when they heard of it. Moreover, many had escaped from Bulgaria and entered Constantinople, and these the emperor of the Romans clad and comforted and sent to Tzæïslav. And from the rich gifts of the emperor of the Romans he organized and populated the country, and is, as before, in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans; and through the co-operation and many benefits of the emperor he has united this country and is confirmed in the rule of it.

The prince of Serbia has from the beginning, that is, ever since the reign of Heraclius the emperor, been in servitude and submission to the emperor of the Romans, and was never subject to the prince of Bulgaria.

In baptized Serbia are the inhabited cities of Destinikon, Tzernabouskeï, Megyretous, Dresneïk, Lesnik, Salines; and in the territory of Bosona, Katera and Desnik.

33. Of the Zachlumi and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of the Zachlumi was previously possessed by the Romans, I mean, by those Romani whom Diocletian the emperor translated from Rome, as has been told of them in the story of the Croats. This land of the Zachlumi was beneath the emperor of the Romans, but when it and its folk were enslaved by the Avars, it was rendered wholly desolate. Those who live there now, the Zachlumi, are Serbs from the time of that prince who claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius. They were called Zachlumi from a so-called mount Chlumos, and indeed in the tongue of the Slavs ‘Zachlumi’ means ‘behind the mountain’, since in that territory is a great mountain with two cities on the top of it, Bona and Chlum, and behind this mountain runs a river called Bona, which means ‘good’.

The family of the proconsul and patrician Michael, son of Bousbouzis, prince of the Zachlumi, came from the unbaptized who dwell on
κούντων ἄβαπτίστων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας, τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους
Λιτζίκη, καὶ ἄφησεν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ζαχλούμα. 33, 34, 35

161Βο Ἡ έν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν Ζαχλούμων εἰσὶν κάστρα οἰκοῦν, τοῦ 20

102ρ Σταγνόν, τὸ Μοκρισκίκ, τὸ Ἰολη, τὸ Γαλουμαήνικ, τὸ Δοβρισκίκ.

34. Περὶ τῶν Τερβουνιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Καναλιτῶν καὶ χώρας.

"Οτι ἡ τῶν Τερβουνιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Καναλιτῶν χώρα μία ὑπάρχει.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄβαπτίστων Σέρβλων οἱ ἔκεισε οἰκούντες κατάγονται, ἐξ ἑκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος του εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡράκλειον προσφυγόντος 5

ἀπὸ τῆς ἄβαπτίστου Σέρβλας, μέχρι τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σέρβλας τοῦ Βλαστίμηρου. Ὁστός ὁ άρχοντος Βλαστίμηρος τῇ ἱδίᾳ θυγατρὶ δέδωκεν ἄνδρα Κράτην, τὸν υἱὸν Βελάη, τοῦ ζουπάνος Τερβουνίας. Θέλω δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τὸν υἱὸν γαμβρὸν δοξάσαι, ὡνόμασεν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα, ποιῆσας

103ρ αὐτὸν αὐτεξούσιον. 'Εξ ἑκείνου δὲ ὁ Φαλιμέρης ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἀπὸ 10

ἑκείνου τοῦ Τζουζήμηρος. Ἡ ἱδίᾳ οὐ δὲ οἱ τῆς Τερβουνίας ἄρχοντες ἀσέ ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἄρχοντος Σέρβλας. Τερβουνία δὲ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνεύεται ἰσχυρὸς τόπος—ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη χώρα ἰσχυρῶματα ἔχει πολλά.

"Οτι ἐστὶν καὶ ἑτέρα χώρα ὑπὸ ταύτην τὴν χώραν Τερβουνίας, 15

Καναλή προσαγορευομένη. Τὸ δὲ Καναλὴ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων 162β διαλέκτῳ ἱσχυρὸς τόπος—ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη χώρα ἰσχυρῶματα ἔχει πολλά.

"Οτι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Τερβουνίας καὶ τῷ Καναλὲ εἰσὶ κάστρα οἰκοῦν, τῷ 20

103ρ 35. Περὶ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν καὶ χώρας.

"Οτι ἡ Διοκλητιας χώρα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκρατεῖτο, οὔς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετάκις οἱ βασιλεῖς Διοκλητιανὸς, καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν Χρωβάτων ἱστορίαν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα 5
the river Visla and are called Litziki; and it settled on the river called Zachluma.

In the territory of the Zachlumi are the inhabited cities of Staglon, Mokriskik, Iosli, Galoumainik, Dobriskik.

34. Of the Terbouniotes and Kanalites and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of the Terbouniotes and the Kanalites is one. The inhabitants are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, from the time of that prince who came out of unbaptized Serbia and claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius until the time of Blastimer, prince of Serbia. This prince Blastimer married his daughter to Krainas, son of Belaër, 'zupan' of Terbounia. And, desiring to enoble his son-in-law, he gave him the title of prince and made him independent. Of him was begotten Phalimer, and of him Tzouzimer. The princes of Terbounia have always been at the command of the prince of Serbia. Terbounia in the tongue of the Slavs means ‘strong place’; for this country has many strong defences.

Subordinate to this country of Terbounia is another country called Kanali. Kanali means in the tongue of the Slavs ‘waggon-load’, because, the place being level, they carry on all their labours by the use of waggons.

In the territory of Terbounia and Kanali are the inhabited cities of Terbounia, Ormos, Rhisena, Loukabetai, Zetlibi.

35. Of the Diocletians and of the country they now dwell in.

The country of Diocleia was also previously possessed by the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian translated from Rome, as has been said in the story about the Croats, and was under the emperor of the Romans.
'Ρωμαίων ὑπήρχεν. Παρά δὲ τῶν 'Αβάρων καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα αἰχμαλωτισθείσα ἠρήμωται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως ἑνοφαίηθη, καθὼς καὶ ἡ Χροβατία καὶ ἡ Σερβλία καὶ ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων καὶ ἡ Τερβουνία καὶ τοῦ Καναλῆ. Διόκλεια δὲ ὄνομαζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ χώρᾳ κάστρου, οὕτε ἐκτισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς, νυνὶ δὲ ἐστὶν 104Ρ ἐρημοκαστρον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὄνομαζομενον Διόκλεια.

"Οτι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Διοκλείας εἰςι μεγάλα κάστρα οἰκούμενα τῷ Γράδεται, τῷ Νουγράδε, τῷ Δοντοδόκα.

163Βε 36. Περὶ τῶν Παγανῶν, τῶν καὶ Ἀρεντανῶν καλούμενων, καὶ ἦς νῦν οἰκούσιν χώρας.

"Οτι ἡ χώρα, εἰς ἕν τῶν Παγανῶν ἐκκατέeatedο, οὔς ἀπὸ ὅρμης ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητίανὸς μετοικίσας ἐν δελματία ἐνφίκησε. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Παγανοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνδαυτστων Σέρβων κατάγονται ἐς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡρακλείου προσφυγόντος. Παρὰ δὲ τῶν 'Αβάρων καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα αἰχμαλωτισθείσα ἠρήμωται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως.

104Ρ ἐνοικίσθη. | Παγανοὶ δὲ καλοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέχασθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τότε καιρῷ βαπτισθῆναι, οὗτος καὶ πάντες οἱ Σέρβοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Καὶ γάρ Παγανοὶ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἄβαπτιστοι καὶ τῆς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων διαλέκτω ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν."Δεντα καλεῖται, ἐξ ὅσο κάκεινοι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν "Ρωμαίων "Δεντανοὶ καλοῦνται.

"Οτι ἐν Παγανίᾳ εἰςιν κάστρα οἰκούμενα τῷ Μάκρον, τῷ Βερούλλαι, τῷ "Οστρωκ καὶ ὡς νῦν οἰκούσιν χώρας. Κρατοῦσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς νῆσους αὐτῶν 15 νῆσος μεγάλη ἡ Κούρκρα, ἦτοι τῷ Κίκερ, ἐν ὅ ἐστιν καὶ κάστρον· νῆσος ἐτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα, ἦτοι τῷ Μαλοζεάται, ἡν οτι ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἄποστόλων ὁ ἄγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων, ἐν 164Βε ἡ καὶ ἔχει τὸν ἄγιον Παῦλον ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτύλου προσήψετο, ἔτερα μεγάλη τὸ Φάρα, νῆσος μεγάλη ἡ Βράτζης. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτέραι νῆσοι, αἱ μὴ κρατοῦμενοι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Παγανῶν νῆσος τῷ Χώαρᾳ, νῆσος Ἡς, νῆσος τῷ Λάστοβον.
But this country also was enslaved by the Avars and made desolate, and repopulated in the time of Heraclius the emperor, just as were Croatia and Serbia and the country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of Kanali. Diocleia gets its name from the city in this country that the emperor Diocletian founded, but now it is a deserted city, though still called Diocleia.

In the country of Diocleia are the large inhabited cities of Gradetai, Nougrade, Lontodokla.

36. Of the Pagani, also called Arentani, and of the country they now dwell in.

The country in which the Pagani now dwell was also previously possessed by the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian translated from Rome and settled in Dalmatia. These same Pagani are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, of the time of that prince who claimed the protection of the emperor Heraclius. This country also was enslaved by the Avars and made desolate and repopulated in the time of Heraclius the emperor. The Pagani are so called because they did not accept baptism at the time when all the Serbs were baptized. For ‘Pagani’ in the tongue of the Slavs means ‘unbaptized’, but in the tongue of the Romans their country is called Arenta, and so they themselves are called Arentani by these same Romans.

In Pagania are the inhabited cities of Mokron, Beroullia, Ostrok and Slavinetza. Also, they possess these islands: the large island of Kourkra, or Kiker, on which there is a city; another large island, Meleta, or Malozeatia, which St. Luke mentions in the ‘Acts of the Apostles’ by the name of Melite, in which a viper fastened upon St. Paul by his finger, and St. Paul burnt it up in the fire; another large island, Phara; another large island, Bratzis. There are other islands not in the possession of these same Pagani: the island of Choara, the island of Iês, the island of Lastobon.


37. Περί τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακίτων.

'Ιστεόν, ὅτι οἱ Πατζινακίται τὸ ἀπ’ ἄρρηξι εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀτήλ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐδόχον κατοίκησιν, ὑμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Γεήχ, ἐχοντες τοὺς τα Χαζάρους συνορούντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπονομαζόμενους Οὐζούς. Πρὸ ἐτῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὐζοί μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ὤμονοί·

105 οἵς σαντ καὶ πόλεμον συμβαλόντες πρὸς τοὺς Πατζινακίτας, ὑπερισχύσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας χώρας αὐτοὺς ἐξεδίωξαν, καὶ κατέσχον αὐτὴν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὐζοί. Οἱ δὲ Πατζινακίται φυγόντες περιήρχοντο, ἀναψηφώντες τόπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκήνωσιν, καταλαβόντες δὲ τὴν σήμερον παρ’ αὐτῇ, καὶ εὑρόντες 10 τοὺς Τούρκους οἰκούντας ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπερισχύσαν, καὶ Πατζινακίται· εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν, ὡς εἴρηται, μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐτη πεντήκοντα πέντε.

106 οἵς Πατζινακία εἰς θέματα ὀκτὼ διαιρεῖται, 15 Βάιτζαν, τοῦ δευτέρου Τζούρ, τοῦ τρίτου Γύλα, τοῦ τέταρτου Χαραβόη, τοῦ πέμπτου Χαραβόη, τοῦ ἵππου Κώσταν, τοῦ ἐβδόμου Χοπόν, τοῦ ογδόου Τζόπον. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, οἱ Πατζινακίται ἐξεδίωξαν, ἔχον ἀρχοντας εἰς τὸ θέμα Ήρτήμ τὸν Βάιτζαν, εἰς τὸ Τζούρ τὸν Κούελ, εἰς τὸ Γύλα τὸν Κουρκουται, εἰς τὸ Κουλπέη τὸν Ίπαόν, εἰς τὸ Χαραβόη τὸν Καϊδούμ, εἰς τὸ Ταλμάτ τὸν Κώσταν, εἰς τὸ Χοπόν τὸν Γιοζή, εἰς τὸ Θέμα Τζόπον τὸν Βατάν. Μετὰ δὲ θάνατον αὐτῶν διεδέχοντο τὰς άρχας οἱ τούτων έξάδελφοι. Νόμος γὰρ εἰς αὐτοῖς 25 ὑπεισέρχεται τις καί γίνεται αρχών. Τά δέ οκτὼ θέματα διαιροῦνται εἰς τεσσαράκοντα μέρη, καὶ ἤχουσι καὶ ἐλάττονας άρχοντας.

37. Περί του έθνους των Πατζινακίτων.

1. 'Ιστεόν, ὅτι οἱ Πατζινακίται τὸ ἀπ’ ἄρρηξι εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀτήλ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐδόχον κατοίκησιν, ὑμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Γεήχ, ἐχοντες τοὺς τα Χαζάρους συνορούντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπονομαζόμενους Οὐζούς. Πρὸ ἐτῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὐζοί μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ὤμονοί.

105 οἵς σαντ καὶ πόλεμον συμβαλόντες πρὸς τοὺς Πατζινακίτας, ὑπερισχύσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας χώρας αὐτοὺς ἐξεδίωξαν, καὶ κατέσχον αὐτὴν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον οἱ λεγόμενοι Οὐζοί. Οἱ δὲ Πατζινακίται φυγόντες περιήρχοντο, ἀναψηφώντες τόπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκήνωσιν, καταλαβόντες δὲ τὴν σήμερον παρ’ αὐτῇ, καὶ εὑρόντες 10 τοὺς Τούρκους οἰκούντας ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπερισχύσαν, καὶ Πατζινακίται· εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν, ὡς εἴρηται, μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐτη πεντήκοντα πέντε.

106 οἵς Πατζινακία εἰς θέματα ὀκτὼ διαιρεῖται, 15 Βάιτζαν, τοῦ δευτέρου Τζούρ, τοῦ τρίτου Γύλα, τοῦ τέταρτου Χαραβόη, τοῦ πέμπτου Χαραβόη, τοῦ ἵππου Κώσταν, τοῦ ἐβδόμου Χοπόν, τοῦ ογδόου Τζόπον. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, οἱ Πατζινακίται ἐξεδίωξαν, ἔχον ἀρχοντας εἰς τὸ θέμα Ήρτήμ τὸν Βάιτζαν, εἰς τὸ Τζούρ τὸν Κούελ, εἰς τὸ Γύλα τὸν Κουρκουται, εἰς τὸ Κουλπέη τὸν Ίπαόν, εἰς τὸ Χαραβόη τὸν Καϊδούμ, εἰς τὸ Ταλμάτ τὸν Κώσταν, εἰς τὸ Χοπόν τὸν Γιοζή, εἰς τὸ Θέμα Τζόπον τὸν Βατάν. Μετὰ δὲ θάνατον αὐτῶν διεδέχοντο τὰς άρχας οἱ τούτων έξάδελφοι. Νόμος γὰρ εἰς αὐτοῖς 25 ὑπεισέρχεται τις καί γίνεται αρχών. Τά δέ οκτὼ θέματα διαιροῦνται εἰς τεσσαράκοντα μέρη, καὶ ἤχουσι καὶ ἐλάττονας άρχοντας.
37. **Of the nation of the Pechenegs.**

Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river Atil, and likewise on the river Geich, having common frontiers with the Chazars and the so-called Uzes. But fifty years ago the so-called Uzes made common cause with the Chazars and joined battle with the Pechenegs and prevailed over them and expelled them from their country, which the so-called Uzes have occupied till this day. The Pechenegs fled and wandered round, casting about for a place for their settlement; and when they reached the land which they now possess and found the Turks living in it, they defeated them in battle and expelled and cast them out, and settled in it, and have been masters of this country, as has been said, for fifty-five years to this day.

The whole of Patzinacia is divided into eight provinces with the same number of great princes. The provinces are these: the name of the first province is Irtim; of the second, Tzour; of the third, Gyla; of the fourth, Koulpeï; of the fifth, Charaboï; of the sixth, Talmat; of the seventh, Chopon; of the eighth, Tzopon. At the time at which the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, their princes were, in the province of Irtim, Baitzas; in Tzour, Kouel; in Gyla, Kourkoutai; in Koulpeï, Ipaos; in Charaboï, Kaidoum; in the province of Talmat, Kostas; in Chopon, Giazis; in the province of Tzopon, Batas. After their deaths their cousins succeeded to their rule. For law and ancient principle have prevailed among them, depriving them of authority to transmit their ranks to their sons or their brothers, it being sufficient for those in power to rule for their own life-time only, and when they die, either their cousin or sons of their cousins must be appointed, so that the rank may not run exclusively in one branch of the family, but the collaterals also inherit and succeed to the honour; but no one from a stranger family intrudes and becomes a prince. The eight provinces are divided into forty districts, and these have minor princelings over them.
Ιστεών, ὅτι αἱ τέσσαρες τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν γενεαί, ἤγουν τὸ
166Βούλατζοπόν, κεῖνται πέραν τοῦ Δανάπεως ποταμοῦ
πρὸς τὰ ἀνατολικά τετραγώνα καὶ βορειότερα μέρη, ἐναποβλέποντα πρὸς τα
Οὐζίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν καὶ Ἀλανίαν καὶ τὴν Χερσονήσια καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κλή-
ματα. Αἱ δὲ άλλαι τέσσαρες γενεαί κεῖνται ἐνθεν τοῦ Δανάπεως ποτα-
μοῦ πρὸς τὰ δυτικά καὶ ἀρριτικὰ μέρη, τουτεστὶ τὸ ἕδερμα
40Γιαζιχόπον πλησίασι τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ κάτω Γάλα πλησία-
ζει τῇ Τουρκίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ Χαραβόη πλησίασι τῇ 'Ῥωσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ
θέμα 'Ιαβυδερίμ πλησίασι τοῖς ὑποφόροις χώρας τῆς 'Ῥωσίας,
τοῖς τε Οὐλτίνοις καὶ Δερβενίνοις καὶ Λενζενίνοις καὶ τοῖς λυπτοῖς
107νεῶν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἤν οἱ Πατζινακιται ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδίας
χώρας ἔξεδιώχθησαν, θελήσει τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκεία γνώμη ἐναπέμει-
ναν ἑκεῖσε, καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὐζίοις συνώκησαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
167ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, έχοντες τοιαύτα γνωρίσματα, ὅστε διαχωρίζεσθαι
αὐτοὺς καὶ νοεῖσθαι, τίνες τε ἦσαν, καὶ πώς αὐτούς ἀποσπασθήναι τῶν
οποιῶν συνέβη· τὰ γὰρ ἱματιά αὐτῶν εἰσίν κοντόρα μέχρι γονάτων
καὶ τὰ μανίκια ἀπὸ τῶν βραχιόνων ἀποκεκομμένα, ὡς δήθεν ἐκ τούτου
dὲκνύντες, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀπεκόπησαν.
168Ιστεών, ὅτι ένθεν τοῦ Δανάπεως ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβλέπον
μέρος τὴν Βουλγαρίαν εἰς τὰ περάματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰσὶν ἐρημό-
καστρα. κάστρον πρῶτον τὸ ὄνομασθέν παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν 'Άσπρον
36ἀπὸ τοῦς λίθους φαίνεσθαι καταλεύκους, κάστρον δεύτερον τὸ
Τουγγάται, κάστρον τρίτον τὸ Κρακνακάται, κάστρον τέταρτον τὸ
38Σαλμακάται, κάστρον πέμπτον τὸ Σακακάται, κάστρον ζτόν
Γιαζιχάται. Θελήσει τινές ὑποφόροι καὶ τοῖς οἰκείαις άνθρώποις ἔστω καὶ τοῖς
55κτισμαῖς εὑρίσκονται καὶ εἰς λίθους δθεν καὶ τινες παράδοσιν ἔχουσιν,
ὡς Ρωμαίοι ποτέ τὰς κατοικίας εἰκεσε.
Four clans of the Pechenegs, that is to say, the province of Kouartzitzour and the province of Syroukalpeï and the province of Borotalmat and the province of Boulatzopon, lie beyond the Dnieper river towards the eastern and northern parts that face Uzia and Chazaria and Alania and Cherson and the rest of the Regions. The other four clans lie on this side of the Dnieper river, towards the western and northern parts, that is to say that the province of Giazichopon is neighbour to Bulgaria, the province of Kato Gyla is neighbour to Turkey, the province of Charaboï is neighbour to Russia, and the province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to the tributary territories of the country of Russia, to the Oultzines and Dervlenines and Lenzenes and the rest of the Slavs. Patzinacia is distant a five days journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six days journey from Alania, a ten days journey from Mordia, one day’s journey from Russia, a four days journey from Turkey, half a day’s journey from Bulgaria; to Cherson it is very near, and to Bosporus closer still.

At the time when the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, some of them of their own will and personal decision stayed behind there and united with the so-called Uzes, and even to this day they live among them, and wear such distinguishing marks as separate them off and betray their origin and how it came about that they were split off from their own folk: for their tunics are short, reaching to the knee, and their sleeves are cut off at the shoulder, whereby, you see, they indicate that they have been cut off from their own folk and those of their race.

On this side of the Dniester river, towards the part that faces Bulgaria, at the crossings of this same river, are deserted cities: the first city is that called by the Pechenegs Aspron, because its stones look very white; the second city is Toungatai; the third city is Kraknakatai; the fourth city is Salmakatai; the fifth city is Sakakatai; the sixth city is Giaioukatai. Among these buildings of the ancient cities are found some distinctive traces of churches, and crosses hewn out of porous stone, whence some preserve a tradition that once on a time Romans had settlements there.
'Ιστόν, ὧτι καὶ Κάγγαρ ὄνομαζόνται οἱ Πατζινακῖται, ἂλλ' οὐχὶ πάντες, τὰλην ὧ τῶν τριῶν θεμάτων λαός, τῶν 'Ιαβδήπτη καὶ τοῦ Κουαρτζιτζούρ καὶ τοῦ Χαβουξιγγυλά, ὡς ἄνδρείστεροι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν 70 λοιπῶν· τοῦτο γάρ δήλοι ἢ τοῦ Κάγγαρ προσηγορία.

168Β 38. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Τούρκων καὶ ἐθεματικὰ γένος καὶ κατάγονται.

"Ὅτι τό τῶν Τούρκων ἔθνος πλησίον τῆς Χαζαρίας τό παλαιόν τήν κατοίκησιν ἔσχεν εἰς τόν τόπον τόν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λεβεδία ἀπό τῆς τοῦ πρώτου βοεβοδοῦ αὐτῶν ἐπονομαίας, ὡστε βοεβοδος τό μὲν 5
109Ρ τῆς καλής ὅνομα Λεβεδίας προσηγορεῦτο, τό δὲ τῆς ἀξίας, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, βοεβοδος ἐκαλεῖτο. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ τόπῳ, τῷ προρρηθέντι Λεβεδίας, πυθμαῖς ἐστὶν πέραν Χιδμᾶς, ὃ καὶ Χιγνουλὸς ἐπονομαζόμενος. Οὐκ ἔλεγοντο δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Τούρκοι, ἀλλὰ Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Τούρκοι γενεαὶ ὑπῆρχον 10 ἐπτά, ἄρχοντα δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς εἶτε ἵδιον, εἶτε ἄλλοτριόν ποτὲ οὐκ ἐκθήσαντο, ἀλλ' ὑπήρχον έν αὐτῶς βοεβοδοι τυχεῖν, τόπως βοεβοδός ἢ προρρηθείς Λεβεδίας. Συνώκησαν δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ἕναντος τρεῖς, συμμαχοῦντες τοὺς Χαζάροις ἐν πάσαι τοῖς αὐτῶν πολέμοις. Ο δὲ χαγάνος ἄρχον Χαζάριας διὰ τῆν αὐτῶν ἄνδρείαν καὶ συμμαχίαν τῷ 15
109Ρ πρῶτῳ βοεβοδῷ τῶν Τούρκων, Λεβεδία ἐπονομαζόμενον, γυναικα δέδωκεν πρὸς γάμον Χαζάραν εὐγενῆ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ γένους περιφρασμένης, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκνόσης' ὃ δὲ Λεβεδίας 169Β ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τὸς τό Χαζάρας ὑπάρχουσαν, αὐτών οὔτε ἐπανεπαφάσφατον. Οι δέ Πατζινακῖται, οἱ πρόπερον Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζόμενοι (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ 20 Κάγγαρ ὄνομα ἐπ' εὐγενεία καὶ ἄνδρεία ἐλέγετο παρ' αὐτοῖς), πρὸς Χαζάρους οὖν οὗτοι κυνήσαντες πόλεμον καὶ ἢττηθέντες, τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν καταλείψαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων κατοίκησαν κατηναγκάσθησαν. Ἀναμετεξῆ δὲ τῶν Τούρκων συναφθέντος πολέμου καὶ τῶν Πατζινακῖτῶν, τῶν την καταλείψαν Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζόμενον, τὸ τῶν Τούρκων φοσσά- 25
110Ρ τὸν ἢττηθέντα καὶ εἰς δύο διήρεθη μέρη. Καὶ τό μὲν εὖ μέρος πρὸς ἀνατολήν εἰς τῆς Περσίδος μέρους κατόχθεσε, οἱ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχαῖαν ἐπονομαίαν καλοῦνται. Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι, τὸ δὲ

The Pechenegs are also called 'Kangar', though not all of them, but only the folk of the three provinces of Iabdierti and Kouartzitzour and Chabouxingyla, for they are more valiant and noble than the rest: and that is what the title 'Kangar' signifies.

38. Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended.

The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks at that time, but had the name ‘Sabartoi asphaloi’, for some reason or other. The Turks were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them ‘voivodes’, of whom first voivode was the aforesaid Lebedias. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and the illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady. Now, the Pechenegs who were previously called ‘Kangar’ (for this ‘Kangar’ was a name signifying nobility and valour among them), these, then, stirred up war against the Chazars and, being defeated, were forced to quit their own land and to settle in that of the Turks. And when battle was joined between the Turks and the Pechenegs who were at that time called ‘Kangar’, the army of the Turks was defeated and split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks ‘Sabartoi
έτερον μέρος εἰς τὸ δυτικόν κατῴκησε μέρος ἁμα καὶ τῷ βοεβόδῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄρχεται, Λεβεδία, εἰς τόπους τοὺς ἐπονομαζόμενους 'Ατελκούζου, 30 ἐν οἷς τόποις τὰ νῦν τὸ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν ἔθνος κατοικεῖ. 'Ολιγον δὲ χρόνου διαδραμόντος, ὁ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος ἀρχῶν Χαζαρίας τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐμήρωσεν τοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀποσταλήκνα Λεβεδία, τόν πρῶτον αὐτῶν βοεβοῦν. 'Ο Λεβεδίας τούν πρὸν τὸν χαγάνον Χαζαρίας ἐφαρμομένους ἀναφωτά τῆν αὐτίαν, δὲ ἦν ἐλθείν πρὸς αὐτῶν μετεπέμψατο. 'Ο δὲ 35

110τ.χ. χαγάνος ἐπήλεπ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς 'Διὰ τοῦτο σὲ προσκαλεσάμεθα, ἵνα, ἐπειδή εὐγενής καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ἕνδρειομένος ὑπάρχεις καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Τούρκων, ἀρχοντά σὲ τὸ εὐθύνου σου προβαλώμεθα, καὶ ἵνα ὑπείκης τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ προστάξει ἡμῶν.' 'Ο δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς τὸν χαγάνον

170Βο ἀντέφησεν, ὡς 'Τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σου σχέσιν τε καὶ προσφέρεσιν μεγάλως 40 ἑναποδέχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἐυχαριστίαν ἰδιολογοῦντος σου προσέκουσαν, ἐπεί δὲ ἄθλυ

45 οῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδέχομαι, καὶ τὴν εὐχαρίστιαν ὀμολογοῦν σοι προσήκουσαν, ἐπεί δὲ ἀδύνατως ἔχω πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, ὑπακούσαι οὔ δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος ἄτρομος ἐμοῦ βοεβοῦς, λεγόμενος 'Ἀλμούτζης καὶ ἕνων κεκτημένος ὅνοματι 'Ἀρπάδην τούτων μᾶλλον εἶπε ἐκεῖνος 'Ἀλμούτζης,

111τ.χ. εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, δὲ 'Διὰ τοῦτο σε προσεκαλεσάμεθα, ἵνα, επειδή εὐγενής καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ἕνδρειωμένος ἐστε τῶν Τούρκων, ἀρχοντά σε του έθνους σου προβαλώμεθα, καὶ οἰνα υπείκης τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ προστάξει ἡμῶν.' Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς τὸν χαγάνον

171Βο δέδωκεν ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπέστειλεν, οἱ καὶ συλλαλήσαντες περὶ τούτου μετά τῶν Τούρκων, μᾶλλον οἱ Τούρκοι τὸν Ἀρπαδὴν γενέσθαι προέκριναν ἀρχοντά, ὡς ἐξελεγείτερον ἤντα καὶ περιποιηθοῦσαν ἐν τῇ φρονίσει καὶ 50 βουλή καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἵκανον πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, δεν καὶ ἀρχοντα κατὰ τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων ἔδος καὶ ΄άκανων πεποιήθησαν, σηκώσαντες αὐτόν εἰς σκουτάριον. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρπαδὴ τούτου ἀρχοντα οἱ Τούρκοι οὔκ έκτήσαντο πώποτε, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτου γενεάς αρχών Τουρκίας καθίσταται. Μετά δὲ τινας χρόνους τοῖς Τούρκοις έπιπεσόντες οἱ Πατζινακίται, κατεδίωξαν αὐτούς μετά τοῦ ἀρχοντος τούτων Άρπαδῆ. Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι τραπέντες καὶ πρὸς κατοίκησιν γήν ἐλθόντες άπεδίωξαν οὔτοι τὴν μεγάλην Μοραβίαν οἰκονύμας, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατασκήνωσαν, εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ Τούρκοι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον κατοικούσιν. Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Τούρκοι παρὰ 60 τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν έπέδραταν. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κατασκηνώσαν τὸ προσφέρειν ἔθνος τῶν Τούρκων πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδος μέχρι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πραγματευτάς ἀποστέλλουσιν οὕτωι οἱ πρὸς τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος οἰκοῦν-

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asphaloi”; but the other part, together with their voivode and chief Lebedias, settled in the western region, in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives. A short while afterwards, the then chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias, therefore, came to the chagan of Chazaria and asked the reason why he had sent for him to come to him. The chagan said to him: «We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are noble and wise and valorous and first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and our command.» But he, in reply, made answer to the chagan: «Your regard and purpose for me I highly esteem and express to you suitable thanks, but since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you; on the other hand, however, there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutzis, and he has a son called Arpad; let one of these, rather, either that Almoutzis or his son Arpad, be made prince, and be obedient to your word.» That chagan was pleased at this saying, and gave some of his men to go with him, and sent them to the Turks, and after they had talked the matter over with the Turks, the Turks preferred that Arpad should be prince rather than Almoutzis his father, for he was of superior parts and greatly admired for wisdom and counsel and valour, and capable of this rule; and so they made him prince according to the custom, or ‘zakanon’, of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield. Before this Arpad the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the prince of Turkey is from his family. Some years later, the Pechenegs fell upon the Turks and drove them out with their prince Arpad. The Turks, in flight and seeking a land to dwell in, came and in their turn expelled the inhabitants of great Moravia and settled in their land, in which the Turks now live to this day. And since that time the Turks have not sustained any attack from the Pechenegs. To the aforesaid nation of the Turks that settled in the east, in the regions of Persia, these Turks aforesaid who live toward the western region still send mer-
112ρ τοὺς προρρηθέντες Τούρκοι, καὶ βλέπουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποκρίσεις | παρὰ αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις ἀποκομίζουσιν.

"Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατζίνακιτῶν τόπος, ἐν ὧν τῷ τῷ καίρῳ κατέφθηκαν οἱ Τούρκοι, καλείται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἑκείσθεν δυνών τοτάρων. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ εἶσιν οὕτως: ποταμὸς πρῶτος ὁ καλούμενος Βαρούχ, ποταμὸς δεύτερος ὁ καλούμενος Κουβού, ποταμὸς τρίτος ὁ καλούμενος Τρούλλος, ποταμὸς τέταρτος ὁ καλούμενος Βρούτος, ποταμὸς πέμπτος 70 ὁ καλούμενος Σέρετος.

39. Περὶ τοῦ έθνος τῶν Καβάρων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι Κάβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Χαζάρων γενεᾶς ὑπῆρχον. Καὶ δὴ συμβάν τινα παρὰ αὐτῶν ἀποστασιάν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην αὐτῶν, καὶ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου καθιστάντος, ἢ πρῶτη ἀρχή αὐτῶν ὑπερήφανεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς αὐτῶν ἀπεσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφυγον, καὶ ἠλθαν καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων εἰς τὴν τῶν Πατζίνακιτῶν γῆν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις συνεφιλιώθησαν, καὶ Κάβαροι τινες ὄνομασθησαν. "Ὅθεν τὴν τῶν Χαζάρων γλώσσαν αὐτοῖς ἔδιδαξαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν διάλεκτον ἔχουσιν. "Ὅτε μὲν οἱ Τούρκοι ἀπεσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφυγον, καὶ ἠλθαν καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν μετὰ τῶν Σαράκων εἰς τὴν τῶν Καβάρων γῆν, ἐστιν ξηφίδιο καὶ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐστίν.

40. Περὶ τῶν γενεῶν τῶν Καβάρων καὶ τῶν Τούρκων.

Πρώτη ἡ παρὰ τῶν Χαζάρων ἀποσπασθεῖσα αὐτὴ ἡ προφητεύεισα τῶν Καβάρων γενεά, δευτέρα τοῦ Νέκτη, τρίτη τοῦ Μεγέρη, τετάρτη τοῦ Κουρτουγερμάτου, πέμπτη γιαγιά, έβδομη Καρή, όγδοη Καση. "Ὅτε δὲ ἐστιν ἀρχον ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἠγούν ἐν ταῖς τρισί γενεάσι τῶν Καβάρων, ἐστιν καὶ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐστιν.
chants who look them up, and often bring them back official messages from them.

The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time the Turks lived, is called after the name of the local rivers. The rivers are these: the first river is that called Barouch, the second river that called Koubou, the third river that called Troullos, the fourth river that called Broutos, the fifth river that called Seretos.

39. Of the nation of the Kabaroi.

The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Chazars. Now, it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government, and when a civil war broke out their first government prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs, and they made friends with one another, and were called 'Kabaroi'. And so to these Turks they taught also the tongue of the Chazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have also the other tongue of the Turks. And because in wars they show themselves strongest and most valorous of the eight clans, and are leaders in war, they have been promoted to be first clans. There is one prince among them, I mean, among the three clans of the Kabaroi, who is even to this day.

40. Of the clans of the Kabaroi and the Turks.

The first is this aforesaid clan of the Kabaroi which split off from the Chazars; the second, of Nekis; the third, of Megeris; the fourth, of Kourtougermatos; the fifth, of Tarianos; the sixth, Genach; the seventh, Kari; the eighth, Kasi. Having thus combined with one another, the Kabaroi dwelt with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs. After this, at the invitation
ταύτα παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ αὐδήμου βασιλέως, προσκλήθηντες διεπέρασαν, καὶ τὸν Σωμεών πολεμήσαντες κατὰ κράτος αὐτὸν ἤττησαν, καὶ ἔξελάσαντες μέχρι τῆς Πρεσθλάβου διήλθον, ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Μουνδράγα, καὶ εἰς τὴν ίδιαν χώραν εἰρήσωσαν. Τῇ δὲ τότε καιρῷ τὸν Λιούντικα, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Άρπαδή εἶχον ἀρχόντα. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάλιν τὸ καταπολεμήσαν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ρωμαίων εἰρήνησαν καὶ λαβεῖν ἄδειαν διεπέμψατο πρός τοὺς Πατζινακίτας, καὶ μετά αὐτῶν ὁμοφώνησεν τὸν Συμεών κατά τὸν Πατζινακίταν καταπολεμήσαι καὶ ἀφανίσαι τοὺς Τούρκους. Καί δὲ οἱ Τούρκοι πρὸς ταξίδιον ἀπῆλθον, οἱ Πατζινακίται μετὰ Συμεών ἤθελον κατά τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν φαμίλιας παντελῶς ἐξηφάνισαν, καὶ τοὺς εἰς φύλαξιν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν Τούρκους ἀπ’ ἑκεῖσε κατασκήνωσαν. Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι ὑποστρέφεταις καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ὁμοτες εὐφόρεστες ἔχομεν καὶ κατηφανισμένην, 10

113 Κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν καί σήμερον κατοικοῦσιν, τὴν ἑπονομάζουσαν κατά τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίας. 'Ο δὲ τόπος, ἐν φι πρότερον οἱ Τούρκοι ἦρχαν, ονομάζεται κατά τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν τοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν καί σήμερον κατοικοῦσιν, τὴν ἑπονομάζουσαν κατά τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίας. Ταύτα μέν τά κατά τὸν Ἑστρον ποταμόν γνωρίζομεν τε καὶ ἑπωνυμίαι, τά δέ ἀνώτερα τούτων, εἰς 15

114 ἑπωνυμίαι, τά δέ ἀνώτερα τούτων, εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Τουρκίας κατασκήνωσις, ἀρτίως ἑπονομάζουσιν κατὰ τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίας. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἶναι οὕτως ποταμὸς πρῶτος Τιμήσης, ποταμός δεύτερος Τοῦτης, ποταμός τρίτος ὁ Μορήσης, καί πάλιν Τέταρτος ὁ Κρίσος, καὶ πάλιν ἔκεισε κατά τὸν ποταμὸν Τίτζα. 20

115 Ταύτα μέν τά κατά τὸν Ἑστρον ποταμόν γνωρίζοματα τε καὶ ἑπωνυμίαι, τά δέ ἀνώτερα τούτων, εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Τουρκίας κατασκήνωσις, ἀρτίως ἑπονομάζουσιν κατὰ τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίας. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἶναι οὕτως ποταμὸς πρῶτος Τιμήσης, ποταμός δεύτερος Τοῦτης, ποταμός τρίτος ὁ Μορήσης, καί πάλιν Τέταρτος ὁ Κρίσος, καὶ πάλιν ἔκεισε κατά τὸν ποταμὸν Τίτζα. Ταύτα μέν τά κατά τὸν Ἑστρον ποταμόν γνωρίζοματα τε καὶ ἑπωνυμίαι, τά δέ ἀνώτερα τούτων, εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Τουρκίας κατασκήνωσις, ἀρτίως ἑπονομάζουσιν κατὰ τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίαις. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἶναι οὕτως ποταμὸς πρῶτος Τιμήσης, ποταμός δεύτερος Τοῦτης, ποταμός τρίτος ὁ Μορήσης, Ταύτα μέν τά κατά τὸν Ἑστρον ποταμόν γνωρίζοματα τε καὶ ἑπωνυμίαι, τά δέ ἀνώτερα τούτων, εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Τουρκίας κατασκήνωσις, ἀρτίως ἑπονομάζουσιν κατὰ τάς τοῦ τῶν Ῥεόν ρεόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑπωνυμίαις. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοί εἶναι οὕτως ποταμὸς πρῶτος Τιμήσης, ποταμός δεύτερος Τοῦτης, ποταμός τρίτος ὁ Μορήσης,
of Leo, the Christ-loving and glorious emperor, they crossed over and fought Symeon and totally defeated him, and drove on and penetrated as far as Preslav, having shut him up in the city called Moundraga; and they went back to their own country. At that time they had Liountikas, son of Arpad, for their prince. But after Symeon was once more at peace with the emperor of the Romans and was free to act, he sent to the Pechenegs and made an agreement with them to attack and destroy the Turks. And when the Turks had gone off on a military expedition, the Pechenegs with Symeon came against the Turks and completely destroyed their families and miserably expelled thence the Turks who were guarding their country. When the Turks came back and found their country thus desolate and utterly ruined, they settled in the land where they live to-day, which is called after the above name of the rivers, as has been said. The place in which the Turks used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now. But the Turks, expelled by the Pechenegs, came and settled in the land which they now dwell in. In this place are various landmarks of the olden days: first, there is the bridge of the emperor Trajan, where Turkey begins; then, a three days journey from this same bridge, there is Belgrade, in which is the tower of the holy and great Constantine, the emperor; then, again, at the running back of the river, is the renowned Sirmium by name, a journey of two days from Belgrade; and beyond lies great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, but over which in former days Sphendoplokos used to rule.

