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PROCOPIUS

I



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## INTRODUCTION

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**THE PERSIAN WAR**

# ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

## ΤΗΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

### I

- 1 Προκόπιος Καισαρεύς τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραφεν οὗς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς πρὸς βαρβάρους διήνεγκε τοὺς τε ἐφους καὶ ἐσπερίους, ὥς πη αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη ὁ μέγας αἰὼν λόγου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ καταπροηται καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξίτηλα θῆται, ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ᾤετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ξυνοίσουν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὁμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
- 2 ἀνάγκην διάθοιτο. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμῶσι καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνιουμένοις ὀνησὶν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι οἷα τέ ἐστίν ἢ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἱστορίας ἐπίδειξις, ἀποκαλύπτουσα μὲν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις τὰ τῆς ὁμοίας ἀγωνίας ἐχώρησεν, αἰνισσομένη δὲ ὁποῖαν τινὰ τελευτὴν τοῖς γε ὥς ἄριστα βουλευομένοις<sup>1</sup> τὰ παρόντα, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἔξει.
- 3 καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ ξυνηπίστατο πάντων μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> βουλευομένοις Dindorf : βουλομένοις MSS.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA  
HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK I  
THE PERSIAN WAR

I

PROCOPIUS of Caesarea has written the history of the wars which Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, waged against the barbarians of the East and of the West, relating separately the events of each one, to the end that the long course of time may not overwhelm deeds of singular importance through lack of a record, and thus abandon them to oblivion and utterly obliterate them. The memory of these events he deemed would be a great thing and most helpful to men of the present time, and to future generations as well, in case time should ever again place men under a similar stress. For men who purpose to enter upon a war or are preparing themselves for any kind of struggle may derive some benefit from a narrative of a similar situation in history, inasmuch as this discloses the final result attained by men of an earlier day in a struggle of the same sort, and foreshadows, at least for those who are most prudent in planning, what outcome present events will probably have. Furthermore he had assurance that

- δυνατὸς ὦν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,  
 ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβούλῳ ἡρημένῳ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ  
 στρατηγῷ σχεδόν τι ἅπασι παραγενέσθαι τοῖς  
 4 πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. πρέπειν τε ἡγεῖτο ῥητο-  
 ρικῇ μὲν δεινότητα, ποιητικῇ δὲ μυθοποιῶν,  
 5 ξυγγραφῇ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τῶν  
 τῶν οἱ ἐς ἄγαν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀπεκρύ-  
 ψατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἕκαστα  
 ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη  
 ἄλλη αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη.
- 6 Κρεῖσσον δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν  
 τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκότων τῷ γε ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς τεκμηριοῦσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται.
- 7 πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὦν  
 ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν θαυμαστὰ οἶα, ἣν μὴ τις τῶν τάδε  
 ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα  
 διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ  
 8 οἶεσθαι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν  
 στρατευομένους ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοξότας, ἀγχε-  
 μάχους δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδιώτας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἅττα  
 ὀνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἐθέλουσι νέμειν, ταύ-  
 την τε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐς τοῦτον ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χρό-  
 νον ἥκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαίπωρόν γε καὶ τῆς  
 πείρας ἀπωτάτῳ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι  
 9 δόξαν. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἔννοια  
 γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τοξεύουσιν,  
 οἷσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὀνομαζο-  
 μένοις ξυνέβαιεν, οὐχ ἵππος ὑπὴν, οὐ δόρυ, οὐκ

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. i. 3-9

he was especially competent to write the history of these events, if for no other reason, because it fell to his lot, when appointed adviser to the general Belisarius, to be an eye-witness of practically all the events to be described. It was his conviction that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to poetry, truth alone is appropriate to history. In accordance with this principle he has not concealed the failures of even his most intimate acquaintances, but has written down with complete accuracy everything which befell those concerned, whether it happened to be done well or ill by them.

It will be evident that no more important or mightier deeds are to be found in history than those which have been enacted in these wars,—provided one wishes to base his judgment on the truth. For in them more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable. There are those, for example, who call the soldiers of the present day “bowmen,” while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as “hand-to-hand fighters,” “shield-men,” and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present,—an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term<sup>1</sup> derived from their art, they were neither carried by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xi. 385 τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπίπα, the only place where τοξότης occurs in Homer.

- ἀσπίς ἤμυνεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυ-  
 λακτῆριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦσαν,  
 ἀποκεκρύφθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἑταίρου<sup>1</sup>  
 του ἐκλεγομένοις ἀσπίδα ἢ στήλη ἐπὶ τύμβῳ  
 10 τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, ἔνθα οὔτε τρεπόμενοι διασώ-  
 ζεσθαι οὔτε φεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι  
 οἰοί τε ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς  
 διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τι<sup>2</sup> κλέπτειν ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ τῶν  
 11 ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ γινομένων. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων  
 οὕτως ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχρῶντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥστε  
 πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἶτα τὸ  
 βέλος ἀφίεσαν κωφόν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως  
 τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαύτη μὲν τις οὔσα  
 12 ἢ τοξεῖα φαίνεται πρότερον. οἱ δὲ γε τανῦν  
 τοξόται ἴασι μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ  
 κνημίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ. ἤρτηται  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη,  
 13 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ  
 δόρυ προσαποκρέματα καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ὤμων ἀσπίς ὀχάνου χωρίς, οἷα τὰ τε ἄμφι  
 τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ <τὸν><sup>3</sup> αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτειν.  
 14 ἵππεύονται δὲ ὥς ἄριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτοῖς  
 ὥς τάχιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς  
 ἐντείνειν οἰοί τε εἰσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα καὶ διώκοντάς  
 15 τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. ἔλ-  
 κεται δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἢ νευρὰ παρ'  
 αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὠτων τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης  
 ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλάσα τὸ βέλος, ὥστε τὸν αἰεὶ παρα-  
 πίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὔτε ἀσπίδος ἴσως οὔτε θώρακος

<sup>1</sup> ἑταίρου Maltretus, cod. e : ἐτέρου VP.

<sup>2</sup> τι Maltretus : τῷ V, τὸ P.

<sup>3</sup> <τὸν> Hoeschel.



horse nor protected by spear or shield.<sup>1</sup> In fact there was no protection at all for their bodies; they entered battle on foot, and were compelled to conceal themselves, either singling out the shield of some comrade,<sup>2</sup> or seeking safety behind a tombstone on a mound,<sup>3</sup> from which position they could neither save themselves in case of rout, nor fall upon a flying foe. Least of all could they participate in a decisive struggle in the open, but they always seemed to be stealing something which belonged to the men who were engaged in the struggle. And apart from this they were so indifferent in their practice of archery that they drew the bowstring only to the breast,<sup>4</sup> so that the missile sent forth was naturally impotent and harmless to those whom it hit.<sup>5</sup> Such, it is evident, was the archery of the past. But the bowmen of the present time go into battle wearing corselets and fitted out with greaves which extend up to the knee. From the right side hang their arrows, from the other the sword. And there are some who have a spear also attached to them and, at the shoulders, a sort of small shield without a grip, such as to cover the region of the face and neck. They are expert horsemen, and are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight. They draw the bowstring along by the forehead about opposite the right ear, thereby charging the arrow with such an impetus as to kill whoever stands in the way, shield and corselet alike

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* v. 192.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iliad* viii. 267; xi. 371.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Iliad* iv. 113.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Iliad* iv. 123.<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xi. 390.

- 16 ἀποκρούεσθαί τι δυναμένου τῆς ῥύμης. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τούτων ἥκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κωλύσει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐν  
17 τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ἀρξαμένοις μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη καὶ Μήδοις πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ δρᾶσαι.

II

- 1 Ἦνίκα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτᾶν ἤμελλεν (ἦν γὰρ οἱ παῖς Θεοδόσιος οὐπω τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς), διηπορεῖτο ἀμφί τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὖ  
2 θέσθαι ἄμφω ὥς ἥκιστα ἔχων. ἐγένετο γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὥς, ἦν μὲν κοινωνόν τινα Θεοδοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζηται, αὐτὸς ἂν τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχρησάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἴη, πολέμιον αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασιλείῳ περιβε-  
3 βλημένον ἐπαγαγών, ἦν δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσεται, πολλοὶ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύσουσι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Θεοδόσιον διαφθείραντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυγγενῇ εἶχεν ὅστις  
4 ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἴη. Ὀνώριον γὰρ οἱ τὸν θεῖον ἐπαρκέσειν οὐδαμῇ ἤλπισε, πονηρῶν ἤδη  
5 τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ὄντων. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦσσαν καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσε,

<sup>1</sup> πλέον Maltretus : πλέονα VP.

having no power to check its force. Still there are those who take into consideration none of these things, who reverence and worship the ancient times, and give no credit to modern improvements. But no such consideration will prevent the conclusion that most great and notable deeds have been performed in these wars. And the history of them will begin at some distance back, telling of the fortunes in war of the Romans and the Medes, their reverses and their successes.

## II

WHEN the Roman Emperor Arcadius was at the point of death in Byzantium, having a malechild, Theodosius, who was still unweaned, he felt grave fears not only for him but for the government as well, not knowing how he should provide wisely for both. For he perceived that, if he provided a partner in government for Theodosius, he would in fact be destroying his own son by bringing forward against him a foe clothed in the regal power; while if he set him alone over the empire, many would try to mount the throne, taking advantage, as they might be expected to do, of the helplessness of the child. These men would rise against the government, and, after destroying Theodosius, would make themselves tyrants without difficulty, since the boy had no kinsman in Byzantium to be his guardian. For Arcadius had no hope that the boy's uncle, Honorius, would succour him, inasmuch as the situation in Italy was already troublesome. And he was equally disturbed by the attitude of the Medes, fearing lest

408 A.D.

ἀλλχαόσε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦτον καθημένῳ  
τὸν τρίποδα τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψῆφον,  
τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιούντος.  
29 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεβόδης ἐν σχήματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθητο  
ἡμέρας πολλὰς, ἕως τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγεί-  
λαντος λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν, ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς  
ἐς Χοσρόην εὐεργεσίας ἐχώρησεν.

XXIV

- 1 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ἐνέπεσεν,  
ἣ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακὸν  
μέγα τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ
- 2 τοιῷδε. οἱ δῆμοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη ἕς τε Βενέτους  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διήρηντο, οὐ πολὺς  
δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τούτων τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν  
βάθρων ἕνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασι, τὰ τε  
χρήματα δαπανῶσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς  
πικροτάτοις προῖενται καὶ θνήσκουν οὐκ ἀπα-
- 3 ξιοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ· μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοῖς  
ἕνεκα ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοί τε ὥς, ἣν  
καὶ περιέσονται τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λελεί-  
ψεται αὐτοῖς ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμο-
- 4 λέναι. φύεται μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας  
ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεύτητον ἐς  
τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, οὔτε κήδει οὔτε ξυγγενείᾳ οὔτε



sanctuary nor to go elsewhere, but he must seat himself by this tripod and await the verdict of the king, while no one at all dares protect him. There Mebodes sat in pitiable plight for many days, until he was seized and put to death at the command of Chosroes. Such was the final outcome of his good deeds to Chosroes.