Such are the landmarks and names along the Danube river; but the regions above these, which comprehend the whole settlement of Turkey, they now call after the names of the rivers that flow there. The rivers are these: the first river is the Timisis, the second river the Toutis, the third river the Morisis, the fourth river the Krisos, and again another river, the
Πλησιάζουσι δὲ τοῖς Τούρκοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος οἱ Βουλγαροὶ, ἐν ὦ καὶ διαχωρίζει αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰστρος, ὁ καὶ Δανούβιος λεγόμενος ποταμός, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βόρειον οἱ Πατζινακῖται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δυτικότερον οἱ Φράγκοι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν οἱ Χρωβάτοι. Αἱ δὲ ὁκτὼ γενεά τῶν Τούρκων αὐτὰ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἄρχοντας ὄχι ὑπείκουσιν, ἀλλὰ ὁμόνοιαν ἔχουσιν εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς, εἰς οὓς μέρος προβάλλει πόλεμος, συναγωνίζεσθαι μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος τε καὶ σπουδῆς. Ἐξουσία δὲ κεφαλῆς πρῶτη τὸν ἄρχοντα ἁπατος τῆς γενεᾶς τοῦ Άρπαδῆ κατὰ ἀκολούθησαν καὶ δύο ἔτερους, τὸν τε γυλάν καὶ τὸν καρχάν, οὕτως ἔχουσι τάξιν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι ὁ γυλάς καὶ ὁ καρχάς οὐκ εἰσὶν χώρια ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ ἀξίωμα.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι ὁ Ἰστρος, ὁ μέγας Τουρκίας ἄρχων, ἐποίησεν τέσσαρας υἱοὺς πρώτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Τεβέλη, τρίτον τὸν Τουτοτζάν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτάν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀρπαδη, ὁ Ταρκατζοῦς ἐποίησεν υἱόν τὸν Τεβέλη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος υἱός, ὁ Τεβέλη ἐποίησεν υἱόν τὸν 'Εξέλη, ὁ δὲ τρίτος υἱός, ὁ 'Ιστοτζάς ἐποίησεν υἱόν τὸν Φαλίτζιν, τὸν νυνὶ ἄρχοντα, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος υἱός, ὁ Ζαλτάς ἐποίησεν υἱόν τὸν Ταξίν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ ἐποίησεν πρῶτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Τεβέλη, τρίτον τὸν Τουτοτζάν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτάν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ ἐποίησεν πρῶτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Τεβέλη, τρίτον τὸν Τουτοτζάν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτάν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ ἐποίησεν τέσσαρας υἱοὺς πρῶτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Τεβέλη, τρίτον τὸν Τουτοτζάν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτάν.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀρπαδῆ ἐποίησεν τέσσαρας υἱοὺς πρῶτον τὸν Ταρκατζοῦν, δεύτερον τὸν Τεβέλη, τρίτον τὸν Τουτοτζάν, τέταρτον τὸν Ζαλτάν.
Titza. Neighbours of the Turks are, on the eastern side the Bulgarians, where the river Istros, also called Danube, runs between them; on the northern, the Pechenegs; on the western, the Franks; and on the southern, the Croats. These eight clans of the Turks do not obey their own particular princes, but have a joint agreement to fight together with all earnestness and zeal upon the rivers, wheresoever war breaks out. They have for their first chief the prince who comes by succession of Arpad’s family, and two others, the gylas and the karchas, who have the rank of judge; and each clan has a prince.

Gylas and karchas are not proper names, but dignities.

Arpad, the great prince of Turkey, had four sons: first, Tarkatzous; second, Ielech; third, Ioutotzas; fourth, Zaltas.

The eldest son of Arpad, Tarkatzous, had a son Tebelis, and the second son Ielech had a son Ezelech, and the third son Ioutotzas had a son Phalitzis, the present prince, and the fourth son Zaltas had a son Taxis.

All the sons of Arpad are dead, but his grandsons Phalis and Tasis and their cousin Taxis are living.

Tebelis is dead, and it is his son Termatzous who came here recently as ‘friend’ with Boultzous, third prince and karchas of Turkey.

The karchas Boultzous is the son of the karchas Kalis, and Kalis is a proper name, but karchas is a dignity, like gylas, which is superior to karchas.
41. Περί τῆς χώρας τῆς Μοραβίας.

'Ιστέν, ὅτι ο Μοραβίας ἀρχων, ὁ Ἀρεντέρχηκος, ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φοβερὸς εἷς τὰ τὴν πλησιάζοντα αὐτῷ ἔθνη γέγονεν. Ἐσχε δὲ ο αὐτός

176Βε Ἀρεντέρχηκος τρεῖς υἱούς, καὶ τελευτών διεῖλεν | εἷς τρία μέρη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν, καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ μιᾶς μερίδος κατέλιπεν, 5
τὸν πρῶτον καταλείψας ἄρχοντα μέγαν, τοὺς δὲ ἔτερους δύο τοῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ πρῶτον υἱοῦ. Παρήγασεν δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μή εἰς διάστα-

116Ρ σιν καὶ καὶ τ' ἄλληλων γενέσθαι, παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς τοιούτων ὑποδείξας' πάρος γὰρ τρεῖς ἐνεγκών καὶ συνδήσας, διείλευ τῷ πρῶτῷ υἱῷ τοῦ
tαύτας κλάσαι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἵσχυσαι, πάλιν δὲδωκεν τῷ δευτέρῳ, 10
ὁσιότως καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, καὶ εἶκ' οὕτως διαφόρον τὰς τρεῖς πάρος δεδω-
κέν τοῖς τρισὶν πρὸς μίαν. οὗ δὲ λαβόντες καὶ κελευσθέντες ταύτας κλά-
σαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς κατέκλασαν. Καὶ διὰ τοιούτου ὑποδείγματος παρήγα-
σεν αὐτοὺς εἰπών, ὡς ὅτι «Εἰ μέν διαμένετε ἐν ὁμοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπη

117ΓΡ αὐτῶν, ἀναγόμενοι ἐναντίον καὶν τοῖς πλησιάζοντι έχθρῶν παντελῶς ἔξολοθρευθή-
σεσθε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιάζοντων ὑμῶν ἐχθρῶν παντελῶς ἐξολοθρευθή-
σεσθέ.» Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρεντέρχηκος ἕνα χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατείχαστε, ἐρίδα καὶ στάσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπεσόμενων, καὶ 15
πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐμφύλιον τὸλεμόν ποιήσαντες, ἐλθόντες οἳ Τούρκοι
tοῦτος παντελῶς ἐξολοθρευσαν, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἀρτίος ἀιώνιος. Καὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ λαοῦ διεσχότη-
σθήσαν, προσφυγόντες εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, εἰς τοὺς Βουλγάρους καὶ Τούρκους καὶ Χρωβάτους καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη.
41. Of the country of Moravia.

The prince of Moravia, Sphendoplokos, was valiant and terrible to the nations that were his neighbours. This same Sphendoplokos had three sons, and when he was dying he divided his country into three parts and left a share apiece to his three sons, leaving the eldest to be great prince and the other two to be under the command of the eldest son. He exhorted them not to fall out with one another, giving them this example by way of illustration: he brought three wands and bound them together and gave them to the first son to break them, and when he was not strong enough, handed them on to the second, and in like manner to the third, and then separated the three wands and gave one each to the three of them; when they had taken them and were bidden to break them, they broke them through at once. By means of this illustration he exhorted them and said: «If you remain undivided in concord and love, you shall be unconquered by your adversaries and invincible; but if strife and rivalry come among you and you divide yourselves into three governments, not subject to the eldest brother, you shall be both destroyed by one another and brought to utter ruin by the enemies who are your neighbours.» After the death of this same Sphendoplokos they remained at peace for a year, and then strife and rebellion fell upon them and they made a civil war against one another and the Turks came and utterly ruined them and possessed their country, in which even now they live. And those of the folk who were left were scattered and fled for refuge to the adjacent nations, to the Bulgarians and Turks and Croats and to the rest of the nations.
177Be 42. Γεωγραφία ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρι τοῦ Δανοβεως ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Βελε

117γράδας. Τοὺς χίας τε καὶ Πατζινακίας μέχρι τοῦ Χαζαρίου κάστρου Σάρκελ καὶ τῆς Ρω

σίας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Νεκροτύλων, τῶν δότων 5 εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θάλασσαν πλησίον τοῦ Δανάπεως ποταμοῦ, καὶ Χερσώνος ὁμοῦ καὶ Βοσπόρου, ἐν οἷς τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων εἰσίν, εἰτα μέχρι λίμνης Μαιώτιδος, τῆς καὶ θαλάσσας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐπονομαζόμενης, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Ταμάταρχα λεγομένου, πρὸς τοῦτοι δὲ καὶ Ζιχίας καὶ Παπαγίας καὶ Κασαχίας καὶ Ἀλάνιας καὶ Ἀβασγίας καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Ἡσυχίουνπόλεως.

118Ρ ἐν δὲ τὸ κάστρον ἐστὶν τὸ Βελέγραδα ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἐστὶν δὴ ς ἡμέρας ὁκτώ, ἐκαὶ μὴ διὰ τάχους τις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀναπαύσεως πορευεται. Καὶ κατοικοῦσαν μὲν οἱ Τούρκοι πέραθεν τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθεν μέσον τοῦ Δανούβεως καὶ τοῦ Σάβα ποταμοῦ. 'Απὸ δὲ κάτωθεν τῶν μερῶν Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ 20 τῆς Δίστρας ἀντίτερα ἡ Πατζινακία παρέχεται, καὶ κατακρατεῖ ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Σάρκελ, τοῦ τῶν Χαζάρων κάστρου, ἐν ὧν ταξιωμένους καθέζονται τριακόσιοι, κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. Ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ παρὰ αὐτοὺς τὸ Σάρκελ 'ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον', διότι ἐκτίσθη παρά σπαθαροκανδίατος Πέτρωνα, τοῦ ἐπονομαζόμενος Καματηροῦ, 178Βε τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοφίλου πρὸς | τὸ κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρον τοῦτο τῶν Χαζάρων αἰτησιμένων. Ο θάρα χαγάνος θάρασιν καὶ ο ἄγα Χαζαρίας εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Θεοφίλου πρέσβεις ἐναποστείλαντες, κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρο τὸ Σάρκελ ἡτήσαντο, ὡς ος θάρασιν, τῇ τοῦτον αἰτήσει πεισθείς, τὸν προρρηθέντα σπαθαροκανδίατον Πετρωνάς μετὰ 30 χελάνδιαν βασιλεύων πλοίων ἀπέστειλεν καὶ χελάνδια τοῦ κατεπάνω Παφλαγονίας. Καὶ δὴ ο αὐτὸς Πετρωνάς τῇ Χερσώνᾳ καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χελάνδια ἐλιπεν ἐν Χερσώνῃ, τὸν δὲ λαὸν εἰσαγαγόν εἰς καματερᾶ


V 42, 4 Σάρκελ καὶ στ. Morovcsik: Σάρκελ καὶ Π Σάρκελκέ Π Με Σάρκελ (litteris κέ εἰς έισί) ΡΥ Βα Βε Μ δ' Νεκροτύλων Ρ Β Ρ ἐπονομαζόμενης: καθερσάκης Β Ρ edd. || 8 καθερσάκης P || 10/1 ἐπονομαζόμενης: καθομαζόμενης Β Ρ edd. || 11 Ταμάταρχα στ.
42. Geographical description from Thessalonica to the Danube river and the city of Belgrade; of Turkey and Patzinacia to the Chazar city of Sarkel and Russia and to the Nekropyla, that are in the sea of Pontus, near the Dnieper river; and to Cherson together with Bosporus, between which are the cities of the Regions; then to the lake of Maeotis, which for its size is also called a sea, and to the city called Tamatarca; and of Zichia, moreover, and of Papagia and of Kasachia and of Alania and of Abasgia and to the city of Sotiriopolis.

From Thessalonica to the river Danube where stands the city called Belgrade, is a journey of eight days, if one is not travelling in haste but by easy stages. The Turks live beyond the Danube river, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and the Save river. From the lower reaches of the Danube river, opposite to Distra, Patzinacia stretches along, and its inhabitants control the territory as far as Sarkel, the city of the Chazars, in which garrisons of 300 men are posted and annually relieved. Sarkel among them means ‘white house’, and it was built by the spatharocandidate Petronas, surnamed Camaterus, when the Chazars requested the emperor Theophilus that this city should be built for them. For the then chagan and the pech of Chazaria sent envoys to this same emperor Theophilus and begged that the city of Sarkel might be built for them, and the emperor acceded to their request and sent to them the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas with ships of war of the imperial navy, and sent also ships of war of the captain-general of Paphlagonia. This same Petronas arrived at Cherson and left the ships of war at Cherson, and,
καράβια, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ κάστρου ἐπιτυγχάνει, καμιναῖ τινα ποιηθούν καὶ βῆσαλον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαύσας, μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν τοῦ κάστρου κτίσιν ἐποίησα, ἐκ μικρῶν των τῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοχλιδίων ἄσβεστον ἐγκαύσαμεν. Οὕτως οὖν ὁ προρρηθεὶς σπαθαροκανδίδατος Πετρωνῆς μετὰ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Σάρκελ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν 40 οὕτω, ὡς ἔτη ἡλίου τῆς τῆς Χερσώνος κάστρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τόπους κυρίως ἐξουσιάσαι καὶ τούτους μὴ τῆς σῆς ἑκτῆς γενέσθαι χειρός, προβάλλου στρατηγόν ἐδίω, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἑκείνοις καταπιστεῦσας προ- τείους. Μέχρι δὲ Προρρηθείς σπαθαροκανδίδατος Πετρωνᾶς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κάστρου κτίσιν μετά τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔτη· ἐὰν θέλῃς δελως τῇ τῆς Χερσώνος κάστρον καὶ τούτους μὴ τῆς σῆς ἑκτῆς γενέσθαι χειρός, προβάλλου στρατηγόν ἓν ὧς θελείς ὡς τῆς τῆς Χερσώνος κάστρον καὶ τούτους μὴ τῆς σῆς ἑκτῆς γενέσθαι χειρός, προβάλλου στρατηγόν ἑν. Μέχρι γάρ Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν στρατηγός ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντεύθεν ἐποστελλόμενος, αλλὰ ἦν οἱ τὰ πάντα διοικών διοίκων πρωτεύων μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπονομαζόμενων πατέρων πρωτοσπαθάριον τιμήσας, προεβάλετο στρατηγόν, καὶ εἰς Χερσώνα ἐξαπέστειλεν, δρίσας τὸν τότε πρωτεύον καὶ πάντας ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ, έξ ὧς καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἐπεκράτησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντεύθεν εἰς Χερσώνα.
having embarked his men on ships of burden, went off to that place on the Tanaïs river where he was to build the city. And since the place had no stones suitable for the building of the city, he made some ovens and baked bricks in them and with these he carried out the building of the city, making mortar out of tiny shells from the river. Now this aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas, after building the city of Sarkel, went to the emperor Theophilus and said to him: «If you wish complete mastery and dominion over the city of Cherson and of the places in Cherson, and not that they should slip out of your hand, appoint your own military governor and do not trust to their primates and nobles.» For up till the time of Theophilus the emperor, there was no military governor sent from here, but all administration was in the hands of the so-called primate, with those who were called the fathers of the city. The emperor Theophilus took counsel in this matter, whether to send as military governor so-and-so or such-an-one, and at last made up his mind that the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas should be sent, as one who had acquired local experience and was not unskilled in affairs, and so he promoted him to be protospatharius and appointed him military governor and sent him out to Cherson, with orders that the then primate and everyone else were to obey him; and from that time until this day it has been the rule for military governors in Cherson to be appointed from here. So much, then, for the building of the city of Sarkel. From the Danube river to the aforesaid city of Sarkel is a journey of 60 days. In this land between are many rivers: the two biggest of them are the Dniester and the Dnieper. But there are other rivers, that which is called the Syngoul and the Hybyl and the Almaatai and the Kouphis and the Bogou and many others. On the higher reaches of the Dnieper river live the Russians, and down this river they sail and arrive at the Romans. Patzinacia possesses all the land as far as Russia and Bosporus and as far as Cherson and up to Sarat, Bourat and the 30 places. The distance along the sea-coast from the Danube river to the Dniester river is 120 miles. From the Dniester river to the river Dnieper is 80 miles, the so-called ‘gold-coast’. After the
τοῦ Δανάπρεώς εἰσὶ τὰ Ἀδαρά, κάκείσε κόλπος ἔστιν μέγας, ὁ λεγό-
μενος τὰ Νεκρότυλα, ἐν ὃ τις διελθεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ παντελῶς. Καὶ ἀπὸ
μὲν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μέχρι Χερσονός ἐσιν μίλια τ’, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ 70
dὲ λίμνας καὶ λιμένες ἐσιν, ἐν οἷς οἱ Χερσονῖται τὸ ἄλας ἐργάζονται.
Ἀπὸ δὲ Χερσονός μέχρι Βοσπόρου εἰσὶν τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων,
121ρ τὸ δὲ διάστημα μίλια τ’. Καὶ ἀπὸ Βοσπόρου τὸ τῆς Μαυώτιδος λίμνης
στόμιον ἔστιν, ἢτις καὶ Θάλασσα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ πάντων ὄνομαζε-
tαι. Εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Μαιώτιδα θάλασσαν εἰσφέρουσιν ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ 75καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄρκτων αὐτῆς μέρος ὁ Δάναπρις ποταμός,
ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ Ῥώς διέρχονται πρὸς τὴν μαύρην Βουλγαρίαν καὶ Χαζαρίαν
cαὶ Συρίαν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κόλπος τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἐρχεται ἀντικρὺ τῶν
Νεκρότυλων, πληθοῦν τῶν Δανάπρεως ποταμῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δ’, καὶ μισγεται, ἐν ὃ καὶ σοῦδαν οἱ πολλοὶ ποιησάμενοι διεβι-
80βασαν τὴν θάλασσαν, μέσον ἀποκλεισάντες πάσαν τὴν Χερσονίκη γῆν
121ρ καὶ τῶν κλιμάτων | καὶ τῆς Βοσπόρου γῆν, κρατοῦσιν μέχρι α μιλίων ἡ
καὶ πλείωνον τινῶν. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐτῶν κατεχώθη ἡ αὐτή σοῦδα
καὶ εἰς δάσους ἐγένετο πολὺ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ πλὴν δύο ὀδοῖ, ἐν
αἰς οἱ Πατζινακίται διέρχονται πρὸς τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ Βόσπορον 85καὶ τὰ κλίματα. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀνατολικότερόν τοῦ Μαιώτιδος λίμνης
181β εἰσέρχονται πολλοὶ τινὲς ποταμοὶ, ὁ δὲ Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὁ ἀπὸ τὸ κά-
στρον Σάρκελ ἐρχόμενος καὶ τὸ Χαράκουλ, ἐν ὃ καὶ τὸ βερζίτικον ἀλιεύεται, εἰς δὲ καὶ ἔστερον ποταμοὶ, ὁ Βάλ καὶ ὁ Βουρλίκ, ὁ Χαδήρ καὶ
80άλλοι πλείστοι ποταμοί. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Παπαγίας καὶ τῆς Ζιχίας καὶ
182ρ μιλίων τοῦ περάματος τοῦ τοιούτου στομίου ἔστιν μίλια ιη’. Ἐν δὲ τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ τὴν Παπαγίαν καὶ τὴν Χαζαρίαν, καὶ τὴν Κασαχίαν, καὶ τὴν Αλανίαν.
80 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ζιχίας παραλιῶν ἔστιν μέγα νησί, τὸ λεγόμενον Άτέχ. Από τδ Ταμάταρχα ἐστίν ποταμός ἀπὸ μιλίων ιη’ καὶ κ’, λεγόμενος Οὐκρόου, ὁ διαχωριζόν
τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ τὸ Ταμάταρχα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Οὐκρού μέχρι τοῦ Νικόψεως
ποταμοῦ, ἐν ὃ καὶ κόστρον ἐστὶν ὀμώνυμον τὸ ποταμῷ, ἔστιν ἡ χώρα
tῆς Ζιχίας· τὸ δὲ διάστημα ἐστὶν μίλια τ’. "Ἀνωθεν δὲ τῆς Ζιχίας
90 ἐστὶν χώρα ἡ λεγομένη Παπαγία, καὶ άνωθεν τῆς Ζιχίας χώρας 100
122ρ Παπαγίας, καὶ τῆς Ζιχίας χώρας 100
80 ἐν φ — 83 τινῶν: cf. Herod. IV. 3, 20; Ptolem. Geogr. III. 6, 5;
Steph. Byz. s. v. Τάφραι, etc.
mouth of the river Dnieper comes Adara, and there is a great gulf, called Nekropyla, where it is utterly impossible for a man to pass through. From the Dnieper river to Cherson is 300 miles, and between are marshes and harbours, in which the Chersonites work the salt. Between Cherson and Bosporus are the cities of the Regions, and the distance is 300 miles. After Bosporus comes the mouth of the Maeotic lake, which for its size everybody calls a sea. Into this same Maeotic sea run rivers many and great; on its northern side runs the Dnieper river, from which the Russians come through to Black Bulgaria and Chazaria and Syria. This same gulf of Maeotis comes opposite to, and within about four miles of, the Nekropyla that are near the Dnieper river, and joins them where the ancients dug a ditch and carried the sea through, enclosing within all the land of Cherson and of the Regions and the land of Bosporus, which cover up to 1,000 miles or even rather more. In the course of many years this same ditch has silted up and become a great forest, and there are in it but two roads, along which the Pechenegs pass through to Cherson and Bosporus and the Regions. Into the eastern side of the Maeotic lake debouch many rivers, the Tanais river that comes down from the city of Sarkel, and the Charakoul, in which they fish for sturgeon, and there are other rivers, the Bal and the Bourlik, the Chadir and other rivers very numerous. From the Maeotic lake debouches a mouth called Bourlik and flows down into the sea of Pontus where Bosporus is, and opposite to Bosporus is the city called Tamatarcha; the width of the strait of this mouth is 18 miles. In the middle of these 18 miles is a large, low island, called Atech. After Tamatarcha, some 18 or 20 miles from it, is a river called Oukrouch, which divides Zichia and Tamatarcha, and from the Oukrouch to the Nikopsis river, on which stands a city with the same name as the river, is the country of Zichia; the distance is 300 miles. Beyond Zichia is the country called Papagia, and beyond the country of Papagia is the country called Kasachia, and beyond Kasachia are the Caucasian mountains, and beyond the mountains is the country of Alania. Off the seaboard of Zichia lie islands, the great island and the three islands; and, closer to shore than these, are yet other islands, which have been used for pasturage.
τῶν Ζιχών κτισθέντα, τό τε Τουργανήρχ καί τό Τζαρβαγάνη καί 105
έτερον νησίν, καί εἰς τόν τοῦ Σπάταλου λιμένα έτερον νησίν, καί εἰς
182Βε τάς Πτελέας έτερον, έν άφ' εν ταῖς τῶν 'Αλανών έπιδρομαί οἱ Ζιχοί
καταφεύγουσιν. Τό δὲ παραθαλάσσιον ἀπὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῆς
Ζίγμας, ἦτοι τοῦ Νικόφεως ποταμοῦ, ἔστιν ἡ τῆς 'Αβασγίας χώρα μέχρι
tοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριουπόλεως· εἴαι δὲ μίλια τ'.

43. Π ερὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ταρών.
123Ρ 'Άλλα περὶ μὲν τῶν βορείων Σκυθῶν ἱκανῶς σοι δεδήλωται,
tέχνων ποιθούμενων, δὲν ἡ γνώσις ἐπωφελής τε καὶ εὐχρηστός ἐν καιρῷ
σοι πάντως γενήσεται· δεῖ δὲ σε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ήλιον ἀγνοεῖν,
δὲν ὑπήκοα πάλιν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ἀρ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τοῦ
των ἐπικρατεῖας ἐξέσπεσον.

Πρώτος γὰρ ὁ Κρικορίκιος ἐκείνος τοῦ Ταρών ἄρχων πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα 'Ρωμαίων ἐκείνον ὑπέκλινεν καὶ ὑπέταξεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν
ἐπαμφιτερίζων ἔφανεν, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν τοῦ βασιλεώς φιλίαν προσ-
tεποιεῖτο τιμάν, ἐργὴ δὲ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατάρχοντι τὸ καθ' 10
ἡδονήν διεπράττετο, καὶ διαφόρως ἡγεμόνι διαχρησάτευσεν τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας
123Ρ εξερχομένων φοσσάτων | κατὰ τῶν ὑπηρέτων θεμάτων τῷ βασιλέᾳ
'Ρωμαίων, καὶ πάντα τά τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐν ἀπορρήτω μελέτῳ
κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων Σαρακηνῶν πρὸς Συρίαν ἐμήνυεν, καὶ λάθρως περὶ
tῶν παρ' ήμΐν συμβαινόντων ἔδει πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμομυνήν διὰ γραμμάτων 15
183Βθέδηλοποίει, καὶ δοκεῖν μὲν ἐβούλετο | τά τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φρονών, εὐρί-
sκετο δὲ μάλλον τά τῶν Σαρακηνῶν προκρίνων τε καί τιμών. Πλὴν
ἀποστελλεν ἀεὶ δώρα, ἀπερ τοῖς ἐκείσε βαρβάροις δοκεῖ τίμια, πρὸς
tὸν ἐν βασιλείᾳ άνδικόν Λέοντα, καί αντελάμβανε πλείονα τε καί
crétτονα παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεῖσθαι κατά τῶν αντιπάλων Σαρακηνῶν προς Συρίαν, καί λάθρᾳ περὶ
tῶν Αρκάϊκα τοὺς παίδας, ἡγοῦν Κρικορίου τοῦ πατρικίου, τοῦ πατρὸς

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V 105 Ζηχών P || Τζαρβαγάνη P: Τζαρβαγάν V edd. || 106 νησίν P νησίν
νησίν P νησίν Pξ: νησί V νησίν edd. || 107 Ζηχών P || 109 Ζηχών P ||
tοῦ om. edd.
and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbaganin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia, as far as the city of Sotirioupolis; it is 300 miles.

43. Of the country of Taron.

But concerning the northern Scyths sufficient has been made plain to you, beloved child, knowledge of which shall be all ways advantageous and useful to you in time of need; but also it is right that you should not be ignorant of the parts towards the rising sun, for what reasons they became once more subject to the Romans, after they had first fallen away from their control.

The late Krikorikios, then, prince of Taron, at first bent and submitted himself before the emperor of the Romans, but from the first he seemed double-faced, and while in word he pretended to esteem the friendship of the emperor, in fact he acted at the pleasure of the chief prince of the Saracens, and on various occasions led armies that came out of Syria against provinces subject to the emperor of the Romans, and everything that the Romans were planning in secret against their Saracen adversaries he would divulge to Syria, and would always keep the commander of the faithful informed secretly through his letters of what was going on among us; and while he wished to appear a partisan of the Roman cause, he was found, on the contrary, to prefer and favour the cause of the Saracens. However, he continually sent presents, such as appear valuable to the barbarians of those parts, to Leo, the glorious among emperors, and got in return more and better from the pious emperor, who also frequently urged him by letter to visit the imperial city and behold the emperor and partake of the bounties and honours bestowed by him. But he, fearing lest this might vex and offend the commander of the faithful, would trump up excuses, and falsely allege that it was impossible for him to leave his own country deprived of his assistance, lest it might be plundered by the Saracens.

Now, this same prince of Taron one day captured in battle the sons of Arkaïkas, that is to say, the cousins of the patrician Krikorikios, father

43. 1 Ταρών P || 14 έμήνυεν: άνεμήνυε edd. || 15 έμίν Bandurius Be:
ωμίν P || άμερμουμήν P || 17 έμίνιν φρονών V edd. || 20 εύσεβούς edd.:
ευσέβου P εύσεβονς coni. Bekker || 20/1 προτρέψατο edd. || 21 καί om. Be ||
24 τήν om. edd. || 25 τόν om. edd. || 26 ἑσκόπτετο (etiam Be): ἑσκόπτετο
V Me Ba || 28 Κρικορίκη edd. ||
τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἀσώτιος, τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους, ἔχει παρ’ ἑαυτῷ δεσμᾶς. Περὶ δὲν καὶ Συμβάτος, ὁ τότε ἄρχων τῶν ἄρχοντων, τὸν 30 αὐτὸν μακαριώτατον βασιλέα διὰ γραμμάτων ἤξιωσεν τοῦ ἀποστείλαι
124P | πρὸς τὸν Ταρωνίτην καὶ ἀναλαβέσθαι σπουδάσαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνεψίους, οὕτως ἔχαν υἱὸι τοῦ εἰρήμενου 'Αρκάϊκα, ἕνα μῆ πρὸς τὸν ἀμερομυνην ἀποσταλέσθων συγγενῆς γὰρ ἢ τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἄρχοντων, Γρηγόριος ὁ πατρικὸς. Ἑπακούσας δὲ τῆς τοιούτης τοῦ Συμβατίου 35 τινὸς ἐξίσωσες Λέων, ὁ μακαριώτατος βασιλεὺς, τὸν Σινούτην ἐκείνου

124Bo | τὸν εὐνοοῦχον ἀπέστειλε, χαρτουλάριον τηνικάτα τοῦ δίκων δρόμου τυγχάνοντα, πρὸς τὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ταρών τῆς τοιούτης ἔνεκα υποθέσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸν 'Αδρανασήρ, τὸν κουροπαλάτην Ἰβηρίας, διὰ τινὰς ἐτέρας ὑποθέσεως, δῶς αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀμφότεροςς ἐξέλαβε τὰ ἀμφότερα. 40

125P Διαβαλθέντος τοῦ τοῦ εἰρήμενον Σινούτου παρὰ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐρμηνευτοῦ, πρὸς τὸν εἰρήμενον αὐτὸν ὁ πρωτοσπαθαρίος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς υπουργίας τὸν Λιβόν, τὸν νῦν ἀνθύπατον πατρίκιον καὶ μέγας ἐπιρρέας, ἐνταλματικῶς ὑποθέσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ταρωνίτην κατά τὰ τοῖς ἐντάλθέντα άπελθείν. 125ΓΡ

185Β | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Χαλδίᾳ τὸν εἰρήμενον Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπιτράπη διὰ κελεύσεως εἰσέλθειν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχικρίβον, τὸν ἀρχοντά τοῦ Ταρών, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰσέλθειν, δὲ καὶ ἐποίησεν. Εἰσέλθοντος δὲ τοῦ Κρικορίου τὸν μακάριον 60
of the protospatharius Asotios, and he held them by him as prisoners. On their behalf the then prince of princes Symbatios sent letters to the same emperor, of most blessed memory, begging him to send to the Taronite and make efforts to recover these nephews of his, the sons of the said Arkaïkas, so that they might not be sent to the commander of the faithful; for the patrician Grigorios was a relative of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, acceded to this request of Symbatios, and sent the late Sinoutis, the eunuch, who was then chief clerk to the foreign ministry, to the prince of Taron upon this business, and also to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, on some other matters of business; and he furnished him with presents suitable to both. But when a calumnious charge was laid before the said glorious emperor against the said Sinoutis by Theodore, the Armenian interpreter, there was sent out as imperial agent in his stead the protospatharius Constantine Lips, keeper of the imperial plate, — he who is now patrician proconsul and commander of the great company, — with orders instructing him to take over the presents dispatched to the prince of Taron, Krikorikios, and himself to proceed to Taron, and to order Sinoutis to go on to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, as he had been instructed to do. The said protospatharius arrived at Taron and gave to Krikorikios the gifts and letters of the emperor which had been sent to him, and took up the bastard son of the Taronite, who was called Asotios, and brought him to the imperial city; and the emperor honoured him with the rank of protospatharius and richly entertained him, and then sent him back to his father in the conduct of the same protospatharius. The same Constantine took thence Apoganem, brother of Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and brought him to the emperor, of blessed memory, together with the two sons of Arkaïkas; and him too the emperor honoured with the rank of protospatharius and many times bounteously entertained him, and sent him back again, in conduct of the same Constantine, to his country and his brother.

After this the said Constantine spent some time in Chaldia, and was then commissioned by imperial mandate to go to Taron and take Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and come to the imperial city; and this he did. When this same Krikorikios had entered the city protected of God, and had been honoured with the rank of magister and military governor of Taron, he was also given for his residence a house called the house of Barbaros, now the house of Basil the chamberlain. He was, moreover, honoured with an annual stipend of ten pounds in gold and a further ten pounds in miliareia,
έτέρας δέκα λίτρας, ὡς εἶναι τὸ πάν λίτρας ἐκχοσί. Καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίψει, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Κων-70 σταντινοῦ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθη χώραν.

126νΡ Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀπογάνεμ πρὸς τὸν μακά-ριον βασιλέα, καὶ προεβιβάσθη παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς πατρικότητα· ἐπετράπη δὲ καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα λαβεῖν τὸν εἰρημένου Κωνσταντίνου θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προφάσει καὶ οἶκον ἐπεζήτησεν, καὶ ἔλαβεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν 75 τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἴκον χρυσοβουλλίου χωρίς. Καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸ πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ τὰ τοῦ γάμου ἀπαρτίσασθαι, ἀμὰ δὲ τῷ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν διασωθῆναι μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐγρήσατο. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτον ἀδελφό, Κρικορίκιος διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐξήγαγεν 80

127νΡ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καὶ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως λαμβάνειν τὴν διδομένην δόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ διατρίβειν πόλει. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῶν τοῦ οἰκείῳ ἀδελφῷ προγειρισθῆντα οἶκον εἰς κατοικίαν λαβεῖν ἡξίου, ἰδιὸν οὐκ ἔποιησεν.

Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους ἱκανοὺς, Ὁρμανοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως τῶν σκήπτρων τῆς βασιλείας Ὁρμανοῦ ἐπειλημμένου, ἀνήγαγεν ὁ αὐτὸς 90

127νΡ Κρικορίκιος μὴ ἤχουσαν κρατεῖν τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, ἀλλ’ ἡξίου λαβεῖν ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ προαστεῖον ἐν Κελτζήνῃ, ἐβεί τοῦ Τατζάτου, ἐβεί ἄλλο, οἶκον κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα, ὅτε ἐπιδρομῇ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ γένηται, ἀποστελλείν ἐκείνης ἔχει τὴν οἰκείαν συγγένειαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀκριβὴ γνώσιν τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ κεκτημένος, ἔλπιζον δέ ἀπὸ βασιλικοῦ χρυσοβουλλίου τοῦ μακαρίου Λέοντος ἐχεῖν τὸν Ταρωνίτην τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ

187Βο τὸ προαστεῖον τὸν Γρήγορα ἐν Κελτζήνῃ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον δέδωκεν, χρυσοβουλλίον δὲ αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ ὁ τρίτος πρὸς τοὺς δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τό προαστεῖον ἐπιτελείωσαν. Οὐ καθυπισχοῦμεν, όταν εἶς τὸν τέλειον τῆς ήλικίας ἔλθω, ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν οἰκον τὸν πατρικόν, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἔμαθον, δέδωκεν.
making twenty pounds in all. After some sojourn in the imperial city, he was escorted back again to his country by this same protospatharius Constantine.

After this, Apoganem came once more to the emperor, of blessed memory, and was advanced by him to the rank of patrician; and he was also permitted to take to wife the daughter of the said Constantine, and on this ground he asked for a house as well and he too received the house of Barbaros, without a golden bull. After receiving the emperor's bounty, he then returned to his country, with intent to come again and complete the celebration of his marriage; but no sooner was he escorted back to his country than he ended his life, a few days afterwards. His brother Krikorikios sent letters asking that he might come to the imperial city and receive from the hands of the holy emperor the stipend granted to him and sojourn for some while in the city protected of God. Thereupon he proceeded to demand for his residence the house which had been set aside for his brother, and the emperor, of blessed memory, handed it over to him, both because he had lately submitted himself and in order to excite in other princes of the east a similar eagerness for submission to the Romans; but he issued no golden bull making a deed of gift of this house to him.

Several years later, when the emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, had laid hold upon the sceptre of the empire of the Romans, this same Krikorikios reported that he had not the means to keep the house of Barbaros, but demanded that he should receive in its stead a suburban estate in Keltzini, either that of Tatzates or some other, whichever the emperor directed, in order that, when the Agarenes should make an incursion into his country, he might be able to send thither his personal relatives and substance. The emperor, who did not possess an accurate knowledge of the facts, and supposed that the Taronite held the house of Barbaros in virtue of an imperial golden bull of Leo, of blessed memory, gave him the suburban estate of Grigoras in Keltzini and, of course, took back the house; but he too issued no golden bull in his favour in respect of the suburban estate.

Thereupon Tornikis, nephew of the Taronite and son of the late Apoganem, wrote to this same emperor: «The house of Barbaros was presented to my father by the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, but after my father's death, because I was under age and an orphan, my uncle, in virtue of his authority, took possession of his house, always promising me that when I should come of age, I should take over the paternal house; and now, as I have
τὸν τοιούτον οἶκον ὁ ἐμὸς θείος τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς ἀντισήμωσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ ἐν Κελτζηγήνῃ.

'Απὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων βασιλικῶν φιλοτιμιῶν, τῶν πρὸς τὸν 128ν Ρ ἄρ χοντα τοῦ Ταρών, φθόνος ὑπεφύη καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ Κακικίου, τοῦ αρχοντος Βασπαράκα, καὶ 'Ἄδρανασῆρ, τοῦ κουροπαλάτου Ίβρησας, καὶ 'Ασσωτικίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχοντῶν, οὗτοι ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαγγελλόντες, δι' ἂν αὐτίκα ὁ Ταρωνίτης μόνος ὅγας ἀπολαμβάνει βασιλικῆς, αὐτῶν ἀπάντων λαμβάνοντων οὐδέν.

"Τίνα γάρ — ἔλεγον — περισσοτέραν δουλείαν ἡμῶν ποιεῖται, ἢ τίϊδ πλέον ἡμῶν τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ἐπώφελε; "Οθεν χρή ἢ καὶ ἰμάς ὡς ἐκεῖνον ῥογεύεσθαι, ἢ μηδ’ ἐκείνον ἔντος τῆς τοιαύτης τυγχάνειν δωρεάς." Ὁ δὲ μακάριος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανός ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς μὴ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ταρωνίτη γενέσθαι | βόγαν, ἢν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κεῖται καὶ ἡ ταύτης τῶν ἐκκοπής, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως, καὶ μὴ δίκαιον εἰναι τὰ προβεβασιλευκότα παρὰ τῶν ὑστερον ἀνατρέπεσθαι. "Ἐγραφεὶ δ’ ὅμως πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Ταρωνίτην, ἡγιαστοὺς αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸτι καὶ τὸ σκάνδαλον. Ὁ δὲ ἀνήγαγεν μῆτε χρυσόν, μῆτε ἄργυρον παρέχειν δύνασθαι, ὑπισχνεὶτο δὲ ἐξωθεν τῶν κατά τύπον ἀποστειλομένων ξενίων διδόναι ἤματα καὶ χαλκώματα, μέχρι τῶν δέκα λιτρῶν συντιμώμενα, ἢ καὶ δέδωκεν μέχρι τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ενιαυτῶν. Μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἀνήγαγεν μὴ δύνασθαι παρέχειν τοίοοτον πάκτον, τὴν δὲ ρόγαν ή προίκα λαμβάνειν ἤξιον, καθὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος, ή ἐκκοπήναι αὐτήν. "Οθεν διά τὸ μή εἰς σκάνδαλον ἐγέρα, μὴ ἔσχατες ἀνταλλαγήν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατρικίων τιμήν. Παραμυθοῦμενος δὲ ὡσπερ αὐτόν, μετά ταῦτα τὸν τοῦτον ὑιόν, Ἀσώτιον, ἐν τῇ πόλει παραγεγονότα, εἰς πατρικίους ἐτίμησεν, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτάρκως πρὸς τὰ ἡδικα ἐξαπέστειλεν.

Τοῦ δὲ μαγίστρου Κρικορικίου τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, ἀνήγαγεν 135 Τορνίκιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ υἱός, ἐρωτα έχειν ἐγκάρδιον εἰσελθείν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα θεάσασθαι, ἐφ’ ὅ τον πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην καὶ ἐρμήνευτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαπέστειλεν, δι’ καὶ εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν εἰρημένων μακάριως βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανός. Παραμυθοῦμενος δὲ ὡσπερ αὐτόν, μετά ταῦτα τὸν τοῦτον υἱόν, Ἀσώτιον, ἐν τῇ πόλει παραγεγονότα, εἰς πατρικίους ἐτίμησεν, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος αὐτάρκως πρὸς τὰ ἡδικα ἐξαπέστειλεν.
learned, my uncle has given this house to your imperial majesty, and has received in exchange for it the suburban estate of Grigoras in Keltzini."