## XXIV

AT this same time an insurrection broke out unexpectedly in Byzantium among the populace, and, contrary to expectation, it proved to be a very serious affair, and ended in great harm to the people and to the senate, as the following account will show. In every city the population has been divided for a long time past into the Blue and the Green factions; but within comparatively recent times it has come about that, for the sake of these names and the seats which the rival factions occupy in watching the games, they spend their money and abandon their bodies to the most cruel tortures, and even do not think it unworthy to die a most shameful death. And they fight against their opponents knowing not for what end they imperil themselves, but knowing well that, even if they overcome their enemy in the fight, the conclusion of the matter for them will be to be carried off straightway to the prison, and finally, after suffering extreme torture, to be destroyed. So there grows up in them against their fellow men a hostility which has no cause, and at no time does it cease or disappear, for it gives

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- φιλίας θεσμῷ εἶκον, ἣν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οἱ ἐς τὰ χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶεν.
- 5 μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε θείων οὔτε ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἣν τέ τι ἀσέβημα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' ὅτου οὖν ἀμαρτάνηται ἦν τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποι- ούνται, ἦν γε αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ μέλλῃ· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς συστασιώτας καλοῦσι.
- 6 μεταλαγχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἄγους τούτου καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμεναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι, καί- περ οὔτε εἰς τὰ θέατρα τὸ παράπαν ἰοῦσαι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ αἰτίῳ ἡγμέναι· ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλο τι ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ψυχῆς νόσημα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἐκάστῳ ὧδέ πη ἔχει.
- 7 Τότε δὲ ἡ ἀρχή, ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφειστήκει ἐν Βυζαν- τίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινὰς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπῆγε. ξυμφρονήσαντες δὲ καὶ σπεισάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλή- λους ἐκάτεροι τοὺς τε ἀγομένους ἀρπάζουσι καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφιάσιν ἅπαντας ὅσοι στάσεως ἢ ἐτέρου του ἀλόντες
- 8 ἀποπήματος ἐδέδεντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται, ὅσοι τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἔπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν

place. neither to the ties of marriage nor of relationship nor of friendship, and the case is the same even though those who differ with respect to these colours be brothers or any other kin. They care neither for things divine nor human in comparison with conquering in these struggles; and it matters not whether a sacrilege is committed by anyone at all against God, or whether the laws and the constitution are violated by friend or by foe; nay even when they are perhaps ill supplied with the necessities of life, and when their fatherland is in the most pressing need and suffering unjustly, they pay no heed if only it is likely to go well with their "faction"; for so they name the bands of partisans. And even women join with them in this unholy strife, and they not only follow the men, but even resist them if opportunity offers, although they neither go to the public exhibitions at all, nor are they impelled by any other cause; so that I, for my part, am unable to call this anything except a disease of the soul. This, then, is pretty well how matters stand among the people of each and every city.

But at this time the officers of the city administration in Byzantium were leading away to death some of the rioters. But the members of the two factions, conspiring together and declaring a truce with each other, seized the prisoners and then straightway entered the prison and released all those who were in confinement there, whether they had been condemned on a charge of stirring up sedition, or for any other unlawful act. And all the attendants in the service of the city government were killed indiscriminately; meanwhile, all of the citizens who were

- ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἔφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ  
 9 ἐπεφέρετο, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίοις γεγενημένη. καὶ  
 τὸ ἱερὸν ἡ Σοφία τό τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεύξιππος  
 καὶ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων  
 ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως λεγόμενον οἶκον καυθέντα  
 ἐφθάρη, ἐπὶ τούτοις τε ἄμφω αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ  
 μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἡ Κωνσταντίνου  
 ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι  
 10 πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ  
 συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἔνιοι καθείρ-  
 ξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ξύμ-  
 βολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκα,  
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις  
 ἐκείνη προσαγορεύεται.
- 11 Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ  
 Καππαδόκης, Τριβουνιανὸς δέ, Πάμφυλος γένος,  
 βασιλεῖ παρέδρος· κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι  
 12 Ῥωμαῖοι. τουτοιν ἄτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν  
 τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι  
 μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς [γράψαι].<sup>1</sup>  
 φύσεως δὲ ἰσχυρὴ πάντων γέγονε δυνατώτατος ὢν  
 13 ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. γινῶναί τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώ-  
 τατος ἦν καὶ λύσιν τοῖς ἀπόροις εὐρεῖν. πονηρό-  
 τατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τῇ τῆς  
 φύσεως δυνάμει ἐς τοῦτο ἐχρήτο, καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ  
 λόγος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν αἰδῶς τις ἐσῆει,  
 ἀλλὰ βίους τε αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἀπολ-  
 λύναι κέρδους ἔνεκα καὶ πόλεις ὅλας καθελεῖν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> [γράψαι] bracketed by Herwerden, cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 189.



sane-minded were fleeing to the opposite mainland, and fire was applied to the city as if it had fallen under the hand of an enemy. The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippus, and the portion of the imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure. During this time the emperor and his consort with a few members of the senate shut themselves up in the palace and remained quietly there. Now the watch-word which the populace passed around to one another was Nika,<sup>1</sup> and the insurrection has been called by this name up to the present time.

The praetorian prefect at that time was John the Cappadocian, and Tribunianus, a Pamphylian by birth, was counsellor to the emperor; this person the Roman call "quaestor." One of these two men, John, was entirely without the advantages of a liberal education; for he learned nothing while attending the elementary school except his letters, and these, too, poorly enough; but by his natural ability he became the most powerful man of whom we know. For he was most capable in deciding upon what was needful and in finding a solution for difficulties. But he became the basest of all men and employed his natural power to further his low designs; neither consideration for God nor any shame before man entered into his mind, but to destroy the lives of many men for the sake of gain and to wreck whole cities was his

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "Conquer."

- 14 μελὲς ἦν. χρόνου γοῦν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινὰ ἐκλελάκτικεν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ληιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας, μέθῃ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργοις ἀσελγέσιν
- 15 ἡσυχολημένος· κατέχειν δὲ ἑαυτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε βρώματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἔμετον ἡσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς αἰὲς ἔτοιμος, προῖεσθαι δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἐτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης
- 16 μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἐχρήτο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἡσσον, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς οἷός τε ἦν κέρδους αἰὲς τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἡμέρα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν ἀνῆρει, τοὺς δὲ ἔγραφεν, ἀπεμπολῶν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐκάτερον.
- 17 Ἔως μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρώμασιν ὀνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὧν οὗτοι ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον καὶ περιόντες ἐζήτουν ἐφ' ᾧ κτείνωσι. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐταιρίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω
- 18 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραντίκα παρέλυσεν. καὶ Φωκᾶν μὲν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἑπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα· Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἔκ τε ἐπιεικειᾶς γνώριμον ἐν πατρίκίοις ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως

constant concern. So within a short time indeed he had acquired vast sums of money, and he flung himself completely into the sordid life of a drunken scoundrel; for up to the time of lunch each day he would plunder the property of his subjects, and for the rest of the day occupy himself with drinking and with wanton deeds of lust. And he was utterly unable to control himself, for he ate food until he vomited, and he was always ready to steal money and more ready to bring it out and spend it. Such a man then was John. Tribunianus, on the other hand, both possessed natural ability and in educational attainments was inferior to none of his contemporaries; but he was extraordinarily fond of the pursuit of money and always ready to sell justice for gain; therefore every day, as a rule, he was repealing some laws and proposing others, selling off to those who requested it either favour according to their need.

Now as long as the people were waging this war with each other in behalf of the names of the colours, no attention was paid to the offences of these men against the constitution; but when the factions came to a mutual understanding, as has been said, and so began the sedition, then openly throughout the whole city they began to abuse the two and went about seeking them to kill. Accordingly the emperor, wishing to win the people to his side, instantly dismissed both these men from office. And Phocas, a patrician, he appointed praetorian prefect, a man of the greatest discretion and fitted by nature to be a guardian of justice; Basilides he commanded to fill the office of quaestor, a man known among the patricians for his agreeable qualities and a notable besides. However,

- 19 δόκιμον. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦσσαν ἢ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἤκμαζε. πέμπτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρα περὶ δέιλην ὀψίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ὑπατίῳ τε καὶ Πομπηίῳ τοῖς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῖς οἴκαδε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπέσκηπτεν ἵέναι, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς σῶμα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑποτοπήσας εἴτε καὶ
- 20 αὐτοὺς ἢ πεπρωμένη ἐς τοῦτο ἦγεν. οἱ δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἔφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσκειν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἐς τοσόνδε
- 21 κίνδυνον ἦκοντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. οὕτω γοῦν οἴκαδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐκομιζέσθην καί, τέως μὲν νύξ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζετην.
- 22 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ὡς ἀμφοτέρῳ ἀπηλλαγήτην τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λεὼς ἅπας, βασιλέα τε Ὑπάτιον ἀνηγόρευον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παραληψόμενον τὰ πράγ-
- 23 ματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦγον. ἡ δὲ Ὑπατίου γυνὴ Μαρία, ξυνετή τε οὔσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἵχετο μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ μεθίει, ἐβόα δὲ ὀλολυγῇ τε χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἅπασιν ἐγκελευομένη, ὡς αὐτὸν τὴν
- 24 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὀμίλου, αὐτὴ τε οὐχ ἐκούσα μεθῆκε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς οὔτι ἐκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἦκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῖς PV : καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν G.



the insurrection continued no less violently under them. Now on the fifth day of the insurrection in the late afternoon the Emperor Justinian gave orders to Hypatius and Pompeius, nephews of the late emperor, Anastasius, to go home as quickly as possible, either because he suspected that some plot was being matured by them against his own person, or, it may be, because destiny brought them to this. But they feared that the people would force them to the throne (as in fact fell out), and they said that they would be doing wrong if they should abandon their sovereign when he found himself in such danger. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he inclined still more to his suspicion, and he bade them quit the palace instantly. Thus, then, these two men betook themselves to their homes, and, as long as it was night, they remained there quietly.

But on the following day at sunrise it became known to the people that both men had quit the palace where they had been staying. So the whole population ran to them, and they declared Hypatius emperor and prepared to lead him to the market-place to assume the power. But the wife of Hypatius, Mary, a discreet woman, who had the greatest reputation for prudence, laid hold of her husband and would not let go, but cried out with loud lamentation and with entreaties to all her kinsmen that the people were leading him on the road to death. But since the throng overpowered her, she unwillingly released her husband, and he by no will of his own came to the Forum of Constantine, where they summoned him to the throne; then since they

ἐκάλουν, καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς οὔτε διάδημα οὔτε  
 τι ἄλλο ὧν δὴ βασιλέα περιβάλλεσθαι νόμος)  
 στρεπτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θέμενοι  
 25 βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 βουλῆς ξυνιόντων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντες ἐτύγ-  
 χανον ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέγοντο  
 γινῶμαι ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰτέον ἀγωνιούμενοις ἐς παλά-  
 26 τιον. Ὀριγένης δέ, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, παρελθὼν  
 ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Τὰ μὲν παρόντα ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι, πράγματα μὴ οὐχὶ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι οὐχ  
 οἶόν τε. πόλεμος<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ βασιλεία<sup>2</sup> τὰ μέγιστα  
 τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὠμολόγηται εἶναι.  
 27 τῶν δὲ δὴ πράξεων αἱ μεγάλαι οὐ βραχύτητι  
 καιροῦ κατορθοῦσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀλλ’ εὐβουλία  
 τε λογισμῶν καὶ πόνοις σωμάτων, ἅπερ ἀνθρω-  
 28 ποι ἐς χρόνον μῆκος ἐνδείκνυνται. ἦν μὲν οὖν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον<sup>3</sup> ἵοιμεν, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μὲν ἀκμῆς  
 τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν στήσεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων  
 ἐν βραχεὶ διακινδυνεύσομεν χρόνῳ, τῶν δὲ ἀπο-  
 βῆσεσθαι μελλόντων ἕνεκα τὴν τύχην ἢ προσκυ-  
 29 νήσομεν ἢ μεμφόμεθα πάντως. τὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων ὀξύτατα ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ  
 πολλὰ περιίσταται κράτος. ἦν δὲ σχολαίτερον  
 τὰ παρόντα διοικησώμεθα, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις  
 παρέσται ἡμῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν παλατίῳ λαβεῖν,  
 ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσει ὡς τάχιστα ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐφ’  
 30 φυγεῖν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ περιορωμένη καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν,  
 ἀποληγούσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην.  
 ἔστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν βασιλεία ἕτερα, Πλακιλλιαναί  
 τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμα, ὅθεν χρὴ βασιλέα

<sup>1</sup> πόλεμος P: πόλεμον VG.      <sup>2</sup> βασιλεία P: βασιλείαν VG.