And because of these imperial gifts bestowed on the prince of Taron, envy towards him was implanted and grew up in Kakikios, prince of Basparaka, and Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, and Asotikios, the prince of princes, who wrote to the emperor grumbling at the cause whereby the Taronite alone enjoyed an imperial stipend, while all of them got nothing. «For what service — they said — is he performing more than we, or in what does he help the Romans more than we do? Either, therefore, we too should be stipendiary as he is, or else he too should be excluded from this largess.» The emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, wrote back to them, that the stipend in favour of the Taronite had not been granted by him, that it should now lie with him to cut it off, but by the emperor, of most blessed memory; nor was it right that what had been done by former emperors should be undone by their successors. However, he wrote to this same Taronite informing him that the said parties were vexed and offended. He replied that he could provide neither gold nor silver, but promised to give, over and above the gifts regularly sent, tunics and bronze vessels up to ten pounds in total value, and these he did give for three or four years. But thereafter he reported that he could not provide this tribute, and demanded either that he should receive the stipend gratis as in the time of the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, or else that it should be cut off. And so, that it might not cause offence to Kakikios and the curopalate and the rest, the said emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, cut it off. But to console him, as it were, he afterwards honoured his son Asotios, when he came to Constantinople, with patrician rank and entertained him munificently before sending him home.

On the death of the magister Krikorikios, Tornikios, son of Apoganem, reported that he heartily desired to come and behold the emperor; whereupon the emperor sent the protospatharius Kritinis, the interpreter, who brought the said Tornikios to Constantinople, and the emperor advanced the same Tornikios to the honour of patrician rank. He put forward his claims to the house of Barbaros, and, having heard that his uncle had resigned his ownership of it on receipt of a suburban estate in Keltzini, declared that his uncle had no power to effect an exchange in respect of his paternal inheritance, and demanded that he should be given either the house or the suburban estate, failing which, he was for resigning both to the emperor, so that his cousins might not have them. Therefore the emperor, since
άποθανόντων, ἀνελάβετο τὸ προάστειον, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν οἶχον ἀντέδωκεν, ἔτει μηδὲ χρυσοβούλλιον, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται, ἐπὶ τινὶ τούτων ἐξετέθη.

130Ρ Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐσῆλθεν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεῦσαν Παγκράτιος ἐκείνος, ὃ πρῶτος ὦδε τοῦ μαγίστρου ἐκείνου Κρικορίκιος τοῦ Ταρωνίτου, καὶ προεβιβάζη τοὺς βασιλέως εἰς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἐξώμα, καὶ γέγονεν καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ταρών. Ἡ ἱτήματος δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν συγγενέων, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου θεοφυλάκτου ἀδελφὴν εἰς γυναῖκα. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν γάμον διαθήκης ἐξέδεδεν, εἰς ἕας ἐδήλο, ὅτι: «Ἐὰν μοί γένωνται παιδικαί ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης γυναικὸς, έχουσιν τὴν ἀνάσαν μου χώραν εἰς κλήρον προγονικὸν.» Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἤτησαν τὸν βασιλέα δοθῆναι αὐτῷ.

131Ρ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγορίου πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τὴν πατρικίαν, τὴν τούτου γυναίκα καθέζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἀποβίωσις εἰς πάλιν τὸ τοιαύτην προάστειον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπενευσαν καὶ πρὸς τούτο ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πολλαῖς φιλοτιμίαις ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου Κρικορίκου, ὁ τε αὐτῶς Παγκράτιος ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ Ἀσώτιος ὁ πατρικίος, μεγάλους παρελύσαν καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τὴν οἰκία αὐτῶν ἐξάδελφον, Τορνίκιον τὸν πατρίκιον, δε μὴ ὑποφέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπέθεσθαι, ἔγραφε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστείλατα πιστῶν ἀνθρώπον καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰςαγάγειν. Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κρινίτην καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀναλαβέσθαι μετὰ τῆς ἀξίωσις αὐτοῦ. Τὸν δὲ τοῦτον βασιλέα Κρινίτην κατέλαβεν, εὑρεῖ τὸν βίον ἀπολλάμενον, διατάξατο τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν υποκειμένην τῷ βασιλείῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν δὲ γυναίκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτῶν εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἡ καὶ δέδωκεν τῷ βασιλέᾳ ἐκατοκησθησαίν, εἰς τὴν εἰρημένον Κρινίτην καὶ τῳ βασιλεῖᾳ τῆς πατρικίας Μιχαήλ, τοῦ ποτὲ γεγονότος κομμερκιαρίου Χαλδίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονῆς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστάλη ὁ εἰρημένος Κρινίτης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν παραλαβεῖν τὴν χώραν τοῦ Άπογάνεμ, ἦτο τῷ μέρος τοῦ πατρικίου Τορνίκου. Άνταπέστειλαν δὲ τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεύσει τοῦ Ταρωνίτου τοῖς τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἀξίωσις δοῦναι τῷ Οὐλνοῦτιν, μή γάρ δύνασθαι διὰ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν.
the old Taronite was now dead, resumed the suburban estate but did not give the house in exchange for it, because, as has already been stated above, no golden bull had been issued in respect of any of these transactions.

After this, the late Pankratios, eldest son of that magister Krikorikios the Taronite, came to the imperial city and was advanced by the emperor to the dignity of patrician and was also made military governor of Taron. He asked that he might also be given a wife from among the ladies related to the imperial family, and the emperor gave him to wife the sister of the magister Theophylact. And after his marriage he made a will, in which he stated: «If children are born to me of this woman, they are to have all my country for their ancestral inheritance.» Thereupon he asked the emperor that he might be given the suburban estate of Grigoras for the patrician lady, his wife, to reside there, and after her death this suburban estate should revert to his imperial majesty. The emperor sanctioned this too, and after presenting him with many gifts, sent him with his wife away to his country. Now, the sons of the magister Krikorikios, this same patrician Pankratios and the patrician Asotios, greatly vexed and oppressed their cousin, the patrician Tornikios, who, finding their aggressiveness unendurable, wrote to the emperor to send a trustworthy servant and take over his country, and conduct himself and his wife and their child to the emperor. The emperor sent the protospatharius Krinitis, the interpreter, to take him and conduct him to the city protected of God, in accordance with his demand. But when Krinitis arrived in that country, he found that Tornikios had already departed this life, having devised before his end that all his country should be subject to the emperor of the Romans, and that his wife and his child should go to the emperor; and to her, on her arrival, the emperor gave for her residence the monastery in Psomathia of the protospatharius Michael, formerly collector of Chaldia. The said Krinitis was sent back again by the emperor to take over the country of Apoganem, that is, the portion of the patrician Tornikios. But the sons of the Taronite, the cousins of the deceased, sent back thence a demand that they should give up Oulnoutin and retain the country of their cousin, for they were quite unable to live if the emperor were to occupy their cousin’s country as his own. The emperor, yielding to his own goodness of heart, fulfilled their request and gave them the country of Apoganem, their cousin, and himself took Oulnoutin with all its surrounding territory.
περιχώρου αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ἄλη τοῦ Ταρὼν χώρα εἰς δύο διανεμηθείσα

ετύγχανεν, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἡμισὺ οἱ τοῦ μαγίστρου | Κρικορικίου εἶχον υἱοί,

τὸ δὲ ἡμισὺ (οί) τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ τοῦ πατρικίου, οἱ τούτων ἔξάδελφοι.

44. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχούνης καὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τοῦ Περκρί καὶ τοῦ Χλιάτ καὶ τοῦ Χαλιάτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρζές καὶ τοῦ Τιβί καὶ τοῦ Χέρτ καὶ τοῦ Σαλαμάς καὶ τοῦ Τζερμάτοι.

'Ἰστέον, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὅν ἀπεκεφάλισεν οἱ ἄμηρᾶς Περσίδος, ὁ Ἀποσάταις, ὁ ἐπίκοιρος ὁ Περσίδος, τὸν τε Ἀσώτιον, τὸν μετὰ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ Ἀπαχούνης, τοῦ μετὰ ταύτα μάγιστρον τιμήθηντα, τὰ τρία ταύτα κάστρα 10

133π ἐπὶ τὸ τε Περκρί καὶ τὸ Χαλιάτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές, ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς Περσίδος ἐπικράτειαν ἐπήγαγον.

192Β Ὁτι οἱ ἀρχοντες ἐκαύθεντο τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρμενίαν, ἐκ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ Κάρος, καὶ ἐπείδη καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ προγεγραμμένα κάστρα, τὸ τε Περκρί (καὶ) τὸ Χαλιάτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ Τιβί καὶ 15 τὸ Χέρτ καὶ τὸ Σαλαμάς.

'Ὅτι Ἀπελβάρτ ἐκέρατε τὸ Μανζικιέρτ, καὶ ζῆν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβα- τίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων. Δέδωκεν δὲ (τῷ) αὐτῷ Ἀπελβάρτ ὁ αὐτός Ἀσωτίος, ὁ ἀρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χλιάτ 20 καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ Περκρί· ὁ γὰρ προφητεύεται Ἀσώτιος, ὁ ἀρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, 133ρ κατέθεεν | πᾶσας τὰς τῆς ἀνατολής χώρας. Τελευτάσκατος δὲ Ἀπελβάρτ, κατέθεεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄρχων υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀδελχάμπιτ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀδελχάμπιτ τελευτάσκατος, ἐκάτσητε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτος 25 υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατάς. Τοῦ δὲ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάταις, τοῦ ἄμηρα Περσίδος, ἀναπεδήνησεν, ἐκάτση- σεν αὐθεντικός καὶ κύριος διὰ δεισπότης καὶ αὐτοκέφαλος τὰ τε κάστρα τὸ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα καὶ τᾶς χώρας, δότες καὶ ὑπετάγη τῷ βασιλεία μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων δύο ἄδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Ἀπολεσφούετ 30 καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσεβατάς, διὰ τὸ διαφόρος καταπολεμήθηκαν τὰ τε κάστρα καὶ πραγματίζήκαν καὶ ἀφανίσθηκαν καὶ τᾶς χώρας αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ 134ρ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, παρέχοντες τὸν Ἑρωμαίον καὶ πάκτα

187 ᾧ: καὶ Be || 188 οἱ add. Be.
The whole country of Taron was divided in two, one half of it being held by the sons of the magister Krikorikios, the other half by their cousins, the sons of the patrician Apoganem.

44. Of the country of Apachounis and of the city of Manzikiert and Perkri and Chliat and Chaliat and Arzes and Tibi and Chert and Salamas and Tzermatzou.

Before the time of Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, whom the emir of Persia Aposatai beheaded and who had two sons, Asotios, who was prince of princes after him, and Apasakios, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister, these three cities, Perkri and Chliat and Arzes, were under the control of Persia.

The prince of princes had his seat in great Armenia, at the city of Kars, and held both these three cities aforementioned, Perkri and Chliat and Arzes, and also Tibi and Chert and Salamas.

Apelbart possessed Manzikiert and was beneath the dominion of Asotios, the prince of princes, the father of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The same Asotios, prince of princes, gave to this same Apelbart also the city of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, held all the countries of the east. On the death of Apelbart his son Abelchamit possessed his domain, and on the death of Abelchamit his eldest son Aposebatas possessed his domain. He, after the murder of Symbatios, prince of princes, by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, took possession, in absolute sovereignty, as an independent potentate, both of the city of Manzikiert and of the rest of the cities and the countries; and he submitted himself to the emperor together with his other two brothers, Apolesphouet and Aposelmis, after their cities and their countries had on various occasions been over-run and ravaged and destroyed by the commander-in-chief, and they paid the emperor of the Romans tribute in respect of their cities and their territories. But from the
υπέρ τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ προφητεύοντος
πάππου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου καὶ τοῦ μαγιστροῦ Ἀπασακίου,
μέχρι ζωῆς τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἄρχοντῶν,
υπήρχον τὰ τοιαύτα τρία κάστρα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἄρχον-
των, καὶ ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ αὐτῶν πάκτα ὁ ἄρχον τῶν ἄρχοντῶν. Ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Μανζικιέρτ μετὰ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ 40
τοῦ Κορῆ καὶ τοῦ Χάρκα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
ἀρχοντός τῶν ἄρχοντῶν ὑπήρχεν, ἐως ὅτου Ἀποσέβατὰς, ὁ ἄμηρας τοῦ
Μανζικιέρτ, μετὰ τῶν δύο ἄδελφων αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τῆς Ἀπολεσφούετ καὶ
tοῦ Ἀποσέβατας, ὁ ἄμηρας τοῦ Μανζικιέρτ, τοῦ άρχοντος τῆς μεγάλης
Αρμενίας, κρατηθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Άποσάται, τοῦ άμηρα Περσίδος,
καὶ ἀποκεφαλισθέντος παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Άποσέλμης, ὁ καθεξά-
μενος εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χαλιάτ καὶ τὸ
Κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν έπεί <(δέ)> ὁ ἄρχον τῶν ἄρχοντῶν 45
dουλος τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τυγχάνει, ὡς παρ’ αὐτοῦ προβαλλό-
μενος καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δεχόμενος ἀξίωμα, δηλονότι καὶ τὰ τοιούτων
dεσποζόμενα κάστρα καὶ πολιτείαι καὶ χωρία τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν 'Ρωμα-
ιῶν τυγχάνουσιν.
"Ὅτι τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἄρχοντῶν τῆς μεγάλης
Ἀρμενίας, κρατηθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάται, τοῦ άμηρα Περσίδος,
καὶ ἀποκεφαλισθέντος παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀποσέβατας, ὁ καθεξά-
μενος εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χαλιάτ καὶ τὸ
κάστρον τὸ Τζερματζού μετὰ καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ
ύπετάγησαν τῶ 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐδίδον πάκτα, καθώς καὶ δὸς
τοῦ 'Αποσέβατας, ὁ δεύτερος ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τοῦ Ἀρζές.
"Ὅτι τοῦ Άποσεβατά τε τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησε τὸ κάστρον τὸ
Μανζικιέρτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπικράτειας αὐτοῦ πάσης
ὁ Ἀβδεραχείμ, ό υἱός τοῦ Άποσεβατά, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Άβδε-
ραχείμ, ἐκράτησεν δ Άπολεσφούετ, δ δεύτερος ἄδελφος τοῦ Ἀποσεβατάς,
θείος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ πάσας τὰς 70

V 36 'Απασακίου Ba Be: 'Απασακίου P || 37 δευτέρου edd.: β' P || τοῦο om. edd. ||
40 Μανζικιέρτ Ba Be || 41 Κορῆ P || τοῦ Χαρκα καὶ τοῦ Κορῆ edd. || Χάρκα
time of the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios and grandfather of the second Asotios and of the magister Apasakios, until the lifetime of the second Asotios, prince of princes, these three cities were under the dominion of the prince of princes, and the prince of princes received tribute from them. Moreover, the city of Manzikiert with the country of Apachounis and Kori and Charka was under the dominion and control of the same prince of princes, up till the time when Aposebatas, emir of Manzikiert, and his two brothers Apolesphouet and Aposelmis submitted themselves to the emperor and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories; and since the prince of princes is the servant of the emperor of the Romans, being appointed by him and receiving this rank from him, it is obvious that the cities and townships and territories of which he is lord also belong to the emperor of the Romans.

When Symbatios, prince of princes of great Armenia, was captured by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, and by him beheaded, Aposebatas, with his seat at the city of Manzikiert, took possession of the city of Chaliat and the city of Perkri and the township of Arzes.

The second brother of Aposebatas, Apolesphouet, and his nephew and step-son Achmet took possession of the city of Chaliat and the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike, and they too submitted themselves to the emperor of the Romans and came beneath his dominion and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories, as did the eldest brother Aposebatas.

The third brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, was in possession of the city of Tzermatzou with its territories, and he too submitted himself to the emperor of the Romans and paid tribute, as did his eldest brother Aposebatas and his second brother Apolesphouet.

On the death of Aposebatas, Abderacheim, son of Aposebatas, possessed the city of Manzikiert with its territories and all its domain, and on the death of Abderacheim, Apolesphouet, second brother of Aposebatas and uncle of Abderacheim, possessed the city of Manzikiert and all the
προρρηθείσας χώρας, καὶ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσατος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφός, ἦγουν τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφοῦετ, ὁ Ἀποσέλμης τὸ τὲ Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας.

"Οτι ο 'Αποσεβατᾶς εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀβδεραχεῖμ καὶ τὸν Ἀπελμουζὲ.

Οτι ο 'Ιτοπολεσφοῦετ εἶχεν προγονὸν καὶ ἀνεψιόν τὸν Ἀχάμετ, ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφός τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, κατέλησε τὸν Ἀπολεσφοῦετ καὶ τὸν Ἀχάμετ τὸν προγονὸν καὶ ἀνεψιόν αὐτοῦ εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τρίτος ἀδελφός τοῦ Άποσεβατᾶς, ήγοῦν τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας.

"Οτι ο 'Αποσέλμης εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀπελβάρτ, τὸν ἀρτίως κρατοῦντα τὸ Μανζικίερτ.

"Οτι ἀποθανόντος τοῦ 'Αποσεβατᾶς, κατέλησε τὸν 'Αβδεραχεῖμ, καὶ ἐκράτη, καθὼς εἰρηται, τὰς τὰς χώρας, τὸ τε Ἀπαχουνής καὶ τὸ Κορῆ καὶ τὸ Χάρκα, καὶ ἐδίδου τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πάκτα τῷ 'Ρωμαίῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀβδεραχεῖμ, καὶ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτός τὰ προρρηθείσατο πάκτα "καθὼς προείρηται, τὸν ἀδέδφον αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀπελμουζὲ.

"Οτι τοῦ Άβδεραχείμ τελευτήσαντος, καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, 'Απελμουζὲ ὁς νηπίου καταφρονηθέντος, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τὰς χώρας τοῦ 'Αποσεβατᾶς, ὁ προλεχθεὶς 'Ἀπολεσφοῦετ, θεῖος τοῦ Άβδεραχείμ, καὶ τῷ διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα καταφρονηθέντος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀπελμουζὲ.

"Οτι τοῦ 'Απολεσφοῦετ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ 'Αποσεβατᾶ, ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφός τοῦ Άβδεραχείμ, ήγοῦν τὸ 'Αποσέλμης τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ 'Αποσεβατᾶς, ὁ προλεχθεὶς 'Ἀπολεσφοῦετ, θεῖος τοῦ 'Αβδεραχείμ, καὶ τοῦ διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα καταφρονηθέντος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀπελμουζὲ.

"Οτι τοῦ 'Ἀπολεσφοῦετ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τὸν Νικηφόρον καὶ τὸν Κωνσταντίνον καὶ τὸν Παύλον καὶ τὸν Ευστάθιον, καὶ τὸν 'Αρτέμιδος, καὶ τὸν Ἀμυδάνα οἰκονομοῦν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολεσφοῦετ τῷ 'Ῥωμαίῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὸν Ἀποσεβατᾶς ἐκεῖνον τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν τὸ τρίτον τοῦ Άποσεβατᾶς, ήγοῦν τὸ 'Ἀποσέλμης τὸ κάστρον τὸ τρίτον τοῦ Μανζικίερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας.
countries aforesaid, and on his death the third brother, that is, the brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, possessed Manzikiert and all the countries aforesaid.

Aposebatas had a son Abderacheim, and another, Apelmouze.

Apolesphouet had a step-son and nephew, Achamet, for he had no son, but had instead of a son Achamet, his step-son and nephew.

Aposelmis had a son Apelbart, who now possesses Manzikiert.

On the death of Aposebatas, he left Abderacheim his son to be emir, but his other son, Apelmouze, was a mere infant, and hence was passed over as unfit to enter into the authority of his father and brother.

Aposebatas, the eldest brother, had his seat at the city of Manzikiert and possessed, as has been said, these countries, Apachounis and Kori and Charka, and paid tribute in respect to them to the emperor of the Romans; and on his death his son Abderacheim ruled, and he too paid the aforesaid tribute, his brother Apelmouze being, as was said above, quite an infant.

On the death of Abderacheim, since his brother Apelmouze was passed over as an infant, the possession of the city of Manzikiert and of the aforesaid countries beneath it fell to the second brother of Aposebatas, the aforesaid Apolesphouet, uncle of Abderacheim and of his brother Apelmouze, who had been passed over because of his infancy.

On the death of Apolesphouet, the third brother of Aposebatas, that is, Aposelmis, took possession of the city of Manzikiert with the territories aforesaid. The aforesaid Achamet, who was nephew and step-son of Apolesphouet, took possession, by consent and will of Apolesphouet, of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for Apolesphouet, having, as was said above, no son, made Achamet, his nephew and step-son, heir of all his substance and of his cities and territories.

On the death of Aposelmis, his son Apelbart possessed the city of Manzikiert with its surrounding territory. But Achmet possessed the three cities, the city of Chliat and the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike.

This Achmet too was servant of the emperor, as has been said above,
προείρηται, παρέχων καὶ τὰ υπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ υπὲρ τοῦ θείου αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Ἀπολεσφοῖτ, πάστα. Ὅ δὲ Ἀπελβάρτ μετὰ δόλου καὶ χλεύης ἐσφάξει καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὰ τρία αὐτὰ καὶ κάστρα, τὸ τε κάστρον τὸ Χλιάτ καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ 'Αρζές καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ 'Αλτζικέ καὶ ταύτα ἥφεσθε οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβάθησαι ὡς ίδία αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα. "Οτι ταύτα πάντα τὰ προρρηθέντα κάστρα καὶ αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι χώραι ὑδέποτε γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Περσίδος ἤ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀμερμουννν, ἀλλ’ ὑπήρξεν, καθὼς εὑρήται, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ χυδοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ βασιλέως υπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, τῶν προφητῶν ἀμαράδων, τοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφοῦτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη καὶ ἐν ταῖς ήμέραις αὐτῶν ἐδοῦλώθησαν καὶ ἐπακτώθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν βασιλεῶν τῶν Ρωμαίων.

"Οτι τα τρία ταύτα κάστρα, τὸ τε Χλιάτ καὶ τὸ 'Αρζές καὶ τὸ Περκρί, εἰ κρατεῖ οἱ βασιλεῖς, Ρεσικφν φοσσάτον κατὰ 'Ρωμανίας ἐξελθεῖν οὐ δύναται, ἐπεὶ μέσον τυγχάνουσιν τῆς τε 'Ρωμανίας καὶ Αρμενίας, καὶ είναι φραγμός καὶ ἀπλίκτα τῶν φοσσάτων.

44, 45. Π ε ρ ἰ τ ὁ ν ΄ Β β η ρ ω ν.

Ἰστέον, ὦτι εαυτοὺς σεμνύνοντες οἱ 'Ιβηρες, ἡγοῦν οἱ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, λέγουσιν εαυτούς κατάγεσθαι ἀπό τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίου, τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως ἀλχεύθησαι ἢ καί τῶν εἰς αὐτῆς τεχθέντων παιδῶν τοῦ Δαυίδ έκ γάρ τού τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως καὶ ως έκ τούτου κατάγεσθαι. Διά τούτο καί οἱ μεγιστάνες τῶν 'Ιβήρων άκωλύτως τὰς συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρός γάμον άγουσιν, τὴν παλαιὰν οίομενοι φυλάττειν κατάγεσθαι. Διά τούτο καί οἱ μεγιστάνες τῶν 'Ιβήρων ἀκωλύτως τὰς συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρός γάμον ἀγουσιν, την παλαιαν οίομενοι φυλάττειν κατάγεσθαι. Διά τούτο καί οἱ μεγιστάνες τῶν 'Ιβήρων άκωλύτως τὰς συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρός γάμον ἀγουσιν, την παλαιαν οίομενοι φυλάττειν.
and paid tribute on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle Apolesphouet. But Apelbart by guile and deceit slew him and took these three cities, the city of Chliat and the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike; and these the emperor should get back, as they are his property.

All these cities aforesaid and the aforesaid countries have never been beneath the dominion of Persia or beneath the dominion of the commander of the faithful, but were, as has been said, in the days of the lord Leo, the emperor, beneath the dominion of Symbatios, the prince of princes, and afterwards came beneath the dominion of the three brothers, the aforesaid emirs, Aposebatas and Apolesphouet and Aposelmis; and in their days were brought into servitude and made tributary and fell beneath the dominion of the emperors of the Romans.

If these three cities, Chliat and Arzes and Perkri, are in the possession of the emperor, a Persian army cannot come out against Romania, because they are between Romania and Armenia, and serve as a barrier and as military halts for armies.

45. Of the Iberians.

The Iberians, I mean, those who belong to the curopalate, pique themselves upon their descent from the wife of Uriah, with whom David, the prophet and king, committed adultery: for they say they are descended from the children she bore to David and are related to David, the prophet and king, and consequently to the most holy Mother of God also, inasmuch as she was by descent of the seed of David. For this reason also the great ones of the Iberians take in marriage their female relatives without impediment, believing that they are preserving the ancient ordinance; and they say that they originate from Jerusalem and were warned by an oracular dream to migrate thence and to settle over toward the region of Persia, that is to say, in the country where they live now. They who were warned by the oracle and came out of Jerusalem were the former David and his brother Spandiatis, which Spandiatis had received from God a boon, as they pretend, that in battle the sword should not touch him in any member of...
άπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ ξίφος εἰς οἰκονύμητο μέλος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἄνευ

τῆς καρδίας, ἣν καὶ διὰ τίνος σκεπάσματος ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις περιφροῦ·

ρει. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔπτουσιν τοῦτον καὶ ἐδεδίεισαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ὁ δὲ

νενίκητε ταύτας καὶ αὐτῶν κατεκράτησεν, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐνόχυ-

σεν "Ἰβηριας εἰς τὰς δυσκολίας, τὰς νῦν παρ’ αὐτῶν κρατουμένας, εἷς 20

δὲ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλον ἐπλατύνθησαν καὶ ἡδύζησαν καὶ εἰς μέγα ἔθνος

ἐγένοντο. Εἴθ’ ούτως τοῦ βασιλέας Ὁρακλείου κατὰ Περσίδος ἐκστρα-

τεύσαντος, ἡμῶν καὶ συνεταξίδευσαν αὐτός, καὶ ἔπτοοντο τούτον καὶ ἐπεταχὲν

τῷ φόβῳ Ὁρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέας Ὁρμαίων μᾶλλον, ἢπερ τῇ ἑαυτῶν

ιαχύ’ καὶ δυνάμει πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἰκανάς τῶν Περσών. "Ἀπαξ γάρ 25

τοῦ βασιλέως Ὁρακλείου τοὺς Πέρσας τροποσαμένου καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν

καταγαίνει τούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, εἰς τὴν τούτων ἁρχήν παραστήσαντος, εὐδοκοῦντες καὶ κύριος ὑπέστη τοῖς μύοις τοῖς Ἰβηριας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι γεγόνονσι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ κατάγαίνει τούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ διὰ τὸ μεγάλην πίστον ἔχουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Κυρίου 30

ἡμῶν (ἢ) Ἰστου Ἑρώτου, καὶ κατὰ τίνας | καρποὺς ἀρήδονας ἁπτότελ-

χρήσατα τῶν πατριάρχων τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖστε Χριστια-

νοῖς. 'Ο δὲ προφθηκήσας Δαυίδ, ὁ τοῦ Σπανδιάτου ἄδελφος, ἐγέννησεν

ὑλὸν τῶν Παγκράτιου, καὶ ὁ Παγκράτιος εἰς τὸν Ἀσσώτην, καὶ ὁ Ἀσώτης ἐγέννησεν ὑλὸν τῶν Ἀνδρανάκης, τὸν καὶ κυριοπαλάτην 35

τιμηθέντα παρά Λέωντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Ὁρμαίων. 'Ο δὲ

Σπανδιάτης, ὁ ἄδελφος τοῦ | προφθηκήσας Δαυίδ, ἔτελευτησεν ἀτέκνος.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑρουσαλήμ διὰ τοὺς μακαριώτατος τῶν πατριάρχων καὶ τῶν ἱεροτατῶν ἠμέτοκος καὶ ἐν τῷ κατά τό διὰ τοῦ ἱεροτατῶν βασιλεῶν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον, ἢπερ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἑαυτός καὶ δυνάμει πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἰκανάς τῶν Περσών. "Ἀπαξ γάρ 40

τοῦ βασιλέως Ὁρακλείου τοὺς Πέρσας τροποσαμένου καὶ εἰς τὸ | μηκέτι

εἶναι τὴν τούτων ἁρχήν παραστήσαντος, εὐάλωτοι καὶ εὐχείρωτοι οὐ

μόνον τοὺς Ἰβηριας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι γεγόνονσι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ κατάγαίνει τούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ διὰ τὸ μεγάλην πίστον ἔχουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Κυρίου | Ἰστέον, διὰ ό φιλόχριστος καὶ πορφυρογέννητος καὶ οὐδίμος βασιλεύς Λέων ἀκούσας, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τόπον, τὸν λεγόμενον Φασινήν ἐλθόντας οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ, τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐποίησαν κάστρα, ἀπε- 45

στείλαν τὸν πατριάρχην (ὁ δὲ προφθηκήσας Δαυίδ) καὶ στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν τῶν Λαλάκων, καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν Φασινήν, ἐλθὼν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὴν Φασινήν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πάντα τὴν Φασινήν, τῷ τότε καιρῷ ὅπου τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. Καὶ εἰθ’ 50

οὕτως πάλιν ἀπεστείλει τὸν μάγιστρον Κατακαλών καὶ δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν, διὸ ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ κατά τὸν τόπον Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὰ πέριεξ 200Be | αὐτῆς λησάμενος καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἡσιανής καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς κάστρα
his body save only in the heart, which he used to protect by a sort of covering in battles. On this account the Persians were dismayed at and feared him, and he overcame them and mastered them and settled his Iberian kinsmen in the difficult territories now possessed by them; whence by degrees they expanded and increased and grew into a great nation. Thereafter, when the emperor Heraclius marched against Persia, they united and campaigned with him, and as a result, through the dread inspired by Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, rather than by their own strength and power, they subdued a great number of cities and countries of the Persians. For once the emperor Heraclius had routed the Persians and had forcibly brought their empire to an end, the Persians were easily defeated and mastered, not by the Iberians only, but by the Saracens as well. And because they originated, as they themselves say, from Jerusalem, for this reason they are very loyal to it and to the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from time to time they send large sums of money to the patriarch of the holy city and to the Christians there. Now, the aforesaid David, the brother of Spandiatis, begat a son Pankratios, and Pankratios begat a son Asotios, and Asotios begat a son Adranasi, who was honoured with the rank of curopalate by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor of the Romans. But Spandiatis, the brother of the aforesaid David, died childless. And from their migration from Jerusalem to the country now inhabited by them it is 400 years, or rather 500 up to the present day, which is the 10th indiction, the year from the creation of the world 6460, in the reign of Constantine and Romanus, Christ-loving emperors of the Romans, born in the purple.

The Christ-loving and glorious emperor Leo, born in the purple, hearing that the Saracens had arrived in the place called Phasiane and had made the churches there into fortresses, sent the patrician Lalakon, military governor of the Armeniakoi, together with the military governor of Koloneia and the military governor of Mesopotamia and the military governor of Chaldia, and they destroyed these fortresses and liberated the churches and ravaged all Phasiane, at that time in the possession of the Saracens. And again afterwards he sent the magister Katakalon, the commander-in-chief, who arrived at the city of Theodosiopolis and ravaged the territory all about it, and gave up the country of Phasiane and the cities around it to the
τῷ ὤμῳ ὁλέθρῳ παραδοὺς, ὑπέστρεψεν, μεγάλην πληγήν ἐν τούτῳ
δοὺς τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς. ἔπει δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυροῦ Ὁρμανοῦ, τοῦ 55
βασιλέως ὁ μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουρκούας ἀπερχόμενος κατὰ τὸν
καστρον Τίβιου, εἰς τὴν διόδου αὐτοῦ ἡράνωσεν τὴν πάσαν χώραν τῆς
Φασιανῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. ἂλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατρίχιος
Θεόφιλος, ὁ ἄδελφος τοῦ προφήτη Στρατήγου Ὁμίλου, τὸ πρῶτον
αὐτοῦ στρατηγεύοντος ἐν Χαλίδα, ἐπράγεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν 60
τῆς Φασιανῆς, ὡς καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διεπιστολαίς εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῆς Φασιανῆς χωρίων διὰ συνέστη, ὡς εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ὁμίλου.
Καὶ οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς πάντοτε εἶχον ἀγάπην καὶ φιλίαν μετά τῶν Θεοδοσιου-
πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀβνικιστῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Μανζικιερτῶν καὶ μετὰ 65
208 τὴν Περσίδα, ἀλλὰ ἐν Φασιννῆ ἄυδεποτε ἐπεκτάταν χώρια.
141Ρ "Ὅτι πολλάκις ὁ κύρις Λέων, ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὁ κύρις Ὁρμανὸς καὶ
αὐτῆ ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐπεζήτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κετζέον τοῦ ἀναλα-
βέσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαγγεῖλεν ταξάτους πρὸς τὸ μή ἐκεῖθεν συνεχεῖσθαι
τὴν Θεοδοσιουπόλιν, ἔξασφαλιζόμενοι πρὸς τὸν καστροπάλατον τὴν 70
tοῦς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιουπό-
201Ββλιν — ἀναβέβαιοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ τοιούτου καστρον, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἴνεσχοντο
οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς τούτῳ ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, καὶ
dιὰ τὸ μὴ πορθῆναι τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιουπόλιν, ἀλλὰ ἀντεδῆλωσαν
τὸν κύριον Ὁρμανὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, λέγοντες, ὡς: «Εἴ τούτῳ 75
ποιήσουμεν, ἀτιμία ἔχομεν γενέσθαι εἰς τοὺς γείτονας ἡμῶν, οὖν εἰς
142ΓΡ τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ (εἰς τὸν) ἐξουσιασθήν Αβασγίας καὶ εἰς τὸν Βασπαρ-
κανίτην καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγόν τῶν Αρμενίων, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεισοῦσαν ἔχει τοὺς Ἰβηραῖος, τὸν τοῦ καστροπάλατον καὶ
tοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ πιστεύει αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέλαβετο
(τὸ) κάστρον εἰς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐς ἀποστείλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τουρμαρ-
χὴν ἢ βασιλικὸν τινα, καὶ ἄς καθέσηται εἰς τὸ καστρον τοῦ Κετζέου,
καὶ ἄς τοῦ κυρίου.» Καὶ ἐδέχαντο διὰ κελεύσεως, ὡς: «Τῇ ὀφελῇ ἡ τουρμαρ-
χὴν ἢ βασιλικὸν ἀποστείλαι; Πάντως εὰν εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τούρμαρχης, εἰς
tο βασιλικός, μετὰ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἀνθρώπων ἔχει εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ 85
καθέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀπλίκτον, ὡς μυρίων λάβῃ; καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαὶ εἰσαν ὁδοῖ,
αἰ εἰσάγοναι εἰς τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιούπολις, οὐ δύναται διὰ τοῦτον
50 ἐκεῖνον μηδεν νοοῦντων.» ἂλλὰ οὗν διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἔκαθεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον
Τιβίου, ἐπί τάδε καὶ καθέστην τὴν Θεοδοσιουπόλιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σταρ-
like destruction, and returned after inflicting thereby a great blow upon the Saracens. And in the reign of the lord Romanus, the emperor, the magister John Kourkouas, marching against the city of Tibi, utterly devastated in his passage the whole country of Phasiane, since it was in the possession of the Saracens. Moreover, the patrician Theophilus also, brother of the aforesaid magister John, when he was for the first time military governor of Chaldia, plundered this country of Phasiane, because then too it was controlled by the Saracens. For by the time that terms had been agreed with the Theodosiopolitans, no village had been left standing in the country of Phasiane, or about the city of Abnikon either. And the Iberians always maintained loving and friendly relations with the men of Theodosiopolis and Abnikon and Manzikiert and with all Persia, but in Phasiane they never acquired any territories.

The lord Leo, the emperor, and the lord Romanus and our own imperial majesty several times asked for the city of Ketzeon, so that we might take it over and introduce garrisons, in order to stop Theodosiopolis from being revictualled thence, assuring the curopalate and his brothers that, after Theodosiopolis had been taken, they should have this city back; but the Iberians did not consent to do this, out of their love for the Theodosiopolitans and in order that the city of Theodosiopolis might not be taken, and declared in answer to the lord Romanus and to our imperial majesty, saying: «If we do this, we shall become dishonoured in the eyes of our neighbours, such as the magister the ruler of Abasgia and the Basparakanite and the potentates of the Armenians, and they will say that the emperor holds the Iberians, the curopalate and his brothers, for faithless and does not trust them, and that is why he has taken over the city from them'; but let the emperor rather send a lieutenant-general or some imperial agent, and let him take up his quarters in the city of Ketzeon and let him watch.» And they were instructed by imperial mandate, to this effect: «What is the use of our sending either lieutenant-general or imperial agent? Even if he enters, whether he be lieutenant-general or imperial agent, he will enter with ten or a dozen men and will take up his quarters in the lodgings which you will provide for him; and since the roads leading to the city of Theodosiopolis are many, he cannot from the city see the caravans entering the city of Theodosiopolis; and caravans may enter Theodosiopolis by night, and they none the wiser.» And so, then, because the Iberians did not wish that Theodosiopolis should be taken, but rather that it should be
202 Βοχείσθαι, τούτου ένεκα ούχ υπήκουσαν, καὶ δέδωκαν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κετζέον, καὶ τοῖς καὶ ὄρκον ἔγγραφον δεχόμενοι τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν — ἀποστράφηναι αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.

"Οτι οὐδὲποτε ἢβουλήθησαν οὶ Ἰβηρες πραιδεύσαι ή αἰχμαλωτίσαι τὰ πέρι τοῦ κάστρου Θεοδοσιούπολεως ή τὰ χώρια αὐτοῦ ή εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου ή τὰ περι αὐτὸ χωρία ή εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μαντζικίερτ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπικράτειαν.

"Οτι καθὼς ἐνίσταται ὁ κουροπαλάτης περὶ τῶν χωρίων τῆς Φασιανῆς, ἐπίζητον δὴν τὴν Φασιανήν καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου, προφασιζόμενος χρυσοβούλια ἔχειν τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως, τοῦ κυροῦ Ρωμανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἱδα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέστειλεν διὰ τοῦ Ζουβανέλη πρωτοσπαθαρίου, τοῦ αζάτου αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα ἐπιπεσφάμενοι εὑρομεν αὐτὸν μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν ἔχοντα. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν περιέχει ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν αὐτόν κουροπαλάτην, ὡς δὲ ὄρκον ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτὸν οἰκεία χειρὶ ἐγγράφαμεν, τὸ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ πίστει τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας καὶ τοῖς μὲν καὶ εἰς τὴν Αβνίκον ή τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ χωρία ή εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μαντζικίερτ έπισκεψάμενοι εὑρομεν αὐτόν μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν εχοντα. Τὸ μέν γὰρ χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν περιέχει ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν αὐτόν κουροπαλάτην, ὡς δὲ ὄρκον ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτὸν οἰκεία χειρὶ ἐγγράφαμεν, τὸ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ πίστει τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας καὶ τοῖς μὲν καὶ εἰς τὴν Αβνίκον ή τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ χωρία ή εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μαντζικίερτ καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μαντζικίερτ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπικράτειαν.
revictualled, for this reason they did not obey and give up the city of Ketzeon, although they received a sworn promise in writing that after the capture of Theodosioupolis this city should revert to them.

The Iberians never consented to raid or take prisoners in the environs of the city of Theodosioupolis or in its territories, or in the city of Abnikion or the territories about it, or in the city of Manzikiert or the area controlled by it.

Whereas regarding the territories of Phasiane the curopalate persists in his demand for all Phasiane and the city of Abnikon, and alleges that he has golden bulls of the emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, and of our imperial majesty, copies of which he sent us by the hand of Zourbanelis the protospatharius, his 'azat', we examined these and found that they gave him no help. For, first, the golden bull of our father-in-law embodies a promise of this same curopalate, as he assured him on his oath and inscribed it with his own hand, that he will abide in loyalty to our imperial majesty, and fight against our foes and protect our friends, and subdue the east to our imperial majesty, and reduce cities and do great works for our comfort; and on the part of our father-in-law a promise was made to him that, if he continues in this loyal servitude and gratitude, he shall remain unshaken, both he and those of his family, in his rule and dominion; and the emperor will not move the boundaries of his territories, but will be content with the agreements made by former emperors and will not push beyond them; nor will he stop the curopalate from destroying Theodosioupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, whether he lays siege to them with his own unaided strength or with the assistance of this our army. Such are the main points contained in the golden bulls, and from them the curopalate gets no help: for that of our father-in-law lays it down that we will not disturb him from the ancient boundaries of his country, and that, if he can, whether by himself or with our army, he shall lay siege to and destroy Theodosioupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, but not so as to hold them in absolute sovereignty and lordship; while that of our own imperial majesty includes a provision that all the places of the Agarenes which both he and his nephew, the magister Adranase, may be able by their own power to reduce, or shall in future reduce, he shall hold as sovereign lord. And since by his own power he subdued neither Theodosioupolis nor
Άβνικόν, οὔτε τὸ Μαστάτον, οὔκ ὤφελεί ταύτα κατέχειν, ὡς οὔτα ἐνθὲν τοῦ "Εραξ ποταμοῦ, ἦτοι τοῦ Φάσιδος, διότι τὸ μὲν κάστρον τοῦ ἂν οὐτεξοσίων καὶ οὐτοδέσποτον, ἦξον ἰδιὸν ἀμηράν, καὶ πολλάκις ο λαὸς τῆς βασιλείας ὢμὸν ἐπραιδεύσαν αὐτό, 204Β ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρώτος στρατηγὸς Προμηθίας καὶ στρατηγὸς ὁ Αρκαβοινίτης καὶ ὁ πάτρικος Θεόφιλος καὶ ἅρτως στρατηγός Θεοδοσιούπολεως, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ μεγάλην πραιδείαν καὶ ἀχμαλώσαν εἰς αὐτὸ ἠγά-135
145Ρ σαντο, κατακαύσαντες τὰ χώρια αὐτοῦ, μὴ δέποτε τοῦ κυροπαλάτου πραιδεύσαντος αὐτό. Καὶ ἡνίκα ἠμαθύσασαν τὰ τούτου χωρία παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ὑπεισήλθον οἱ "Ἰβηρεῖς, καὶ κατέκεντασαν αὐτό, πειρώμενοι ἐκ τούτου τὸ κάστρον κρατῆσαι. Ο δὲ ἂμηράς πολλάκις μνησεῖται παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Θεόφιλος καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ λαῶν, ὅτι τοῦτο ὀυδαμόθεν εἶχεν ἐπιζητεῖν. Καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ μεγάλην πραιδείαν καὶ αἰχμαλώσιαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐργάσαντο, κατακαύσαντες τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ, μηδέποτε τοῦ κουροπαλατού πραιδεύσαντος αὐτό. Καὶ οἱ Ιβηρεῖς ἠφανίσθησαν τὰ τούτου χωρία παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ὑπετάγα τούτοις τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπιδοέντοις, εἰς ἀναχώρησιν ἀνερχόμενοι, καὶ ἡνίκα ο μάγιστρος ᾽Ιωάννης ἐπολίρκησεν τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἑκάτη μήνας, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι παραλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀποτελέσας λαὸν, παρέλαβεν τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, καὶ εἰσῆγα-145
145Ρ γεν | ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Τερενίνα τὸν Βοῖλαν, τὸν τότε οὖντα κατετάγα Νικοπύλους. ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος παρέλαβεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι παραλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Πέτροναν τὸν Βοῖλαν, τὸν τότε οὖντα κατεπάνω Νικοπόλεως. Ο δὲ μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος συνταξιδεύ-σας τῷ αὐτῷ μάγιστρῳ ἔρχεται ἐκ θεοδοσιούπολεις, ἠνίκα ἠμαθύσασαν ἀναχωρεῖν, παρεκάλεσαν, ἵνα δόῃ αὐτῷ τὸ τούτου κάστρον, ποιήσας έγγραφὸν ἐργασίας ἄρξον πρὸς αὐτόν τὸ ἐπικράτειν αὐτό καὶ μηδέποτε τοῦτο τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπιδοεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὸ εὔνοειν καὶ Χριστιανὸν καὶ δούλον τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, πιστεύσας τῷ όρκῳ αὐτοῦ, δέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Παγκράτιον, ο ὑπετάλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὸν εἰρημένον Παγκράτιον, ο δὲ πάλιν ἀνεχαρίσατο αὐτὸν τοῖς Θεοδοσιούπολιταις. 205Β Καὶ ἡνίκα παρελήφθη η Θεοδοσιούπολις, ὑπεισελθόντες οἱ Ιβηρεῖς ἠκράτησαν αὐτό, διότι οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τῷ Μαστάτον, οὕτω τοῦ 155146Ρ 'Αβνίκου ἠχούσαν ἐξουσίαν ἔπειζετείν. Αλλ' ἠπείδη ὁ κυροπαλάτης πιστὸς καὶ δρόθος δοῦλος καὶ φίλος ἡμῶν ἕστιν, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παρακλη-σίν ἦν γέννηται σύνορον τῆς Φασιανῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ "Εραξ, ἦτοι ὁ Φάσις, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄριστοτέρα μέρη, τὰ πρὸς τὴν Πυληίαν, κατέχεσαν οἱ "Ἰβηρεῖς, τὰ δὲ δεξαίμα, ὅσα εἰσίν πρὸς τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, κἂν τε κάστρα, κἂν τε 160 χωρία εἰσίν, ὅσον ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ποταμοῦ ἀφθονοῦσα σύνο­ρον ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάρχοντος, καθὼς καὶ ζῶν ὁ μακάριος Ὁιλίανος ο Κουρκούας περὶ τούτου ἐρωτηθεὶς εξείπεν συμφέρειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν σύνορον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβὺς δίκαιοι οὐδεμίαν ἐξοικείαν παρέχει τῷ κυροπαλάτῃ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἐνθὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἐκεῖθεν διὰ-165146Ρ κράτησιν ἠχεῖν, διότι τὰ τοιαύτα πάντα χωρία τῶν Θεοδοσιούπολιτῶν
Abnikion nor Mastaton, he has no right to hold them, lying as they do on this side of the Erax or Phasis river; because the city of Abnikon, on the one hand, has hitherto been independent and self-governing, under its own emir, and several times the army of our imperial majesty has raided it, yes, and the protospatharius John Arrhabonitis, the military governor, and the patrician Theophilus, who is now military governor of Theodosioupolis, and the rest of the military governors have taken great plunder and many prisoners in it, and burnt its villages, while the curopalate has never raided it at all. And when these villages had been utterly devastated by our imperial majesty, the Iberians crept in and took possession of them, and tried thereafter to possess themselves of the city. But the emir, after being several times warned by the patrician and military governor Theophilus, and seeing that he had no hope of survival from any quarter, submitted himself and consented to become the servant of our imperial majesty, and gave his son as a hostage. Mastaton, on the other hand, belonged to the Theodosioupolitans; and when the magister John had besieged Theodosioupolis seven months, because he was unable to take it he sent some men and took this same city of Mastaton and introduced into it the protospatharius Petronas Boïlas, who was then captain-general of Nicopolis. And the magister Pankratios, who had joined the campaign of this same magister at Theodosioupolis, when the latter was about to retire, begged him to give him this city, and made him an oath in writing that he would retain it and never give it up to the Saracens. He, as the said Pankratios was a Christian and servant of our imperial majesty, trusted to his oath and gave it him, and he gave it back again to the Theodosioupolitans. And when Theodosioupolis was taken, the Iberians crept in and took possession of Mastaton; for these reasons they have no authority to demand either this city of Mastaton or that of Abnikon. But since the curopalate is our faithful and upright servant and friend, at his request let the frontier of Phasiane be the river Erax or Phasis, and let the Iberians possess the parts on the left hand side towards Illyria, and all the parts on the right towards Theodosioupolis, whether cities or villages, be beneath our imperial majesty, the river, that is to say, forming the frontier between the two, just as in his lifetime John Kourkouas, of blessed memory, when asked about this, declared that it was best for the river to be the frontier. Strict justice does not allow the curopalate any authority to exercise control either on this side of the river or on the other, since all these villages of the Theodosioupolitans were enslaved and
τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἤχμαλώτισαν καὶ ἐπυρπόλησαν,
καὶ οὐδέποτε χωρὶς ἡμετέρου λαοῦ Ἰβηρεῖς ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐπραίδευσαν
Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξανεμοῦσαν τό κύρος καὶ κατεγαμοῦσαν
μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ μὲν στόματι ἧθελον πορθῆκεν τῇ Θεοδοσιοῦ-170
τολίν, τῇ δὲ καρδιᾷ οὐδαμάς ἐμπύλεσαν καὶ συνείδησαν ἀλλ’ Ἰβηρεῖς
καὶ υἱοὶ τῆς Κάραλλης καὶ τῆς Κυκάνσης καὶ τοῦ ᾿Αρδανοῦτζι
υἱοῦ τοῦ Δαυίδ. Ο ’Ιστέος, ὁ Παγκράτιος καὶ ὁ Δαυίδ καὶ οἱ κόρες
τοῦ βασιλείας ἔδωκεν τῷ Κουρκένιῳ καὶ τῷ Κισκάσην καὶ τῷ ᾿Ασώτιῳ
τῷ Δαυίδ ψευδαπάστῃν τῆς Κυκάνσης καὶ τῷ ᾿Αρτανασέρ καὶ τῷ Κουρκένιοι
καὶ τῷ Κισκάσην, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Συμβατίου, τοῦ ᾿Ιβηροῦ. Καὶ
πατρίκιος Εὐστάθιος καὶ Κισκάσης ἔζηκεν τῷ μαγίστρῳ Κουρκένιῳ ἐξουσιαστής, ἐξουσιαστής ᾿Αβασγίας μηδὲν πλέον ζητεῖν.
burnt by the armies of our imperial majesty, and never without our army did the Iberians come out and raid Theodosiopolis, but always maintained friendship with them and traded with them; and while they said they wished Theodosiopolis to be taken, in their hearts they by no means desired its capture. However, our imperial majesty, for our love of the curopalate, as has been said, has consented that the river Erax, or Phasis, shall be the frontier between the two, and they must be content with retaining this much, and demand nothing more.

46. Of the genealogy of the Iberians and of the city of Ardanoutzi.

Pankratios and David the Mampalis, which means 'all-holy', were sons of the elder Symbatios the Iberian. Ardanoutzi fell to the inheritance of Pankratios, and other country fell to David. Pankratios had three sons, Adranaser, Kourkenios and the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and he divided his country among them, and Ardanoutzi fell to his son Kourkenios, who, dying childless, left it to his brother Asotios, called Kiskasis. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, married his daughter to the late magister Kourkenios, who, having grown great, revolted, and deprived his father-in-law Asotios of Ardanoutzi, and gave him in exchange Tyrokastron and the river region of Atzaras, which forms the frontier of Romania at Kolorin. Now, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had to wife the sister of the magister George, ruler of Abasgia. And when the magister Kourkenios and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, fell out with one another, the patrician Asotios took the side of the ruler of Abasgia, and for that reason Kourkenios, gaining the upper hand, deprived him even of what he had given him in exchange for Ardanoutzi, and expelled him, and he departed to Abasgia. On the death of the magister Kourkenios, Ardanoutzi was left to his wife, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, as her father's heiress. Now when Asotios the curopalate and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, and the magister Pankratios, brother of the aforesaid curopalate, were dividing up the country of the magister Kourkenios by
μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος, ο άδελφός του προρρηθέντος κουροπαλάτου, ήλθον εις συμβίβασιν, και ἐπὶ τὸν προρρηθέντος. Τό δὲ 'Αρδανούτζιν ἐπηρεάσατο τῷ Συμβατίῳ, τοῦ τοῦ προρρηθέντος Δαυίδ υἱῷ. Τότε ἐκράτησαν πάντες τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, μήπως ἐπὶ τῷ πατρίδος τῆς Άρδανούτζιν θυγατέρα, τοῦ Δαυίδ τοῦ μαγίστρου. Τότε ἔλαβεν ο Συμβάτιος τό κάστρον τοῦ Άρδανούτζιν. Τότε καί τις συγγένεια τῶν Τβήρων τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Τοῦ Δαυίδ μήτηρ καὶ τοῦ Άδρανασῆ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, τοῦ πατρός τοῦ Άσωτίου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, ἦν δύο αδελφών παιδία, ἔχοντες. Εἶχεν δὲ κομμέρκιον ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἂντισήκως εἰς τὸν κάστρον Χωρία τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἐπήρεας. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἐναλάβη καταλήφθη τό κάστρον τοῦ 'Αρδανούτζιν. "Οτι τό κάστρον τό 'Αρδανούτζιν ἐστίν ὑγρόν πάνω, έχει δὲ καὶ ἐκπάτων μέγα δια χωρόπολει, καί αἱ πραγματέαι τής τοῦ Κύμινα, ὦς ἦν τός τότε καὶ εἰς τήν ἱεράν τοῦ βασιλέα καὶ εἰς τοῦ Κοσμίου, οτι 'Ενορκώ σε εἰς τὸν Θεόν καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιού σταυροῦ, ινα ἀπέλης εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἴπης τὸν βασιλέα, ινα ἀποστείλη καὶ παραλάβη τό κάστρον μου καὶ ἐχή ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ. Τό δέ μοναχὸς Αγάπιος εἶσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μέχρι Νικομήδειας εἰς τήν τοῦ Κύμινα, ως ἦν τός τότε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἱεράν πόλιν εὑρίσκεις. Καὶ διερχομένου τῆς Τβήριας κατέλησεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Άρδανούτζιν. Καὶ εἴχεν ο πατρίς τοῦ Κοσμίου, οτι 'Ενορκώ σε εἰς τὸν Θεόν καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιού σταυροῦ, ἑνα ἀπέλης εἰς τῇ πόλιν, καὶ 60 εἴπης τὸν μοναχό, ἐνα ἀποστείλη καὶ παραλάβη τὸ κάστρον μου καὶ ἐξη ως τὴν εξουσίαν αὐτοῦ. "Ο δέ μοναχὸς 'Αγάπιος ἐξελήφθην εἰς τῇ πόλιν, διηγήσατο τὸν μοναχόν, ὡς ἥταν εἰς τοῦ βασιλέα.
force of arms, they came to an accommodation and each took what was next to him. And Ardanoutzi lay next to Symbatios, son of the aforesaid David. Then all of them seized on the widow of the magister Kourkenios, that is, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and said to her: «You, as a woman, cannot possess the city.» Then Symbatios gave the woman territories in exchange for the city, and took the city of Ardanoutzin.

These Iberians are related to one another in the following manner. The mother of David and the mother of Adranase, the europolate, father of the present europolate Asotios, were the children of two brothers, that is to say, they were first cousins. Symbatios, the son of David, had to wife the daughter of the magister Pankratios, father of Adranasi who is now magister, and after her death Adranasi married the sister of Symbatios, son of David.

The city of Ardanoutzin is very strongly defended, and has moreover a considerable suburban area like a provincial city, and the commerce of Trapezus and of Iberia and of Abasgia and from the whole country of Armenia and Syria comes to it, and it has an enormous customs revenue from this commerce. The country of the city of Ardanoutzin, the ‘Arzyn’, is both extensive and fertile, and it is a key of Iberia and Abasgia and of the Mischians.

The emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, sent the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at that time protospatharius and lictor, with a tunic of the magistracy in order to make Kourkenios the Iberian a magister. When the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, had reached Nicomedia, the monk Agapios of Kyminas came on the scene, who had at that time been visiting the holy city to fulfil a vow. In his passage through Iberia he had come to the city of Ardanoutzin. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, had spoken thus to the monk Agapios: «I adjure you, by God and by the power of the honourable and life-giving Cross, to go to Constantinople and tell the emperor to send and take over my city, and have it beneath his dominion.» The monk Agapios came to Constantinople and related to the emperor all that the patrician
κιος | 'Ασώτιος, ο και Κισκάσης. Τού δὲ προφηθέντος πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου και δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωίου ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τυγχάνον· 65 
τος διὰ τὴν προφηθείσαν τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ μαγίστρου τοῦ Κουρκένης Ἰβηρίδος ὑπόθεσιν, ἐν προστάξεις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέξατο πυττάκιον τοῦ πατρικίου Συμεών, τοῦ πρωτοασηκρίτης, διὸ ὡς: Ὅτι «Κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν σὺν τῷ πατρίκῳ Ασώτιον, καὶ Κισκάσην λεγόμενον, 70 
καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ τῷ 'Αρδανούτζίν, ἑπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου ἔδηλοποίησεν τὸν βασιλεὰ ἡμῶν τὸν ἄγιον τοῦ ἄπο-

150ρ σταλῆναι πιστῶν ἀνθρωπων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ παραλαβείν | τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ τῷ 'Αρδανούτζίν καὶ ἀπερχόμενον σοι ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, ἀναλαβοῦ 
ἀρχιν τῶν χρυσίμων, οὗ ἐπικατείσθη οἱ ἱερείωμένους καὶ πιστοὺς, 75 
καὶ εἶσελθε καὶ κράτησον τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Τοῦ δὲ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωίου αὐτοῦ ἐν Χαλδίᾳ καὶ ἀναλαβομένου τουρμάρχου τουρμάρχου τοῦ μαγίστρου τοῦ Κουρκένης Ἰβηρίδος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἀρτίως κουροπαλάτου, λέγων πρὸς αὐτὸν 80 
«Ποῦ ἀπεστάλησας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τί δοῦλον ἐν χρησίμῳ;» Ἐσκέπτοντο διὰ τό άποθανεὶν Άδρανασέν τὸν κουροπαλάτην, διὸ ἂν 

151ρ ἔπειδὴ διὰ τόν Κουρκένιον κουροπαλάτην τόν μάγιστρον έπιφέρει μετα σεαυτοῦ; Ὑπέλαβον οἱ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ, ήγούν οἱ τοῦ Άδρανασέ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου παιδες, διὸ διὰ τό ποιήσαι τόν Κουρκένιον κουροπαλάτην ἀπέρχεται ἐκεῖσε. 'Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντίνος ἐπεκλήσατο, διὸ «Διὰ τὸ μέλλειν ἔπειδη διὰ τὸν Κουρκένιον μάγιστρον έπιφέρει μετα σεαυτοῦ; 85 

151ρ Κωνσταντίνου πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, έτὶ τίποτον τοῦ Κουρκένιος κουροπαλάτην, έτὶ ἀνεβαίνει τῶν ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, καὶ ἀναλαβομένου 
τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν χώραν τοῦ Κουρκένιου, ἐτίμησε τὸν Κουρκένιον μάγιστρον καὶ ἀποχαιρέτησε αὐτὸν πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου, 90 
καὶ ἀπολύσας αὐτὸν, ἐξελέξαντοι διὰ τὸ ποιήσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον μάγιστρον ἐν Χαλδίᾳ καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ πατρικίου Δαυίδ, τοῦ Ασωτίου, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰβηρίδος, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση καταλαμβάνειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπον τοῦ μαγίστρου τοῦ Κουρκένιου μάγιστρον έπιφέρεισαι μετα σεαυτοῦ; 95 

151ρ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ τοῦ πατρικίου Ασωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, εἰς τὸ 'Αρδανούτζιν, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν οὖ περὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ 'Αρδανούτζίου περιέχουσαν τι, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑτέρων ὑποθέσεων. Εἴπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ 100 

V 65 Κωνσταντίνου per comp. P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 67 εἴδεξατο: ἔλαβε τὸ 
edd. || 68 πρωτοασηκρίτης per comp. P: ἀσηκρίτης edd. || 71 'Αρδανούτζίν F
Asotios, called Kiskasis, had said to him. The aforesaid patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at Nicomedia on the aforesaid business of appointing Kourkenios the Iberian to be magister, received by command of the emperor a missive of the patrician Symeon, the head of the imperial chancellery, which said: «Our holy emperor commands that you leave all you are engaged upon and go in haste to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and take over his city of Ardanoutzin, since he has declared to our holy emperor, by the mouth of the monk Agapios, that a trustworthy and familiar servant should be sent to take over his city of Ardanoutzin; go, then, to Chaldia and take some capable officers, whom you know to be brave and trustworthy, and enter and take possession of this city.» The patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, went to Chaldia and took capable lieutenant-generals and officers and men to the number of 300, and entered Iberia and fell into the hands of David, of blessed memory, brother of Asotios who is now curopalate, who said to him: «Whither have you been sent by the emperor and what task are you to perform, that you bring so many men along with you?» For they suspected that, now Adranase the curopalate was dead, the emperor must be about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of curopalate; because, in the mean time, the sons of the curopalate Adranase had, after their father's death, had certain quarrels with their cousin. And since Kourkenios had dispatched his chief man with a large gift to the emperor, requesting that he might be made curopalate or magister, the four brothers, that is, the sons of Adranase the curopalate, assumed that the patrician Constantine came thither to create Kourkenios curopalate. But the patrician Constantine put them off by saying: «Because I am about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of magister I bring with me so many men.» And the patrician Constantine went off to the country of Kourkenios and honoured him with the rank of magister, and, bidding him farewell, said: «I am going to David the magister.» For this same patrician Constantine had for David also a mandate and presents from the emperor. And he entered Ardanoutzin, the city of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and gave him the imperial mandate addressed to him, which contained nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, but was about other matters. But
πατρίκιος Κωνσταντίνος, δι' Κάν μὲν ἡ κέλευσις οὐδὲν περιέχει περὶ
tοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ἀλλ' ὁμ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου πρὸς τὸν
152Π βασιλέα εἰσελθόντος καὶ ἀναγγειλαντος αὐτοῦ, ὥσα καὶ παρήγγειλας
αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέστειλεν με,
ὅπως παραλάβῃ τὸ κάστρον καὶ εἰσαγάγῃ ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅπερ περιφέρομαι 105
λαὸν.» Καὶ ἐπείδη, καθὰ προείρηται, ἐξεῖν ἔχθραν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος,
211Βο ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κουρκένη, προεκθει̃̃θη
dοῦνα τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ μέλλον τὸν βασιλεά. 'Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταν-
tίνος εἰσέλθω ἐκιντ Φλαμμουλα, καὶ ἐπιτείμηκαν τῷ πατρίκιῳ Ἀσω-
tίῳ, τῷ καὶ Κισκάσῃ. 'Ὁ δὲ βασιλέα αὐτοῦ εἰς κυντάριον, ἐπιτέμηκαν 110
τῷ πατρικίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ εἰπών, δι' Ἐπίστησον αὐτῷ ἀνεώθην εἰς
tὸ τείχος, ἵνα γνώση τῶν πάντων τοῦ βασιλεάς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
152Π ἡμέρας τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώ-
tίος καὶ τὸ φλαμμουλοῦ ἐπιτήμησαν ἀνεώθην τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοὺς
βασιλείς τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ εἰσόδος εὐφημίας, πᾶσιν ἐγένετο 115
γνωστὸν, ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανουτζίων ἀπεχαρίσατο ὁ πατρίκιος
Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, τὸν βασιλέα. 'Ὅ οὖν Δαυίδ, ὁ μέγας, τὴν
ἐκατον χώραν ἐκάθ' ἐδίδοσθ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τὰ κυντάρια τὴν τοῦρμαν
tοῦ Ἀκριμης καὶ τῇ Μουργούλῃ. 'Ο οὖν πατρίκιος Κωνσταντίνος ἀνήγαγ
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαποστείλας δύο ἀναφοράς, τὴν μὲν μίαν περιέχουσαν,120
ὅπως ἐτίμησεν τὸν Κουρκένην μάγιστρον, καὶ ὡς ο Κουρκένιος ἀπεδέ-
ξατο τὸ μαγιστράτον, καὶ εὐφημίασεν τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν περιέ-
χουσαν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ὡς τοῦτο παρέλαβεν
153Π παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίῳ, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάσῃ, καὶ ὡς μεγάλην διαφο-
ρᾶν καὶ ἔγχραν ἔχουσιν πρὸς ἄλληλους ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος μετὰ 125
τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μαγιστροῦ Κουρκένιου, καὶ ἵνα ἀποτέληθῇ ὁ
212Βο βασιλείας βοήθειαν τοῦ ταξατεύσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ δι' ἔν
νεῖδεται, ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν. Ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ Ἰβήρες,
ὁ τε μάγιστρος Κουρκένιος καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Δαυίδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κουρο-
pαλάτου Ἀσωτίου, ἐγράψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὃτ' ἐτίμησαν τὸν Κουρκένην
μάγιστρον, καὶ ὡς ο Κουρκένιος ἀπεδέ-
ξατο τὸ μαγιστράτον, καὶ εὐφήμισεν τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν περιέ-
χουσαν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ δ
153Π καὶ διὰ τῶν

V 101 Κωνσταντίνος per comp. P: Κώνστας edd. || 102 'Αρδανουτζίου Morav.
οσικ: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 103 παρήγγειλας V edd.: παράγγειλας
(litteris et in ras. scriptis) P1 || 104 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravosík: Ἀδρα¬
νουτζίου P edd. || 108/9 Κωνσταντίνος per comp. P: Κώνστας edd. || 109
the patrician Constantine said to him: «Although the mandate contains nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, none the less the monk Agapios came to the emperor and reported to him all that you had hidden him about the city of Ardanoutzin, and therefore the emperor has sent me, to take over the city and introduce it into the men I bring along with me.» And since, as has been said above, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, was at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, he had made up his mind the rather to give his city to the emperor. The patrician Constantine had with him standards and he gave one to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis. He put it upon a pike and gave it to the patrician Constantine, saying: «Set it up on top of the wall, that all may know that from this day this city belongs to the emperor.» The patrician Constantine did so and set the standard on top of the wall and made the customary salutations of the emperors of the Romans, so that it became known to all that the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had made a present of the city of Ardanoutzin to the emperor. Now, the elder David made no offer of his country to the emperor, notwithstanding it marched with the county of Akampsis and with Mourgouli. So then the patrician Constantine reported to the emperor in two dispatches, the one containing the news of how he had honoured Kourkenios with the rank of magister, and of how Kourkenios had accepted the magistracy and saluted the emperor; and the other containing news about the city of Ardanoutzin, and of how he had taken it over from the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and that the patrician Asotios and his son-in-law the magister Kourkenios had a great quarrel and feud with one another, and that the emperor should send succour for the garrisoning of this city, and that, should it be possible, the commander-in-chief should also come. When the Iberians, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of the curopalate Asotios, saw what was done, they wrote to the emperor: «If your imperial majesty approves this and enters our country, then we put off our servitude to your imperial majesty and make common cause with the Saracens, since we shall have fighting and hostilities with the Romans and shall, perforce, move an army against the city of Ardanoutzin and its country, and against Romania itself.» The emperor, having learnt
γραμμάτων τῶν προφηθέντων ἄρχοντων ἀναμαθῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄκηκοώς καὶ πτερίδες, μήπως γένωνται μετὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐξαγάγωσι τὰ τῆς Περσίας φοσσάτα κατὰ 'Ῥωμαίαν, ἤρθεντο λέγον, ὅτι: «Οὐκ ἔγραψα τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Κωνσταντίνον καὶ μαγγάλητιν περὶ τοῦ τοίούτου κάστρου καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν αὐτὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ οἴκειας ὡς εἰσέπειν ἀφροσύνης τούτο ἐποίησεν.» Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τελείως ἀπο- 154Ρ θεραπεύσαι τούτους βουλήμενος, καὶ ἐδέξατο ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος Κωνσταντίνος καὶ μαγγάλητις κέλευσιν μετὰ ὅρων καὶ ἀπείλων περί ὧν ἔχειν. 'Τις διωρίσατο σοι τούτο ποιήσαι; Ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξελθοῦντες 154 εἰς Ίβηρίαν, καὶ ἀναλάβον 'Ασώτιον, καὶ τοὺς τούτους βουλήμενος, καὶ εἰσάγαγε ἀυτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν αὐτῷ, ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐπιστρεφοντες, καὶ εἰσῆλθαν εἰς Ίβηρίαν, καὶ εἶδον συνηθροισμένους τὸν τε μάγιστρον Κουρκένιον καὶ τὸν μάγιστρον Δαῦίδ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ασώτιου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου. Καὶ ἡ ἐναντίον φιλονικεῖν καὶ κατονειδίζειν τὸν πατρίδα Κωνσταντίνον, λέγοντες, 'ὅτι «Κρυπτός ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακός τυγχάνεις, οὐκ ἔφανέρωσας ἡμᾶς περί τοῦ κάστρου Αρδανούτζίου, ὅτι μέλλεις τὸν κρατῆσαι» καὶ 'ὅτι «Οὐ συμφέρει τοῦτο κρατεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ήμεῖς γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἀνηγάγομεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐξεξαφνώσας γινόμεθα τὸν βασιλέα περί 160 τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ σε τούτο ποιήσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην του πατρίκιου 'Ἀσώτιου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση.»'Ο δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντίνος προσαπολογησάμενος τούτοις τὰ εἴκότα, ἀνέλαβε τὸν κόμην Αρδανούτζίου, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κουροπαλάτης. 165

Τί δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καιρῶν μεταξὺ Ψευματίων καὶ ἀποστάτων ἂθισῶν συμβεβηκότων; 'Αξιόν γὰρ, φίλτατε υἱί, μηδέ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μνήμην διαφυγεῖν σε, ἵνα σε δέ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὗ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἀνηγάγομεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐξεξάφνωσας κακόχως γινόμεθα τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, ἀνὴρ σε τούτο ποιήσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην του πατρίκιου 'Ἀσώτιου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάσης. 'Ο δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντίνος προσαπολογησάμενος τούτοις τὰ εἴκότα, ἀνέλαβε τὸν κόμην Αρδανούτζίου, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κουροπαλάτης. 165
of these things through the letters of the aforesaid princes and having heard them from their envoys, and being terrified lest perchance they might make common cause with the Saracens and lead out the armies of Persia against Romania, denied it, saying: «I did not write to the protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, about this city and its country, telling him to take it over, but out of his own folly, so to say, he has done this.» So spoke the emperor in his desire to give them all satisfaction; and this same protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, received a mandate couched in terms of insult and menace: «Who instructed you to do this? Come you, the rather, out of the city and take Asotios, son of the late Adranase the curopalate, and conduct him hither, so that we may honour him with his father's rank of curopalate.» On receipt of these orders, the patrician Constantine abandoned the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, in his city of Ardanoutzin, and himself took leave and departed to the elder David and gave him the mandate which he had for him, and returned and entered Iberia and found, met together in one place, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of Asotios the curopalate. And they began to quarrel with and to heap abuse upon the patrician Constantine, saying: «You are a sly and evil fellow in not revealing to us, concerning the city of Ardanoutzin, that you were about to take possession of it», and, «It is not the emperor's policy to possess himself of it, for we ourselves reported to the emperor on this affair and have received a reply that the emperor knows nothing whatsoever about this affair, but that you have done this out of love of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis.» The patrician Constantine made a reasonable defence to these charges, and took Asotios, son of Adranase the curopalate, and conducted him to Constantinople, and he was honoured by the emperor with the dignity of curopalate.

But what of events which have taken place at various times between the Romans and different nations? For it is worth while, my dearest son, that record of these things also should not escape you, in order that, should the same things come about on similar occasions, you may by foreknowledge find a ready remedy.
47. Περί τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων μεταναστάσεως ἔχει ἡ ιστορία τάδε.

Τῆς νήσου ἀλωθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπτά ἐτεῖν ἀουκήτου μεινάσης, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἄγιῃ ἕκτῃ συνόδῳ τοῦ τῆς Κύπρου παραλαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς νήσου καὶ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χειροτονίας, ἕνικα ἄν λείψῃ ἐπίσκοπος, πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπέτευν τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Κύπρου (καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰουστινιανός ὁ βασιλεὺς Κύπριος ἦν, καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τὸν τῆς Κυζίκου πρόεδρον, καθὼς ἐν τῷ ἐνδοχαρτίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄγιας ἕκτης συνόδου ἀναγέγραθαι).

Μετὰ δὲ ἐπτά ἐτῆ θελὴσει Θεοῦ ἐκινήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς πάλιν ἐκινήσια τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν | πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμομυγνὴν τοῦ Βαγδάδ τρεῖς τῶν ἐνδόξων τῶν Κυπρίων, αὐτόκοθονας τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου τυχόντας, τοὺς λεγομένους Φαγγουμεῖς, καὶ καὶ βασιλικοῦ τίνος ἀγάπεως, γράψας | тῷ ἐν Συρία ὄντα λαόν τῆς νήσου τὴν ἐπολύσα εἰς τὸν ἐνδοχαρτίῳ τῶν Κυπρίων, καὶ ἐπέπερασεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐρωμανίᾳ οἰκήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Θρακισίαν καὶ τοὺς Κιβυρραιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς Θρακησίων, καὶ ἐνωκίσθη ἡ νήσος.

47. 1/2 ἔχει ἡ ιστορία τάδε: ἡ ιστορία ὅτε πας ἔχει V || 4 Αουκήτου (littera v erasa) PX V edd.: ἀουκήτου P || 9 καὶ γὰρ — 11 ἐπεκράτησεν in parenthesi posuit Be || 10 δο om. edd. || Κυπρίους P || 11 ἐπισκέπτεται P || 13 λθ'

48. Κεφάλαιον λ' τῆς ἀγίας ἐκτῆς συνόδου, τῆς ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου γεγονυίας.

Τοῦ ἀδέλφου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἦμων Ἰωάννου, τοῦ τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου προέδρου, ἀμα τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ ἐπὶ τήν Ἑλλησπόντιον ἐπαρχίαν —

47. Of the migration of the Cypriots the story is as follows.

When the island was captured by the Saracens and remained uninhabited seven years, and the archbishop John came with his folk to the imperial city, a dispensation was made by the emperor Justinian in the holy sixth synod that he, with his bishops and the folk of the island, should take over Cyzicus and should make his appointments whenever a bishopric should fall vacant, to the end that the authority and rights of Cyprus might not be interrupted (for the emperor Justinian himself also was a Cypriot, as from the Cypriots of olden days the tale has persisted unto this day); and so it was ordained in the holy sixth synod that the archbishop of Cyprus should appoint the president of Cyzicus, as it is recorded in the 39th chapter of the same holy sixth synod.

But after seven years, by God's will the emperor was moved to populate Cyprus again, and he sent to the commander of the faithful of Bagdad three of the illustrious Cypriots, natives of the same island, called Phangoumeis, in charge of an imperial agent both intelligent and illustrious, and wrote to the commander of the faithful asking him to dismiss the folk of the island of Cyprus that were in Syria to their own place. The commander of the faithful obeyed the emperor's epistle, and sent illustrious Saracens to all the parts of Syria and gathered together all the Cypriots and carried them over to their own place. And the emperor, for his part, sent an imperial agent and carried over those who had settled in Romania, that is, at Cyzicus and in the Kibyrrhaiote and Thrakesian provinces, and the island was populated.

48. Chapter 39 of the holy sixth synod, held in the Domed Hall of the Great Palace.

Whereas our brother and fellow-minister John, president of the isle of the Cypriots, because of the barbarian assaults and to the end that they
διά τάς βαρβαρικάς ἑφόδους, διά τοῦ τῆς ἑθνικῆς ἔλευθερωθήκης οὖν
δουλείας καὶ καθαρωτός τοῖς σκήπτροι Τοῦ Χριστιανικῶτατοῦ κράτους
ὑποταγήναι — τῆς εἰρήμενής μεταναστάντος νήσου προνοίας τοῦ 
θράτους Θεοῦ καὶ μόχθω τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὔσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως,
συνυφήμεν, ὡστε ἀκατανοητόν ἄφαντο παρά τόν ἔφεσιν,

tοῦ πρότερον συνελθόντων θεοφόρων πατέρων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ προ

tού Θεοῦ καὶ τού φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὔσεβοῦς ήμῶν βασιλέως,
συνορώμεν, ώστε άκαινοτόμητα διαφυλαχθῆναι τα παρά τοῦ Θεοῦ

216 Βέμενον ἀνάφως παρασχεθέντα προνόμια, ὡστε τήν αὐτήν τούς ἀνδρεὺς προεδρεύειν <(τῶν)

τῆς Ελλησποντίως ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὅπο τῶν εἰς εἰς τῆς αὐτής εἰς τόν ἄνδρον 

τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων χειροτο-
νεῖσθαι κατά τήν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν (τά γάρ ἐν ἐκάστη ἐκκλησία ἐν έκάστη ἐκκλησία 

καὶ οἱ θεοφόροι ἡμῶν πατέρες παραφυλάττεσθαι διεγνώκασιν), τοι 

τῆς Κυζικηνῶν τό πρότερον συνελθόντων πατέρων τῆς εἰρήμε-

νης Ἰουστινιανοὺπόλεως, μιμῆσθαι τῶν ἴδιν τῶν έπάντων ἐπισκόπων τῶν 

ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων κυρίων πρόεδρον Ἰωάννη, ἀφ' οὗ, χρείας 


157Ρ Καλά ήτοι, καὶ ο τῆς αὐτῆς Κυζικηνῶν τό πατέρων 

ἐπισκόπων τού Κωνσταντινούπολι 


157Ρ καλούσης, καὶ ο τῆς αὐτῆς Κυζικηνῶν τό πατέρων 

ἐπίσκοπα της Ἱουστινιανούπολεως | χειροτονή- 20 


30 ἰστέον, ὅτι ἔπι Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ καὶ 

Πωγωνάτου καλομένου, Καλλινίκης τις ἀπὸ Ηλιουπόλεως Ρωμαίοις 

217Βε προσφυγών, το διά τῶν σιφώνων ἐκφερόμενον πῦρ | ύπὸ ὦ

τήν νίκην ήραντο. 32


might be free from slavery to the infidel and be subject unfeignedly to the sceptre of his most Christian majesty, hath with his own folk migrated from the said isle to the province of Hellespont, by the providence and mercy of God and by the labour of our Christ-loving and pious emperor; we do resolve: that the privileges accorded unto the throne of the aforesaid by the fathers inspired of God at their sometimes meeting in Ephesus shall be preserved uninjured; that the new Justinianoupolis shall have the right of the city of the Constantinians; and that the most pious bishop who is set over it shall preside over all the bishops of the province of Hellespont, and shall be appointed by his own bishops, according to the ancient custom (for our fathers inspired of God have resolved that the practices in each church are to be preserved), the bishop of the city of the Cyzicenes being subject to the president of the said Justinianoupolis in like manner as are all the rest of the bishops under the said most pious president John, by whom as need shall arise the bishop also of the same city of the Cyzicenes shall be appointed.

But now that we have thus accurately formulated and set before you the matters concerning foreign nations, it is right that you should be certainly informed about reforms introduced, not only in the affairs of our city, but at various times over all the empire of the Romans, to the end that knowledge of things closer at hand and domestic may abide with you preeminently and may show you more worthy of affection to your subjects.

In the time of Constantine, son of Constantine, called Pogonatus, one Callinicus fled from Helioupolis to the Romans and manufactured the liquid fire which is projected through the tubes, by the aid of which the Romans gutted the fleet of the Saracens at Cyzicus, and gained the victory.
Νυμφόρος τά τὸν Ῥωμαίων σκήπτρα ἐκράτει, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ ἑσπερίαν ὄντες Πέλεποννήσου ἀπόστολοι ἐνυόμοιοι, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς 5 τῶν γειτόνων οἰκίας τῶν Γραικῶν ἐξεπόρθουσι καὶ εἰς ἀραπάγην ἐτίθεντο, ἀπέτεικτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς τῶν Πατρών δρμήσαντες πόλεως, τά πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πεδία κατέστρεφον τέ καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιάρκους, μεθ' ἕαυτῶν ἐχοντες καὶ Ἀφρικών Σαρακηνοῦς. Ἡπείροι δὲ χρόνος ἑκακός 158 νὰ ἐνδέχηται, καὶ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοὺς ἐνδοθέν τοῦ τείχους | γίνεται 10 ἄρξατο, ὦδατός τε καὶ τροφῶν, βουλὴν βουλεύονται εἰς συμβιβάσεις τέ ἐξείλαν καὶ λόγους ἀναδείκα λαβεῖν καὶ τηγυκαίτα τήν πόλιν ὑποτάσσεται αὐτοῦς. Ἡπείροι εἰς τὸν τηγυκαίτα στρατηγός ὑπήρχεν πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν τοῦ Θέου εὐδοκησάντος διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἄγιου αρσενοῦ Ἀνδρέου, τοῦ Ἁλεηθῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐπιβάτου ὑποπεπτόκτως, ἐνεκένεσεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον, καὶ οἱ τοῦ κάστρου οίκητοι ἰδόντες τόν γεγονός σημεῖον καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξ ἀπαντοῦ ἐκλίνεν τό φλάμμουλον.
49. He who enquires how the Slavs were put in servitude and subjection to the church of Patras, let him learn from the present passage.