<sup>3</sup> πολέμιον GP: πόλεμον V.

had neither diadem nor anything else with which it is customary for a king to be clothed, they placed a golden necklace upon his head and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans. By this time the members of the senate were assembling,—as many of them as had not been left in the emperor's residence,—and many expressed the opinion that they should go to the palace to fight. But Origenes, a man of the senate, came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow Romans, it is impossible that the situation which is upon us be solved in any way except by war. Now war and royal power are agreed to be the greatest of all things in the world. But when action involves great issues, it refuses to be brought to a successful issue by the brief crisis of a moment, but this is accomplished only by wisdom of thought and energy of action, which men display for a length of time. Therefore if we should go out against the enemy, our cause will hang in the balance, and we shall be taking a risk which will decide everything in a brief space of time; and, as regards the consequences of such action, we shall either fall down and worship Fortune or reproach her altogether. For those things whose issue is most quickly decided, fall, as a rule, under the sway of fortune. But if we handle the present situation more deliberately, not even if we wish shall we be able to take Justinian in the palace, but he will very speedily be thankful if he is allowed to flee; for authority which is ignored always loses its power, since its strength ebbs away with each day. Moreover we have other palaces, both Placillianae and the palace named from Helen, which this emperor should

- τόνδε ὀρμώμενον τὸν τε πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν καὶ  
 31 τὰ ἄλλα διοικήσασθαι ἢ ἄμεινον ἔξει.” Ὀριγένης  
 μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ  
 ὄμιλος ποιεῖν, ὁξύτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ  
 τὸ παραντίκα ᾤοντο ξύμφορον εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ  
 ἥκιστα γε Ὑπάτιος (χρῆν γάρ·οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς)  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι.  
 τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἦκειν,  
 βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα.
- 32 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ἦσαν, πό-  
 τερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς φυγὴν  
 τρεπομένοις ἄμεινον ἔσται. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ  
 33 ἐλέγοντο ἐς ἑκάτερα φέροντες. καὶ Θεοδώρα  
 δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐν  
 ἀνδράσι μὴ χρῆναι τολμᾶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνοῦσι  
 νεανιεύεσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἶμαι καιρὸν ἥκιστα  
 ἐφεῖναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ  
 34 νομιστέον. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἐς κίνδυνον  
 τὸν μέγιστον ἦκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ  
 35 ἄριστον ἢ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὡς ἄριστα θέσθαι. ἡγοῦ-  
 μαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε, εἶπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν,  
 ἣν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγεται, ἀξύμφορον εἶναι.  
 ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἦκοντι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ  
 νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότι  
 36 τὸ φυγάδι εἶναι οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην  
 τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μῆδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν  
 ἐκείνην βιώην, ἐν ἣ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες  
 οὐ προσερούσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαί σοι βου-  
 λομένῳ ἐστίν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα.



make his headquarters and from there he should carry on the war and attend to the ordering of all other matters in the best possible way." So spoke Origenes. But the rest, as a crowd is accustomed to do, insisted more excitedly and thought that the present moment was opportune, and not least of all Hypatius (for it was fated that evil should befall him) bade them lead the way to the hippodrome. But some say that he came there purposely, being well-disposed toward the emperor.

Now the emperor and his court were deliberating as to whether it would be better for them if they remained or if they took to flight in the ships. And many opinions were expressed favouring either course. And the Empress Theodora also spoke to the following effect: "As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way. For in the case of those whose interests have come into the greatest danger nothing else seems best except to settle the issue immediately before them in the best possible way. My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not also to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from this purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For

- 37 χρήματα <γάρ><sup>1</sup> τε πολλὰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ θά-  
 λασσα μὲν ἐκείνη, πλοῖα δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι  
 μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβήσεται σοι ἥδιστα ἂν τῆς  
 σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γάρ  
 38 τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἀρέσκει λόγος, ὥς καλὸν ἐντά-  
 φιον ἢ βασιλεία ἐστί.” τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος  
 εἰπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν<sup>2</sup> ἐπεγένετο καὶ  
 ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιούντο ἢ ἂν  
 ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατοὶ γένοιοντο, ἣν τις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς  
 39 πολεμήσων ἴοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ξύμ-  
 παντες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως  
 αὐλὴν ἐτετάχατο, οὔτε τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον  
 οὔτε ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ  
 40 τὸ μέλλον ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται. πᾶσαν  
 δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μούνδῳ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι  
 ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τὴν τε ἄλλην  
 θεραπείαν δυνατὴν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο  
 καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλήθος  
 ἔν τε ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις  
 41 τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένον. Μούνδος δέ, Ἰλλυ-  
 ριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος, τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνε-  
 κύρησε βαρβάρους Ἑρουλοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος κατὰ  
 τινα χρεῖαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμptos ἦκειν.  
 42 Ὑπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον  
 ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὗ δὴ βασιλέα  
 καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασιλείου  
 θρόνον, ὅθεν αἰεὶ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τὸν τε ἵππικόν  
 43 καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγῶνα. ἐκ δὲ παλατίου  
 Μούνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξέρχεται, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ κοχλίας  
 ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου κυκλοτεροῦς οὔσης ὠνόμασται.

<sup>1</sup> <γάρ> Haury : om. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πᾶσιν GP : παροῦσιν V.

we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud." When the queen had spoken thus, all were filled with boldness; and, turning their thoughts towards resistance, they began to consider how they might be able to defend themselves if any hostile force should come against them. Now the soldiers as a body, including those who were stationed about the emperor's court, were neither well disposed to the emperor nor willing openly to take an active part in fighting, but were waiting for what the future would bring forth. All the hopes of the emperor were centred upon Belisarius and Mundus, of whom the former, Belisarius, had recently returned from the Persian war bringing with him a following which was both powerful and imposing, and in particular he had a great number of spearmen and guards who had received their training in battles and the perils of warfare. Mundus had been appointed general of the Illyrians, and by mere chance had happened to come under summons to Byzantium on some necessary errand, bringing with him Erulian barbarians.

When Hypatius reached the hippodrome, he went up immediately to where the emperor is accustomed to take his place and seated himself on the royal throne from which the emperor was always accustomed to view the equestrian and athletic contests. And from the palace Mundus went out through the gate which, from the circling descent, has been given

44 Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τε  
 Ὑπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαιναν,  
 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸ πλησίον οἶκημα ἦλθεν οὐδὲ στρατιω-  
 τῶν φρουρὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστίν, ἐβόα τοῖς στρα-  
 τιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγνύναι οἱ τὴν θύραν  
 45 ὥς τάχιστα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἴοι. δεδογμέ-  
 νον δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἕως  
 αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νικῶν, ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπατεῖν  
 46 δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελι-  
 σάριος ὡς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἰσχυρίζετο σφίσι  
 47 τὰ πράγματα. νεωτερίζειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίου φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν.  
 ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην  
 48 Χαλκὴν καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προπύλαια ἰέναι. ὁ δὲ  
 δὴ μόλις καὶ οὔτε κινδύνων οὔτε πόνων μεγάλων  
 χωρὶς δι' ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων  
 49 διεξιὼν ἐς τὸ ἵππικὸν ἀναβαίνει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ  
 τὴν Βενέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἣ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστίν, ἐβούλευσε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον  
 αὐτὸν Ὑπάτιον ἰέναι, βραχείας δὲ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα  
 πυλίδος ἣ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς  
 Ὑπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, κατωρρώδησε  
 μὴ οἱ ἐν στενῷ πονουμένῳ ὁ δῆμος ξυνεπιθέμενος  
 αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἅπαντας διαφθείραν-  
 τες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρή-  
 50 σωσι. λογισάμενος οὖν ὥς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον  
 ἰτέον ἐστίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐστήκεσαν,  
 πλήθει τε ἄμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας ὑπ'  
 ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος  
 ἀράμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν



the name of the Snail. Belisarius meanwhile began at first to go straight up toward Hypatius himself and the royal throne, and when he came to the adjoining structure where there has been a guard of soldiers from of old, he cried out to the soldiers commanding them to open the door for him as quickly as possible, in order that he might go against the tyrant. But since the soldiers had decided to support neither side, until one of them should be manifestly victorious, they pretended not to hear at all and thus put him off. So Belisarius returned to the emperor and declared that the day was lost for them, for the soldiers who guarded the palace were rebelling against him. The emperor therefore commanded him to go to the so-called Bronze Gate and the propylaea there. So Belisarius, with difficulty and not without danger and great exertion, made his way over ground covered by ruins and half-burned buildings, and ascended to the stadium. And when he had reached the Blue Colonnade which is on the right of the emperor's throne, he purposed to go against Hypatius himself first; but since there was a small door there which had been closed and was guarded by the soldiers of Hypatius who were inside, he feared lest while he was struggling in the narrow space the populace should fall upon him, and after destroying both himself and all his followers, should proceed with less trouble and difficulty against the emperor. Concluding, therefore, that he must go against the populace who had taken their stand in the hippodrome—a vast multitude crowding each other in great disorder—he drew his sword from its sheath and, commanding the others to do likewise, with a