Nicephorus was holding the sceptre of the Romans, and these Slavs who were in the province of Peloponnesus decided to revolt, and first proceeded to sack the dwellings of their neighbours, the Greeks, and gave them up to rapine, and next they moved against the inhabitants of the city of Patras and ravaged the plains before its wall and laid siege to itself, having with them African Saracens also. And when a considerable time had gone by and there began to be dearth of necessaries, both water and foodstuffs, among those within the wall, they took counsel among themselves to come to terms of composition and to obtain promises of immunity and then to surrender the city to their yoke. And so, as the then military governor was at the extremity of the province in the city of Corinth, and it had been expected that he would come and defeat the nation of the Slavenes, since he had received early intelligence of their assault from the nobles, the inhabitants of the city resolved that a scout should first be sent to the eastern side of the mountains and spy out and discover if the military governor were in fact coming, and they instructed and gave a signal to their envoy, that if he were to see the military governor coming, he should on his way back dip the standard, so they might know of the coming of the military governor, but if not, to hold the standard erect, so they might for the future not expect the military governor to come. So the scout went off and found that the military governor was not coming, and began to come back, holding the standard erect. But, as it pleased God through the intercession of the holy apostle Andrew, the horse slipped and the rider fell off and dipped the standard, and the inhabitants of the city, seeing the signal given and believing that the military governor was coming undoubtedly, opened the gates of the city and sallied forth bravely against the Slavenes; and they saw the first-called apostle, revealed to their eyes, mounted upon a horse and charging upon the barbarians, yea, and he totally routed them and scattered them and drove them far off from the city and made them to flee. And the barbarians saw and were amazed and confounded at the violent assault upon them of the invincible and unconquerable warrior and captain and marshal, the triumphant and victorious first-called apostle Andrew,
πρωτοκλήτου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου, ἔταραράχησαν, ἐσαλεύθησαν, τρόμος ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῖς, καὶ προσέφυγον εἰς τὸν πάνσεπτον ναὸν αὐτοῦ. 160Ρ
Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῇ μέρῃ τῆς Ἀχαίας. Εἶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τολυμήρον πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν κατά κράτος νίκην, τὴν γενομένην παρὰ τὸν ἀποστόλον, καὶ ως 160ν οὐκ οὐδὲ οὕτως επιτρέπεται καὶ διώκεται τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάλαβον τοὺς ναόν καὶ διώκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νάτων καὶ τροποτύμων αὐτοὺς, ως καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς άφανίσσαν καὶ καταδράμοντες ἐποίησαν εἰς τῷπν σπάνιον ναόν αὐτοῦ.
and were thrown into disorder and shaken, and trembling got hold upon them and they fled for refuge in his most sacred temple.

Now when the military governor arrived on the third day after the rout and learnt of the victory of the apostle, he reported to the emperor Nicephorus upon the onset of the Slavenes and the foraging and enslaving and destroying and the plundering and all the other horrors which in their incursion they had inflicted on the regions of Achaea; and also upon the siege of many days and the sustained assault on the inhabitants of the city; and in like manner upon the visitation and aid in battle and the rout and the total victory won by the apostle, and how he had been seen revealed to their eyes charging upon and pursuing the rear of the foe and routing them, so that the barbarians themselves were aware that the apostle had visited us and was aiding us in the battle, and therefore had fled for refuge to his hallowed temple. The emperor, learning of these things, gave orders to this effect: «Since the rout and total victory were achieved by the apostle, it is our duty to render to him the whole expeditionary force of the foe and the booty and the spoils.» And he ordained that the foemen themselves, with all their families and relations and all who belonged to them, and all their property as well, should be set apart for the temple of the apostle in the metropolis of Patras, where the first-called and disciple of Christ had performed this exploit in the contest; and he issued a bull concerning these matters in that same metropolis.

These things the older and more ancient narrated, handing them down in unwritten tradition to them who lived in the after time, so that, as the prophet says, the coming generation might know the miracle wrought through the intercession of the apostle, and might rise up and declare it to their sons, that they might not forget the benefits done by God through the intercession of the apostle. And from that time the Slavenes who were set apart in the metropolis have maintained like hostages the military governors and the imperial agents and all the envoys sent from foreign nations, and they have their own waiters and cooks and servants of all kinds who prepare foods for the table; and the metropolis interferes in none of these matters, for the Slavenes themselves collect the necessary funds by apportionment and subscription among their unit. And Leo, too, the ever-memorable and most wise emperor, issued a bull containing a detailed
περιέχον τό, τί διφέλουσιν παρέχειν οί αυτοί ἅκατοντο ἤ ἀλλός πώς κατέτηρισθη οἱ δικαιος ἡμοῦ ἡμέρας.

50. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Θέματι Πελοποννήσου Σκλάβων, τῶν τε Μηλιγγῶν καὶ Ἕζεριτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τελούμενων παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἃ πάντων ὑποτάσσοντοι τοῦ κάστρου Μαίνης καὶ τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τελούμενον τάκτου.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Θέματος Πελοποννήσου Σκλάβοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις 221Βε τοῦ βασιλέας Θεοφίλου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἰδιόρρυθμοί, λεηλασίας καὶ ἄνδραποδίσμους καὶ ἐμπρησμῶν καὶ κλοπῶν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαήλ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου, ἀπεστάλη ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Θεόκτιστος, ὁ δὲ ἐπίκλητος ἐπὶ τῶν Βρυγγίων, στρατηγὸς καὶ τῷ Θεόκτιστῳ καὶ τῷ Μιχαήλ ἐπιτάξεται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς δυτικῶς τὸ πολέμασθαι καὶ καθυποτάται τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου υπέταται ἡ Μηλιγγοὶ καὶ Ἕζερίται, καὶ πάντης τῶν Σκλάβων καὶ λοιπῶν ὑποτάτων καὶ τῶν Εὐρήκαντος τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ ὑποτάτων τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπέταται καὶ ἐχεῖρωσάτο, μόνοι δὲ τοῖς Μηλιγγοῖς νομίζοντο ἐξερευνήσεις ἐντολής, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκείσε καὶ ϊσχυρὰς καὶ στρατιωτὰς ἐστὶν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μάχης καὶ στρατιωτάτης αὐτῶν ὑπείκουσιν καὶ ἐστὶς τοῖς στρατηγὸς Θεόκτιστος καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μάχης καὶ στρατιωτάτης αὐτῶν ὑπείκουσιν. Καὶ τῷ δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν θεμάτων τοῖς νομίζοται καὶ καθυποτάται αὐτοῖς. Καὶ πάντας τοῖς, καὶ ἐκείσε καὶ στρατιωτάτης αὐτῶν ὑπείκουσιν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπείκουσιν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπείκουσιν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπείκουσιν, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπείκουσιν, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θέματος Πελοποννήσου ὑπείκουσιν.
account of what these same persons who are ascribed to the metropolitan are liable to provide, and forbidding him to exploit them or in any other way to hurt them unjustly at his whim.

50. Of the Slavs in the province of Peloponnesus, the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of the tribute paid by them, and in like manner of the inhabitants of the city of Maina and of the tribute paid by them.

The Slavs of the province of Peloponnesus revolted in the days of the emperor Theophilus and his son Michael, and became independent, and plundered and enslaved and pillaged and burnt and stole. And in the reign of Michael, the son of Theophilus, the protospatharius Theoctistus, surnamed Bryennius, was sent as military governor to the province of Peloponnesus with a great power and force, viz., of Thracians and Macedonians and the rest of the western provinces, to war upon and subdue them. He subdued and mastered all the Slavs and other insubordinates of the province of Peloponnesus, and only the Ezeritai and the Milingoi were left, towards Lacedaemonia and Helos. And since there is there a great and very high mountain called Pentadaktylos, which runs like a neck a long distance out into the sea, and because the place is difficult, they settled upon the flanks of this same mountain, the Milingoi in one part, and in the other part the Ezeritai. The aforesaid protospatharius Theoctistus, the military governor of Peloponnesus, having succeeded in reducing these too, fixed a tribute of 60 nomismata for the Milingoi, and of 300 nomismata for the Ezeritai, and this they used to pay while he was military governor, as this report of it is preserved to this day by the local inhabitants. But in the reign of the lord Romanus the emperor, the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor in this same province, reported to the same lord Romanus concerning both Milingoi and Ezeritai, that they had rebelled and neither obeyed the military governor nor regarded the imperial mandate, but were practically independent and self-governing, and neither accepted a head man at the hand of the military governor, nor heeded orders for military service under him, nor would pay other dues to the treasury. While his
άνελθείν τήν άναφοράν αύτοΰ | συνέβη προβληθήναι τον πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην τον 'Αροτράν στρατηγόν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, τῆς δὲ ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου 'Ἰωάννου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Πελοποννήσου 35 τοῦ Πρωτεύοντος καταλαβόσθεν καὶ κατ’ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ἀναγνωσθείσης καὶ περιεχούσης τήν ἀποστασίαν τῶν προρρηθέντων Σκλάβων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς βασιλικὰς προστάξεις δυσπειθείσην ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπείθειαν, ἐδέξατο ο δ' αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος Κρινίτης, ἕνα, ἐπεὶ εἰς τοσούτῳ ἠλάσαν ἀποστασίαν καὶ ἀπείθειαν, ἐκστρατεύσε 40 κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ καταπολεμήσῃ καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσῃ αὐτούς.

Ἀρέξαμενος οὖν πολεμεῖν αὐτούς ἀπὸ μηνὸς Μαρτίου καὶ κατακαύσας 164Γ τὰ θέρη αὐτῶν καὶ ληφθάμενοι πάσαν τὴν | γῆν αὐτῶν, ἔσχεν αὐτοὺς ἀνθισσάμενοι καὶ ἀντέχοντας μέχρι μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου, ἀπὸ τότε δὲ ἱδόντες τὴν ἑκατονθύρευσιν, ἠττήσαντο λόγον καὶ τοῦ ὑποταγήναι 45 αὐτούς καὶ τυχεῖν συμπαθεῖς, ύπερ ὧν πρῶτον ἐπλημμέλησαν. Ὁ οὖν 223Β προρρηθείς πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς ο Κρινίτης ἔξέθετο αὐτοῖς πάκτα πλείονα, ὅπε τετέλεσαν, τοῖς μὲν Μηλιγγοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ξ’ νομίσματων, ὡς εἰναὶ τὸ πάν πάκτον αὐτῶν νομίσματα ξ’, τοῖς δὲ 'Εζερίταις ἀπὸ τῶν τ’ νομίσματων, ὡς εἰναὶ τὸ πάν πάκτον αὐτῶν νομίσματα τ’, ἣν καὶ ἀπῆτησεν καί εἰσεκομίσεν ο αὐτός πρωτοσπαθάριος Κρινίτης ἐν τῷ θεοφυλάκτῳ κοιτώνι. Τοῦ δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Κρινίτου ἐν 164Π τῷ θέματι μετατεθέντος ἡ Ἐλλάδος, καὶ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη τοῦ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ τῆς 55 ἀτάξιας γεναμένης καὶ στάσεως παρὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη καὶ τῶν ὄμορφῶν αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Λέοντα τοῦ 'Αγέλαστον ἀποδιώξαντον ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος, καὶ ἐνθέασαν γεναμένης καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκλαβησιάνων ἐπιθέσεως κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος ἐπιθέτοντος, ἀπέστειλαν οί αὐτοὶ Σκλάβοι, 60 οἱ τε Μηλιγγοί καὶ οἱ 'Εζερίται, πρὸς τὸν κύριν Ῥωμανόν, τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαιτοῦμεν καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς τῶν Σκλαβησιάνων μεταθέτεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, ἐπιτέθησαν οἱ αὐτοὶ Σκλάβοι, 65 οἱ τε Μηλιγγοί καὶ οἱ 'Εξερίται, πρὸς τὸν κύριν Ῥωμανόν, τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαιτοῦμεν καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς τῶν Σκλαβησιάνων κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, ἐπιτέθησεν ὁ βασιλεύς Σκλάβοι, ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς Χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ τετέλεσαν αὐτούς.
report was on its way, it happened that the protospatharius Krinitis Arotras was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and when the report of the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor of Peloponnesus, arrived and was read in the presence of the emperor, the lord Romanus, and was found to contain news of the revolt of the aforesaid Slavs and of their reluctant obedience, or, more properly, their disobedience to the imperial commands, this same protospatharius Krinitis was instructed, since they had gone so far in revolt and disobedience, to march against them and defeat and subdue and exterminate them. And so, beginning his war upon them in the month of March and burning down their crops and plundering all their land, he kept them to defence and resistance until the month of November, and then, seeing that they were being exterminated, they begged to negotiate for their submission and pardon for their past misdoings. And so the aforesaid protospatharius Krinitis, the military governor, fixed upon them tributes greater than they had been paying: upon the Milingoi 540 nomismata on top of the 60 nomismata which they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, and upon the Ezeritai another 300 nomismata on top of the 300 nomismata they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, which this same protospatharius Krinitis exacted and conveyed to the Treasury of the Bedchamber guarded of God. But when the protospatharius Krinitis was transferred to the province of Hellas and the protospatharius Bardas Platypodis was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and disorder and strife were aroused by this same protospatharius Bardas Platypodis and by protospatharii and nobles who took his part, and they expelled the protospatharius Leo Agelastos from the province, and straight away the Slavesians made an attack upon this same province, then these same Slavs, both Milingoi and Ezeritai, sent to the lord Romanus, the emperor, requesting and praying that the increments to their tribute should be forgiven them, and that they should pay what they had paid before. And since, as has been said above, the Slavesians had entered the province of Peloponnesus, the emperor, fearing lest they might join forces with the Slavs and bring about the total destruction of this same province, issued for the latter a golden bull providing that they should pay as before, the Milingoi 60 nomismata, and the Ezeritai 300 nomismata. Such, then, is the cause of the increase of the tribute of the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of its remission.
'Ιστέον, οτι οι του καστρου Μαλης οικητορες ουκ εισαι οπο της
geneais toin prorhiteitaton Skiaboum, alla' eis toin palaiosteron 'Roumoum,
ou kai mekrhi tou vin parak ton entotipin 'Ellhnes prosagorouontai deia
to en tois prospalaios chronous eldololatras einai kai proskynititas
tov en eidoilaiv kata tois palaious 'Ellhna, oitines etpi tis bauxleias 75
165p to oikidimou Baxuleiou | battisiathentes Christiannoi geognasip. 'O De
toto, ei o oikoumen, estin anuvros kai aptrofodos, elaioforos de, edhen
kai tain paramuthian exousin. Diakheintai de o toiootos totoi eis ekran
tou Malai, eignoun ekeinthen ton E'kropi prou tain parakalasiai. Dika
dei to telieios upoteugamoun einai autou kai drxonta parak to stro-
tygoi degevnaei kai peiafrenaev kai upeteinov tais to sto stratigouv pres-
texesin parxeouniv pakton ek palaiataton chrvon nomismata v'.

'Ιστέον, οτι η Καππαδοκιας στρατηγις το παλαιον τοιμα ζην της
tov 'Athenrikovn strategidos.

'Ιστέον, οτι Η Κεφαληνιας στρατηγις, ήγουν τα νησια, τοιμα 85
ζην το παλαιον της στρατηγιδος Λαγουβαρδιας, επι δε Λεωντος, του
filokriston deestoton, genevna stratigises.

'Ιστεον, οτι η του Χαρσιανου στρατηγις τουρμα ζην το παλαιον
της στρατηγιδος Σικελιας.

'Ιστεον, οτι η του Χαρσιανου στρατηγις τουρμα ζην το παλαιον
της των 'Αρμενιακων στρατηγων.

'Ιστεον, οτι επι Δεοντος, του φιλοχριστου δεσποτου, απο του
θεματος των Βουκελλαιριων εις το Καππαδοκων θεμα μετετθησαν
ταυτα τα βανδα, ήτοι η τοποτηρησια Βαρετας, η τοποτηρησια Βαλβαδωνας,
η τοποτηρησια 'Ασπωνας και η τοποτηρησια 'Ακαρκους, και απο του 90
θεματος των 'Athanokikon εις το Καππαδοκων θεμα μετετθησαν ταυτα
ta baanda, htoi h topotetraasia εις την Καισαρειαν τοποτηρησια
twu 'Agious, h topotetraasia 'Αφραζειας, kai egenontou tauta ta epeta
baanda, htoi ta touv Buxelharion tesopara kai tria touv 'Athanokikon,
166p touma | mia, h vin τη Κομματα λεγομενη.

'Ιστεον, οτι επι Δεοντος, του φιλοχριστου δεσποτου, απο του
θεματος των Βουκελλαιριων εις το θεμα Χαρσιανου θεμα μετετθησαν
ta Vita ta baanda, ήτοι η τοποτηρησια Μυριοκεφαλου, η τοποτηρησια του
Τιμου Σταφουρου και η τοποτηρησια Βερινοπολεως, και έγενοντο touma
h vin Σανιανα λεγομενη. Και απο του θεματος των 'Athenokikon εις του 100
θεματος του Χαρσιανου θεμα μετετθησαν ταυτα τα βανδα, ήτοι η τοποτηρησια την ειρημενην προσετηθησαν. 'Απο δε του Καππαδοκων
226B εις το Χαρσιανου θεμα ταυτα τα βανδα μετετθησαν, ήτοι η touma
Kas'hez eix ololhjro kai h topotetraasia Nośćhse met tis Kaisrapeias.110
The inhabitants of the city of Maïna are not of the race of the aforesaid Slavs, but of the ancient Romans, and even to this day they are called 'Hellenes' by the local inhabitants, because in the very ancient times they were idolaters and worshippers of images after the fashion of the ancient Hellenes; and they were baptized and became Christians in the reign of the glorious Basil. The place where they live is waterless and inaccessible, but bears the olive, whence their comfort is. This place is situated on the tip of Malea, that is, beyond Ezeron towards the coast. Seeing that they are perfectly submissive and accept a head man from the military governor, and heed and obey the commands of the military governor, they have paid from very ancient times a tribute of 400 nomismata.

The province of Cappadocia was of old a county of the province of the Anatolikoi.

The province of Kephallenia, or the Islands, was of old a county of the province of Lombardy, but became a province in the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign.

The province of Calabria was of old a duchy of the province of Sicily. The province of Charsianon was of old a county of the province of the Armeniakoi.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following hundreds were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of Cappadocia, viz., the garrison of Baretta, the garrison of Balbadona, the garrison of Aspona and the garrison of Akarkous; and from the province of the Anatolikoi to the province of the Cappadocians were transferred the following hundreds, viz., the garrison of Eudokias, the garrison of Haghiос Agapitos, the garrison of Aphrazeia; and these seven hundreds, that is, the four of the Boukellarioi and three of the Anatolikoi, became one county, now called the Kommata.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following hundreds were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of Charsianon, viz., the garrison of Myriokephalon, the garrison of Timios Stauros and the garrison of Berinoupolis, and they became the county now called Saniana. And from the province of the Armeniakoi to the province of Charsianon were transferred the following hundreds, viz., the garrison of Komodromos, the garrison of Tabia, and were added to the said county of Charsianon. From the province of the Cappadocians to the province of Charsianon the following hundreds were transferred, viz., the county of Kasi in toto and the garrison of Nyssa with Caesarea.
'Ηστέον, ότι τοὺς παρελθούσις χρόνος τὸ τοῦ Χοζάνου θέμα ύπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἦν, ὡς καὶ τὸ τοῦ 'Ασμοσάτου θέμα καὶ αὐτὸ ύπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἦν. Τὸ δὲ Χανζίτ καὶ ἡ 'Ρωμανόπολις κλείσούσι τῶν Μεσοποταμίων ὑπήρχον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ Φατιλάνου πάντα τὰ ἑκεῖθεν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὑπήρχον, τὸ δὲ Τεκής ἦν τοῦ Μανουήλ. Ί  

'Η δὲ Κάμαχα ἡ τοῦρμα ἀκρα Κολωνείας ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῆς Κελτζήνης τοῦρμα ύπὸ τὴν Χαλδίαν ἦν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οροῦ τοῦ Φατιλάνου πάντα τὰ ἑκεῖθεν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὑπήρχον, τὸ δὲ Τεκής ἦν τοῦ Μανουήλ.

Καὶ τὸν μὲν Παγκρατούκαν ὁ βασιλεύς ἦκαντόν πεποίηκεν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν εἰς τὸς Βουκελλαρίους, τὸν δὲ Ιαχούκαν εἰς Νικόπολιν στρατηγὸν ἐποίησεν, τὸν δὲ Μουδάφαρ καὶ τὸν Τωάννην ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι δὲ δώκεν γῆν βασιλικὴν, ἀπαντάς ἡκεῖν μετά λόγου ἔξηγαγεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν εἰσήγαγεν, καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον πεποίηκεν. 'Εχει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Μανουήλ υἱοὺς τέσσαρας, τὸν Παγκρατούκαν, τὸν Ταχνούκαν, τὸν Μουδάφαρ καὶ τὸν Τωάννην. Καὶ τὸν Βαντί τὸν Τεκής ἦν τοῦ Μανουήλ. Καὶ τὸν Μεσοποταμίαν ύπὸ τὴν Ρωμανοῦ δεσπότου ἐπί 'Ρωμανού δεσπότου προσετέθη ὡς καὶ τὴν Κελτζήνης τοῦρμαν ύπὸ τὸ θέμα καὶ αὐτὴν Μεσοποταμίας ἐποίησεν.
In past times the province of Chozanon was beneath the Saracens and in like manner the province of Asmosaton also was beneath the Saracens. Chanzit and Romanopolis were frontier passes of the Melitenians. And from the mountain of Phatilanon all beyond belonged to the Saracens; Tekis belonged to Manuel. Kamacha was the extreme county of Kolonia, and the county of Keltzini was under Chaldia. Mesopotamia was not a province at that time. But Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, brought the late Manuel out of Tekis upon a promise of immunity, and brought him to Constantinople and made him protospatharius. This same Manuel has four sons, Pankratoukas, Ichnoukas, Moudaphar and John. Pankratoukas the emperor made commander of the Hicanati and thereafter military governor of the Boukellarioi, and Ichnoukas he made military governor of Nicopolis, and to Moudaphar and John he gave crown land at Trapezus, and he honoured them all with dignities and conferred on them many benefits. And he made Mesopotamia a province and appointed the late Orestes, the Charsianite, to be military governor of it, and then gave the county of Kamacha to be under the province of Mesopotamia, and thereafter put the county of Keltzini also beneath the province of Mesopotamia. All these being now beneath the dominion of the Romans, in the time of the sovereign Romanus Romanopolis and Chanzit were added to the province of Mesopotamia.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Larissa was a county of Sebasteia, and Kymbalaios was a county of Charsianon, and Symposion was a desert adjacent to the region of Lykandos. And in the reign of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Eustathius Argyrus was recalled from banishment and appointed military governor of Charsianon, while Melias was still a refugee at Melitene, as was Baasakios with his two brothers Krikorikios and Pazounis, and also the late Ismael the Armenian; these wrote to the emperor and to the aforesaid Argyrus, asking that they might receive a promise of immunity in form of a golden bull and might come out, and that Baasakios and his brothers might have their seat at Larissa and Baasakios be named frontier warden of Larissa, which was done; and that Ismael should be frontier warden of Symposion, which was done; and that Melias should be made lieutenant-general of Euphrateia, of the Trypia, and of the Desert, and that was done. But since the Melitenians came out and did away...
Συμπόσιον ἐρήμου. Τοῦ δὲ Βαασακίου, ὦτι προδοσίαν μελετᾶ, διαβλή-228Βε θέν |··ος καὶ ἑξορισθέντος, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Σεβαστείας ή Λάρύσσα τούρμα ἐγένετο, στρατηγοῦ προβληθέντος ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ 150 ιεῖα Εὐσταθίου, τοῦ μετὰ ταύτα μαχητήρ τούρμα καὶ δομεστίκου 169Ρ τῶν σχολῶν. Ὁ δὲ Μελίας εῖς Εὐφράτειαν καθεζόμενος, ὁπότε καὶ προεβλήθη Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Δουξ εἰς τὸ Χαρσίαν, κατήθεν ὁπότα ὁ προφήτης Μελίας, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν κάστρον τῆς Λυκανδόν ἐκράτησεν, καὶ ἐκτίσεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἄχυροποίησεν, καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐκάθεσθαι, καὶ ἄνομάσθη 155 παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως, κλεισούρα. Καὶ μετὰ τούτο διετέρασεν ἀπὸ Λυκανδόν εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῆς Τζαμανδοῦ, κάκεισε τὸ νῦν ὁν κάστρον ἐκτίσεν, καὶ ὡσαύτως κάκειν κλεισούρα ἐκαθετίζω. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ καὶ τὸ Συμπόσιον, ποιήσας αὐτὸ τοῦρμαρχάτον. Ἡπὶ δὲ Κων- σταντίνου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, τοῦ τὸ πρώτον, συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ Ζωῆς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, γέγονεν ή Λυκανδός στρατηγός, καὶ πρώτος Λυκανδοῦ στρατηγός ἄνομασθη ὁ πατρίκιος Μελίας, δηλονότι τῷ τότε 170 Παλαιότῃ καὶ Λυκανδόν ὁπότα ἐκκαθέσθη, καὶ ήκαλείτο τό τό. 'Ιστέον, ὦτι ἡ Ἀβαρᾶ τοῦρμα ἦν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα Σεβαστείας, ἡπὶ δὲ Ἡρακλιδοῦ δεσπότου γέγονεν κλεισούρα.

'Ιστέον, ὦτι τὶς ἐμπράγην παλαιὸς τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρ | δαντόν 'Ατταλείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δηλονότι προβάλλεται, διό καὶ παρὰ 170 Λέοντος, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως, κατεπάνω προεβλήθη Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατύς ἐπονομάζομενος, ὥς χρόνος μὲν διέπρεψεν θεόν, οὐχί καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη διέθηκεν. Τοῦ γάρ πρώτου σπαθαρίου Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἀσηκρήτις ἐν τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέματι ἐκ πρόσωπον ἀποστάλεσε, φθόνοι τινὲς ἀνάμεσάν τουτόν καὶ μάχαι γεγόνασιν. Ὁ δὲ Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατύς, ὁ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν δύο στρατηγός εἶναι οὐ δύναται, δηλονότι ἡμέ καὶ Σταυράκιον, τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρδαϊτῶν, καὶ Σταυράκιον, τὸν κατεπάνω Μαρδαϊτῶν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοῦ 170 Ρ και om. V edd. || 154 Μελίας Ρ || 155 ἄνομασθη Ρ || 156 κλεισούρα Ρ || 157 Λυκανδό Ρ || 159 τούρμαρχάτων Ρ || 160 τοῦ το:
with that Ismael, Symposion remained deserted. And when Baasakios was accused of plotting treachery and exiled, Larissa became once more a county under Sebasteia, and Leo Argyrus, son of Eustathius, was appointed military governor there, he who afterwards became magister and commander-in-chief. But Melias had his seat at Euphrateia, and when Constantine Dux had been appointed in Charsianon, this Melias aforesaid came down and took possession of the ancient city of Lykandos and built it up and fortified it and took his seat there, and it was named a frontier pass by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor. After this he crossed from Lykandos to the mountain of Tzamandos and there built the city which is there now, and similarly this too was designated a frontier pass. And he took possession of Symposion also and made it into a county. And in the first reign of Constantine the Christ-loving sovereign, when his mother Zoë was associated with him, Lykandos became a province, and the first military governor to be nominated was the patrician Melias, who was, of course, at that time frontier warden of Lykandos. And this same Melias, both for the loyalty that was in him toward the emperor of the Romans and for his many and infinite feats of daring against the Saracens, was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister.

Abara used to be a county under the province of Sebasteia, but in the time of the sovereign Romanus it became a frontier pass.

By old-established rule the captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia was appointed of course by the emperor; and therefore by Leo, the emperor, of most blessed memory, Stauracius, surnamed Platys, was appointed captain-general, who gave splendid service for several years, but disposed things ill at his ending. For when the protospatharius Eustathius, of the imperial chancellery, was sent as deputy military governor to the province of the Kibyrrhaiotai, certain jealousies and broils arose between them: and sometimes Stauracius Platys, who relied upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister, as one who had been his intermediary with the emperor, would fall foul of the deputy Eustathius and indeed flatly oppose him in matters where he saw him acting or giving orders beyond his competence; and sometimes, on the other hand, the deputy Eustathius would be at odds with Stauracius and would devise many assaults and artful accusations against him. For this reason the aforesaid Eustathius reported unfavourably on Stauracius, saying: «The province of the Kibyrrhaiotai cannot have two military governors, me, that is, and Stauracius, captain-general of the
170ος Προστάτου και διοικεῖν ἐδέλουτος, ἄλλα ποιεῖν ὁ κατεπάνω Μαρ-185 δαίτων βούλεται, καὶ αὐτεξοῦσις διὸν τὰ αὐτῶ δοξοῦντα μανικᾶς δια-
πράττεται. Ἐνήγαγεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ψευδολογίας τινὰς, καὶ πολλὰς
μηχανὰς καὶ αὐτῶν συνεργάσατο, τὰς μὲν πιθανῶς συνεθείς, τὰς δὲ
συφαντικῶς τέ καὶ μανικᾶς ἀναπλασάμενος. Καὶ οὗτος δηλονῶ τῷ
230Βετρίκλιος Ἡμέριοι καὶ λογοθέτη | τοῦ δρόμου Θαρρῶν ταῦτα ἐγράψαν,190
ἐπειδή τῷ τότε καιρῷ φίλος Εὐσταθίου μᾶλλον ἦν ὁ πατρίκιος ὁ Ἡμέριος,
ηπερ Σταυρακίου, καὶ οὗτος ἐξήγηκεν τις ἄνθρωπος ἀνάμεσα καὶ
μανίας πλήρεις γεγόνας. Τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀναφοράν ἐπειδή τῷ τότε καιρῷ,
171Γ Ρπροστάτου καὶ τῇ αἰτῆσι τοῦ πατρικίου ὁ Βασιλεύς πεισθείς,
171Β δέδωκεν τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου κατεπάνω εξουσίαν τῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ195
Εὐσταθίῳ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου. Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου βασιλεῶς τὸν βίον ὁπὸ
τῶν κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω μετεξάχος, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗ δέδωκαί αὐτῶν,
tῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς, ὡς πάντας τὸς ὁποῖος ὑπὸ τῶν
μακαρίων βασιλεῶς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ προβαλεθήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς
διεδέξατο, καὶ τιμήθηκεν αὐτῷ παλαιῷ ἀδελφῷ, οὗ τῷ
πατρικίῳ Δαμιανοῦ δοῦλος, οὗ τῷ τότε καιρῷ φίλος Εὐσταθίου
200εἷς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τῷ τῷ τότε καιρῷ καὶ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ
τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τV 188 συνθείς litteras in ras. scr. Π || || 189 οὗτος (littera ω partim erasa accentuque correcto) PX V edd.: οὗτος P || 191 ἐπεὶ δὲ edd. ||
Mardaïtes; for while I give one set of orders and try to administer them, the captain-general of the Mardaïtes will do something different, and being his own master acts wildly as he sees fit.» He reported other false charges besides, and concocted many artful accusations against him, composing some that had an air of probability and inventing others that were calumnious and wild. These things he wrote down, relying of course upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister. And at that time the patrician Himerius was more friendly with Eustathius than with Stauracius, though afterwards the two fell out and became full of enmity and replete with fury. The emperor, then, received this report of Eustathius and, acceding to the request of the patrician Himerius, gave the authority of this captain-general to the protospatharius Eustathius, the deputy. But when the emperor, of blessed memory, exchanged the things below for the things above, Alexander his brother took the position of senior emperor, and as he superseded all who had been appointed to any commands by the emperor his brother, of blessed memory, being thereto persuaded by malicious and foolish men, so he superseded the aforesaid Eustathius also, and made another in his stead. For the late Chase, who sprang from the race of the Saracens and continued a true Saracen in thought and manners and religion, the slave of the patrician Damian, this protospatharius Chase had at that time great freedom of intercourse with the lord Alexander the emperor, as had also the protospatharius Niketas, the brother of Chase, who was made military governor of the Kibyrrhaiotai by this lord Alexander the emperor; this Niketas, then, brother of the aforesaid Chase, made a request to the emperor, saying: «As I am your old friend, it is fitting you should do me a favour; and I have a thing to request of your imperial majesty, and it is right that you should grant it to me.» The emperor being taken by surprise and asking in his turn what this request might be and promising to grant it whatever it was, the aforesaid Niketas made his request, saying: «I request that your imperial majesty should make my son captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia»; and the emperor, acceding to his request, on the occasion of a procession introduced into the Chrysotriclinus the son of the protospatharius Niketas, the spatharocandidate Abercius, and appointed him captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia, just as Leo the emperor, of blessed memory, had previously appointed Stauracius, surnamed Platys. It is the old rule, established from the beginning, as was said at the start, that the captain-general of the Mardaïtes is appointed by the emperor.
'Ιστεόν, ὅτι ἐπὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Θεοφίλου παρακοιμώμενος γέγονεν Σχολαστίκιος δοσιάριος, ἐπὶ δὲ Μιχαήλ, υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου, παρακοιμώμενος Δαμιάνος πατρίκιος, καὶ μετὰ τούτον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν παρακοιμώμενος Βασίλειος, ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς. Ἐπὶ δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλο-225 Χριστοῦ δεσπότου, παρακοιμώμενος ὁ γέγονεν δι' ὅλης τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. Ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, παρακοιμώμενος γέγονεν Σαμωνᾶς ὁ πατρίκιος, καὶ μετὰ τούτον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως γέγονεν Κωνσταντίνος πατρίκιος. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεύς γέγονεν 232Βε παρακοιμώμενος πατρίκιος Βαρβάτος, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ 230 φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, γέγονεν πάλιν Κωνσταντίνος πατρίκιος, ὁ προρρηθεὶς ἐπὶ Λέοντος δεσπότου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου Θεοφίλου πατρίκιος, ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν τὸ δεύτερον γέγονεν Βασίλειως πατρίκιος.

'Ιστεόν, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως, ἦν οὗ Κτένας ἐκεῖνος γέρων, κληρικὸς πάνω πλούσιος, ὁστὶς ἦν καὶ δομέστικος εἰς τὴν Νέαν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἦν δέ τεχνίτης εἰς τὸ ἁσμα, τὸ τότε καιρῷ ἐτερος οὐχ ἦν. Ὅ δέ αὐτός Κτένας τὸν πατρίκιον Σαμωνᾶς ἐδύσωπησεν, τῷ τότε καιρῷ παρακοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ ὄντος, μεσιτεύσει αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ γενέσθαι πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ 240 φορεῖν ἐπικούτζουλον καὶ προέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν Λαυσιακὸν καὶ καθέσθαι ὡς πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ ῥογεύεσθαι αὐτὸν λίτραν μίαν καὶ ὑπέρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιλήψεως δοῦναι τῷ βασιλείῳ λίτραν τεσσαράκοντα. Ὅ δέ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἦν ἐσκέτο τοῦτο ποιήσαι, λέγων τῶν αδυνάτων τυγχάνειν, καὶ «Εἰς μεγάλην ἀδοξίαν τῆς βασιλείας μου γενέσθαι πρωτοσπαθάριον.» Ἀκούσας δέ ὁ αὐτὸς Κτένας παρά τοῦ πατρικίου Σαμωνᾶ ταῦτα, προσέηκεν εἰς τὰς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας καὶ σχολαρίκια ζυγήν μίαν, ἐκτιμηθείσαν λίτρας δέκα καὶ τραπεζίου ἀσήμιν ἐνζωδον διάχρυσον ἀνάγλυφον, ἐκτιμηθείσαν καὶ αὐτὸ λίτρας δέκα. Καὶ δυσωπηθεὶς ο βασιλεύς 173Ρ λέσ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρικίου Σαμωνᾶ καὶ παρακοιμώμενο, 250 ἐνέλαβε τὰς τεσσαράκοντα τοῦ χρυσίου λίτρας καὶ τὴν ζυγὴν τοῦ τραπεζίου τὸν ἀνάγλυφον καὶ διάχρυσον ἀσήμιν, εις τῆς γενέσθαι τὸ πάν δόμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κτενᾶ λίτρας ἐξήκοντα. Τότε ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοσπαθάριον, καὶ ῥογεύθη τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ λίτραν μίαν. Ἄκοι ὁ αὐτὸς Κτενὰς μετὰ τῷ τιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν πρωτοσπα- 255 θάριον ἐτή δύο καὶ ἐπελεύσθης· ῥογεύθη δὲ τὰ δύο ἐτή ἀνὰ λίτραν μίαν.
In the time of the emperor Theophilus, Scholasticius the door-keeper was chamberlain, and in the time of Michael, son of Theophilus, the patrician Damian was chamberlain and after him, in the same reign, Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, was chamberlain. In the time of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, there was no chamberlain during all his reign. In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Samonas was chamberlain, and after him, in the time of the same emperor, the patrician Constantine. In the time of Alexander the emperor, the patrician Barbatus was chamberlain; and in the time of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Constantine, mentioned before in the time of the sovereign Leo, was chamberlain again; and in the time of the sovereign Romanus, the patrician Theophanes; and in the second reign of Constantine, the patrician Basil.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, lived the late Ktenas, an aged cleric of great wealth, who was precentor of the New Church and was skilled in singing as was no other at that time. This same Ktenas besought the patrician Samonas, who was at that time chamberlain, to intercede for him with the emperor so that he might be made protospatharius and wear the shirt and go in procession to the Lausiacus and take his seat as protospatharius and receive a stipend of one pound, and in respect of this remuneration might give the emperor forty pounds. But the emperor could not bring himself to do this, saying that it was out of his power, and «to the great disgrace of my imperial majesty if a cleric becomes protospatharius». On hearing this from the patrician Samonas, this same Ktenas added to the forty pounds a pair of ear-rings valued at ten pounds, and a silver table with animals on it in gold relief, also valued at ten pounds. And the emperor, besought by the request of the patrician Samonas, the chamberlain, took the forty pounds of gold and the pair of ear-rings and the table with its gold on silver relief work, so that the total gift of the same Ktenas amounted to sixty pounds. Then the emperor made him protospatharius, and he received a stipend on that occasion of one pound. After being honoured with the rank of protospatharius this same Ktenas lived two years and then died; and he received a stipend of one pound for each of the two years.
Π ο ρ ί το υ , τ ί ν ι τ ρ ο π ω γέγονεν τ ο βασιλικόν δρομώνιον, και περί τών πρωτοκαράβων τού αύτου δρομώνιου, και όσα περί τού πρωτοσπαθαρίου της φιάλης.

'Ιστέον, ὦτι μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ αοιδίμου καὶ σοφω-5

174Ρ τάτου βασιλέως, οὐκ ἦν βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον, ἐν δὲ εἰσήρχετο ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' εἰς βούσιον ἄγραφον εἰσῆρχετο, πλὴν ἐπὶ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ὅτε ἀπῆλθεν οἱ αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰ θέρμα τῆς Προούσης, καὶ πάλιν ὅτε ἀπῆλθεν θεάσασθαι τὸ γεφύριον τοῦ 'Ρηγίου, δηλονότι τῇ κελεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίᾳ κτιζόμενον, εἰς δρομώνιον εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ 10 ἔτερον δρομώνιον ἁμολουθείν ὑπηνέμαθεν. Οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσελθόντες ἔλατε ὑπὲρρχον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἄγραφου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Στενιτῶν πλωίμων.

234Β Ὁ γὰρ παλαιὸν εἶχεν καὶ τὸ Στέρνον χελάνδια βασιλικοπλώϊμα μέχρι τῶν δέκα. Ἰστέον, ὦτι μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ αοιδίμου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, οὐκ ἦν βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον, ἐν δὲ εἰσῆρχετο διὰ τοῦ λαοῦ ὁ Πυθός ὑπενείμαθεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμικούς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, εὑρήσατο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄγραφῳ τῷ ἄγοντι, ὁ Πυθός ὑπενείμαθεν. Καὶ εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔποιησεν Λέων ὁ αοιδίμος καὶ σοφωτάτος Λέων χελάνδια βασιλικόπλώϊμα μέχρι τῶν δέκα. Ἀναλύει δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁ Πυθός ὑπενείμαθεν εὐθανασίαν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ εὐθανασίαν καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου. Περί τοῦτο οὖν τοῦν καὶ τοῦ τοῦτον, ὁ Πυθός ὑπενείμαθεν εὐθανασίαν. Οὗτος δὲ Λέων ὁ αοιδίμος καὶ σοφωτάτος Λέων ἀπεκλίνοντο, διὸ ἐν δὲ ὁ Πυθός ὑπενείμαθεν εὐθανασίαν. Καὶ εἰς τοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δρομώνιον εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ ἔστη σύντομα καὶ τῇ πόλει εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν τῷ ἄγοντι, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν διὰ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ βασιλείου. Καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐπεστράφη καὶ πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ Βρούμου.
51. Why the imperial galley came to be made, and of the steersmen of this same galley, and all about the protospatharius of the basin.