- ἐπαγγείλας, δρόμῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει.  
 51 ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε δὴ ἐν ὀμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει  
 ἰστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἶδον τεθωρακισ-  
 μένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρία  
 καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρία ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς  
 ξίφεσιν οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ παίοντας, ἐς φυγὴν  
 52 ὥρμηντο. κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὥς τὸ εἶκός,  
 γεγενημένης, πλησίον που ἐστήκως Μοῦνδος  
 καὶ βουλόμενος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι (ἦν γάρ τις τολ-  
 μητῆς καὶ δραστήριος), ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἢ χρήσεται  
 τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτεκμήρατο ὥς Βελισάριος  
 ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἶη, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον διὰ τῆς  
 53 εἰσόδου ἢ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. τότε δὴ  
 ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ Ὑπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος  
 πλησσομένοι διεφθείροντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ  
 λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ φόνος ἦν ἥδη τοῦ δήμου  
 πολὺς, Βοραΐδης τε καὶ Ἰούστος, Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀνεψιοί, χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀνταί-  
 ρειν τολμῶντος, καθεῖλόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου  
 Ὑπάτιον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἅμα  
 54 Πομπηίῳ παρέδωκαν. θνήσκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου  
 πλεόν ἢ τρισμύριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι.  
 55 ἐνταῦθα Πομπήσιος μὲν ἐδάκρυνέ τε καὶ ἄξια ἐλέου  
 ἐφθέγγετο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ  
 κακῶν τοιούτων ἥκιστα ἔμπειρος· Ὑπάτιος δὲ  
 αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὐκ  
 56 ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολουμένους ὀδύρεσθαι. ἀρχὴν τε γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον  
 ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ

shout he advanced upon them at a run. But the populace, who were standing in a mass and not in order, at the sight of armoured soldiers who had a great reputation for bravery and experience in war, and seeing that they struck out with their swords unsparingly, beat a hasty retreat. Then a great outcry arose, as was natural, and Mundus, who was standing not far away, was eager to join in the fight,—for he was a daring and energetic fellow—but he was at a loss as to what he should do under the circumstances; when, however, he observed that Belisarius was in the struggle, he straightway made a sally into the hippodrome through the entrance which they call the Gate of Death. Then indeed from both sides the partisans of Hypatius were assailed with might and main and destroyed. When the rout had become complete and there had already been great slaughter of the populace, Boraedes and Justus, nephews of the Emperor Justinian, without anyone daring to lift a hand against them, dragged Hypatius down from the throne, and, leading him in, handed him over together with Pompeius to the emperor. And there perished among the populace on that day more than thirty thousand. But the emperor commanded the two prisoners to be kept in severe confinement. Then, while Pompeius was weeping and uttering pitiable words (for the man was wholly inexperienced in such misfortunes), Hypatius reproached him at length and said that those who were about to die unjustly should not lament. For in the beginning they had been forced by the people against their will, and afterwards they had come to the hippodrome with no thought of harming the emperor. And the soldiers killed both

ὑστεραία ἐκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθήκαν τὰ  
 57 σώματα. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ  
 δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν  
 ἐκ βουλῆς ἀπάντων οὐ δὴ τὴν γνώμην ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
 58 ἔθεντο. ἔπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ  
 τοῖς Ὑπατίου καὶ Πομπηίου παισὶ τὰ τε ἀξιώ-  
 ματα οἷς πρότερον ἐχρῶντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν  
 χρημάτων ὅσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς οὐκ ἔτυχε  
 δωρησάμενος. ἐς τόδε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις  
 ἐτελεύτα.

XXV

- 1 Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὕτω  
 παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς
- 2 κατέστησαν ἀμφω. ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιανὸς μὲν ἔτη  
 πολλὰ ἐπιβιούς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἄλλο  
 οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν. ἦν γὰρ αἰμύλος  
 τε καὶ τᾶλλα ἡδὺς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ  
 νόσημα ἐπισκιάσαι ἱκανώτατος τῆς παιδείας
- 3 περιουσία. Ἰωάννης δὲ (πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις  
 βαρὺς τε ὁμοίως καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγὰς τε τοῖς  
 προσπίπτουσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα  
 ἀπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληιζόμενος) δέκατον ἔτος  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς  
 ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν παρανομίας ἐξέτισε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
- 4 Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἤχθετο αὐτῷ πάντων  
 μάλιστα. καὶ ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκῶς οἷς  
 ἡμάρτανε, θωπεῖα μὲν αὐτὴν ἢ χάριτι μετελθεῖν  
 ὥς ἤκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλήν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλ-



of them on the following day and threw their bodies into the sea. The emperor confiscated all their property for the public treasury, and also that of all the other members of the senate who had sided with them. Later, however, he restored to the children of Hypatius and Pompeius and to all others the titles which they had formerly held, and as much of their property as he had not happened to bestow upon his friends. This was the end of the insurrection in Byzantium.

## XXV

TRIBUNIANUS and John were thus deprived of office, but at a later time they were both restored to the same positions. And Tribunianus lived on in office many years and died of disease, suffering no further harm from anyone. For he was a smooth fellow and agreeable in every way and well able by the excellence of his education to throw into the shade his affliction of avarice. But John was oppressive and severe alike with all men, inflicting blows upon those whom he met and plundering without respect absolutely all their money; consequently in the tenth year of his office he rightly and justly atoned for his lawless conduct in the following manner.

The Empress Theodora hated him above all others. And while he gave offence to the woman by the wrongs he committed, he was not of a mind to win her by flattery or by kindness in any way, but he openly set himself in opposition to her and kept slandering her to the emperor, neither blushing

THE PERSIAN WAR

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

THE PERSIAN WAR

II

## HISTORY OF THE WARS:

### BOOK II

#### THE PERSIAN WAR (*Continued*)

and easy of capture, were tearing down portions of it in turn and restoring them with new construction. Now just at that time they had torn down one section of it and had not yet built in this interval; when, therefore, they learned that the enemy were close at hand, they carried out the most precious of their treasures, and the wealthy inhabitants withdrew to other strongholds, while the rest without soldiers remained where they were. And it happened that great numbers of farmers had gathered there. These Chosroes enslaved and razed everything to the ground. A little later, upon receiving the hostage, John, he retired to his own country. And the Armenians who had submitted to Chosroes received pledges from the Romans and came with Bassaces to Byzantium. Such was the fortune of the Romans in the third invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, in order to be sent again to Italy, since the situation there was already full of difficulties for the Romans.

## XXII

DURING these times there was a pestilence, by which the whole human race came near to being annihilated. Now in the case of all other scourges sent from Heaven some explanation of a cause might be given by daring men, such as the many theories propounded by those who are clever in these matters; for they love to conjure up causes which are absolutely incomprehensible to man, and

542 A.D.

- τε ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους, ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν  
ὡς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀποχρῆν δὲ ἡγούμενοι  
σφίσιν, ἣν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τῷ λόγῳ  
2 ἐξαπατήσαντες πείσωσι. τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ  
πρόφασιν τινα ἢ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἢ διανοίᾳ λογί-  
σασθαι μηχανή τις οὐδεμία ἐστί, πλήν γε δὴ  
3 ὅσα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους  
τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τισὶ γέγονεν οὐδέ τινα  
ᾧραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσχεν, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ σοφίσματα  
αἰτίας εὐρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἀλλὰ περιεβάλλετο  
μὲν τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων  
ἅπαντας ἔβλαψε, καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τοῦναντίον  
παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὔτε φύσεώς τινος  
4 οὔτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. εἴτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοι-  
κῆσει εἴτε νόμῳ διαίτης, ἢ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἢ  
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἢ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωποι  
διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ μόνη τῇ νόσῳ τὸ  
5 διαλλάσσον οὐδὲν ὤνησεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ τοῖς  
μὲν ὥρα θερούς, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ  
τοὺς ἄλλους καιρούς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὥς πῃ  
ἕκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστῆς καὶ  
μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο ἢ νόσος  
ἦδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν  
ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.  
6 Ἦρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ᾠκῆνται ἐν  
Πηλουσίῳ. γενομένη δὲ δίχα πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τε  
Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρησε,  
πῇ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίοις ὁμόρους  
ἦλθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τε κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν σύμπασαν,  
ὁδῷ τε αἰὲς προϊοῦσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα  
7 τοῖς καθήκουσιν. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν



to fabricate outlandish theories of natural philosophy, knowing well that they are saying nothing sound, but considering it sufficient for them, if they completely deceive by their argument some of those whom they meet and persuade them to their view. But for this calamity it is quite impossible either to express in words or to conceive in thought any explanation, except indeed to refer it to God. For it did not come in a part of the world nor upon certain men, nor did it confine itself to any season of the year, so that from such circumstances it might be possible to find subtle explanations of a cause, but it embraced the entire world, and blighted the lives of all men, though differing from one another in the most marked degree, respecting neither sex nor age. For much as men differ with regard to places in which they live, or in the law of their daily life, or in natural bent, or in active pursuits, or in whatever else man differs from man, in the case of this disease alone the difference availed naught. And it attacked some in the summer season, others in the winter, and still others at the other times of the year. Now let each one express his own judgment concerning the matter, both sophist and astrologer, but as for me, I shall proceed to tell where this disease originated and the manner in which it destroyed men.

It started from the Aegyptians who dwell in Pelusium. Then it divided and moved in one direction towards Alexandria and the rest of Aegypt, and in the other direction it came to Palestine on the borders of Aegypt; and from there it spread over the whole world, always moving forward and travelling at times favourable to it. For it seemed to move by

- καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ φθόρῳ<sup>1</sup> χρωμένη, σκεδαννυμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατίας, ὥσπερ δεδοικυῖα μή τις αὐτὴν τῆς γῆς διαλάβοι μυχός.
- 8 οὔτε γὰρ νῆσόν τινα ἢ σπήλαιον ἢ ἀκρώρειαν ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσιν· ἦν δέ πού τινα καὶ παρήλασε χώραν, ἢ μὴ ψαύσασα τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀμωσγέπως αὐτῶν ἀψαμένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐτῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπανιοῦσα τῶν μὲν περιοίκων, οἷς δὴ πικρότατα ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἤψατο, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐκείνης οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπέδωκεν, ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὠκημένοις
- 9 χρόνῳ τῷ προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. ἀρξάμενη δὲ αἰεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἢ νόσος ἦδε, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνέβαινε χώραν. δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔπει ἐς Βυζάντιον μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἡρος ἀφίκετο,
- 10 ἔνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη. ἐγίνετο δὲ ὧδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοῖς ἐς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν ὥφθη, ὅσοι τε αὐτοῖς παραπίπτοιεν, παίεσθαι ὥντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀνδρὸς ὅπῃ παρατύχοι τοῦ σώματος, ἅμα τε τὸ φάσμα τοῦτο ἐώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ
- 11 αὐτίκα ἡλίσκοντο. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οἱ παραπεπτωκότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπειρῶντο, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων ἀποστοματίζοντες τὰ θειότατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιούμενοι, ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο, ἡνυον μέντοι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πλείστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθεί-

<sup>1</sup> φθόρῳ P : φθόνῳ VG.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπερ Haury : ὥσπερ MSS.

fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it. For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants; and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior. And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time. And it came as follows. / Apparitions of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled

- 12 ροντο. ὕστερον δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις καλοῦσιν  
ἐπακούειν ἡξίουں, ἀλλὰ καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν  
τοῖς δωματίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαίτοιεν προσε-  
ποιοῦντο, καίπερ ἀρασσομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν θυρῶν,  
δειμαίνοντες δηλονότι μὴ δαιμόνων τις ὁ καλῶν  
13 εἶη. τισὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ λοιμὸς ἐπεγίνετο,  
ἀλλ' ὄψιν ὀνείρου ἰδόντες ταῦτο τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ  
ἐπιστάντος πάσχειν ἐδόκουν, ἣ λόγου ἀκούειν  
προλέγοντος σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ ἐς τῶν τεθνηξομένων  
14 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάγραπτοι εἶεν. τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις  
οὔτε ὕπαρ οὔτε ὄναρ αἰσθομένοις τοῦ ἐσομένου  
15 εἶτα τῇ νόσῳ ξυνέβη ἀλῶναι. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ  
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπύρεσσον ἄφνω, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕπνου  
ἐγνηγερμένοι, οἱ δὲ περιπάτους ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
16 ἄλλο ὃ τι δὴ πράσσοντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα  
οὔτε τι διήλλασσε τῆς προτέρας χροιάς οὔτε  
θερμὸν ἦν, ἅτε πυρετοῦ ἐπιπесόντος, οὐ μὴν  
οὐδὲ φλόγῳσις ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀβληχρός  
τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ ἄχρις ἐσπέρας<sup>1</sup> ὁ πυρετὸς  
ἦν ὥστε μήτε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μήτε ἰατρῷ  
17 ἀπτομένῳ δόκησιν κινδύνου παρέχεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ  
οὖν οὐδέ τις τελευτᾶν τῶν περιπεπτωκότων ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν. ἡμέρα δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῇ αὐτῇ, τοῖς  
δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ, ἐτέροις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον  
βουβῶν ἐπῆρτο, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐνθα καὶ  
τὸ τοῦ σώματος μόριον, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἥτρου ἐνερθέν

<sup>1</sup> ἄχρις ἐσπέρας VP : ἄχρι ἐς πέρας G.



for refuge they were dying constantly. But later on they were unwilling even to give heed to their friends when they called to them, and they shut themselves up in their rooms and pretended that they did not hear, although their doors were being beaten down, fearing, obviously, that he who was calling was one of those demons. But in the case of some the pestilence did not come on in this way, but they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the creature who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were written down in the number of those who were to die. But with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body showed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. <sup>1</sup>It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body which is called "boubon,"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* "groin."

ἐστι,<sup>1</sup> βουβὼν κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἐντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὦτα καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν<sup>2</sup> ἔτυχε.

- 18 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδόν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἀλισκομένοις ξυνέβαινε· τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐγίνετο, ἣ ὅπη ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἴη
- 19 τῷ τὴν νόσον ἐπαγαγόντι. ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῶμα βαθύ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη ὀξεῖα, ἑκάτεροί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπασχον· οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῶμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν εἰωθότων σφίσιν ἐς αἰὲ καθεύ-
- 20 δειν ἐδόκουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, μεταξὺ ἥσθιον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορία
- 21 τροφῆς εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον. οἱ μέντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἀλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνία τε καὶ φαντασία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, καὶ τινὰς ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ὥς δὴ ἀπολοῦντας, ἐς ταραχὴν τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοῶντες ἐξαίσιον οἶον
- 22 ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. οἱ τε αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἐχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς αἰὲ
- 23 ἔπασχον. διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τοὺς πονουμένους ὠκτίζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι (οὔτε γὰρ ἰατρῷ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦδε τῶν νοσούντων ἢ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπτομένῳ ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αἰὲ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντας ἢ θάπτοντες ἢ θεραπεύοντες ταύτη

<sup>1</sup> ἐστι VP: ὦν G.

<sup>2</sup> μηρῶν MSS.: μερῶν Hoeschel.

that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the arm-pit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs.

Up to this point, then, everything went in about the same way with all who had taken the disease. But from then on very marked differences developed ; and I am unable to say whether the cause of this diversity of symptoms was to be found in the difference in bodies, or in the fact that it followed the wish of Him who brought the disease into the world. For there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease. For those who were under the spell of the coma forgot all those who were familiar to them and seemed to be sleeping constantly. And if anyone cared for them, they would eat without waking, but some also were neglected, and these would die directly through lack of sustenance. But those who were seized with delirium suffered from insomnia and were victims of a distorted imagination ; for they suspected that men were coming upon them to destroy them, and they would become excited and rush off in flight, crying out at the top of their voices. And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout. For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them

- δὴ τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, πολλοὶ  
 δὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσοῦσης  
 εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον), ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ  
 24 εἶχοντο. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκπίπτοντας  
 καὶ καλινδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων  
 αὖθις, καὶ ῥιπτεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων  
 ἐφιεμένους ὠθοῦντές τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιά-  
 25 ζοντο. ὕδωρ τε οἷς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἤθελον,  
 οὐ δὴ<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἐπιθυμία (ἐς γὰρ<sup>3</sup>  
 θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμηντο), ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἦν  
 26 μάλιστα ἡ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. πολλὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ  
 εὐπετῶς προσίεντο ταύτας. πολλοί τε ἀπορία  
 τοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἡ λιμῶ πιεζό-  
 27 μνοι, ἡ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις  
 δὲ οὔτε κῶμα οὔτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τούτοις  
 δὴ ὁ τε βουβῶν ἐσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς  
 28 ὀδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. τεκμη-  
 ριώσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι κατὰ  
 ταῦτὰ ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἡκιστα  
 ἦσαν, ξυνεῖναι τῆς ὀδύνης οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τοῦ  
 πάθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰς φρένας παραιρου-  
 μένου τὴν αἴσθησιν.
- 29 Ἀπορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινες ἰατρῶν τῇ τῶν  
 ξυμπιπτόντων ἀγνοίᾳ τό τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον  
 ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμενοι, διερευ-  
 νᾶσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα ἔγνωσαν.  
 καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβῶνων τινάς, ἀνθρακος  
 δεινόν τι χρῆμα ἐμπεφυκὸς εὔρον.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ δὴ Hoeschel : οὐ δὲ VG, οὐ δὲ P, ὕδατι conjectured by Christ, αὐτῷ by Haury.

<sup>2</sup> ποτοῦ P : ποταμοῦ VG.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ Hoeschel : γοῦν MSS.



held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing. For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they kept putting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them. And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds. They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height. And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

Now some of the physicians who were at a loss because the symptoms were not understood, supposing that the disease centred in the bubonic swellings, decided to investigate the bodies of the dead. And upon opening some of the swellings, they found a strange sort of carbuncle that had grown inside them.

- 30 Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραις  
πολλαῖς ὕστερον, τισὶ τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις  
ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἐξήνθει τὸ σῶμα, οἱ οὐδὲ  
μίαν ἐπεβίων ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἅπαντες  
31 ἔθνησκον. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τις αὐτόματος αἵ-  
ματος ἐπιγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο.  
32 ἐκείνο μέντοι ἀποφήνασθαι ἔχω, ὥς τῶν ἱατρῶν  
οἱ δοκιμώτατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι προη-  
γόρευον, οἱ δὲ κακῶν ἀπαθείς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον  
παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται  
ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἱ δὲ διαφθάρησεσθαι ἔμελλον αὐ-  
33 τίκα δὲ μάλα. οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμία ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα·  
πᾶσι γάρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλείστον  
ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τοὺς μὲν ὤνησε, τοὺς  
34 δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον κατέβλαψεν. ἀμελούμενοί  
τε πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον  
ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐφ'  
ἐκάτερα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐχώρει· καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν  
εἰπεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν  
ἐξεύρητο, οὔτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ πεπονθέναι  
οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι  
αὐτόματον.
- 35 Καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ὅσαι ἐκύουν προὔπτος ἐγίνετο  
τῇ νόσῳ ἀλίσκομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ  
ἀμβλίσκουσαι ἔθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουςαι ξὺν  
36 αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείροντο. τρεῖς  
μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παίδων σφίσιν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> τις ἦν Maltretus: τισὶν MSS.

Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death. Moreover I am able to declare this, that the most illustrious physicians predicted that many would die, who unexpectedly escaped entirely from suffering shortly afterwards, and that they declared that many would be saved, who were destined to be carried off almost immediately. So it was that in this disease there was no cause which came within the province of human reasoning; for in all cases the issue tended to be something unaccountable. For example, while some were helped by bathing, others were harmed in no less degree. And of those who received no care many died, but others, contrary to reason, were saved. And again, methods of treatment showed different results with different patients. Indeed the whole matter may be stated thus, that no device was discovered by man to save himself, so that either by taking precautions he should not suffer, or that when the malady had assailed him he should get the better of it; but suffering came without warning and recovery was due to no external cause.

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease. For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore. However, they say that three women in confinement

λομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μιᾶς ἤδη ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανούσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιεῖναι τῷ παιδίῳ ξυμβῆναι.

- 37 Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μείζων τε ὁ βουβῶν ἦρετο καὶ ἐς πύον ἀφῖκτο, τούτοις δὴ περιεῖναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκμὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλελωφῆκει τοῦ ἀνθρακος, γνῶρισμά τε τῆς ὑγείας τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγένετο· οἷς δὲ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ιδέας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ὧν  
38 ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. τισὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηραυθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπαρθεῖς  
39 ὥς ἡκιστα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκεραίῳ τῇ γλώσσει περιγενέσθαι τετύχηκεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τραυλίζουσιν, ἢ μόλις τε καὶ ἄσημα φθεγγομένοις βιώναι.

XXIII

- 1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐς τέσσαρας  
2 διῆλθε μῆνας, ἡκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰωθότων ὀλίγω πλείους, εἶτα ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἦρετο, μετὰ δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρας ἐκάστη ἐξικνεῖτο τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐς μυρίους  
3 τε καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείους ἦλθε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίας θήκας ἐρρίπτουν ἢ λανθάνοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι· ἔπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἅπασιν ξυνετα-  
4 ράχθη. δοῦλοί τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι,



survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived.

Now in those cases where the swelling rose to an unusual size and a discharge of pus had set in, it came about that they escaped from the disease and survived, for clearly the acute condition of the carbuncle had found relief in this direction, and this proved to be in general an indication of returning health; but in cases where the swelling preserved its former appearance there ensued those troubles which I have just mentioned. And with some of them it came about that the thigh was withered, in which case, though the swelling was there, it did not develop the least suppuration. With others who survived the tongue did not remain unaffected, and they lived on either lisping or speaking incoherently and with difficulty.

### XXIII

Now the disease in Byzantium ran a course of four months, and its greatest virulence lasted about three. And at first the deaths were a little more than the normal, then the mortality rose still higher, and afterwards the tale of dead reached five thousand each day, and again it even came to ten thousand and still more than that. Now in the beginning each man attended to the burial of the dead of his own house, and these they threw even into the tombs of others, either escaping detection or using violence; but afterwards confusion and disorder everywhere became complete. For slaves remained destitute of

ἄνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λίαν εὐδαίμονες τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἢ νοσοῦντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων ἐστέρηντο, πολλαί τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι  
 5 ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ξυνέβη τισὶ τῶν γνωρίμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀτάφοις εἶναι.

Ἐς τε βασιλέα ἡ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια,  
 6 ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἦλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὃς δὴ ἀποκρίσεσι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, αἰὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἰκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐτῷ ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥω-  
 7 μαῖοι. οἷς μὲν οὖν οὕτω<sup>1</sup> παντάπασιν ἐς ἔρημian ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν, αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιοῦντο  
 8 ταφάς. Θεόδωρος δὲ τὰ τε βασιλέως διδούς χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαναλίσκων τοὺς  
 9 ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθαπτεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θήκας ἀπάσας αἱ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐμπίπλασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὀρύσσοντες ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία, ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς θνήσκοντας κατατιθέμενοι, ὥς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τὰς κατώρυχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες, ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον ὃς  
 10 ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστι· τὰς τε ὀροφὰς περιελόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,

<sup>1</sup> οὕτω Maltretus : εἶπον V, om. G.

masters, and men who in former times were very prosperous were deprived of the service of their domestics who were either sick or dead, and many houses became completely destitute of human inhabitants. For this reason it came about that some of the notable men of the city because of the universal destitution remained unburied for many days.