Until the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, there was no imperial galley for the emperor to embark in, but he used to embark in a scarlet barge; except that, in the time of the Christ-loving sovereign Basil, when this same emperor visited the hot baths of Prousa, and again when he went to inspect the bridge of Rheidion that was, of course, being built by his mandate and providence, he embarked in a galley, and another galley followed behind. And the rowers who embarked in it were taken from the imperial barge and from the sailors of the Stenon. For of old the Stenon too had up to ten ships of war of the imperial navy. But since the emperor, of blessed memory, on most of his progresses always went to Pegai because of the palace he had built there, and in like manner to Hebdomon and to Hieria and to Bryas, he used to embark in a barge, according to the old rule. But when he was going on a longer progress, to the hot baths of Prousa, for example, and to inspect the bridge of Rheidion, he would embark, as was said above, in a galley, and another galley would follow, so that more nobles could embark with the emperor, and the rest in the second galley. But the glorious and most wise Leo, the emperor, who was rather more hospitably inclined towards magisters and patricians and familiars of senatorial rank, and who always wished them to share his pleasure in this, reckoned that the barge was inadequate for the reception of a larger number of nobles, and constructed a galley, and would invariably embark in it wherever he desired to go. And there would go with him whomsoever he might desire of the nobles, both of magisters and patricians. For in the barge it used to be the rule that none other embarked with the emperor except the colonel of the watch and the lord admiral and the foreign minister and the commander of the company and the private secretary and the secretary of the pleas and, when he was present in Constantinople, the commander-in-chief also, and the chamberlain and the master of the wardrobe and of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber whomsoever the emperor commanded. For this reason, then, Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, constructed the galley, and, some while after, he constructed another galley as well, which was known as the 'second' and christened 'Attaché'. For this emperor, of blessed memory, would go on distant
μακρόκενσα | ἀπέχει ὁ μακάριος οὗτος βασιλεὺς, οὗν εἰς Νικομήδειαν, εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπὸν, εἰς τὰ Πύθια, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέτρεψεν τὰ δύο δρομώνια εἰς ὑπερεξίαν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἁρχαίτων αὐτοῦ. Πολλὰς γὰρ ἐξερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ πλήρην πρόκενσα, τὴν μίαν, ὑπερεξίαν κατέλιμπαν εἰς τὸν Ἰππόδρομον πρὸς φύλαξιν τοῦ παλατίου διὰ τὸ τὸ τάγμα τοῦ ἁριῳδοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἑπικρατήσαντα παλαιὸν τύπον μετὰ τοῦ δομεστικοῦ τῶν σχολῶν ταχίζετεν, καὶ ἑναπομένοντες εἰς τὸν Ἰππόδρομον <οὗ> συνεξιούσι κατὰ τούτον τοὺς βασιλεύσιν εἰς τὸ πρόκενσα.

"Οτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀνωθεν βασιλικὸν ὀφφίκιον ἦν τῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ τῆς φιάλης: οὗτος δὲ ὁ πρωτοσπαθαρίος τῆς φιάλης ἐπεκράτει καὶ εἶχεν ύπ' αὐτόν πάντας τοὺς ἐλάτας τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγραίων, ῥουσίων τε καὶ μαύρων, ἄνευ τῶν ἀγραίων τῆς αὔγουστης τὰ καί τὰ ῥουσία καὶ μαύρα, ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἐξουσίαζεν δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὔγουστης. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ αὐλικοῦ καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, κανονυγισθέντα τὰ δρομώνια βασιλικῆς, εἶχεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων δρομωνίων τοὺς ἐλάτας ύπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑξουσίαν. Ότι δὲ τούτο γὰρ καὶ ἐλέγετο πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης, καὶ τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ δίκας τῶν ἐλατῶν τῶν ἀγραίων καὶ τῶν ῥουσίων, τῶν τε μαύρων, ύπὸ τὴν χείρα καὶ τὴν ἕφορείαν ὑπήρχον τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῆς φιάλης.

Βασιλικῆς, ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ τῆς πρωτοσπαθαρίας τῆς φιάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων δρομωνίων τοὺς ἐλάτας ύπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑξουσίαν. 'Ο σωματικὴς Πρωτόσπαθαρίος τῆς φιάλης καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς ἀγοράς καὶ τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀριθμοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἑπικρατήσαντα παλαιὸν τύπον μετὰ τοῦ δομεστικοῦ τῶν σχολῶν ταχίζετεν, καὶ ἑναπομένοντες εἰς τὸν Ἰππόδρομον <οὗ> συνεξιούσι κατὰ τούτον τοὺς βασιλεύσιν εἰς τὸ πρόκενσα.
progresses, to Nicomedia, for instance, to Olympus, to Pythia, and therefore he had the two galleys specially made for the service and recreation of himself and his nobles. For when he went out on a short progress, he used often to leave one of the complements behind in the hippodrome to guard the palace; because the brigade of the Arithmos, according to the old rule which has grown into force, goes out on active service under the commander-in-chief and they, this complement, stay behind in the hippodrome and do not go out on progress with the emperors in the ordinary way.

From time immemorial the protospatharius of the basin has been an imperial appointment; and this protospatharius of the basin used to control and have beneath him all the oarsmen of the imperial barges, both scarlet and black, except for the barges of the Augusta: for the barges of the Augusta, both scarlet and black, were controlled by and under the authority of the master of the Augusta’s table. In the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, when the new galleys were constructed by imperial mandate, this same protospatharius of the basin had beneath his authority the oarsmen of these galleys also. Now, the aforesaid protospatharius of the basin would by ancient rule go down every day in the afternoon and take his seat in the basin (for which reason he was called the protospatharius of the basin), and would judge cases arising between the oarsmen, both of the barges and of the galleys, over whom he had authority, and would give sentence and administer according to the law. And whenever he found anyone acting beyond his competence or wronging another or remiss in his own work, he would punish him with a sound cudgelling. And, as has been said, all the oarsmen of the galleys and of the emperor’s barges, both scarlet and black, were beneath the hand and the supervision of the protospatharius of the basin. But the barges of the Augusta, both scarlet and black, were beneath the hand and the supervision of the master of the Augusta’s table, though of course the master of the table accounted for these barges not to the Augusta, but to the emperor. In the time of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, the protospatharius John, surnamed Thalasson, was protospatharius of the basin, and after him the protospatharius Podaron, and after him the protospatharius Leo Armenius, father of the protospatharius Arsenius, the lictor. These, the protospatharius Podaron and the protospatharius Leo Armenius, had been chief oarsmen of the patrician Nasar, the lord admiral, and in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, were

τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ἀνήξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλώϊμου, καὶ γεγόνασιν πρωτελάται τοῦ ἄγραρίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος, τοῦ Αὐστρίου καὶ σοφώτατος βασιλέως, ἴνα καὶ τὰ δρομώνια ἐποίησεν, διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς πρωτοκαράβους. Καὶ περιστάσεως γενομένης, εἰσήγαγεν ὁ βασιλεύς

177νΡ τῶν δύο δρομώνιων τοὺς ἐλάτας μετὰ τῶν δύο πρωτοκαράβων τοῦ πρῶτου δρομώνιου εἰς χελάνδια πλώϊμα, δοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξὸλον σοφώτατον πολλήν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν, οἷον σκουτάρια, δόρκας, κλιβάνια κάλλιστα καὶ ἄλλα, ὡσα ἐπιδέονται πλώϊμοι στρατιώται ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ ἀνελάβετο αὐτοὺς ὁ πατρίκιος Βαρκάλας ὁ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, ὁ πρωτελάτης τοῦ Αὐστρίου καὶ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλώϊμου μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου, καὶ ἀπήει κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεύς διὰ τὸ ἀποβλέπειν τὸν πατρίκιον Εὐστάθιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλώϊμου πρὸς πλώιμον τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ ἀντὶ εἰσήγαγεν τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομωνίον Μιχαήλ ὁ συνετός ἐκεῖνος, ὁντων αὐτῶν τῷ τότε καιρῷ πρωτελάτων. Οἱ δὲ ἐξήγαγον εἰς τὰ δρομώνια ἕως τῆς

178Ρ ἔληξεν ὁ πατρίκιος Εὐστάθιος καὶ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλώϊμου μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεύς διὰ τὸ παρασκευάζειν τὸν πατρίκιον Εὐστάθιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλώϊμου πρὸς ἐναντίον τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ ἀντὶ ἐκείνων ἐκεῖνων οἱ πολεμικοὶ καὶ συνεκρίνοντες τὴν στρατικὴν πρὸς τὸν πατρίκιον Εὐστάθιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλώϊμου συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ πρωτελάτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλώϊμου. οἱ δὲ οἰκειοτατοί οἱ συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ πρωτελάτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλώϊμου. Οἱ δὲ οἰκειοτατοί οἱ συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεκαθέζονται μετά αὐτοῦ.
promoted from the navy and became chief oarsmen of the barge of the emperor; and in the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, when he constructed the galleys, he made them steersmen for their bravery and seamanship. And when a crisis arose, the emperor seconded the oarsmen of the two galleys, together with the two steersmen of the first galley, to ships of war of the navy, giving them much needful equipment, such as shields, leather targes, very fine coats of mail and everything else that naval personnel require to take with them; and the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, took them with the imperial fleet and went off against the enemy. All this the emperor did because the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, was intending to engage the enemy. And in their stead the imperial galley was steered by Michael the elder and the late Michael the clever, who were at that time chief oarsmen. And pending the return of the imperial oarsmen, those who rowed the galleys were Stenites from the complements of the Stenon. But when they returned from the campaign, they resumed the same employment that they had been in before. Then the emperor, to reward, as it were, the protospatharius Podaron because of the bravery he had shown and because he had approved himself above all others in the battle and had received a personal testimonial from the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, that there was in the navy none other like him for bravery and energy and the other virtues, and particularly for affection and upright loyalty toward the emperor, gave to him the authority of the protospatharius of the basin. But because he was illiterate, by order of the emperor a judge from the hippodrome used to go down and take his seat with him in the basin and judge the oarsmen. But the barges of the Augusta, as has been said before, were in the control of the master of the Augusta’s table. After this, the emperor appointed Podaron and Leo Armenius to be vice-admirals of the imperial navy, and as steersmen of his galley he appointed the late Michael the elder, who was at that time chief oarsmen of the galley; and had been second oarsman of the barge of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, and the other Michael, surnamed Barkalas, who had previously served in the navy as chief oarsmen of the lord admiral, the patrician Eustathius, when he carried the Turks across and defeated Symeon, prince of Bulgaria. Now this Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, on learning that the navy had arrived in the river, and that the navy was about to carry over the Turks against him, constructed mantlelets or wicker fencing, very strong and tough, so that the Turks might not be able to cross over, and by this device the Turks were
δι' ήν επίνοιαν καί ἐκωλύσαν οί Τούρκοι τό πρώτον περάσαι. Ὅ οὖν προφητεῖς Μιχαήλ ο Βαρκαλάς μετά καί άλλων δύο πλωίμων ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὰ σκοτάρια καί σπαθία αὐτῶν, ἀνδρεῖοι καί ρωμαλῶ ἀνδρείῳ, ἐκπηδήσαντες τοῦ χελανδίου, κατέκοψαν τὰς λέσας, ήτοι τοὺς πλοκούς, καί ἤνοιξαν τὸν πόρον τοὺς Τούρκους. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Βαρκαλάν οἱ Τούρκοι ἤδοντες καί τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αὐτοῦ ὑπερθυμασάντες, ὅτι μόνον τῶν δύο προπορευόμενοι πλωίμων πρώτος κατέκοψε τὸν πλοκόν, ἐσμά-179ς εὐπνεός εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν Βαρκαλάν ἤδοντες καί τὸ κέφαλα τοῦ πλωΐμου. Τήν οὖν τοῦ Βαρκαλοῦ ἀνδρείτητα αὐξούσας ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔποιησεν αὐτὸν δευτερελάτην εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομόν.125 Εἴθ᾽ οὕτως τοῦ Ποδάρωνος καί τοῦ Λέοντος γενομένων τοποτηρητῶν, προεβλήθη ὁ Μιχαήλ ὁ γέρων καί οὖτος ὁ Βαρκαλάς πρωτοκάραβοι τοῦ δρομωνίου.

"Οτι δ' ἐπροφητεῖς Δέων ὁ Ἀρμένης, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πρωτοσπασαρίου Ἀρσένου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου, τοῦ τελευτάσαις τελευτα ὑπερθυμάντησεν δὲ προφητεῖς πολλοὺς μετά των χρόνων προεβλήθη στρατηγὴν ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Κυθηραίων.130

"Οτι τοῦ Ποδάρωνος γεγονότος τοποτηρητοῦ, προεβλήθη πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς φιάλης, ὅ πρωτοσπασάριος Θεοφύλακτος ὁ Βιμβιλίδης, άνεψιός τυγχανόν τοῦ πρωτοσπασάριον Τούννου, εἶτα καὶ κοπηλατεῖν, ἢμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε πρωτοκάραβοις ὑποτισόμενος κατὰ τὴν δυσκρασίαν καὶ πνεύσιν τῶν ἀνέμων πηδαλιουχεῖν τε καὶ κυβερνᾶν. Τούτου οὖν τελευτάσαντος,— διὰ τὸ νηπίον τυγχάνειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν άδιάκριτον τοῦ πατρικίου — γέγονεν δὲ Θεόδοτος οὗτος πρωτοσπαθάριος, τοῦ τότε καιροῦ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοσπασάριος καὶ πρωτοσπασαροκανδίτος καὶ μετά ταῦτα πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοσπασάριος τῆς φιάλης, ἢ τὴν γαμβρὸν τοῦ προφητεῖν δὲ Μιχαήλ, τοῦ γέρωντος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ τύπου ποτὲ ἔγεγονε ἡ ἐτειμήθη πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ155
at first prevented from crossing. So the aforesaid Michael Barkalas and two other sailors took up their shields and swords, and leaping down from the warship with a brave and powerful rush, cut down the mantlets or wicker fences and opened the passage for the Turks. The Turks, who watched this Barkalas and exceedingly admired his bravery because he, by himself, advancing in front of the two sailors, was first to cut down the fencing, said in their admiration that this man ought to be named patrician and be head of the navy. So the emperor, on hearing of the bravery of Barkalas, made him second oarsman in the imperial galley. Thereafter, when Podaron and Leo became vice-admirals, Michael the elder and this Barkalas were appointed steersmen of the galley.

The aforesaid Leo Armenius, father of the late protospatharius Arsenius, the lictor, died a vice-admiral of the navy; but the protospatharius Podaron was after some years appointed military governor in the province of the Kibyrrhaion.

When Podaron became vice-admiral, the protospatharius Theophylact Bimbilidis was appointed protospatharius of the basin, who was nephew of the protospatharius John, surnamed Thalasson, and he lasted during a few years of the first reign of Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, the Christ-loving sovereign. On his death, since Michael the elder aforesaid was grown very old indeed and had given many long years of service as steersman, he was honoured with the rank of protospatharius and was also appointed protospatharius of the basin. And when the emperor embarked on the galley in the basin and set out either upon a progress or somewhere else, that good old man, ever memorable for his seamanship, would take his stand amidships of the galley, inspiring and urging the oarsmen of the galley to pull and row more bravely and manfully, and at the same time instructing the steersmen of the day how to manage the rudders and steer the imperial vessel when the winds were blowing distemperately. Well, he died; and, owing to the infancy of the emperor and the indiscretion of the patrician and chamberlain Constantine, the late Theodotus, at that time chief oarsmen, was made steersman, and was at sundry times honoured with the ranks of candidate, strator, spatharius, spatharo-candidate, and afterwards protospatharius and protospatharius of the basin; he was son-in-law of the aforesaid Michael the elder. For by ancient rule a steersman of the emperor had never been made, or honoured with the
σπαθαροκανδιδάτος, άλλα | η κανδιδάτος | η στράτωρ | η το πολύ σπαθάριος. 'Επι δέ Λέοντος, του άοιδίου και σοφωτάτου βασιλέως, ούτος μόνος ο Μιχαήλ έτιμήθη σπαθάριος και μετά ταύτα σπαθαροκανδιδάτος. Διά δέ το νήπιον τυγγάνειν τον βασιλέα, καθός είρηται, και το αδιάκριτον τού πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου και παρακοιμωμένου γεγονασι οι 160 πρωτοκάραβοι σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι, και ούτος ο Μιχαήλ πρωτοσπαθάριος. Τοι δέ βασιλέως του κυρού 'Ρωμανού ανελθόντος εν τῷ παλατί καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ούχ οἴδ' ὅπως εἰπέναι, ἐγκρατοῦ χαντούμενον, τόν μὲν Θεόδωτον διά τήν πρός Κωνσταντίνον, τον φιλόχριστον δεσπότην καὶ βασιλέα, εὐνοιαν οὐ μόνον διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τήν διὰ δαρμού καὶ κουράξει. 165 ἐπεξήλθε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ἐν δικαιεῖ παρεπέμψειν εξορία, ἐν ἡ καὶ τῷ τέλει τού βίου ἐχρήσατο, | ἕτο στον συν αὐτῷ πρωτοκάραβον Κωνσταντίνον εîtreιν τόν Λωρικάτον διά τό διά φόβον εὐνοικὸς διακείθηκα πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ὄρχο φιλοχριστό ἐξαρτήθηκεν τῆς πρός τόν βασιλέα Κωνσταντίνον εὐνοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην, δν πρῶτον μὲν σπαθαροκανδιδάτου 170 ἐτίμησεν, καὶ πρῶτον πρωτοκάραβον ποιήσας καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίον τῆς φιάλης προβάλλομεν, μετ' ὄλιγον καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίον ἐτίμησεν. Οὔτος οὖν δι' ὑπομνήσεως τοῦ κληρικοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ κατά συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ ρέκτωρος γεγονότος, ύπέθετο τη βασιλείας του 'Ρωμανού, δή: ὁ πρωτοσπαθαρίος Θεοφύλακτος καὶ τῆς τράπεζης τῆς Βαύγούστης, ὑπέθετο τήν μητρία τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἵδιους δεσπότας καὶ 182 τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσπαθεῖν. Καὶ τίς η χρεία τοῦ λαόν τῶν ἀγράριων τῆς φιάλης ἐν δυσιν ἐξουσίαις διαιρεῖται; Δύναται γάρ ὁ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὐγούστης πρός τόν βασιλέα καὶ τήν αὐγούσταν εὐνοίαν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν δρομωνίων ἐλάτας, καὶ μελετήσουσίν τινα ἐπανάστασιν κατά τής βασιλείας σου.» Ταῦτα εἶπών πείθει τόν κακόν καὶ σκολιόν ῥέκτωρα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τόν βασιλέα. Εὕκολον γάρ ἡ κουφότης καὶ ἀδιάκριτος γνώμη πρός τοῦ βασιλέως λεγόμενο οὗτος πείσας, δίδοται αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν αὐγούστων ἐξουσίας. Καὶ εκτοτε ἐπεκράτησεν τόν πρωτοκάραβον του βασιλικοῦ δρομωνίου ἐπέχειν καὶ ἐξουσιάζειν πάντας τοὺς ἐλάτας τῶν τῶν δρομωνίων.
rank of protospatharius, or even of spatharocandidate, but was either a candidate or a strator, or at the most, a spatharius. And in the time of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, this Michael alone was honoured with the rank of spatharius and subsequently of spatharocandidate. But owing, as has been said, to the infamy of the emperor and to the indiscretion of the patrician Constantine, the chamberlain, steersmen became spatharocandidates, and this Michael a protospatharius. But when the emperor lord Romanus ascended into the palace and, somehow or other, possessed himself of the throne, he superseded Theodotus because of his affection for Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign and emperor, and not only that but he punished him with flogging and tonsuring and dismissed him to perpetual banishment, in which he came to the end of his life; but his colleague in the steersmanship, the late Constantine Loricatus, the emperor lord Romanus let be, because Loricatus was affectionately disposed towards him through fear and had renounced, by an oath written in his own hand, his affection and love toward the emperor Constantine; him the emperor lord Romanus first honoured with the rank of spatharocandidate, and, after making him first steersman and appointing him protospatharius of the basin, honoured him shortly afterwards with the rank of protospatharius. Now, this man, by means of a memorial to the cleric John, whom God had allowed to become rector, put before the emperor, of blessed memory, the lord Romanus, this suggestion: «The protospatharius Theophylact, master of the Augusta’s table, since he is an appointment and a support of the mother of the emperor and of the emperor himself, must necessarily be in sympathy with his own masters and benefactors. Besides, what need is there for the men of the barges of the basin to be divided between two authorities? For the master of the Augusta’s table, governed by his affection towards the emperor and the Augusta, may mislead the sailors of the barges of the Augusta, who are under his control, and perhaps even the oarsmen of the galleys, and they will plan a rising against your imperial majesty.» With these words he won over that evil and crooked rector, and through him the emperor. For it is easy for a light head and indiscreet heart to be seduced and fall towards every malicious word and hint. He spoke and won them over, and, having won them over, was given the authority over the barges of the Augusta also. And since then it has become the rule for the steersman of the imperial galley to have charge of and exercise authority

βασιλικών τε καὶ αὐγουστιακῶν ἀγραφῶν καὶ εἶναι καὶ πρωτο-επισκόπου τῆς φιλάργυρους βασιλικός τε καὶ αὐγουστιακός άγραφός καὶ εἶναι καὶ πρωτο-επισκόπου τῆς φιλάργυρους βασιλικός τε καὶ αὐγουστιακός

'Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρήστου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασιλικοῦ, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς δύσεως θεμάτων λογαρίου ἀπαίτησις διὰ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Λέοντος καὶ γεγονότος στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ΤΖικάνη ἐκ τῶν αἰρουμένων μὴ ταξιδεύειν.

'İστέον, ὅτι καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλοχρῆστος καὶ ἀειμνήστου Λέοντος ἐγένετο ἀπό τῶν τῆς δύσεως θεμάτων | λογαρίου ἀπαίτησις διὰ τοῦ μαγίστρου 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Εὐδαί, τῷ τότε πατρικίου αὐτοῦ ὑντός.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ 'Ρωμανοῦ δεσπότου, βουληθέντος ταξιδεῦσαι τοὺς Πελοποννησαίους ἐν Δαγουβαρδίκη, τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου 200 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Πρωτεύοντος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τότε στρατηγοῦ τοῦ, ἤρετίσαντο οἱ αὐτοὶ Πελοποννησαίοι μὴ ταξιδεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ δούναν ἱππάρια χίλια ἐστρωμένα καὶ χαλινωμένα καὶ λογάριον κεντηνάριον ἐν, ἄπερ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας παρέσχαν.

52. 'Ἡ γενομένη ἀπαίτησις τῶν ἱππαρίων ἐν τῷ θεματί Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ 'Ρωμανοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ θόως προς ἐργασία

'Ὁ μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου ἱππάρια τέσσαρα* οἱ μητροπολίτης Πατρών ἱππάρια τέσσαρα* οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πάντες τοῦ θέματος ἰππάρια δύο* οἱ πρωτοσπαθαρίοι ἰππάρια τρία* οἱ σπαθαρικοὶ ἵππαρια δύο* οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἰππάρια δύο* οἱ σπαθαροκανδατοί ἰππάρια τρία* οἱ στράτωρες ἰππαρίου ενός* τὰ βασιλικά καὶ πατριαρχικά μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο* τὰ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων, μητροπολίτων καὶ ἱππαρίου μοναστήρια ἰππάρια δύο*

over all the oarsmen, both of the imperial galleys and of the barges of the Augusta, and to be also protospatharius of the basin.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, a demand was made from the provinces of the west, through the protospatharius Leo Tzikanes, the ex-military governor, for ready money from those who opted against military service.

And again, in the time of the same Christ-loving and ever-memorable Leo, ready money was demanded from the provinces of the west, through the magister John Eladas, who was then patrician.

And again in the time of the sovereign Romanus, who desired the Peloponnesians to do military service in Lombardy, the protospatharius John Proteuon being then military governor in Peloponnesus, these same Peloponnesians opted against military service, but to give instead a thousand horses, with saddles and bridles, and one hundred pounds in ready money, and these they supplied with great readiness.

52. Demand made for horses in the province of Peloponnesus in the time of the sovereign Romanus, as stated above.

The metropolitan of Corinth, four horses; the metropolitan of Patras, four horses; all the bishops of the province, two horses each; the protospatharii, three horses each; the spatharocandidates, two horses each; the spatharii, the strators, one horse each; the imperial and patriarchal monasteries, two horses each; the archiepiscopal, metropolitan and episcopal monasteries, two horses each; the monasteries without means, one horse between two. Holders of imperial dignities, sailors, purple-fishers, parchment-makers did not provide horses.

A demand was made for five nomismata per head from the whole military force of Peloponnesus in respect of this military service, and from those absolutely without means of five nomismata from every two, and from this was made up the aforesaid one hundred pounds in coined money.
Βασιλεύοντος Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐν ἮΡωμη, ἐν δὲ τῇ Χερσονησίᾳ τῶν Βασιλείων, Κρισκορόνου δὲ παῖς γενόμενος, συναθροίσας Σαμαρίτας τοὺς τῆς Μαιώτιδα λίμνης οἰκούντας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο κατὰ ἮΡωμην, καὶ καταλαβὼν τῶν Λαζών χώραν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἐκείσε, φθάζει καὶ έως τοῦ "Αλυνος ποταμοῦ. Μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός, πορθεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Λαζών χώραν καὶ τὴν Ποντικήν, ἀπέστειλεν ἐκείσε στρατὸν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι Σαμαρίτας βουλόμενος. Ἡν δὲ ἔξαρχος τοῦ στρατοῦ Κόνστας τριβοῦν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν "Αλυν ὁ Κόνστας τριβοῦν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Άλυν σύν τῷ στρατῷ, ἐκαθέσθη εκείσε, κωλύων Σαρμάτας ἀντιπεράσαι τὸν "Αλυν. Καὶ μὴ δυναμένου αὐτὸν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι Σαρμάτες έβουλεύετο καθ’ αὐτόν ὁ Κόνστας μηδαμῶς ἀλλ’ άλλως δύνασθαι τοὺς Σαμαρίτας ἐκδιώκαι, εἰ μήτι γε τῶν πλησινῶν τῆς Βοσποριανῆς καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τινας κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐξεμπερθήναι 15 εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦτον φαμῖλας ἐκπορθῆσαι, ὡς ταύτα ἁκούσας ὁ Σαυρόματος ὑποστρέψῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ταύτα μηγύσῃ τῷ βασιλεύτι, ἐφ’ ὁ τ’ ἀποστείλει κατὰ τῶν Χερσονησίων καὶ τοῦτος διεγείρει κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρίτων, ὡς πλησιοχώρων αὐτῶν ἄνωτας, καὶ πολεμήσῃ τὰς φαμῖλας πρὸς τὸν Σαυρόματον ἁκούσαντα τὸ τάχος ὑποστρέψῃ 20 ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός ταύτα ἁκούσας, ἀπέστειλεν τῆς Βοσποριανῆς καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος καστελλία παραλαβεῖν. Καὶ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων καστελλίων ἄνδρας καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἀρμάτα πολεμικά καὶ ἐνθέντες ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς λεγομένας χειροβολίστρας, παρεγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Βοσποριανῆς πόλιν, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἐγκρύμματα διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ολιγοστοί προσήψαν τὸν πόλεμον τῆς πόλει, καὶ τειχομαχήσαντες ἀπὸ ἄρθρου ἐως ἄρθρας τρίτης, ἔτεκμήραντο τὸν φυγεῖν.
When Diocletian was emperor in Rome, and Themistus, son of Themistus, was chief magistrate and primate in the country of the Chersonites, Sauromatus the Bosporian, son of Criscoronus, gathered together the Sarmatians who dwelt on the Maeotic lake and marched against the Romans, and, having occupied the country of the Lazi and defeated those who were there, arrived as far as the Halys river. The emperor Diocletian, learning this, that the country of the Lazi and the Pontic land were being laid waste, sent thither an army with intent to oppose the Sarmatians. The commander of the army was Constans the tribune, and Constans, having reached the Halys with the army, sat down there and prevented the Sarmatians from crossing the Halys. And being unable himself to oppose them, Constans resolved in his own mind that in no other way could he expel the Sarmatians except perhaps if some of the neighbours of the Bosporians and of the Maeotic lake were sent out to make war upon them and plunder their families, in order that Sauromatus might hear of it and retire from the war; and to communicate this in a message to the emperor, so that the emperor should send to the Chersonites and rouse them against the Sarmatians, their neighbours, and to attack their families, so that Sauromatus, when he heard of it, might speedily retire from the war. Hearing this, the emperor Diocletian at once sent to the Chersonites bidding them to join him in the war and to go and plunder the country of the Bosporians and Sarmatians and take their families captive. The chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was at that time Chrestus, son of Papias, and the Chersonites willingly obeyed the words of the emperor and therefore set about devising in what manner they might be able to capture the city of Sauromatus, Bosporus, and the forts of the Maeotis. They gathered together the men of the neighbouring forts and constructed military wagons and placed in them the so-called arbalests, and they arrived at the city of the Bosporians and, after laying an ambush while it was night, a handful of them joined battle at the city; and having fought at the wall from dawn till the third hour, they made a show of flight, not...
τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἅρμασι κατασκευασμένας χειροβολίστρας. Καὶ δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ νομισάντων ὡς ὀδηγήτη ἠττημένους φεύγειν τοὺς Χερσο-νῖτας, καταθαρρήσαντες ἑαυτῶν ἐξῆσαν πρὸς δίωξιν αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ Χερσονῖται ἤρεμα, φησὶ, φεύγωντες ταῖς χειροβολίστρας τοὺς διώκοντας ἀνήλλισον Βοσποριανοὺς, ἀναστάντες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐνεδρέωντες Χερσο-

186Ρ νῖται, καὶ περικυκλώσαντες τοὺς Βοσποριανοὺς, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἱκάτεραξαν, καὶ υποστρέφαντες κατέλαβον τὴν Βόσπορον, ὡς οἷος δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς 40 τὴν Μακρώνια λήμνην κατέλαμψε καὶ πάσας τὰς φαμίλιας τῶν Σαυρομάτων, καὶ ἐκαθέζοντο ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ, μηδένα τοῦ λοιποῦ κατα-σφάζοντες, πλὴν τῶν πολεμησάντων, καὶ ἐχόμενοι Βοσπόρου, ἐφύλαττον αὐτὴν. 'Ἡμερῶν δὲ τινῶν διαγενομένων, λέγει Χρήστος, ὡς οὗτοι τοῦ Παπίου ταῖς τῶν Σαυρομάτων γυναῖξιν, οτι* «'Ἡμεῖς οὐκ εἶχαμεν χρείαν υμάς πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ* επείδη ὁ Σαυρόματος ἐπήλθεν τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων χώραν πορθῆσαι, τούτου χάριν προτραπέντες ἡμεῖς παρά τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ρω-

186Υ μαῖον, ὡς υπήκοοι αὐτοῦ δυντες, ἐποιήσαμεν υμᾶς. Ἐὰν οὖν θέλετε ἐξῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν, δεύτε ἀποστείλωμεν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν, Σαυρόματον, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσα ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην μετὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων 50 ἐπ' ὑφές τῶν πρόβεβλητῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναχωρησάς τῶν ἐκείστι, καὶ ἥμεις 247Βε ἄφιομεν υμᾶς, καὶ ἀπορρόμαδε ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν, οὕτως μέντοι, προπεμπτόν Σαυρομάτου ἐνταύθα τῶν πρέσβεων καταλαβόντων τοῦ Σαυρόματον κατά τοὺς τοῦ 'Αλυσοῦ ποταμού τόπους, ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν παρά τῶν Χερσονιτῶν.

'Ο δὲ ἐν πολλῇ στενώσει γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. Καὶ δὴ οἱ Χερσονῖται μετὰ Βοσποριανῶν καὶ ίδίους πέντε πρέσβεις πρὸς Σαυρόματον, μηνύοντες αὐτὸ τὰ γενόμενα καὶ λέχθεντα. Καὶ δὴ τῶν πρόβεβλητῶν καταλαβώντος τοῦ Σαυρόματον κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλυσοῦ ποταμοῦ τότος, ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τῶν Βοσποριανῶν παρὰ τῶν Χερσονιτῶν: 65 Σαυρομάτος διὰ τῶν Χερσονιτῶν | πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς ἁπάτοις ἀνακατάσχει τέκνα αὐτοῦ: «Επειδή κατεσκευάσατο ἐκεῖ, θάλῳ υμᾶς ἠλίγας ἡμέρας ἀναπαθής, καὶ εἴθε οὕτως πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ὑμῶν λεχθέντα ποιήσας. *** ἐντεύθεν ἀπέλθατε.
having exposed the arbaletes they had made, that were in their waggons. Those in Bosporus of course supposed that the Chersonites had been beaten owing to their small numbers and were in flight, and, with complete confidence in themselves, they sallied forth to pursue them. But the Chersonites, as it appears, retiring gradually, destroyed the pursuing Bosporians with the arbaletes, and the Chersonites besides who lay in ambush started up and surrounded the Bosporians and put them all to the sword, and, returning, captured Bosporus and in like manner also the forts on the Maeotic lake and all the families of the Sarmatians; and they took up their quarters in Bosporus, putting none to the sword thereafter save those who had fought, and they held on to Bosporus and guarded it. After some days interval, Chrestus, son of Papias, said to the women of the Sarmatians: «We ourselves had no need to make war upon you, but since Sauromatus has gone off to ravage the country of the Romans, we, being for this reason hidden by the emperor of the Romans, whose subjects we are, have made war on you. So now, if you would live in your city, come, let us send envoys to your lord Sauromatus, so that he may conclude peace with the Romans in sight of our envoys and withdraw from those parts, and we will leave you and go off to our city; but only when Sauromatus so escorts our envoys hither and sends us with his own men the news of the peace, then so will we leave you and withdraw; but if Sauromatus so much as tries to proceed by any trickery, believing he may cut us off here and attack us, and we get to know of it through our scouts, we will put all of you, both small and great, to the sword and so withdraw hence. And what good will Sauromatus get of it hereafter, if all his family and the city are destroyed?» Hearing this, the women of Sauromatus made preparations to carry it out with alacrity. And with the Bosporians the Chersonites sent to Sauromatus five envoys of their own, to inform him of what had been done and said. Well, when the envoys reached Sauromatus, in the region of the Halys river, they reported to him all that had been done against the Bosporians by the Chersonites. He was in great perturbation, and, pretending to desire, as it appears, that the envoys of the Chersonites should take rest after their journey, said to them: «Since you are fatigued, I desire you to rest yourselves a few days and then I will do all that you have said; *** go
πρὸς τοὺς ‘Ρώμης, καὶ μάθετε παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ πείθεσθε, ὦτι ἀληθευόν αὐτοῖς 70 ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ ψεύδομαι.' Τὸν δὲ Χερσονησίων ἀπελθοῦντο πρὸς Κώνσταν 248Βο | μετὰ καὶ πρέσβειον τοῦ Σαυρομάτου, ἐποίθοντες τὰ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν γενόμενα, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ τῷ Κώνσταν καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἡσσοπεριονδίν καὶ τὴν Μικρώτιδα λίμνην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ, πῶς τὰς φαμίλιας Σαυρομάτου παρέλαβον, καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτη εἰς εἰρήνην 75 188Ρ ἤλθεν ο Σαυρόματος. 'Ακούσας δὲ ταῦτα δ Κώνσταν πάνω ἐλυπήθη, καὶ λέγει τοῖς Χερσονήσιοις: 'Καὶ τί μοι τὸ χρῆσον λοιπὸν τῆς ὑμετέρας συμμαχίας, ἐφ’ ἓς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα πάντα δοῦναί αὐτοῖς χρυσὸν τοσοῦτον;' Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Χερσονήσιοι: 'Μὴ λυπηθῆς, διάπραττο, καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀναλόγομεν τὸ περὶ τῆς δόσεως τάκτον. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ο Κώνστας: 80 'Καὶ πῶς δυνάτον; Μὴ λυπηθής, δέσποτα, εάν θέλης, ἡμεῖς ἀναλόγαμεν τὸ περὶ τῆς δόσεως τάκτον.' Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Χερσονήσιοι: 'Δήλωσον καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ, ὅτι: 'Τὰ μὲν ἥδη μεταξὺ ἡμῶν γενόμενα πάκτα κεκράτητεν; ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῇ, κάκῳ ἀναλόγαμα καὶ ζημίας πολλὰς ἐποίησας σοῦ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπὸ Ἡ Ρώμης ἐοι τῶν ὀδόν, δῶς μοι καὶ 188Ρ σοὶ ταῦτα, κακῷ σοι ἀποδίδωμι τὰς φαμίλιας σοι | πάσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν 85 σου.' Περιγραφὴς δὲ γενόμενος ο Κώνστας ἐμήνυσεν ταῦτα τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ, 'Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος ἀκούσας καὶ λυπηθῆς σφόδρα, μηνεῖ τῷ Κώνστα πέραν, ὅτι: 'Οὐ θέλω δοῦναί τίτοσ φῶν, οὐδὲ λαβεῖν, ἄλλα μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαυρομάτα, έμόν τῇ ἐντεύθεν ἀναχωρήσω.' Λέγουσιν οί Χερσονήσιοι τῷ Κώνστα: 'Μὴ ἀπολύσῃς ήμᾶς, εάν πάντας 90 249Βο τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπολέσῃς.' Τότε μηνεῖ αὐτὸτις Κώνσταντα τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ λέγων, ὅτι: 'Ἐπόστειλον μοί πάντας, οὐδὲ ἐχεῖς, αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ ἀπόλοι Τοὺς Χερσονήσιοις.' 'Ὁ δὲ Σαυρόματος ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἀκούς καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἀπαντᾶς, οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, αἰχμαλώτους ἐοι ενός. Ἀπολείποντον αὐτῶν οὖν ο Κώνστας ταῦτα ταὐτας τοὺς πραιδεύθης ἁπλῶς, δῆ τῶν Χερσονησίων 95 πρέσβεις κατασχῆν μετα’ ἔσωθεν, τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἀπεστείλει πρὸς τὸν Σαυρομάτον, ὅτις Σαυρόματος παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς προσπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λαξίδων χώρας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ιδίων ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ παραδοθέν αὐτοὺς τῇ τῇ Βόσπορον καὶ τὰς φαμίλιας αὐτῶν. Αὐτὸς δὲ (δ) Σαυρόματος τῇ παρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑων αὐτοῦ ἐν καταστάσει ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς 100 τῷ Σαυρομάτῳ Χερσονήσιοις παραδοθέν τὰς φαμίλιας καὶ ἀναχωρήσας. Οἱ δὲ Χερσονήσιοι τοὺς ὀδηγοὺς πρέσβεις ὑποδέξαμεν ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ, καὶ μεμαθηκότες τὰ γενόμενα ἀπαντarent ὑπὸ Κώνσταντος καὶ τοῦ Σαυρομάτου, παρέδωκαν τοῦ Σαυρομάτου ἀνθρώπον τῇ τῇ Βόσπορον
hence to the men of Rome and learn of them and be persuaded that my words to you are truth and that I do not lie." The Chersonites went off to Constans together with envoys of Sauromatus, and learnt what had gone on between them, and reported to Constans all that had been done by them in the country of the Bosporians and at the Maeotic lake, and how they had captured the families of Sauromatus, and that Sauromatus had through this necessity been brought to make peace. On hearing this, Constans was quite cast down, and said to the Chersonites: «And what good, then, is your alliance to me, now that I have made agreements to give them so much gold?» The Chersonites said to him: «Be not cast down, my lord: if you wish, we will dissolve the agreement for your payment.» Constans said to them: «How is it possible?» The Chersonites said to him: «Do you, for your part, thus declare to Sauromatus: 'The agreements already made between us hold good; and now, since on your account I too have incurred expenses and great losses on my way hither from Rome with the army, do you, for your part, pay me these, and I will give you back all your families and your city'.» Constans was overjoyed and sent this message to Sauromatus. Sauromatus, when he heard it, was exceedingly downcast, and sent to Constans a message saying: «I will neither pay nor take anything at all; do you but send me the Chersonites, that I may withdraw hence.» The Chersonites said to Constans: «Do not dismiss us until you get back all the prisoners.» Then Constans sent a message to Sauromatus saying: «Send me all whom you hold prisoners, and I will dismiss the Chersonites.» Sauromatus, when he heard it, unwillingly and against his desire dismissed all the prisoners whom he held, to the last one of them. So then Constans, having got back all those who had been taken in the forays, kept with him two envoys of the Chersonites and sent the others to Sauromatus, and Sauromatus received them and sent them on ahead out of the country of the Lazi, together with some of his own men, to whom might be handed over Bosporus and their families. Sauromatus himself put his march with his nation in train, so that the Chersonites might honestly hand over the families and withdraw. The Chersonites, having received their own envoys in Bosporus and having learnt all that had been done by Constans and Sauromatus, handed over to Sauromatus' agent both Bosporus and the forts of the Maeotis and all the families, unharmed, and came in peace to the country.
καὶ κατέλαβον ἐν εἰρήνη τῆς Χερσωνιτῶν. Ὅ δὲ Κώνστας, ἀνακοινώσαντος τοῦ Σαυρομάτου ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τόπων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέξευς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν γενόμενα, προσαγαγόν καὶ τοὺς δύο αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὐσιν λεῖδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εὐχαριστήσας, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· «Τί θέλετε παράσχω ὑμῖν τε καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐνοίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας;» Οἱ δὲ εἶπον τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι· «Ήμεῖς, δέσποτα, οὐδέν ἔτερον ἔθελομεν, εἰ μήτι γε τούτῳ μόνον αὐτοῦς, ἕφ' ὃ τε δεξίας ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀτελείας παρασχέσαι ήμῖν 190· ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν.» Ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀσμένως ὑποκύπτει τῇ αὐτής ἀποφάσεως αὐτῶν, ἀφδοὺς παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τοιαύτας τῆς ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἀτελείας δεξιάς, ἀποστείλεις αὐτοὺς μετὰ καὶ δώρων πλεῖστων κατὰ τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν, ὡς γνησίως ὄντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηκόους τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας. Ὅ δὲ Κόνστας μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποδεχθείς παρά τοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ, ὡς ἀνδριατικῶς παρασχέσαι κατὰ τὸν νῦν Σαυρομάτων πόλεμον καὶ περιφάνης καὶ ἐνδόξος γενόμενος, μετ' ὅλην τινὰ χρόνον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀναδείξας βασιλείας, Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Νικομηδίαν ἐπαναγαγόντος. 