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work; this man held the position of announcer of imperial messages, always announcing to the emperor the petitions of his clients, and declaring to them in turn whatever his wish was. In the Latin tongue the Romans designate this office by the term "referendarius." So those who had not as yet fallen into complete destitution in their domestic affairs attended individually to the burial of those connected with them. But Theodorus, by giving out the emperor's money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for. And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed; but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae,<sup>1</sup> and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder;

<sup>1</sup> Modern Galata.

- καὶ ξυννήσαντες, ὥς πη ἐκάστω παρέτυχεν,  
ἐμπλησάμενοί τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας,  
11 εἶτα ταῖς ὀροφαῖς αὐθις ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰὸν ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε  
ἦν καὶ ἄνεμός τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπίφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε.
- 12 Πάντα τε ὑπερώφθη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς  
νόμιμα. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ἢ νενόμισται  
οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ἢ περ  
εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν ἦν, εἰ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν  
ᾧμων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἐς τε τῆς πόλεως  
τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἐλθὼν ἔρριψεν, οὐ δὴ ταῖς  
ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδὸν ἔμελλον, ὅπη  
13 πᾶρατύχοι κομίζεσθαι. τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὅσοι  
στασιῶται πρότερον ἦσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἐς ἀλλή-  
λους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὁσίας τῶν τετελευτηκότων  
κοινῇ ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ φέροντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς οὐ  
14 προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ὅσοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσ-  
χροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἶδε τὴν ἐς τὴν  
δίαιταν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομίαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν  
ἀκριβῶς ἥσκουν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμα-  
θόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐρασταί τινες ἐκ τοῦ  
15 αἰφνιδίου γεγεννημένοι· ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσα  
ἐμπέπηγε φύσει ἢ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλία  
ῥᾶστα δὴ οὕτω μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστιν,  
ὅτι μὴ θείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ



and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

At that time all the customary rites of burial were overlooked. For the dead were not carried out escorted by a procession in the customary manner, nor were the usual chants sung over them, but it was sufficient if one carried on his shoulders the body of one of the dead to the parts of the city which bordered on the sea and flung him down; and there the corpses would be thrown upon skiffs in a heap, to be conveyed wherever it might chance. At that time, too, those of the population who had formerly been members of the factions laid aside their mutual enmity and in common they attended to the burial rites of the dead, and they carried with their own hands the bodies of those who were no connections of theirs and buried them. Nay, more, those who in times past used to take delight in devoting themselves to pursuits both shameful and base, shook off the unrighteousness of their daily lives and practised the duties of religion with diligence, not so much because they had learned wisdom at last nor because they had become all of a sudden lovers of virtue, as it were—for when qualities have become fixed in men by nature or by the training of a long period of time, it is impossible for them to lay them aside thus lightly, except, indeed, some divine influence for good has breathed upon them—but then all, so to speak, being

- τότε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσι, τεθνήξασθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα οἴομενοι, ἀνάγκη, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, πάσῃ τὴν
- 16 ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μετεμάνθανον. ταῦτά τοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώθησαν ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἤδη ὑπετόπασαν, ἅτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὖθις τῆς γνώμης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω πεποιημένοι, μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῇ τε πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανομίᾳ νενικηκότες· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἂν τις οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ εἴποι ὡς ἡ νόσος ἦδε εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἀφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρω ἀποδέδεικται χρόνῳ.
- 17 Τότε δὲ ἀγοράζοντά τινα οὐκ εὐπετὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἔν γε Βυζαντίῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἅπαντες ὅσοις ξυνέβαινε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρῶσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευ-
- 18 τηκότας ἐθρήνουν. ἦν δέ τις καὶ προῖόντι τινὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἰσχυσεῖν, ὃδε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν ἔφερεν. ἐργασία τε ξύμπασα ἤργει, καὶ τὰς τέχνας οἱ τεχνῖται μεθῆκαν ἀπάσας, ἔργα τε
- 19 ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ ἕκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον. ἐν πόλει γοῦν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθηνούσῃ λιμός τις ἀκριβὲς ἐπεκώμαζεν. ἄρτον ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν διαρκῶς ἔχειν χαλεπὸν τε ἐδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων τισὶν ἄωρον ξυμβῆναι δοκεῖν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστρο-

thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free. But these things were displayed to the world in later times.

During that time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of Byzantium, but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or mourning the dead. And if one did succeed in meeting a man going out, he was carrying one of the dead. And work of every description ceased, and all the trades were abandoned by the artisans, and all other work as well, such as each had in hand. Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot. Certainly it seemed a difficult and very notable thing to have a sufficiency of bread or of anything else; so that with some of the sick it appeared that the end of life came about sooner than it should have come by reason of the lack of the necessities of life.

- 20 φήν. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χλαμύδα οὐκ ἦν ἐνδιδυσκόμενόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη (καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβῶνα ἐπῆρθαι), ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει βασιλείαν ἐχούσῃ ξυμπάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἱμάτια ἐν ἰδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἅπαντες
- 21 ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἐν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ Ῥωμαίων γῇ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχευ. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

XXIV

- 1 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς χωρίον Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἥκων πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ
- 2 Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν, ὃ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα. οὐ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάσσουντες μάγοι τά τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ μαντεῖω ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέ-
- 3 βοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐνταῦθα σταλείς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγγελλε Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
- 4 ἀφίξεσθαι. ἦσθην δὲ τὼ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ῥήτορι τε ἄμφω καὶ ξυνετῶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταν-



And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys,<sup>1</sup> and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home. Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium. And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

## XXIV

Now it happened that Chosroes had come from Assyria to a place toward the north called Adarbiganon, from which he was planning to make an invasion into the Roman domain through Persarmenia. In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians reverence above all other gods. There the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult an oracle on those matters which are of the greatest importance. This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia<sup>2</sup> in ancient times. There someone who had been sent from Byzantium to Chosroes announced that Constantianus and Sergius would come before him directly as envoys to arrange the treaty. Now these two men were both trained speakers and exceedingly clever; Constantianus was an Illyrian

543 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The official dress.<sup>2</sup> Vesta.

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## PROCOPIUS

V

# PROCOPIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

H. B. DEWING

PRESIDENT, ATHENS COLLEGE, GREECE

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

V

HISTORY OF THE WARS,  
BOOKS VII (*continued*) AND VIII



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BOOK VII

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

## ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

### ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

#### XXXVI

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἅπαν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος εἰς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος τρισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, οὗσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ καταστησάμενος Διογένην αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐπέστησεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν τε διαφερόντως καὶ ἀγαθόν  
2 τὰ πολέμια. διὸ δὴ χρόνου μῆκος τῇ προσεδρεΐα ταύτῃ ἐτρίβετο. οἷ τε γὰρ πολιορκούμενοι ἀρετῆς περιουσία πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν ἀξιόμαχοι ὄντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Διογένης ἕς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῇ φυλακῇ ἐχρῆτο ὥς μή τις κακουργήσων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἴοι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως σῖτον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου σπείρας ἐνδεῖν  
3 σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὥς ἡκιστα ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τειχομαχεῖν ἐγχειρήσαντες καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειράσασθαι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, ἀρετῇ σφᾶς ἀπωσαμένων ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA  
HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK VII  
THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

XXXVI

TOTILA now led his whole army against Rome, and <sup>549 A.D.</sup> establishing himself there entered upon a siege. But Belisarius had selected three thousand men noted for their valour and appointed them to garrison Rome, placing in command of them Diogenes, one of his own spearmen, a man of unusual discretion and an able warrior. Consequently a long time was consumed in the blockade. For the besieged, on their part, shewed themselves, thanks to their extraordinary valour, a match for the entire Gothic army, while Diogenes was ever keeping a strict watch that no one should approach the wall to damage it; furthermore, he sowed grain in all parts of the city inside the circuit-wall and so brought it about that they had not the least shortage of food. Many times indeed the barbarians attempted to storm the fortifications and make trial of the circuit-wall, but they were always repulsed, being driven back from the wall by the valour of the Romans. }

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<sup>1</sup> Tot. Dindorf :  $\eta\epsilon\iota$  V,  $\zeta\epsilon\iota$  L.

- πολεμίοις παρὰ δόξαν ἐχώρουν, ἀπροσδόκητοί  
 18 τε αὐτοῖς ἑξαπιναίως ἐπέπεσον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀμυνόμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἔστη-  
 σαν, οὐ κατὰ ἄρχοντας ἢ λόχους<sup>2</sup> ἢ καταλόγους  
 τὴν τάξιν καταστησάμενοι, οὐδὲ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 διακεκριμένοι ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ τῶν σφίσι παραγ-  
 γελλομένων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ἀκουσόμενοι, ἀλλ'  
 ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπῃ ποτὲ παρατύχη, τοῖς πολε-  
 19 μίοις ἀντιταξόμενοι.<sup>3</sup> Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἵππων<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀφέμενοι πρῶτοι πεζῇ μετωπηδὸν εἰς βαθείαν  
 φάλαγγα ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἰδόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τρόπῳ  
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτάξαντο πάντες.
- 20 Ἐνταῦθά μοι μάχη τε πολλοῦ λόγου ἀξία καὶ  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ τῶν τινὸς λεγομένων ἡρώων,  
 οἶμαι, καταδεεστέρα γεγράφεται, ἥς δὴ ὁ Τεΐας  
 21 δῆλωσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιήται. Γότθους μὲν  
 ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπόγνωσις ὥρμα,  
 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτούς, καίπερ ἀπονενοημένους  
 ὁρῶντες, ὑφίσταντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, τοῖς κατα-  
 δεεστέροις ἐρυθριῶντες ὑποχωρεῖν, ἀμφοτέροί τε  
 θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας πολλῷ ἴεντο, οἱ μὲν θανα-  
 22 τῶντες, οἱ δὲ ἀρετῶντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη πρῶτὴ  
 ἤρξατο, Τεΐας δὲ πᾶσιν ἔνδηλος γεγεννημένος καὶ  
 τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος, ἐπανατεινόμενος  
 δὲ τὸ δόρυ, πρῶτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῆς φάλαγγ-  
 23 γος ἔστη. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες, οἰόμενοί  
 τε, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαλυθήσεσθαι τὴν ξυμβολὴν  
 σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἀμυνόμενοι V : ἀμυνόμενοι L.

<sup>2</sup> λόχους V : λοχαγούς L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀντιταξόμενοι V : ἀντιταξάμενοι L.



their enemy, falling upon them suddenly and without warning. But the Romans, to ward them off as well as circumstances permitted, took their stand, not arranging themselves by commanders or by companies or by cohorts, nor distinguished in any other manner from one another, and not so as to hear the commands given them in battle, but still, determined to put forth all their strength against the enemy wherever they should chance to stand. Now the Goths were the first to abandon their horses and all took their stand on foot, facing their enemy in a deep phalanx, and then the Romans too, observing this, let their horses go, and all arrayed themselves in the same manner.

Here shall be described a battle of great note and the heroism of one man inferior, I think, to that of none of the heroes of legend, that, namely, which Teïas displayed in the present battle. The Goths, on the one hand, were driven to be courageous by despair of the situation, while the Romans, on the other hand, though they could see that the enemy had become desperate, withstood them with all their strength, blushing to give way to a weaker force; thus from both sides they charged their nearest opponents with great fury, the one army courting death and the other desiring to make a display of valour. Now the battle began early in the morning, and Teïas, easily recognized by all, stood with only a few followers at the head of the phalanx, holding his shield before him and thrusting forward his spear. And when the Romans saw him, thinking that, if he himself should fall, the battle would be instantly decided in their favour, all those who laid claim to

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<sup>a</sup> τῶν ἵππων V : τοὺς ἵππους L.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὅσοι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, παμπληθεῖς ὄντες, καὶ  
 τὰ δόρατα ἐς<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ὥθουν, οἱ  
 24 δὲ ἐσηκόντιζον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι κεκα-  
 λυμμένος ταύτῃ μὲν τὰ δόρατα ἐδέχετο πάντα,  
 ἐμπίπτων δὲ αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πολλοὺς  
 25 διεχρήτο. καὶ ὀπηνίκα οἱ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔμπλεων  
 οὔσαν πεπηγότων δοράτων θεῶτο, τῶν τινὲς ὑπασ-  
 26 πιστῶν ταύτην παραδιδούς ἐτέραν ἡρεῖτο. οὕτω  
 μαχόμενος ἐς τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τριτημόριον διαγέγονε,  
 καὶ τότε δὴ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐμπεπηγότα  
 ἢ ἀσπίς εἶχε, κινεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ὅπη βούλοιτο καὶ  
 27 ἀποκρούεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐκέτι ἴσχυε. τῶν  
 δέ τινα ὑπασπιστῶν μετεκάλει σπουδῇ, οὐ τὴν  
 τάξιν λιπὼν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄχρι ἐς δάκτυλον ἓνα  
 οὐδὲ ἀναποδίσας, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω  
 ἐπαγαγόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα  
 τῇ ἀσπίδι<sup>3</sup> ἐρείσας, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλάγιος γε-  
 γονώς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐρηρυσμένος αὐτοῦ  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰστήκει, κτείνων τε τῇ δεξιᾷ  
 χειρὶ καὶ ἀποκρουόμενος τῇ λαιᾷ καὶ ἀνακαλῶν  
 28 τὸ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ ὄνομα. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος παρῆν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην εὐθύς τῆς  
 29 βαρυνομένης τοῖς δόρασιν ἀντηλλάσσετο. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ οἱ χρόνον τινὰ βραχεῖαν στιγμὴν  
 γυμνῷ<sup>4</sup> γενέσθαι τὰ στέρνα ξυνέβη, τύχῃ τέ οἱ  
 ξυνέπεσε τότε ἀκοντίῳ βεβληῆσθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 30 εὐθυωρὸν θνήσκει. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ  
 κοντοῦ μετεωρίσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς στρα-  
 τιᾷ ἐκατέρα περιόντες ἐδείκνυν, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν,  
 ὅπως δὴ θαρσήσωσι μᾶλλον, Γότθοις δέ, ὅπως  
 ἀπογνόντες τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσωσιν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐς L: ἐπ' V.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτούς V: om. L: αὐτοῖς Dindorf.

valour concentrated on him—and there was a great number of them—and they all directed their spears at him, some thrusting and others hurling them. He himself meanwhile, covered by his shield, received all their spears in it, and by sudden charges he slew a large number. And whenever he saw that his shield was filled with spears fixed in it, he would hand this over to one of his guards and take another for himself. And he continued fighting in this manner for the third part of the day, and at the end of that time his shield had twelve spears stuck in it and he was no longer able to move it where he wished and repel his assailants. So he eagerly called one of his bodyguards without leaving his post so much as a finger's breadth nor giving ground nor allowing the enemy to advance, nor even turning round and covering his back with his shield, nor, in fact, did he even turn sidewise, but as if fastened to the ground he stood there, shield in hand, killing with his right hand and parrying with his left and calling out the name of the bodyguard. And the guard was now at his side with the shield, and Teïas immediately sought to take this in exchange for the one weighed down with spears. But while he was doing so his chest became exposed for a brief instant of time, and it chanced that at that moment he was hit by a javelin and died instantly from the wound. Then some of the Romans raised his head aloft on a pole and went about shewing it to both armies, to the Romans in order that they might be encouraged, and to the Goths in order that they might in despair make an end of the war.

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<sup>3</sup> τῇ ἀσπίδι V: om. L.

<sup>4</sup> γυμνῶ V: γυμνά L.

- 31 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥς τὴν ξυμβολὴν κατέλυσαν<sup>1</sup>  
 Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ  
 ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι σφίσιν.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνεσκόταζεν, αὐτοῦ ἐκάτεροι διαλυ-  
 θέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ὀπλων σκευῇ ἐνυκτέρευσαν.
- 32 ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἀναστάντες ὀρθρου  
 τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐθις<sup>2</sup> ἐτάξαντο καὶ μέχρι ἐς  
 νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ οὔτε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις  
 οὔτε πη ἐτρέποντο ἢ ἀνεπόδιζον, καίπερ ἀμφο-  
 τέρωθεν κτεινομένων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγριωμένοι  
 τῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπηνεῖ ἔργου<sup>3</sup> εἶχοντο, Γότθοι  
 μὲν εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δὴ τὴν ὑστάτην διαφέρουσι  
 μάχην, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐλασσοῦσθαι<sup>4</sup> ἀπα-  
 33 ξιοῦντες. ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ τὸν  
 Ναρσῆν πέμψαντες τῶν λογίμων τινὰς μεμα-  
 θηκέναι μὲν ἔλεγον ὥς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σφίσιν ὁ  
 ἀγὼν γένοιτο· αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀντιταχ-  
 θεῖσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν· καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι  
 ξυμβάλλοντες τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν  
γνωσιμαχεῖν<sup>5</sup> τὸ<sup>6</sup> λοιπὸν βούλεσθαι καὶ<sup>7</sup> ἀπο-  
 λιπεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, οὐ μέντοι<sup>8</sup> βασιλεῖ ἐπα-  
 κούσונτες, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν  
 αὐτόνομοι βιοτεύσοντες, ἐδέοντό τε εἰρηναίαν  
 σφίσι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους, οὐ  
 φθονοῦντας αὐτοῖς λογισμοῦ σῶφρονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐφοδίους αὐτοὺς  
 δωρουμένους, ὅσα δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 φρουρίοις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐναποθέμενος ἔτυχε

<sup>1</sup> κατέλυσαν L: κατέπαυσαν V.

<sup>2</sup> αὐθις L: εὐθύς V.

<sup>3</sup> ἔργου L: om. V.

<sup>4</sup> ἐλασσοῦσθαι L: ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι V.



The first of these was the establishment of the first public school in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of schools which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The second was the establishment of the first public library in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of libraries which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The third was the establishment of the first public hospital in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of hospitals which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The fourth was the establishment of the first public workhouse in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of workhouses which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The fifth was the establishment of the first public almshouse in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of almshouses which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The sixth was the establishment of the first public prison in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of prisons which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The seventh was the establishment of the first public court in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of courts which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The eighth was the establishment of the first public office in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of offices which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The ninth was the establishment of the first public church in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of churches which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people. The tenth was the establishment of the first public school in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of schools which have since been founded in the city, and which have done much to advance the education of the people.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 34 πρότερον. ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ναρσῆς ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παρήγει δέησιν ἐνδέχεσθαι τήνδε, καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, μηδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι τόλμης ἐν ἀπογνώσει φυομένης τοῦ βίου, ἣ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἐχομένοις καὶ τοῖς
- 35 ὑπαντιάζουσι χαλεπὴ γίνεται. “Ἀρκεῖ γάρ,” ἔφη, “τοῖς γε σώφροσι τὸ νικᾶν, τὸ δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἐθέλειν ἴσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀξύμφορον τρέποιτο.”
- 33 Πείθεται τῇ ὑποθήκῃ Ναρσῆς, καὶ ξυνέβησαν ἐφ’ ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι<sup>1</sup> χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκ πάσης ἀπαλλάσσονται Ἰταλίας εὐθύς, πόλεμόν τε μηχανῇ
- 37 οὐδεμιᾷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διοίσουσιν ἔτι. Γότθοι μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ χίλιοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαστάντες ἐς Τικινόν τε πόλιν καὶ χωρία τὰ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πίδον ἐχώρησαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγούντο
- 38 καὶ Ἰνδούλφ, οὐπὲρ πρότερον<sup>2</sup> ἐπεμνήσθην. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὄρκια δόντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα ἐπέρρωσαν. οὕτω τε καὶ Κύμην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐξεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος ξυνετελεύτα τῷ Γοτθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολελειμμένοι L: ὑπολελειμμένοι V.

<sup>2</sup> πρότερον L: ἔμπροσθεν V.

in the fortresses of Italy. These proposals Narses took under consideration. Now John the nephew of Vitalian advised that they should allow this request and not carry on battle further with men who courted death nor expose themselves to those whose daring was sprung from despair of life, an attitude which proves dangerous not only for those possessed by it, but also for their opponents. "For victory," he said, "is sufficient for the wise, but extravagant desires might perhaps turn out even to a man's disadvantage."

Narses followed this suggestion, and they came to terms, agreeing that the remainder of the barbarians, after receiving their own money, should depart immediately from all Italy and that they should no longer wage war in any way against the Romans. Now a thousand Goths, in the midst of the negotiations, detached themselves from the main body, and under command of different men, among whom was the Indulf whom I have mentioned before,<sup>1</sup> proceeded to the city of Ticinum and the country beyond the Po. But all the rest gave sworn pledges and confirmed all the details of the agreement. Thus the Romans captured Cumae and all that remained, and the eighteenth year, as it closed, brought the end of this Gothic War, the history of which Procopius has written.

<sup>1</sup> Book VII. xxxv. 23, etc.

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JEFFREY HENDERSON

PROCOPIUS

VI

LCL 290



# PROCOPIUS

## THE ANECDOTA OR SECRET HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
H. B. DEWING



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ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ

- α'. Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει ἐν τοῖς<sup>1</sup> πολέμοις ἄχρι  
 δεῦρο ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τῇδέ μοι δεδιήγηται, ἥπερ δυνατὸν  
 ἐγεγόνει τῶν πράξεων τὰς δηλώσεις ἀπάσας ἐπὶ καιρῶν τε καὶ  
 χωρίων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀρμοσαμένῳ· τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε<sup>2</sup> οὐκέτι μοι  
 τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείμεται, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γεγράφεται  
 2 πάντα, ὅποσα δὴ τετύχηκε γενέσθαι πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀρχῆς. αἴτιον δέ, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν περιόντων ἔτι τῶν αὐτὰ  
 εἰργασμένων ὅτῳ δεῖ ἀναγράφεσθαι τρόπῳ. οὔτε γὰρ διαλαθεῖν  
 πλήθην κατασκόπων οἷόν τε ἦν οὔτε φωραθέντα<sup>3</sup> μὴ ἀπολωλέναι  
 θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῖς γε  
 3 οἰκειοτάτοις τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχον. ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰρημένων ἀποκρύψασθαι τὰς αἰτίας  
 ἠναγκάσθην. τὰ τε<sup>4</sup> οὖν<sup>5</sup> τέως ἄρρητα μέιναντα καὶ τῶν  
 ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλωμένων ἐνταῦθά μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰς αἰτίας  
 σημῆναι δεήσει.  
 4 Ἀλλὰ μοι ἐς ἀγώνισιν ἑτέραν ἰόντι χαλεπήν

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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

THE ANECDOTA OR SECRET HISTORY

i. ALL that has befallen the Roman Nation in its wars up to the  
 present day has been narrated by me,<sup>1</sup> as far as it proved possible,  
 on the plan of arranging all the accounts of its activities in  
 accordance with their proper time and place. Henceforth,  
 however, this plan of composition will be followed by me no  
 longer, for here shall be set down everything that came to pass in  
 every part of the Roman Empire. The reason for this is that it was  
 not possible, as long as the actors were still alive, for these things  
 to be recorded in the way they should have been. For neither was  
 it possible to elude the vigilance of multitudes of spies, nor, if  
 detected, to escape a most cruel death. Indeed, I was unable to  
 feel confidence even in the most intimate of my kinsmen. Nay,  
 more, in the case of many of the events described in the previous  
 narrative I was compelled to conceal the causes which led up to  
 them. It will therefore be necessary for me in this book to disclose,  
 not only those things which have hitherto remained undivulged,  
 but also the causes of those occurrences which have already been  
 described.