Κώνστα δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐν Ῥώμη ἐβασίλευσεν Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, ἀντικείμενος τοῦ 190· ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ τε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν πρέσβεις.
of the Chersonites, Constans, too, on the withdrawal of Sauromatus from the Roman territories, himself set out for Rome, and reported to the emperor all that had been done by the Chersonites; and he brought their two envoys also, whom the emperor saw and bounteously entertained and thanked most gratefully, and then said to them: «What will you that I should grant to you and your city in return for this affection and alliance?» They said to the emperor: «We, my lord, wish for nothing else, but request this one thing only, that your majesty should grant us pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute.» The emperor gladly acceded to their request and ungrudgingly granted them these pledges of freedom and of immunity from tribute, and sent them to the country of the Chersonites with very many gifts besides, as true subjects of the empire of the Romans. Constans too was grandly entertained by the emperor Diocletian for his brave support in the war of the Sarmatians, and became noble and illustrious and after a short while was proclaimed emperor of the Romans, when Diocletian had retired to Nicomedeia.

On the death of Constans, his son Constantine became emperor at Rome, and when he came to Byzantium, and certain of those in Scythia revolted against him, he called to mind what had been said by his father Constans concerning the affection of the Chersonites and their alliance, and he sent envoys to the country of the Chersonites, with instructions that they should go to the country of the Scythians and fight those who had revolted against him. The chief magistrate and primate of the Chersonites was at that time Diogenes, son of Diogenes, and the Chersonites gladly obeyed the imperial mandate and with all zeal constructed the military waggons and the arbalests and arrived at the Ister river and, having crossed it, arrayed themselves against the rebels and routed them. The emperor, learning of the victory won by them, bade them go back to their country, but their primates he invited to the city of Byzantium and, after thanking them most gratefully, he said to them: «Since now too you have laboured loyally on our behalf, as in the time of the pious forbears of our divine majesty, see, we too do ratify the pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute already granted to you in the city of the Romans by our imperial government; and for our part we give you besides a golden statue with imperial cloak and clasp and a golden crown, for the beautifying of your city, and thereto our charter of freedom and immunity from tribute for you and for your sailors; and, for the purity of your affection, we give you also golden...
δακτυλίους χρυσούς, ἐκτυπώντας τὰς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβεῖς εἰκόνας, δι’
δὲ τὰς κατὰ καρδιν μελλούσας ἀποστέλλεσθαι ἡμῖν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀναφοράς
tε καὶ δεήσεις σφραγίζοντες τούτας, γνωρίμους ἡμῖν ἀποδείκνυτε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πρέσβεις, πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτους δὲ παρέχομεν ὑμῖν καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἑκατον ἑτὸς νεῦρον τε καὶ κάνακον, σίδηρον τε καὶ ἔλαιον ὑπὲρ κατασκευῆς
150
τῶν βαλλιστρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ δίδομεν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἀποτροφίαν ὑμῶν γιαλίς
ἀνώνυμα, ἐφ’ ὃ τε εἶναι ὑμᾶς βαλλισταρίους, λεγόμενον, ὡς τὰς τοιαύτας
συνθῆκες τε καὶ συν’ θείας τάσσας καθ’ ἑκατον ἑτὸς τῶν | ἐντεύθεν
μέλλομεν ὑμῖν ἀποστελεῖν κατὰ τὴν Χερσονιτῶν.» Οἱ δὲ Χερσονιτίκει ταῖς
tοιαύταις εἰληφότες ἁνώνας, εἰς ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τά τοῦτων τέκνα 155
διαμερίσαντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν συνεστήσαντο· διὰ τό καὶ ἐως τοῦ ὕμνο
τα τούτων τέκνα κατὰ τῶν γονέων τῆς στρατείας συμπλήρωσιν ἐν τῷ
ἀριθμῷ καταστάσσονται. Ἡσυχίας δὲ καὶ δόρους πλεῖστοι τότε τιμηθέ-
ντων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ τε Διογένους καὶ
tῶν σύν αὐτῶ, κατέλαβον τὴν Χερσονιτῶν ἀποκομίζοντες καὶ τὰς θείας 160
φιλοτιμίας.
Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινὰς τοῦ ταύτα γεγονέναι Σαυρόματος, ὁ ἑγγονὸς
Σαυρόματος, τοῦ Κρισκορόνου, τοῦ πολεμήσαντος τὴν Λαζικήν, συν-
192Ρ αθροί πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, ἐπανέστη τοῖς Χερσωνίταις,
βουλόμενος, φησίν, τὴν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ὑμῶν τὸν οἰκείον τάππου 165
ἐκθισθῆναι, τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένην.
Μεμαθηκότες δὲ τούτοι οἱ Χερσονίτες, στεφανηφοροῦντος τότε καὶ
πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσώνος Βύσκου, τοῦ Σουπολίχου, ἀντιπαραταξάμε-
νοι καὶ αὐτοί ὑπήντησαν τῷ Σαυρόματῳ ἐξω ἐν τοῖς τοῦ λεγομένου
Καφά τόποις, καὶ τολμήσαντες μετὰ αὐτῶν, τῷ Θεοὶ τοῖς Χερσωνίταις 170
βοηθοῦντος, ἐνίκησαν τὸν Σαυρόματον καὶ ἐδιώξαν, θήσαντες καὶ
ὁροθεσίας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λεγομένῳ Καφά, ἐν δ’ τόπῳ τολμήσαντες τῶν
192Ρ Σαυρόματον | ἐνίκησαν, ἐν δ’ καὶ ὄρκους ἐπετέλεσαν ὁ αὐτὸς Σαυρό-
ματος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶν ὑπολειπθέντες τοῦ μηκεῦ αὐτῶν χάριν πολέμου ὑπερ-
βαίνειν τὰς μεταξ’ αὐτῶν τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας, ἄλλ’ ἐκατον αὐτῶν 175
tῶν ὄρκους ἐχεῖν τόπους πρὸς τὰς τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας. Καὶ οὕτως ἀνε-
χώρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βόσπορον τὸν Σαυρόματος, καὶ οἱ Χερσονιτεῖς εἰς
tὰ ἵδια.
Καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως γενομένων, πάλιν μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς ἔτερος
Σαυρόματος ἀναστὰς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος 180
λίμνης, παρετάξαντο πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Χερσονιτῶν, καὶ παρελθὼν
tὰς μεθ’ ὄρκου τεθείσας ὀροθεσίας ἐν τῷ Καφά ὑπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον γενο-

V 146 χρυσοὺς P || 147 ἡμῖν litteram \in ras. scr. P || 150 κάνακον P || 151
βαλιστρῶν P || 152 βαλλισταρίους P || <τὸ> λεγόμενον coni. Kyriakides || 156
διὰ τὸ: δι’ αὐτὸ coni. Bekker ||
rings expressing the likenesses of our pious selves, wherewith you are to seal reports and petitions which shall from time to time be sent from you to us, and thus make your envoys known to us; and besides, in addition to these, we grant you annually cord and hemp, iron and oil, for the manufacture of your bows, and we give you for your sustenance a thousand military rations, so that you may be bowmen (as they are called): so that all these provisions and regular grants we shall send you every year from here to the country of the Chersonites. The Chersonites, receiving these rations, divided them out among themselves and their sons and so made up the brigade, and that is why, even to this day, their sons are «enrolled in the brigade», to fill up the number of their parents' levy. Diogenes and those with him were then honoured with a multitude of supplies and gifts by Constantine, the emperor beloved of God, and came to the country of the Chersonites, bringing back the gifts conferred by his divine majesty.

Some years after these events had taken place, Sauromatus, grandson of Sauromatus the son of Criscoronus who had attacked Lazike, gathered together a warlike power from the Maeotic lake and rose against the Chersonites, desiring, it appears, to avenge the insult of the captivity done to his grandfather by them in the time of Diocletian the emperor. The Chersonites, Byscus, son of Supolichus, being at that time chief magistrate and primate of Cherson, learnt of this and on their side arrayed themselves in opposition and met Sauromatus outside, in the region of Kapha, so-called, and they fought with him, and, God aiding the Chersonites, defeated Sauromatus and drove him off; and they set up boundary-stones in that same Kapha by name, in the place where they had fought and defeated Sauromatus, and there this same Sauromatus and those that were left with him swore oaths in due form that they would never more pass for purposes of war beyond the boundary-stones set up between them, but that each of them should keep to his own places on his side of the boundary-stones set up. And so they withdrew, Sauromates to Bosporus, and the Chersonites to their own homes.

When this had been done, once more after some years another Sauromatus rose up and with him a multitude of men from the Maeotic lake, and they drew up their force against the Chersonites, and, crossing over the boundary-stones set up in Kapha by the first Sauromatus with an oath that
μένοι Σαυρωμάτου τοῦ μηδένα ποτὲ ἐπιχείρησαι τῶν Βοσποριανῶν

193νΡ πολέμου χάριν ταύτης ὑπερβήναι, οὗτος ο Σαυρώματος ὑπερβήη, ὡς οἱ βουλόμενοι τὴν μετὰ βίας αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθείσαν γῆν ἐδικοῦσαι καὶ ἀπολα-185 βεῦν. Καὶ δὴ ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς στεφανοφοροῦντο καὶ πρωτεύοντος τῆς Χερσονίτῶν Φαρνάκου, τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ἀντεπαρατάξαντο καὶ οἱ Χερσονίται τῷ Σαυρωμάτῳ, καὶ ἀπαντήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου Καφᾶ τόποις, ἔστησαν ἐκάτερα τὰ μέρη ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν. 'Ο δὲ Σαυρώματος ὅν μέγας τὴν ἴλικίαν ἔδάρασσεν ἐκάτω, καὶ ἐμὲ-190 γαλαύχει κατά τῶν Χερσονίτῶν φραττόμενοι, θαρρῶν ἡμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπείρῳ πλῆθει, τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντι. 'Ο δὲ Φαρνάκος μικρός ἦν τῇ ἴλικίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Σαυρωμάτον, καὶ ἠδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαυρωμάτου, ἐσκέψατο 254Β* ετέρ τού τε μονομαχήσαι αὐτόν μετά τοῦ Σαυρω­

194νΡ μετὰ τοῦ ἴδου | στρατοῦ, ἐφ' ὃ τε μονομαχήσατο αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ Σαυρωμάτου καὶ μὴ ἀπειρον πλῆθους ἀπολέσθαι. Καὶ δὴ σκέψεως τοιαύτης 195 γενομένης, δῆλοι ὁ Φαρνάκος τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαυρωμάτου λέγων, ὅτι 'Τις χρεία ἐστίν τοσούτου οχλοῦ γενέσθαι ἀπώλειαν; Οὐ γάρ ὑμεῖς οἰκεία προαιρέσει πρὸς τὸν πλῆθον ἑτράπητε, ἀλλὰ Σαυρωμάτου ὄμολος προετρέπατο. Θελήσατε ὅν τούτων ἀναγκᾶσαι τὸ μονομαχῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνηθῶ αὐτὸν, ὑμεῖς ἀναχώρετε εἰς τὰ ἔδα. 200 ἀβλαβῶς, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ τόλις αὐτοῦ ὑπέπεσαν μοι, εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆ με αὐτὸς, καὶ οὕτως ὑμεῖς ἀναχώρετε εἰς τὰ ἴδα, καὶ αὐτός ἐπέβη ἐν τοῖς 194νΡ ἐμοῖς. Ἄρ ο οχλος τῶν Σαυρωμάτων | ἣδέως τούτο ἀποδέξάμενος προετρέψατο τὸν Σαυρόματον μονομαχῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου. 'Ο οὖν Σαυρώματος μαθὼν μικρόν δὲν τὴν ἴλικίαν τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ἑκοῦν 205 δὲ ὑπεμεγέθη, ἐχάρη ἐπὶ τούτω, πεποιθῶς τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ οἷς ἐκέχρητο δπλοις κατατεθωρακισμένος. Καὶ τούτων οὕτως δοξάντων, λέγει ὁ Φαρνάκος τῷ ἴδιῳ στρατῷ, δτι* «Ὅταν κατέλθω διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸ μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ Ἰδητε, δτι ό Σαυρόματος τὰ νότα αὐτοῦ έχει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὅψιν πρὸς τοὺς ἴδους, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ὅψιν μου πρὸς 210 ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ νότα μου πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀπαντες ὑμεῖς βάλετε μιᾶν κραυγήν καὶ μόνον λέγοντες τὸ ἄ, ἃ, καὶ μὴ δευτερώσητε ἐπὶ τῇ κραυγῇ.» 195Ρ Καὶ δὴ | κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἄμφοτέρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸς τὴν μονομα­χίαν καὶ τραχτεύοντον ἐκατούς, καὶ τοῦ Φαρνάκου γενομένου εἰς τὸ τοῦ 255Βε Σαυρωμάτου μέρος καὶ τοῦ Σαυρωμάτου εἰς | τὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου, ἐδοξέλαι 215 ο τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατός μὴν φωνήν, τὸ ἄ, ἃ, ὁ δὲ Σαυρώματος τῆς τοιούτης φωνῆς ἀκούσας περιεστραφῆ ἴδεϊν ἐναγάγόνως, τῆς ἡ γενομένη κραυγή
none of the Bosporians should ever attempt to pass beyond them for purposes of war, this Sauromatus passed beyond them, as desiring to avenge and recover the land forcibly taken from him. In those times the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Pharnacus, son of Pharnacus, and the Chersonites on their side arrayed themselves against Sauromatus, and they met one another in the region of the aforesaid Kapha, and each side took up position on the mountains. Sauromatus, being of huge stature, had confidence in himself and boasted insolently over the Chersonites, confiding also at the same time in the infinite multitude that was with him. But Pharnacus was of small stature compared to Sauromatus, and, seeing the multitude of Sauromatus, resolved with his own army that he should fight in single combat with Sauromatus, to avoid the destruction of an infinite multitude. This resolution having been made, Pharnacus made a declaration to the multitude of Sauromatus, saying: «What need is there of the destruction of so great a throng? For you have not resorted to war of your own choice, but Sauromatus has bidden you to it. Do you, then, urge him to fight in single combat with me, and if by God's aid I overpower him, do you withdraw unharmed to your own homes, and he and his city shall have fallen beneath me; but if he overpowers me, in this case also you withdraw to your own homes, and he shall have become master over mine.» The throng of the Sarmatians accepted this with joy, and told Sauromatus to fight in single combat with Pharnacus. So Sauromatus, learning that Pharnacus was quite small in stature, while he himself was gigantic, was delighted at this, for he trusted in his own strength and in his armour, by which he was completely protected. This being so resolved upon, Pharnacus said to his army: «When I go down with God's aid to the single combat, and you see that Sauromatus has his back towards you and his face towards his own men, while I have my face towards you and my back towards the enemy, do you all raise one shout, saying simply 'Ah! Ah!', and after the shout, do not repeat it.» And so, when both had gone down to the plain for the single combat, and were manoeuvring about one another, and Pharnacus had taken the ground of Sauromatus and Sauromatus that of Pharnacus, the army of Pharnacus gave one shout, 'Ah! Ah!'. Sauromatus, hearing this shout, turned about in the action to see what cry was raised in the army of

ἐν τῷ Φάρνακος στρατῷ. Ἐν δὲ τῷ περιστρέφαι τὸν Σαυρώματον τὴν ἑκοτοῦ ὅμων ἐς τὰ ὄπισθεν διηνοίχῃ μικρὸν τὸ τοῦ κασσιδίου αὐτοῦ πέταλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπιθραμμένος τὸν Φάρνακος ἔδωκεν τῷ κοντῷ τὸν Σαυρώματον καὶ ἀνέτλεσε αὐτόν. Πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Σαυρώματου, κατελθὼν ὁ Φάρνακος οὐτοῖς ἐξαυτοῦ δψιν εἰς τὰ όπισώ διηνόχθη μικρὸν τοῦ κασσιδίου αὐτοῦ πέταλον, καί εὐθέως ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ Φάρνακος ἐδώκεν τῷ κοντῷ τὸν Σαυρώματον καί ἀνέτλεν αὐτόν. Πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Σαυρώματου, κατελθὼν ὁ Φάρνακος τοῦ ήππου, ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτόν, καὶ γενόμενος ἑγκαταρτῆς τοῦ τούλιμου, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀπέλυσεν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς Βοσπόρου αἷμαλλώτως λαβὼν καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενον, ἐν Κυβερνικῷ ἄνω τῆς τῶν Χερσονίτων ὀροθεσίας ἐστησεν, ἀχρὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μόνον 225 μιλίων γῆν αὑτοῖς ἐάντος. αὕτες ὀροθεσίαι ἔσω τῷ νῦν διαμενούσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐρημέναι πρῶτοτ ὀροθεσίαι ἐν Καρφε ἐστώ ἀποκειμέναι. Ὁλίγους δὲ τινὰς κατασχὼν παρ’ αὐτῶν, γεωργῶν ἐνεκα, τοὺς άλλους άπαντας οίκτου ἀξιώσας ἀπέλυσεν κατά τῶν Βοσποριανῶν ἀπελθεῖν, οἵτινες ἀπολυθέντες ύπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου, υπέρ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς αὑτοὺς γενομένης στήλην αὐτῷ ἤγειραν ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ. Ἐκτοτε οὖν λοιπῶν ἡ τῶν Σαυρώματων ἐν τῇ Βοσπόρῳ βασιλεία κατελύθη.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων, Λαμάχου στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ 256Βρωτευόμενοι τῆς τῶν Χερσονίτων, Ἀσάνδρου δὲ τῆς Βοσποριανῆς 235 βασιλείας, κακία πολλή μεμεστωμένοι οἱ Βοσποριανοὶ κατὰ τῶν Χερσονίτων καὶ μηδαμῶς δυνάμενοι τὴν πονηρία ἡρεμεῖν, ἐπευεδον δὲ τρόπῳ τινὶ τὴν ἀνταμοιβήν τῶν αἰχμαλωσιῶν τοῖς Χερσονίταις ἀποδούναι. Καὶ δὴ μεμαθηκότες ἔχειν ἑχειν τῇ Βοσποριανῆς, έχοντος καὶ τοῦ Άσάνδρου υἱοῦ, σύμνεχοντο εὐπορεῖα ποιήσασθαι, ὡς διὰ τούτου ἀδεώς ἐπιβάι nos τῆς Χερσονίτων ἀμύνασθαι. Καὶ δὴ άποστέλλουσιν πρέσβεις κατά τῆς Χερσονίτων παρακαλούντες, «Εάν οἱδαμεν, δΤι άγάπη αληθής μεταξύ ἡμῶν ἔστιν, καὶ άδόλως πρὸς ἅλληλος ἔχομεν, ἐπιγαμβρεύσωμεν εαυτοῖς, καὶ δότε ήμῖν εἰς νύμφην τὴν θυγατέρα Λαμάχου, τοῦ πρώτου υμῶν, ἐκείνην τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀσάνδρου, 225 τοῦ χρισίου υἱοῦ, ἡ λάβετε αὐτὸν αὐτῶθι εἰς γαμβρόν, καὶ άδόλως, ἔχοντος, ἢ πιστεύειν εἰς ἅλληλους, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως δούναι, οὕτω μέντοι, μή δυναμένου έτὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Άσάνδρου, τοῦ ερχομένου πρὸς θυγατέραν τῆς οικείου πατρός, έν τφ τφ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατοῦ ομ. Βα Βε || Σαυρώματον Ρ || 220 Φάρνακος edd. || 221 Σαυρώματον Ρ || Σαυρώματον Ρ || 222 Φάρνακος edd. || 224 Κυβερνικό: Κιμμερικό coni. Laskin || 225 τῆς V edd.: τοῦ Ρ || μόνον V edd.
Pharnacus. And as Sauromatus turned his face to the rear, the plating of his helmet opened a crack, and at once Pharnacus charged upon him and smote Sauromatus with his lance and slew him. When Sauromatus had fallen, Pharnacus got down from his horse and cut off his head, and, having won the battle, dismissed the multitude of the Maeotis, but took prisoner them of Bosporus and took away their land and set up boundary-stones in Kybernikon, beyond the country of the Chersonites, leaving to the Bosporians land up to forty miles only, and these boundary-stones remain to this day, and the said first boundary-stones in Kapha are laid aside. Pharnacus, keeping by him some few of the Bosporians to do agricultural work, in pity dismissed all the rest, to go to the country of the Bosporians, and they, dismissed by Pharnacus, erected a column to him in Bosporus for the beneficence and mercy which he had shown towards them. From that time, then, the rule of the Sauromati in Bosporus was ended.

These events, then, fell out so; but when Lamachus was chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites and Asander was king of the country of the Bosporians, the Bosporians, being replete with much malice against the Chersonites and wholly unable to rest from wickedness, were still eager how they might pay back the recompense of the captivities upon the Chersonites. And so, learning that Lamachus had an only daughter, Gykia, while Asander had sons, they set about contriving the conclusion of a marriage alliance, in order that thereby they might safely gain a footing in the country of the Chersonites and take vengeance on it. And so they sent envoys to the country of the Chersonites, with this request: «If we know that sincere love exists between us, and if our relations one toward another are without guile, let us make for ourselves a marriage alliance, and do you give us the daughter of Lamachus, your first man, to be bride of the son of Asander our lord, or else receive him on your side as son-in-law, and we shall know that we have faith one toward another when the king’s son is among you.» The Chersonites said to them: «We cannot consent to giving our daughter to you; but if from among the sons of Asander your king you would like to give us a son-in-law, we accept, but on such terms that the son of Asander who comes to us to be allied in marriage shall no longer have in his power ever at any time or season to attempt to return to the country of the Bosporians for the purpose of visiting or greeting his
εί δὲ τούτο βούλεται, πάντως, ὅτι τῇ ὠρᾷ ἀποθνήσκει.· Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀπολύθεντον καὶ καταλαβόντων τὴν Βοσποριανὴν καὶ ταῦτα

272 Βεναγγελλόντων, ἀπέστειλεν πάλιν ὁ Ἀσανδρὸς πρέσβεις, λέγων τοῖς Χερσονήταις, ὅτι· «Εἴδε ἄλγηθῶς λέγετε καὶ πιστοποιεῖτέ με, ὅτι Λάμαχος ἄνεχεται ἔξω εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ μειζότερῳ μου υἱῷ, ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγραμμεθῇ.»· Ἡν δὲ Λάμαχος τοῖς τότε καιροῖς, ὡς λόγος, πλούτῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἄγνοιᾳ, 280

197· Πασί τε καὶ παιδίσκαι καὶ ἀλόγοις διαφόροις καὶ κτήμασι πολλοίς, καὶ τέσσαρες δε βεγερέως τὸν οἰκὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖτε εἰς τό πλάτει καὶ μήρες ἐξ ὧν τῶν λεγομένων Σουσών, ὅτι εἰς καὶ ἕδαι πῦλῃ ἐζεύκεν ἐν τῷ τείχῃ καὶ τέσσαρας πυλῶνας μεγάλους εἰς τῇ ἔξοδῳ καὶ τῇ ἐξοδῷ ἀν ἔτερος δὲ παραπλῆκτος σιμνοὶς, διότι εἰσερχομένων τῶν ἀλόγων· 255

257· Εἰς τῇ πύλῃ, ἐκακοῦν ἄγελην ζώων, ἔποικο τοῖς καὶ ἐδρακόντων, προβάτων τε καὶ ύπνός καὶ δι᾽ ἑκάστην στάσιν αὐτῶν. Παρεκάλεσαν οὐδὲν οἱ Ἀσανδρίται τὸν Λάμαχον, ἐφ᾽ ὧν τῇ ἐπιγραμμεθῇ αὐτὸν τὸν τὸν Ἀσανδρίου υἱόν. Τοῦ δὲ Λαμάχου ἐπινεύσαντος τῇ παρακλήσει αὐτῶν, ἠλθεν τὸν τὸν Ασανδρίου 270

198· Φυίος τε τῇ Χερσονί, καὶ ἔγημεν τὴν Γυκίαν. Καὶ διετούς μικρὸν χρόνον διαγενόμενον, ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Λάμαχος· ἐφ᾽ ὧν γάρ μήτηρ τῆς Γυκίας ἐπινεύσασα ἦν. Η δὲ Γυκία μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περαίωσιν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ταφῆς, τῆς ἐνιαυσιάς ἁμέραις ἐνοες, τῆς μνήμην θέλουσα φαιδροῦναι τοῦ ἴδιου πατρός, στεφανηφοροῦντος τότε καὶ πρωτεύοντος· 275

258· Βοτῆς Χερσονὸς Ζήθου, τοῦ Ζήθονος, παρεκάλεσεν τοῖς προύχουσι τῆς πόλεως, ἐφ᾽ ὧν συν παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ λαμαχικοῦ τοῦ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτής καὶ τό παλαιόντικε χρείας, προς τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Λαμάχου ἀπαντα τοῖς πολίταις συν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ φαμίλιᾳ αὐτῶν εὐφρανθῆναι καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἐκάστοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ χορεύειν καὶ ἔργον τινὸς τὸ συνολον μή ἀψάσθαι, συνταξαμένη τοῖς πολίταις ἐν δικίρᾳ, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἔκαστον τόν χρόνον τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Λαμάχου μνήμη. Τούτων δὲ οὕτω γεγονέν <καί> ἐν δικίρᾳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς παγιωθέντος, αὐτὸς τοῦ Άσανδροῦ υἱός, ἔχων τὸν δόλον καὶ ἐπιζήτων καιρὸν προδοσίας, ἀκούσας ταύτα καὶ παρὰ τῆς Γυκίας λεχθέντα, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖσθαι τῇ ἐνόρκῳ συντάξει, ὡς γνησίως περὶ τούς γονεῖς ἔχουσαν, συνθέμενος δὲ καὶ...
father, and if he shall resolve to do this, surely he dies that hour." The envoys were dismissed and reached the country of the Bosporians and reported this, and Asander once more sent envoys, saying to the Chersonites:

«If you speak truly, and assure me that Lamachus consents to yoke his daughter with my eldest son, that same son will I send there to you, to be joined in marriage.» Lamachus in these days, as it appears, prided himself upon much wealth, in gold and silver, male and female slaves, and cattle of various kinds and many estates, and his mansion occupied ground far and wide in four wards, as far as to below the so-called Sosae, in which it had its own gate in the wall and four main gate-ways for ingress and egress, together with other small side-entrances, so that when his cattle entered the city, each herd of beasts, stallions and mares, cows and heifers, sheep and asses, came in through its own gate, and went to its own stabling. The Chersonites, therefore, begged Lamachus that this son of Asander might be his son-in-law. Lamachus granted their request, and the son of Asander came to Cherson and married Gykia. And after the space of about two years, Lamachus died; the mother of Gykia had died before him. So, after the lapse of a year, when the anniversary of her father's burial was near, Gykia, wishing to keep bright the memory of her father, begged the leading men of the city, the chief magistrate and primate of Cherson being Zethus, son of Zethon, that they would kindly consent, together with all the populace, to receive from her wine and loaves of bread and oil, flesh and game and fish, and anything else needed to make merry, to the end that upon this day of the commemoration of Lamachus all the citizens, with their wives and children and all their families, should feast and rejoice, each in his own ward, and dance in the streets and completely abstain from any work; and she promised the citizens upon oath that each year of her life she would in the same way give them the means of merry-making at this same commemoration of Lamachus. This being so arranged and confirmed by her upon oath, her husband, the son of Asander, who was plotting in secret and looking for an occasion of treachery, when he heard what Gykia had said and confirmed on oath, admired and congratulated Gykia upon the sworn convenant, as one showing a truly filial spirit towards her parents, and consented himself also, as it appears, to rejoice and pour
Αυτός, φησί, χαίρειν καὶ σπένδειν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιούτῃ συντάξει. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθούσης τῆς μνήμης καὶ τῆς εὐφρασίας, δηλαδή τοῖς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ διʼ οἰκείου παιδὸς λέγων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι: "Æθρον μεθὸδον, διʼ ἥς ἀκόπως τὴν Χερσόνησον μέλλομεν παρελθεῖν· ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἀποστέλλετε μοι δέκα ἡ δώδεκα νεωτέρους χρήσιμους ἕκτους τῶν ἐν τῷ καράβῳ ἐλαύνοντας. Καὶ μετά τούτου παρελθούσης τῆς μνήμης καὶ τῆς εὐφρασίας, δηλαδή τοῖς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ οἰκείοις λέγων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι: "Εὐρόν μέθοδον, διʼ ἡς αὐτοῖς τὴν Χερσόνησον μέλλομεν παρελθεῖν· ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἀποστέλλετε μοι δέκα ἡ δώδεκα νεωτέρους χρήσιμους ἕκτους τῶν ἐν τῷ καράβῳ ἐλαύνοντας. Καὶ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπὶ διετὴ χρόνῳ Ρ

a libation on this covenanted occasion. Afterwards, when the commemoration and merry-making had gone by, he made a declaration to those in Bosporus, through his confidential slave, and said to them: «I have found a means whereby we shall take Cherson without trouble; do you, therefore, send to me at intervals ten or twelve serviceable young fellows, in addition to the rowers of the ship, on the pretext that you are sending me presents, and let your ships that come hither put in at Symbolon and wait there, and I will escort and convey on horseback to the city the youths who come and the presents that are sent.» And so, in this manner, over a period of two years the Bosporians came, a few at a time, bringing the presents in order that the plot might not become known to the city, and the son of Asander conveyed them on foot from Symbolon, and then again a few days later, in sight of all, towards evening he would, as it appears, send them off outside the city, of course at as late an hour as he could. They would go out of the city a distance of three miles, and then, when it was pitch dark, would turn about and come to the so-called Limon, and thence he would convey them by boat to Sosae, and, through the side-gate which he had in the wall, would introduce them into his mansion; none being privy save three Bosporian slaves of his, who were his only confidants, one of whom used to go to Symbolon and give the word for the ships to depart, another would turn the Bosporians about and convey them to Limon, and the other would carry them by boat from Limon to Sosae and return them to the mansion of Lamachus; and by the agency of these three slaves he maintained them in his magazines, without even Gykia's being aware of the plot; and he expected, as has been said, on the anniversary of the commemoration of Lamachus, while all the city was making merry or had gone to sleep, to start up in the night with the Bosporians and his own slaves, and burn the city and put everyone to the sword. Now when, during the space of two years, as many as two hundred Bosporians had been collected in Gykia's mansion, and the commemoration of Lamachus was then already approaching, it fell out that a girl slave of Gykia, a chamber-maid, of whom she was exceedingly fond, committed some fault and was banished from her company and shut up. The room in which the girl slave was sitting and spinning flax, the weight fell off her
θείν εἰς βαθυτάτην ὅπην πρὸς τὸν τοίχον. 'Η δὲ ἀναστάσα πρὸς τὸ ἐπάραυ αὐτῷ, ὥρᾳ αὐτῷ ἐν βαθυτάτῃ ὅπη δὲ, καὶ μὴ δυναμένης αὐτῆς ἐκστάσασαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ βάθος, ἦναγκάσθη ἐν βαθυτάτῃ ὅπην καὶ μή δυναμένης αὐτῆς ἐκσπάσαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ βάθος, ἦναγκάσθη εἰς τὸν πάτον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν τοίχον ἀναστάσαι ἕνα βήσσαλον πρὸς τὸ τούτο ἐπάραν, καὶ ὥρᾳ διὰ τῆς

201Ρ ὅπης κάτω ἐν τῷ ὑπόγειῳ οἴκῳ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ὄντων ἀνδρῶν. Καὶ 330 ἴδοὺσα εὐφρῶς πάλιν ἀπέθετο ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τὸ βήσσαλον πρὸς τὸ μή γνωσθῆναι τοῖς κάτω, καὶ λαθραῖοις ἀποστείλασα μίαν τῶν παιδιῶν, προσκεκάλητο τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς τοῦ ἐπίθετον πρὸς αὐτὴν, ὥρᾳ ἔστησαν τῷ ἀναγκαῖον ἀκοῦσαν καὶ ἰδεῖν. 'Η δὲ Γυκία ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανυγεῖσα ἀπῆλθεν

spindle and rolled and dropped into a very deep crevice by the wall. Getting up to recover it, she saw it lying in a very deep crevice, and, being unable owing to the depth to pluck it out, she was forced to pluck up a brick from the floor by the wall in order to recover it, and she saw through the crevice down below in the basement room the multitude of men who were there. When she had seen, she deftly put the brick back again in its place in order not to reveal herself to those below, and sent in secret one of the servants and invited her mistress to come to her, for there was something needful for her to hear and see. Gykia, pricked on by God, went to the slave girl, and when she entered the room alone and closed the door, the girl slave fell at her feet and said: «Lady, yours is the power over your unworthy slave: but I would show to my mistress a matter strange and unlooked-for.» Gykia said to her: «Fear not: speak and show what this is.» The girl slave led her to the wall and, deftly raising the brick, said to her: «Do you see, lady, through the crevice the throng of Bosporians in hiding below?» Gykia looked and was astonished at the affair, and said: «This is a serious plot!» And she said to the girl slave: «How did you find out this matter?» The girl slave said: «Surely, lady, by the will of God, the weight fell off my spindle and rolled and dropped into this crevice, and as I was unable to recover it I was forced to pluck up the brick, and then I saw them.» She bade the girl slave put the brick back deftly in its place, and then she caught her in her arms and embraced her and kissed her in earnest, and said to her: «Fear nothing, child; your fault is forgiven you, for God willed you to err, so that He might reveal the plot to us; see, now, that you do all you can to keep the matter close, and do not venture to entrust it to anybody at all.» And for the future she kept her wholly with herself as her confidante, even more than at first. Then Gykia summoned two of her relations, who were very much in her confidence, and said to them in private: «Go and collect together on their own in secret the primates and nobles of the city, and let them choose out three men in whom they confide, men who can keep a secret and do a deed, and let them all upon oath assure these men that they will satisfy me in what I am about to ask of them, and let them send them to me in secret, and I will confide to them a thing necessary and advantageous for the city; only do with speed what I tell you.» Her relations went off and told this in secret to the
primates, and they immediately chose out three men, in whom they knew they could confide, and all on their oaths assured them that, if they should covenant with Gymia to do or to give anything, they would not go back on their words, but would carry out to the end what they promised to her. These men went in secret to Gymia, who received them and said to them: «Are you able to satisfy me on oath concerning these things that I am about to ask of you, that you will do them?» They said to her: «Yes, lady, we will readily satisfy you concerning what you are about to require of us, that your words shall be carried out to the end.» Then Gymia said to them: «Satisfy me that if I die, you will bury me in the middle of the city, and I will tell you my secret; see, I do not require anything at all burdensome of you.» The men, on hearing this, with all readiness satisfied her upon oath, saying: «If you die, we will bury you in the middle of the city and will not carry you outside the walls.» Gymia believed their oaths, and said to them: «In view of the satisfaction you have given me, I on my part will now discover my secret to you; see now, I would have you know that my husband, who has the congenital vice of his city, that of plotting and envy against us, has introduced secretly into my mansion a throng of Bosporians, a few at a time, as many as two hundred souls, armed, and maintains them, I being in ignorance of the affair; but now God has found an occasion to reveal it to me. This, then, is his plan, that, so it appears, when at the commemoration of my father I provide the merry-making to the city and you have made merry and are gone to sleep, he will start up in the night with the Bosporians that are with him, and with his own slaves, and will set fire to your houses and put you all to the sword. See, now, my father’s commemoration approaches, and I must, in accordance with my oath, give you as usual the means of merry-making, for I have all ready therefor. Do you, then, all run up joyfully and ask for and take everything eagerly, so that he may not yet realise that we have got to know of the affair, and a civil war suddenly break out. Resolve, therefore, to make merry publicly as usual, though moderately, and to dance in the squares, but let each of you make ready in his house timber and faggots and dry torches, so that when you break off the merry-makings and dances you may appear to go off to take your rest, and I for my part will break them off rather early and order my doors to be made fast, and then you, very quietly, with your male and female slaves and all your households, must at once bring along the timber and faggots and torches and pile them...”
παραπυλίοις καὶ κύκλω τῆς οἰκίας πάσης, ἐπιχέωντες καὶ ἔλαιον τοῖς ἔλοις πρὸς τὸ τάχιον ἀφθάνασι, καὶ ἡνίκα ἔξελθον ἐγώ καὶ εἶπον ύμῖν, εὐθέως βάλετε τὴν πυράν, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις παραστῆκετε κύκλω τῆς οἰκίας, ἕνα ὅπου τινάς θεωρήσατε ἐκτηδρότατα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου διὰ θυρίδος, τούτους κατασφάξατε. Ἀπελθόντες οὖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο 405 λαλήσατε καὶ ἐτοιμάσατε πάντα, ἀ εἶπον ύμῖν.»
Οἱ δὲ πολίται τοῖς ἄκοισαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἄνδρων, ἐποίησαν πάντα ἐν συντομίᾳ κατὰ 205Ρ τὸν λόγον τῆς Γυκίας. Ἐνστάσις δὲ τῇς μνημοσύνου ἡμέρας, ὡς δὴ θεών χαρισμένη ἡ Γυκία μετεπέμψατο τὸν, ἔντι συντομίᾳ κατά 205ΓΡ τὸν λόγον τῆς Γυκίας. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς μνημοσύνου ἡμέρας, ως δὴ θεών χαρισμένη η Γυκία μετεπέμψατο τὸν, τὴν πόλεως ἄνδρας, προτρεπομένη τού λαβεῖν αὐτούς τὰ τῆς εὐφρασίας. Συνετρεχεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄνδρας ἐπὶ 410 τοῦτο, καὶ παρεστήκετε πλεῖον ὄνον δοθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐφρασίᾳ. Οἱ δὲ πολίται ἀσμένως πάντα δεξάμενοι εὐφραίνοντο, καθὼς παρηγγέλθησαν, καὶ ἐξόρευον τὴν πάσαν ἡμέραν· Τῇς δὲ ἑσπέρας, ἡ Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτετελείσατο πάντας τὸς πολίτης ἀδεώς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτούς τὰ τάχιον κοιμηθήσεται, μόνον ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτής παρήγγειλεν τὸ νήφειν, τῇς δὲ κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτῆς ἐφύλαττεν. Εὐρήκυνα γάρ ποτήριον πορφυροῦ 420 δέδωκεν τῇ κουβικουλαρέα αὐτῆς, τῇ τὸ πράγμα εἶδον, καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐτήν καὶ ἐπάρασιν σύν ίδατι. Οἱ δὲ πολίται αρνητικῶς πάντα δεξάμενοι εὐφραίνοντο, καθὼς παρηγγέλθησαν, καὶ ἐχόρευον τὴν πάσαν ἡμέραν, οὖν, ἐπὶ ἑσπέρας, έντι πολέμως ἀντιποιεῖν οἱ πολίται καὶ ἐπάνειται οἱ τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν τὸν ἀναπαύον. Καὶ η Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτετελείσατο πάντας τὸς αὐτής ἀδεώς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτούς τάχιον κοιμηθήσεται, μόνον ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτής παρήγγειλεν τὸ νήφειν, εὐφραίνοντες πανοικί. Καὶ η Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτετελείσατο πάντας τὸς αὐτής ἀδεώς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτούς τάχιον κοιμηθήσεται, μόνον ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτής παρήγγειλεν τὸ νήφειν, εὐφραίνοντες πανοικί. Καὶ η Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτετελείσατο πάντας τὸς αὐτής ἀδεώς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτούς τάχιον κοιμηθήσεται, μόνον ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτής παρήγγειλεν τὸ νήφειν, εὐφραίνοντες πανοικί. Καὶ η Γυκία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς προτετελείσατο πάντας τὸς αὐτής ἀδεώς πίνειν πρὸς τὸ μεθυσθέντας αὐτούς τάχιον κοιμηθήσεται, μόνον ταΐς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτής παρήγγειλεν τὸ νήφειν, εὐφραίνοντες πανοικί.
up in my doorways and side-gates and all round the house, pouring oil also upon the timbers so that they may catch the sooner, and when I come out and give you the word, set fire to them at once, and yourselves stand by armed around the house, so that where you see any jumping out of the house through a window, you may put them to the sword. Go now, and tell this secret, and make ready all that I have told you." When they heard these things from the three men, the citizens hastily did all in accordance with the word of Gykia. When the commemoration day was upon them, Gykia, with an appearance of enjoyment, sent for the men of the city and told them to take the means of merry-making. And her husband, too, helped in this and begged that more wine should be given them for the merry-making. The citizens gladly took everything and began to make merry, as they had been ordered, and danced all the day; but when evening had come the citizens began to break off, and to go off to their houses to take their rest. And they made merry with all their households. Gykia in her house urged all her people to drink freely in order that they might get drunk and sleep the sooner, only enjoining upon her chamber-maids to be sober, and she herself abstained from wine. For she had found a purple goblet and gave it to her chamber-maid, who was in the secret, and instructed her to pour water into it for her. Her husband, seeing the purple goblet, did not suspect that she was drinking water out of it. When evening had come, and the citizens, as I have already said, had broken off the merry-making, Gykia said to her husband: «We have made merry; come, now let us too take our rest.» Hearing this, her husband was only too glad, and hastened to go to sleep; for he could not have said this himself, in case he might give his wife a hint of the plot he was hatching. So Gykia ordered the gates to be made fast and all the windows, and the keys to be brought to her as usual. When this was done, she said aside to her confidential chamber-maid, the one who knew of the plot: «You, with the rest of the chamber-maids, are deftly to remove all my jewelry and gold, and anything else of use that you can carry in your bosoms, and make yourselves ready, so that when I give you the word, you may follow me.» They did as she bade them, and were ready. Her husband was of course lying down in order to take a hasty nap and to get up again in a short while for his treachery against the city; but Gykia avoided going to sleep until all their house-
τοῦ καθευδήσαι, ἦς ἂν πάσα ἡ φαμίλια αὐτῶν ἐκοιμήθη. Ὅ δὲ ἀνήρ
αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ πότου ἀφύνθηκεν. Ἡ δὲ Γυκία ἱδούσα τοῦτον
206[Ρ] κοιμηθέντα, ἐυφυίῳ τὸν κοιτώνα | τῇ κλειδίῳ ἡσφαλίσατο, ἀποκλείσασα
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κατελθόντα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σὺν ταῖς κουβικουλαρίαις αὐτῆς,
ἐξελθοῦσα τῶν παραπυλίων ἡσύχως καὶ κλείσασα, εὐθέως ἐπέτρεψεν 440
τοὺς τῆς πόλεως διὰ τάχους βληθῆναι τὸ τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ οἴκου. Βληθέν-
τος δὲ τοῦ πυρός, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἀναφάντος, εἰ ποῦ τις τῶν ἔσωθεν ὅντων
ἡμεῖς ἐκπροέρχομαι ἡ ἑαυτοῦ βίαι, ὡς τῶν πολιτῶν κατεσφάγη. Τοῦ
δὲ οἴκου παντὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐως ἐδάφους κατασφάγησα, διέσωσεν
ὁ Θεός τὴν Χερσωνιτῶν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβούλων Βοσποριανῶν. Ὁ δὲ 445
Γυκία, βουλομένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν κατασφάγησαν αὐτῆς οἰκίας
207[Ρ] ὁρύξαι καὶ καθάραι τὸν τόπον πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν, οὐκ εἶσαι, αλλὰ μάλι-
σταν ἐπέτρεψεν πάση τῆς πόλεως φέρειν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκχύνειν αὐτὸθι
tῆς πάσαν αὐτῶν κοπριάν πρὸς τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς καταχωσθῇ τὴν πάσαν
αὐτῆς οἰκήσιν, ὡς πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς πόλεως γενομένην διὸ καὶ ἐκλήθη 450
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267Β θύτης τοιαύτην ἀπειρον ὑπὸ τῆς Γυκίας εἰς αὐτούς μετὰ Θεόν | γενομένην
εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδενὸς τῶν αὐτῆς τὸ σύνολον ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν
σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως προετιμησάτο, ὑπέρ τῆς τοιαύτης μισθαποδοσίας 455
dύο χαλκοῖς ἀνδριάσασα πρὸς τιμήν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆς πόλεως
407[Ρ] ἀνήγειραν, νεάζουσαν αὐτὴν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ | δεικνύοντες, καθ’ ον καιρόν
ήν τότε συμβαίνουσα, ἐν τούτοις δεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐφρόνησεν
τὴν ιδίαν πατρίδα μετὰ Θεόν περισώσαι. Ἐν μέν γὰρ 460
484 τῇ μιᾷ στήλῃ σωφρόνου ἀυτῆς ἐκκαλουμένην στήσαντες καὶ τὰ τῆς
ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἄνδρος τοῖς πολίταις ἐμφαίνουσαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ
ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπαμυνομένη κατὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβούλων
ἄποδεικνύοντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος αὐτῆς βάσει
ἀπασάν τὴν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς μετὰ Θεόν γενομένην τοῖς πολίταις εὐεργεσίαν. 465
208[Ρ] Ἔτερον μέλλει τις εἶναι φιλόκαλος, τῆς αὐτῆς συνεχώς κατὰ καιρὸν τὴν
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ὑπόμνησιν τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς γενομένων, ἔλεγχον δὲ τῶν ἐπιβούλων Βοσπο-
ριανῶν.
Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινάς, στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ πρωτεύοντος 270
τῆς Χερσονιτῶν Στρατοφίλου, τοῦ Φιλομούσου, πάνω σοφωτάτη οὖσα ἡ
Γυκία καὶ θέλουσα δοκιμάσαι τοὺς Χερσωνιτῶς καὶ γνώναι, εἶ ἄρα
hold was sleeping, and her husband was soundly off after his deep potations. Gykia, seeing him asleep, deftly made fast the bed-chamber with the key, shutting her husband in, came down from the house with her chambermaids, went quietly out of the side-gates and locked them, and at once gave the word to them of the city to light the fire quickly all round the house. The fire was lit and the house caught, and if any of those within managed to jump or throw himself out, he was slain by the citizens. The whole house, with those in it, was gutted to the foundation, and God preserved the city of the Chersonites from the treacherous Bosporians. When the citizens wished to dig into her gutted house and to clear the site for building, Gykia would not allow it, but rather bade all the city bring, each one of them, and empty out on that spot all their ordures, so that her whole dwelling might be buried deep in them, inasmuch as it had served for treachery against the city; and so unto this day the place has been called the Spy-tower of Lamachus.

All these things having so fallen out, the Chersonites, seeing the infinite benefits that Gykia had, under God, conferred upon them, and that she had not spared anything of her own at all, but had put first the salvation of the city, erected in payment for this service she had done them two bronze statues to her honour in the city square, representing her as young in years, as then, at that time, she was, and therein showing her ineffable benefits and affection toward the citizens, in that at her tender age she had shown such wisdom for the preservation, under God, of her own fatherland. For upon one column they set her soberly adorned and discovering to the citizens the tale of her husband’s treachery, and upon the other they represented her in action and fighting against the betrayers of the city; and thereto, upon the base of her statue, they also inscribed all the benefits which she had, under God, conferred upon the citizens. And if any would be a lover of virtue, he regularly scours from time to time the base of the same, so that what is there written may be read and there may be a reminder of what she did, and a refutation of the treacherous Bosporians.

And after some years, when the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Stratophilus, son of Philomusus, Gykia, who had most excellent wit, desired to put the Chersonites to the proof
άληθώς μέλλουσιν τήν τοῦ ὅρκου ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκπληροῦν καὶ θάπτειν αὐτήν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, συλλογισμένη μετά τῶν παιδισκῶν αὐτῆς, ἔποιη-268κε αὐτήν | τινα ἀηδιζομένην καὶ ἀποθανοῦσαν. Καὶ κηδεύσασαι αὐτήν 475 αἰ παίδισκαι, ἔμηνεν τοῖς πολῖταις λέγουσαι, ὃτι «Ἡ κυρία ἡμῶν 268Β έτελεύτησεν, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ μέλλει ἡ πόλις τροφοθετεῖ ἡμῖν.»

Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνίται ἀκούοντες, ὃτι τέθνηκεν ἡ Γυκία, σκεφτόμενοι καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦντες τὸ καύσωνυ τὸ ῥοξα τοῦ ὅρκου ὑπήρχε τοῦς πολίταις, ὡστε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὴν τροφοθετῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀραντες αὐτὴν ἔξηνερεν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως θάψαι. Ἡ παραβασία ἐφικτὴ ἔστι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὴν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ 480

'Αλλα δὲ μεθ' ὅρκων ὑπόσχεσις; Οὔτως ἀλήθευεν ἐπί τοῦ πολίτη, ἐμήνεσαν τοῖς πολίταις λέγουσαι, δὴν «Η κυρία ημῶν έτελεύτησεν, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἁμέλεις αὐτήν ἔξηνερεν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως 485 θάψαι. Ἡ παραβασία πράγματι, παρεκάλουν αὐτὴν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ παραχωρήσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ πταίσμα καὶ μὴ ἐπί πλεῖον ἄφθασιν αὐτοῖς. Οἱ δὲ Χερσωνίται τῶν αὐτῶν τροφοθετοῦντες τοῦ πολίτη, ἐπιστώσαντο, ὥστε ἐμὴν ἡσυχάσαι καὶ 490

ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, 495 άραντες αὐτὴν ἔξηνερεν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως θάψαι. Άποτεθέντος δὲ τοῦ κραββάτου πρὸς τό μνήμα, ἀνακαθίσασα ἡ Γυκία καὶ περιβλεψαμένη πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, λέγει* «Αὐτή ἐστὶν ἡ μεθ' ὅρκων ὑπόσχεσις; Οὔτως ἀλήθευεν ἐπί τοῦ πολίτη.»

Τοίχον δέ Χερσωνίται ἱδόντες τήν αὐτῆς γενομένην αὐτῶν χλεύην, αἰσχύνθεντες μεγάλως ἐπί τῆς γεγονότι 495 τῆς παραβασίας πράγματι, παρεκάλουν αὐτὴν πολλὰ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ 499

ημέρας μιᾶς.
and to know whether in fact they would fulfil the sworn promise and bury her in the middle of the city; and having concerted with her girl slaves, she made herself as one who was weary of life and had died. Her girl slaves laid her out on the bier and sent a message to the citizens, saying: «Our lady has died, and do you point out to us in what place she is to be buried.» The Chersonites, when they heard that Gykia was dead, turned the matter over in their minds and were no longer eager to fulfil the oath that she should be buried in the middle of the city, and they took her up and bore her outside the city to bury her. But when the bier was set down at the tomb, Gykia sat up and looked about on all the citizens and said: «Is this your sworn promise? Is this your truth in all your dealings? Woe to him, then, who puts faith in a Chersonite citizen!» The Chersonites, seeing the mock she had made of them, were greatly ashamed of their conduct in breaking their word, and earnestly besought her to be appeased and to pardon their transgression and to rail upon them no more. And so they gave their word to her with a renewal of their oaths that thereafter they would not bury her outside the city, but in the middle of the city, and so they did. And while she was still alive, they set up her coffin in the spot that she chose, and erected yet another bronze statue and gilded it and set it upon her tomb for greater assurance.

Outside the city of Tamatarcha are many wells yielding naphtha.

In Zichia, near the place called Pagi, which is in the region of Papagia and is inhabited by Zichians, are nine wells yielding naphtha, but the oils of the nine wells are not of the same colour, some of them being red, some yellow, and some blackish.

In Zichia, in the place called Papagi, near which is a village called Sapaxi, which means ‘dust’, there is a spring yielding naphtha.

There is there yet another spring yielding naphtha, in the village called Chamouch. Chamouch is the name of the man of olden times who founded the village: for this reason that village was called Chamouch. These places are distant from the sea a journey of one day without changing horses.

In the province of Derzene, near the village of Sapikion and the village called Episkopion, is a well yielding naphtha.
'Ιστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θέματι τοῦ Τζιλιάπερτ ὑπὸ τὸ χωρίον τὸ Σρεχίαβαράξ ἐστὶν ἐκείστε τιγή ἄφθαν άναδιδούσα.

'Ιστέον, ὅτι εἰ ἀντάρωσί τοι τοῦ κάστρου Χερσώνος, ἢ ἐναντία τῶν βασιλικῶν κελεύσεων βουληθῶσι διαπράξασθαι, ὁφείλουσιν τηνικαύτα, διὰ εὐρέθωσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει Χερσωνιτικᾶ καράβια, μετά τοῦ γόμου

270 οἱ αὐτῶν εἰσκομίζοσθαι, οἶ δὲ ναῦται καὶ ἐπιβάται Χερσωνιται ἢν δὲ-515 σμεύωσι καὶ ἐναποκλείουσιν εἰς τὰ ἀργαλεῖα, εἰς οὔτως ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσταλῆσαι τρεῖς βασιλικοί εἰς μὲν ἐν τῇ παράλλη τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιὰκῶν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ παράλλη τοῦ θέματος Παφλαγονιάς καὶ ἕλλος ἐν τῇ παράλλη τοῦ θέματος τῶν Βουκελλαρίων, ἢν πάντα τὰ Χερσωνίτικα καράβια κρατῶσιν, καὶ τὸν μὲν γόμον καὶ τὰ καράβια 520

270 εἰσκομίζοσιν, | τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους δεσμεύονται καὶ ἐναποκλείουσιν εἰς δημοσίους φυλακὰς, καὶ ἀναγάγοσι περὶ τούτων, καὶ ὡς ἀν δέξονται. Πρὸς τούτοις ἢν οἱ τοιούτοι βασιλικοὶ κωλύωσι καὶ τὰ Παφλαγονικὰ καὶ Βουκελλαρικὰ πλοία καὶ πλαγίτικα τοῦ Πόντου τῷ μη διαπεράν ἐν Χερσώνι μετὰ αὐτοῦ ἡ οἶνον ἢ οἰκοδήποτε χρέας ἢ πράγματες. 525 Εἰς οὔτως ὁφείλει δέξασθαι καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰς δέκα λίτρας, τὰς δυο τοῦ πάκτου, καὶ τηνικαύτα ἀναχωρήσαι ἀπὸ Χερσώνος τὸν στρατηγόν καὶ άναγάγεται ἐν τἴρτω κάρστρῳ καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐκείστε.

"Οτι ἐάν δὲ ταξιδεύσωσιν οἱ Χερσωνιται εἰς Ἡρωάναιαν, καὶ 530 περί τῶν Πατζινακίτων πραγματεύονται, οὐ δύνανται ζῆσαι.

"Οτι ἐάν μὴ ἀπὸ Ἀμιναύοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μελεταρίων καὶ τῶν πλαγίων τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων περάσωσι γεννήματα, οὐ δύνανται ζῆσαι οἱ Χερσωνιται.
In the province of Tziliapert, below the village of Srechiabarax, there is a well yielding naphtha.

If ever the men of the city of Cherson revolt or decide to act contrary to the imperial mandates, then all Chersonite ships at Constantinople must be impounded with their cargoes, and Chersonite sailors and passengers must be arrested and confined in the gaols; and then three imperial agents must be sent: one to the coast of the province of the Armeniakoi, another to the coast of the province of Paphlagonia, and another to the coast of the province of the Boukellarioi, in order to take possession of all Chersonite ships, and to impound the cargo and the ships, and to arrest the men and confine them in public prisons, and to report upon these matters and as they may be instructed. Moreover, these imperial agents must forbid the Paphlagonian and Boukellarian merchant-ships and coastal vessels of Pontus to cross to Cherson with grain or wine or any other needful commodity or merchandise. Then, the military governor too must be instructed to sequestrate the ten pounds granted by the treasury to the city of Cherson and also the two pounds of tribute, and then the military governor must withdraw from Cherson and go to another city and take up residence there.

If the Chersonites do not journey to Romania and sell the hides and wax that they get by trade from the Pechenegs, they cannot live.

If grain does not pass across from Aminsos and from Paphlagonia and the Boukellarioi and the flanks of the Armeniakoi, the Chersonites cannot live.
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*Iουστιανανέ*, emperor (II) 21/48 [Ιουστιανός Β], 22/9, 22/4 [Ιουστιανός Ρ], 29, 34, 47/6, 10; *Ιουστιανός* 14/16, 19/10; Ιουστιανός 21/30, 22/4 [Ιουστιανός Ρ].

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*Kαναλίται*, Kanalites 29/57, 64, 109, 32/22, 34/1, 3.


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*Kαναλίται*, Kanalites 29/57, 64, 109, 32/22, 34/1, 3.

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Κωμόδρομος, garrison in the province of Charsianon: ή τού Κωμοδρόμου τοποτηρησία 50/106.

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3. emperor (IV): 21/9, 10, 46, 48/28.
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Λίβανος (ό), Lebanon 21/4, 5, 22/11, 24.
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Λιτουμαγκέρσης, city of the Venetians: κάστρον 27/85.

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Λουκάβεται (τό), city in Terbounia 34/20.

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Λυσιτανία, Lusitania 23/17 [recte: Λουσιτανία].

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Μαδαυκον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον 27/86.

Μαδιανϊτις, desert: τήν Μαδιανϊτιν έρημον 14/7.

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Μαστινοί, Iberian tribe 28/10 [recte: Μαστινοί].


Μαυιάται cf. Μαυίας.

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Μελετά, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/292.
Μελετά (τά), island off Dalmatia 30/110; νήσος έτέρα μεγάλη τά Μέλετα, ήτοι το Μαλοζεάται, ήν . . . άγιος Λουκάς μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων 36/16—18.
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3. prince of the Zachlumi 32/87, 33/16.
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Νεκρόπυλα (τά), gulf near the Dnieper river 42/5, 69, 79 [Νεκρόπυλα everywhere P].
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Νινος (ό), river Rhine 25/30 [recte: 'Ρήνος].

Νοέμβριος, November 9/105, 50/44.

Νόνα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/92.

Ονώριος, emperor 25/20.


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Ουδμάν, chief of the Arabs 20/1, 13, 21/52, 66.

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Παγανία, Pagania 30/104, 31/56, 32/21, 84, 36/14.

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Πάγα (ή), place in Zichia: πρός τόν τόπον τῆς Πάγας 53/495.
Παγκράτιος, 1. Saint 29/235.
2. son of David, ancestor of the Iberians (cf. Δαυίδ 2.) 45/34, 34.
3. patrician and military governor, son of Krikorikios, prince of Taron (cf. Κρικορίκιος 1.) 43/150, 164.
4. magister, son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 2.) 46/3, 5, 6.
5. brother of Asotios (cf. Άσωτιος 5.) 45/147, 153, 46/27, 39.
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Πανί a cf. Πάνω via.
Παννονία, Pannonia 25/24, 27/31, 30/77.
ΠαραΟαλασσία (ή), zupania of Croatia 80/92.
Παρώνυμα, 1. work of Apollonius 23/31.
2. work of Habro 23/38.
Πατζινάκαι cf. Πατζινακίται.
Πατζινακία, Patzinacia 42/32, 53/518, 533; Παφλαγονικός 53/523.
Πενταδάκτυλος, mountain in Lacedaemonia: ορος ... καλομένον — 50/17.
Περι γῆς, work of Apollodorus 23/3.
Περίπλους, work of Marcianus 23/28.
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2. prince of the Bulgarians 13/148.
3. prince of the Serbs 32/61, 69, 73, 77, 86, 89, 92, 95.
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Πιτζηκαύδης, imperial envoy: Ιωάννης ο έπίκλην Πιτζηκαύδης 21/11.
Πλαζέντα, city in Italy; το κάστρον — 26/13.
Πλακίδια, mother of the emperor Valentinian ΠΙ 25/10, 43, 44.
Πλατυπόδης, protospatharius: Βάρδα του Πλατυπόδη (gen.) 50/54, 57.
Πλέβα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/91.
Ποδάρων, protospatharius of the basin, vice-admiral and military governor 51/71, 73, 94, 104, 126, 131, 133.
Ποντική (ή), northern coastal district of Asia Minor 53/9.
Πόντος (ό), Pontus 42/6, 91, 53/524.
Ποργας, prince of the Croats: Ποργα (gen.) 31/21; Ποργά (acc.) 31/25.
Πύρινος, prince of the Croats: Πορίνου (gen.) 30/90.
Πραζάνος, place on the frontier of Serbia 32/53.
Πάντος (δ), Pontus 42/6, 91, 53/524.
Ποργάς, prince of the Croats: Ποργά (gen.) 31/21; Ποργά (acc.) 31/25.
Πόρινος, prince of the Croats: Πορίνου (gen.) 30/90.
Πρεσθλάβος (ή), city in Bulgaria: Πρεσθλάβου (gen.) 40/10; Περσθ-λάβου (gen.) 32/130.
Πρεβέσθλάβος, prince of the Serbs 32/66, 68, 70, 101.
Πριβουνίας, ban of the Croats: Πριβουνία (gen.) 31/78.
Πρις, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/36.
Προσογγύς, prince of the Serbs 32/34.
Προύσα (ή), city in Asia Minor 51/8, 18.
Πρωτεύων, protospatharius and military governor: Ιωάννης ο Πρωτεύων 50/27, 35, 51/201.
'Ροδόσθαλβος, prince of the Serbs 32/34.

'Ροδόφως, king of Italy 26/23, 27 ['Ροδόθων P], 29 ['Ρουδόκληρος P], 32, 35, 38, 40, 56, 60, 64.

'Ρουδόκληρος cf. 'Ροδόσθαλβος.

'Ρουσιάνο (v), city in Italy: του 'Ρουσιάνου 27/49.

'Ρωμαϊκή χιλιάς, work of Quadratus 23/36.


'Ρωμανία, Romania: τού 'Ρωμανία 9/113, 22/22, 44/126, 127, 46/15, 135, 139, 47/24, 55/330.

'Ρωμαίοι, Romani 29/14, 20, 22, 27, 34, 37, 41, 45, 47, 49, 52, 30/121, 31/11, 13, 15, 32/24, 33/4, 35/3, 36/4 ['Ρωμαϊοί P]: 'Ρωμαϊνος προ- στασεωθησαν δια το άπο 'Ρώμης μετοικισθηναι 29/5—6.

'Ρωμανόπολις (ή), frontier pass in the province of Mesopotamia 50/113, 132.

'Ρωμανός, 1. emperor (I) 13/147, 149, 170, 192, 32/100, 106, 43/89, 118, 131, 45/41, 55, 67, 75, 102, 46/49, 50/26, 28, 37, 61, 131, 168, 232, 51/162, 175, 199, 52/2.

2. emperor (II) Tit./3, 26/67.

'Ρωματινά, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/83.

'Ρώμη, Rome: τού 'Ρώμη 25/7, 23, 49, 51, 26/11, 22, 27/6, 16, 28/12, 29/4, 6, 103, 105, 273, 80/89, 81/12, 13, 22, 33, 39, 32/27, 33/4, 35/4, 36/4, 53/2, 70, 84, 108, 124: ή μεγάλη 'Ρώμη 21/32.

'Ρός (οί), Russians: τού 'Ρός 2/1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 17, 19, 4/1, 4, 11, 8/20, 9/1, 16, 21, 30, 71, 79, 104, 106, 109, 13/25, 42/61, 77: 'Ρωσιστής 9/25, 40, 46, 58, 62, 64.

'Ρωσία, Russia: τού 'Ρωσία 2/4, 8, 6/5, 9/1, 5, 67, 37/42, 43, 47, 42/4, 62; ή ἕξω 'Ρωσία 9/3.

'Ρόσσα (ή), city in Dalmatia 29/92.

Σάβας, Saint 22/74.

Σάβας, Saracen general: τού Σάβα 29/90.

Σάβας (ό), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars): Σάβα (gen.) 42/20.

Σαλαμάς (τό), city in Armenia 44/4, 16.

Σαλερίνον (τό), city in Italy 27/4, 52, 57.

Σαλινές (τό), city in Serbia 32/151.


Σαλμούτζης cf. Άλμούτζης.


Σαμβατάς cf. Κίαβος.

Σαμωνας, patrician and chamberlain 50/228, 239, 246, 250.

Σανία, county in the province of Charisianon: τούρμα ή νυν Σανία λεγομένη 50/105.

Σαντιάνα cf. Φραγγία.

Σαπαξί, village in Zichia: χωρίον ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαπαξί, δ ἐρμηνεύεται "κονιορτός" 53/500.
Σαπίκιο(ν), village in the province of Derzene: του χωρίου του [τα P] Σαπίκιο 58/507.


Σαράτ (τό), place on the frontier of Patzinacia 42/63.


Σαρμάται, Sarmatians 53/5, 9, 12, 14, 19, 23; Σαυρόματοι 53/42, 45; Σαντέρματος (ό) 53/17, 20, 27, 46, 50, 53, 55, 59, 60, 62, 64, 72, 75, 76, 82, 86, 87, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 104, 107, 162, 163, 169, 171, 173, 177, 180, 183, 184, 188, 190, 193, 194, 196, 198, 204, 205, 209, 215, 216, 218, 221, 221.

Σαυρόματοι, Σαυρόματος cf. Σαρμάται.

Σεβάστεια (ή), city and province 50/134, 149, 167.


Σελίνας (δ), river, branch of the Danube 9/79, 92, 94, 97.

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river: πρός τὸν ἑδομον φραγμόν, 
tὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ὀροποσί τὸν Στρο-
κούν, Σκλαβιγνίαν δὲ Ἡπατείαν, δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται ’μικρός φραγμός’, 9/64— 
65.
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cica p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 293).
2. patrician and chief of the 
imperial chancellery 46/68.
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adjacent to the region of Lykandos 
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Τερματζούς, great grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/64. — Cf. Byzantinoturcica p. 258 (2nd ed. p. 306).
Τετραγγούριν (τό), island and city off Dalmatia 29/51, 258, 30/134; Τετραγγούριν δε καλείται διά τό είναι αύτό μικρόν δίκην άγγουρίου 29/260—261.
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Φινές, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.

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Χαρές  cf. Λάχης.

Χαρίτων, Saint 22/73.

Χαριτών, Saint 22/73.

Χάρκα (τό), district of Armenia 44/41, 87.

Χάροψ (ό), Charops 23/34, 34; Χάροπος (ό) 23/34; Χαρόπος (gen.) 23/35.

Χαρσιανός, military governor: Όρεστης ο Χαρσιανός 50/127.

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GLOSSARY

The Glossary contains 1. words which occur in D. A. I. only (these are marked with an asterisk), 2. words peculiar to Byzantine civilization, 3. words of the Postclassical and Byzantine periods, 4. uncommon ancient words or ancient words used in an altered sense in the Byzantine period, 5. words of foreign origin.

Passages are cited by chapter and line in the chapter. P, in such citations, stands for «Proem».

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άμηραίος (~ Arabic amīr) 21/102. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. 335, etc.


άμηρεύω (~ Arabic amīr) 18/4, 21/36. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. 336, etc.

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άνά cf. Grammatical Notes, άναβλαστώ 48/110.

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Epharchicon Bibliion IX. 6., ed. Zepos p. 382.  
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2. αγία πόλις (= Jerusalem) 21/5, 67, 22/72, 45/32, 46/55.  
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φατάνι (~ Arabic rabad) 46/43. — Cf. E. Honigmann, Byzantion, 10 (1935), pp. 148—149.
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φιλάσταρον 28/32. — Cf. Leo, Tactica V. 3., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 711c etc.
βόγχ (~ Latin erogatio, roga) 49/68, 82, 114, 119, 128.
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σκουλκάτωρ (~ Latin sculcator) 53/57.

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σπαθόδον 27/45, 51/118.

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στέφω 53/350.

στοιχώ 13/157, 20/2, 21/83, 22/15.

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στράτωρ 51/203.

συγκλητικός 51/23.

σύγκλητος 13/57, 25/41; σύγκλητος βουλή 13/171.


συμφιλιούμαι 39/7.
σύμφωνον 45/114.
συναλλάγιον 13/120, 134.
συναναστρέφομαι 14/16.
συνάντησις 26/46.
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συνδρομή 32/144.
συνειστρέχω 30/56.
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2. (= regular grant) 53/153.
συνιστώ 13/120.
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συνοικέσιον 13/180.
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συνορώ (-άω) 48/9.
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ταξειδεύω 51/43, 195, 200, 202, 58/530 (ταξιδ- everywhere Ρ).
ταξιδιών 30/28, 30, 40/16, 51/92, 52/13 (ταξειδ- everywhere Ρ).
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2. τής τραπέζης 51/51, 66, 68, 103, 175, 179.
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τριετία 32/41.
τριώροφος 29/255.
τροπαιοΰχος 49/36.
τροπουμαι (= deceive) 14/20. — Cf.
τροπώ 2/23, 45/26, 49/48, 53/134.
τύπος 13/22, 67, 22/26, 27/19, 29/68,
ύλογραφία 29/280. — Cf. Theophanes,
ed. de Boor p. 44325.
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ύπερισχύω 30/67, 86, 37/6, 39/5.
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40, 46/67, 100, 159, 161.
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ύποκύπτω 53/115.
ύπομάσΟιον 30/81.
ύποσπονδος 26/8, 45/109.
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ger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzan-
tinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders
des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, (Mün-
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44, 58, 63, 45/23, 141, 48/7, 49/12,
50/15, 41, 45, 80.
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ύποτροπία 13/27, 51/140; cf. δοµέστικας.
ύποφορός 30/132, 37/43.
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φαμιλία (~ Latin familia) 27/37, 29/4,
φενακίζω: πεφενακισμένος 14/29.
φέρω cf. ενεγκαμένη.
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384.
φθάζω 9/69, 29/207, 53/7, 388.
φιλέλη 51/4, 57, 102, 142, 179; cf. προ-
tospathários τής φίλης.
*φιλατούρα (~ Latin fibulatorium)
53/142.
φίλος (ό) (= ‘friend’ sc. diplomatic)
φιλοτιμία 1/23, 43/109, 162, 53/161.
φιλοτιμούμαι 22/16, 51/93.
φιλοφρόνης 31/66, 48/22.
φιλοφρονούμαι 49/53, 76, 133.
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41, 43, 48/8, 50/87, 92, 101, 118,
133, 136, 156, 160, 225, 227, 227,
231, 235, 51/7, 76, 108, 137, 164,
192, 196.
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42, 30/44, 46/109, 114, 49/21, 22,
25, 27 [φλάμου- everywhere Ρ].
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φορτίον 53/400.
φορτώ 20/9.
φοσσατον (~ Latin fossatum) 11/12,
15/9, 9, 30/49, 55, 82/94, 111,
117, 38/25, 43/12, 44/126, 128, 46/
134, 138.
φοσσατικώς (~ Latin fossatum) 30/45.
φραγμός (= barrage) 2/19, 9/24, 26,
36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 45, 47, 47,
53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 64, 65.
φρατάς 1/11.
φραττόμαι 53/191.
φύλακας 23/91.
φύλαξ 40/18, 51/41.
φύλακας 14/25.
φωταγωγός 29/257.

χαφέκακος 50/200.


χαλινώ 51/203; cf. Grammatical Notes.

χαραγμά 52/14.


χαρίκομαι 13/53.

χάρισμα 45/15.

χαρτοποίος 52/11.

χαρτουλάριος (~ Latin chartularius): χαρτουλάριος του όξεως δρόμου 43/37.


χειρότονια 47/8.

χειροτονιν 21/51, 47/12, 48/14, 20.

χελάνδιον 8/2, 8, 10, 12, 15, 29/98, 42/31, 31, 33, 51/13, 82, 119.

χειριν 44/112, 53/485.

χός P/46.

χριστιανικός, χριστιανός cf. Index of Proper Names.

χρονικόν 17/1, 21/1.

χρονογράφος 22/1.


χρυσοβουλλος (~ Latin bulla) 48/87.

χρυσόβουλλον (~ Latin bulla) 50/141.

χρυσός cf. Grammatical Notes.

χύμα 13/14.


ψευδοκατηγορία 25/42.

ψευδολογία 50/187.

ψευδώνυμος 14/23.

ψυχάριον 9/52, 32/55.

ψωμίον 9/75.

ώρισμένος cf. ορίζω, ούτιον 26/49.
GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Since D. A. I. contains many linguistic phenomena which diverge from classical usage and illustrate the mediaeval and modern development of the language, we think it necessary to summarize here the most noteworthy demotic characteristics of the language of D. A. I.

Words and names cited without indication of chapter and line occur in the Glossary and Index.

Orthography:

νδ ~ ντ: κονδούρα, σφοντύλιν.
Cf. Critical Introduction, pp. 18—19, 36, 37.

Accentuation:

άντιπερα, ἀπάρτι, αὐθεντός, θέρμα, κύρις, λάβε 27/24, μήκοθεν, πάραυτα, "Ἀχρείς, 'Αρκάτα (gen.) 'Αρμενάκοι, "Αστονα (gen.), Δανούβιν (acc.), Μάσαλμα (gen.), Πάρθικος, Πελοποννησιακιος, 'Ρυούσι(υ), Τάβικα (gen.), Τετραγγούριν, Χερσωνίτικος; cf. below, Substantives ending in -ν.

Substantives:

nom. -ας (-άς); acc. -α (-ά): Βόρενα, Λεβεδία, Λιούντικα, Νικήτα, Πετρωνα, Ποργά;
nom. -άς; plur. gen. -άδων: άμηράδων, βοιλάδων;
nom. -ης (-ής, -ής); acc. -η (-ή -ή), gen. -η (-ή): άμερμουμή, Άδρανασή, Άλμούτζη, Άποσέλμη, Δανούβιν (acc.), Γιαζή, Γιαζίν, Παζουνή, Πλατυπόδη, Σιγρίτζη, Τεβέλη, Τετραγγούριν;
nom. -ός (< -ιος): κύρος;
nom. -ίς (< -ιος): κύρις, Δανούβιν (acc.);
nom. -ί; gen. -ί: Τιβί;
nom. -ιμον; ριμάτια: μεταστασίματα;
nom. -ίς; gen. -ί: Δάναπρι, Δάναστρι.

Adjectives:

nom. -ος, -η, -ον (~ -ος, -ον): έτοιμαι (plur. nom.) 53/433, όμοφύλαις (plur. dat.) 14/24;
nom. -ος (27/24) < -ης: διψαλού (? plur. nom.) 38/10, 28;
nom. -ός (< -ος): ἀπλός 28/33, χρυσός 42/67;
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Comparative:
- βραδέστερον 53/304, μεζοτέρον 53/258, μελανώτερον 53/397, ταχύτερον 53/174, τάχιον 53/402, 416;
- ευεργεσιών καί φιλοτιμιών, τών ἑπταέων πάντων 1/23, γυναικών...

Congruence:
- ευεργεσιών καί φιλοτιμιών, τών επαξίων πάντων 1/23, γυναικών...

Numerals:
- ένας (< είς) ένα βήσσαλον 53/329.

Pronouns:
- αύτός (= this) passim, e. g.: 2/11, 5/5, 9/63, 13/75, 14/11, 27/73, 28/11, 29/245, 32/81, 40/27, 44/19;
- ὁ αύτός (= the same, the said, the aforementioned) passim, e. g.: 8/9, 9/104, 16/8, 18/4, 31/8, 32/10, 38/19, 41/3, 42/32, 48/27, 44/20, 49/59, 50/39, 51/8, 58/173;
- τό (= αύτό): διά τό 45/30, 50/156;
- τοιούτος (= this, the said) passim, e. g.: 1/25, 2/21, 4/7, 6/7, 8/14, 9/36, 11/9, 13/118, 15/6, 29/32, 68, 246, 30/18, 132, 31/24, 47, 32/23, 144, 33/14, 34/13, 35/9, 38/51, 42/93, 43/38, 45/48, 155, 46/35, 140, 50/78, 195, 51/54, 53/216, 505, 523:
- αυτοτάτοτο: τό αυτοτάτοτο 18/92, τούς αυτοτάτοτος 18/122, τόν αυτοτάτοτον 25/38;
- αυτοσύνον: τό αυτοσύνον 13/89, 102;
- αυτοικία: τόν αυτοίκια 42/48, 48;
- τίς: τί δουλείαν 46/81.

Prepositions:
- ανά + gen.: 29/248, 248, 31/73, 74, 41/5, 52/7;
- ἀπό + acc.: 9/5, 6, 96, 106, 26/25, 42, 31/55, 32/74, 42/67, 87, 95, 46/44;
- εἰς + acc. (= in, into, on, at, by, among, about) passim, e. g.: 6/4, 7/6, 9/10, 60, 18/174, 15/9, 16/9, 21/17, 22/63, 25/80, 26/24, 27/39, 29/22, 29/288, 30/16, 103, 31/29, 32/82, 33/5, 65/5, 37/21, 59, 38/30, 39/10, 40/46, 42/86, 44/2, 45/57, 165, 46/55, 50/78, 137, 51/92, 131, 53/214, 264;
- εν + dat. ( = to, into, at, upon) passim, e. g.: 1/21, 7/2, 8/4, 9/3, 13/98, 21/56, 22/37, 26/9, 27/7, 28/14, 29/118, 157, 30/76, 32/50, 120, 139, 42/34, 43/62, 171, 45/89, 46/60, 79, 50/53, 174, 51/26, 142, 53/52, 356, 311, 337, 414, 525;

Prepositional Adverbs:
- with gen.: ἀναμεσόν, ἀναμεταξύ, ἀντίπερα, ἐκείνε, ἐνθεν, ἐνώπιον, ἐπάνω, κύκλω, λόγῳ, μέσον, μήκος, νόμῳ, πέραθεν, ὑποκάτωθεν.
Grammatical Notes

**Verbs:**

-άω ~ -έω: άπεμπόλοσιν 9/16, έξουν 30/121;
-ό ~ -όν: άντιπεράς 51/115;

**augment:** άνάλωσεν 13/99, άντεπαράτον 53/134, 187, άπέλασαν 32/25, έδιοίκε 
51/60 [cf. Ρ: Ρ/35, 13/35, 51, 170, 21/20, 64, 25/5, 26/47, 64, 71, 27/13, 17, 31, 65, 
29/28, 141, 233, 30/17, 46, 62, 32/42, 33/10, 34/9, 38/10, 39/7, 40/15, 41/22, 43/51, 
45/19, 46/145, 47/50, 155, 162, 51/36];

**reduplication:** άποσταλμένω 49/20, βαπτισμένος 31/31,

**aorist:** άλωθείσης 47/3, άναπαήναι 53/68, 414, άναπαήναι 53/277, άπέθανε 
53/69, άπέθανε 53/167, τελευτήσαντες 46/146, χαλινομένος 51/203 [cf. Ρ: 1/12];

**imperative:** μή κοιμάσαι 9/25;

γίνομαι: γενάμενος 32/58, 50/56;

διδάσκω -f- dat.: 1/13, 39/8;

δίδωμι: άντέδωκαν 32/55, δέδωκαν 45/92, παρέδωκαν 53/104, συνέδωκαν 30/59;

είμι: ήτον 29/273;

είμι: συνεξισθήναι 51/44;

έχω: έχει είσω αναποθετάναι 13/76, κλώσαι έχω 27/29, άποστέλλειν 
έχει 43/94, έχους είσων 45/78, έχει ευπορεθήναι 45/85, καθέξθενα 
έχει 45/86, έχειν είσων 46/133, κινήθηκαν 46/134;

ήττω 5/9, 40/10;

ήμι: άφίομεν 53/52, 54, άφίσαι 26/34;

ιστώ (< οίστημι): άποκαθιστάντος 53/313, ιστών 21/42, καθέξθει 
P/5, παραστήμα 
53/403, συνεκθήκαν 18/120;

οίγω (< οίγομι): θεωρεί 9/12;

οίδα: ειδούς 53/314, ειδούς 53/419, 429 [οίδα ~ είδον in P: 45/140, 49/28, 
34, 53/193; cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri 
der nachchristlichen Zeit, (München, 1938), p. 91]; cf. Critical Introduction, p. 36;

πηγνύω (< πηγνύνι): πηγνύσαν 9/74.

**Use of the cases:**

acc. instead of dat.: 26/60, 28/45, 29/140, 30/124, 31/84, 32/17, 49/22, 44/33, 45/ 
75, 152, 46/8, 61, 63, 72, 104, 108, 117, 118, 139, 157, 49/13, 50/124, 51/120, 53/13, 99, 104, 
188, 196, 220, 411, 441;

εις + acc. instead of dat. passim, e. g.: 9/16, 13/85, 21/103, 26/39, 46/59, 49/56, 
53/155, 527.

**Negation:**

μηδέν θαυμάσης 1/10, οδηγεί άπον 30/37, οδ άπον 30/37, οδ άπον 58/88, 
μηδέν πτωνοθήξ 59/350, μηδέν πτωνοθήξ 59/374.
Grammatical Notes

Use of the tenses:


ιων + pres. opt.: 13/125, 46/169;

ιων + fut. ind.: 21/84 [cf. P: 29/140, 45/149, 47/20, 50/41, 213].

Genitivus absolutus:

instead of participium conjunctum: 8/7, 27/75, 28/20, 29/44, 89, 111, 173, 174, 195, 196, 42/47, 43/64, 66, 175, 46/51, 56, 74, 77, 78, 93, 49/24, 27, 40, 50/163, 239, 51/40, 162, 163, 198, 53/12, 71, 158, 346.

Nominativus absolutus:

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