As I turn, however, to a new endeavour which is

ῥᾶστα τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς πενίας δημιουργὸς ἅπασιν γέγονεν.

- θ'. Ἰουστινιανῷ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι φράσαι τῇδε πη εἶχεν. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα, ἣ ὄντινα τρόπον γενομένη τε καὶ τραφείσα καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς
- 2 γάμον ξυναφθείσα πρόρριζον Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξέτριψεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. Ἀκάκιος ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θηριοκόμος τῶν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ θηρίων μοίρας Πρασίνων, ὃν περ
- 3 ἀρκτοτρόφον<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων τριῶν θήλεος γένους, Κομιτοῦς τε καὶ
- 4 Θεοδώρας καὶ Ἀναστασίας, ὧν περ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη οὐπω ἐπταέτης γεγονυῖα ἐτύγχανεν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐκπεσοῦσα ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ὃς δὴ ξὺν αὐτῇ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν
- 5 καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Πρασίνων ὀρχηστῆς Ἀστέριος ὄνομα χρήμασι πρὸς ἐτέρου ἀναπεισθεὶς τούτους μὲν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀπέστησε, τὸν δὲ οἱ τὰ χρήματα δόντα ἐς αὐτὴν ἀντεκατέστησεν οὐδενὶ
- 6 πόνῳ. τοῖς γὰρ ὀρχησταῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξῆν διοικεῖσθαι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἧ<sup>2</sup> βούλουντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ξύμπαντα ἡ γυνὴ ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ἀγῆγερμένον εἶδε, στέμματα ταῖς παισὶν ἐν τε τῇ
- 7 κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνθεμένη ἐς τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐκάθισεν. ἀλλ' οἱ Πράσινοι μὲν προσίεσθαι<sup>3</sup>

he lightly banished wealth from the Roman world and became the creator of poverty for all.

ix. The traits, then, of Justinian's character, as far as we are able to state them, were roughly these. And he married a wife concerning whom I shall now relate how she was born and reared and how, after being joined to this man in marriage, she overturned the Roman State to its very foundations. There was in Byzantium a certain Acacius, keeper of the animals used in the circus, an adherent of the Green Faction, a man whom they called Master of the Bears. This man had died a natural death during the reign of Anastasius, leaving three girls, Comito, Theodora and Anastasia, the eldest of whom was not yet seven years of age. And the woman, now reduced to utter distress,<sup>1</sup> entered into marriage with another husband, who, she thought, would later on assist her in both the care of the household and in her first husband's occupation. But the Dancing Master of the Greens, a man named Asterius, was bribed by another man to remove these persons from that office and to make no difficulty about putting in the position the man who had given him the money. For the Dancing Masters had authority to administer such matters as they wished. But when the woman saw the whole populace gathered in the Circus, she put garlands on the heads and in both hands of the three girls and caused them to sit as suppliants. And though the Greens were by no



- τὴν ἱκετείαν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, Βένετοι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ  
κατεστήσαντο τῆς τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ ὁ θηριοκόμος ἐτετελευτήκει καὶ  
8 αὐτοῖς ἔναγχος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παῖδιά ταῦτα ἐς ἡβὴν ἦλθε, καθήκειν  
αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα σκηνῆς αὐτίκα ἢ μήτηρ, ἐπεὶ εὐπρεπεῖς<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν ὄψιν ἦσαν, οὐ μέντοι ὑπὸ χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάσας, ἀλλ’  
9 ὥς ἐκάστη ἔδοξέν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ὥραία εἶναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
πρώτη Κομιτῶ ἤδη ἐν ταῖς καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐταίραις λαμπρὰ  
ἐγεγόνει. Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνην χιτωνίσκον χειριδωτὸν  
ἀμπεχομένη δούλῳ παιδί πρέποντα τά τε ἄλλα ὑπηρετοῦσα  
10 εἶπετο καὶ τὸ βάθρον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αἰὲ ἔφερεν ἐφ’ οὐπὲρ ἐκείνη  
ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καθῆσθαι εἰώθει. τέως μὲν οὖν ἄωρος οὖσα ἢ  
Θεοδώρα ἐς κοίτην ἀνδρὶ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ οἷα γυνὴ  
μίγνυσθαι. ἡ δὲ τοῖς κακοδαιμονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν τινὰ μισητίαν<sup>2</sup>  
ἀνεμίσγετο,<sup>3</sup> καὶ ταῦτα δούλοις, ὅσοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπόμενοι  
ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάρεργον τῆς οὔσης αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρίας<sup>4</sup> τὸν  
ὄλεθρον τοῦτον εἰργάζοντο, ἐν τε μαστροπείῳ πολὺν τινα  
11 χρόνον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ παρὰ φύσιν ἐργασίᾳ τοῦ σώματος  
διατριβὴν εἶχεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἐς τε τὴν ἡβὴν ἀφίκετο καὶ  
ὥραία ἦν ἤδη, εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καθήκειν αὐτήν, ἐταῖρα τε  
12 εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει, οἷανπερ οἱ πάλαι<sup>5</sup> ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλουν πεζήν. οὐ  
γὰρ αὐλήτρια οὐδὲ ψάλτρια ἦν, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν  
ὀρχήστραν αὐτῇ ἥσκητο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῖς αἰὲ  
περιπίπτουσιν ἀπεδίδοτο μόνον οὐκ ἐκ<sup>6</sup> παντὸς ἐργαζομένη τοῦ  
σώματος.

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means favourable to receiving the supplication, the Blues conferred this position of honour upon them, since their Master of the Bears also had recently died. And when these children came of age, the mother immediately put them on the stage there—since they were fair to look upon—not all three at the same time, but as each one seemed to her to be ripe for this calling. Now Comito, the first one, had already scored a brilliant success among the harlots of her age; and Theodora, the next in order, clothed in a little sleeved frock suitable to a slave girl, would follow her about, performing various services and in particular always carrying on her shoulders the stool on which her sister was accustomed to sit in the assemblies. Now for a time Theodora, being immature, was quite unable to sleep with a man or to have a woman’s kind of intercourse with one, yet she did engage in intercourse of a masculine type of lewdness with the wretches, slaves though they were, who, following their masters to the theatre, incidentally took advantage of the opportunity afforded them to carry on this monstrous business, and she spent much time in the brothel in this unnatural traffic of the body. But as soon as she came of age and was at last mature, she joined the women of the stage and straightway became a courtesan, of the sort whom men of ancient times used to call “infantry.”<sup>1</sup> For she was neither a flute-player nor a harpist, nay, she had not even acquired skill in the dance, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically



- 13 εἶτα τοῖς μίμοις τὰ ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάντα ὠμίλει καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτηδευμάτων μετείχεν αὐτοῖς, γελωτοποιοῖς τισι βωμολοχίαις ὑπηρετοῦσα. ἦν γὰρ ἀστεία διαφερόντως καὶ σκώπτρια,
- 14 ἀπόβλεπτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει. οὐ γάρ τινος αἰδοῦς τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ μετῇν ἢ διατραπέισάν τις αὐτὴν πώποτε εἶδεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀναισχύντους ὑπουργίας οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐχώρει, καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἦν οἷα ῥαπιζομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ κόρρης πατασσομένη χαριεντίζειν τε καὶ μέγιστα ἀνακαγχάζειν, ἀποδυσασμένη τε τὰ<sup>1</sup> τε πρόσω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γυμνὰ ἐπιδείξει, ἃ τοῖς ἀνδράσι θέμις ἄδηλά τε καὶ ἀφανῇ εἶναι.
- 15 Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐχλεύαζε τε βλακεύουσα καὶ νεωτέραις B 61 αἰὲ τῶν μίξεων ἐνδιαθρυπτομένη ἐπιτεχνήσεσι παραστήσασθαι τὰς τῶν ἀκολάστων ψυχὰς ἐς αἰὲ ἴσχυεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν αὐτὴ γελοιάζουσα τε καὶ βωμολόχως ἰσχυιάζουσα
- 16 τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἅπαντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀγενεῖους ὄντας ἐπείρα. ἦσσαν γάρ τις οὕτως ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης οὐδαμῇ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς ξυναγώγιμον δείπνον πολλάκις ἐλθοῦσα ξὺν νεανίαις δέκα ἢ τούτων πλείοσιν, ἰσχυῖ τε σώματος ἀκμάζουσι λίαν καὶ τὸ λαγνεύειν πεποιημένοις ἔργον, ξυνεκοιτάζετο μὲν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἅπασιν τὴν νύκτα ὅλην, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πάντες ἀπείποιεν, ἥδε παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκέτας ἰοῦσα τριάκοντα ὄντας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνεδυάζετο μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, κόρον δὲ οὐδ' ὥς ταύτης δὴ τῆς μισητίας ἐλάμβανε.

her whole body. Later on she was associated with the actors in all the work of the theatre, and she shared their performances with them, playing up to their buffoonish acts intended to raise a laugh. For she was unusually clever and full of gibes, and she immediately became admired for this sort of thing. For the girl had not a particle of modesty, nor did any man ever see her embarrassed, but she undertook shameless services without the least hesitation, and she was the sort of a person who, for instance, when being flogged or beaten over the head, would crack a joke over it and burst into a loud laugh; and she would undress and exhibit to any who chanced along both her front and her rear naked, parts which rightly should be unseen by men and bidden from them.

And as she wantoned with her lovers, she always kept bantering them, and by toying with new devices in intercourse, she always succeeded in winning the hearts of the licentious to her; for she did not even expect that the approach should be made by the man she was with, but on the contrary she herself, with wanton jests and with clownish posturing with her hips, would tempt all who came along, especially if they were beardless youths. Indeed there was never anyone such a slave to pleasure in all forms; for many a time she would go to a community dinner<sup>1</sup> with ten youths or even more, all of exceptional bodily vigour who had made a business of fornication, and she would lie with all her banquet companions the whole night long, and when they all were too exhausted to go on, she would go to their attendants, thirty perhaps in number, and pair off with each one of them; yet even so she could not get enough of this wantonness.

- 17 Καί ποτε ἐς τῶν τινος ἐπιφανῶν οἰκίαν ἐλθοῦσα μεταξὺ τοῦ  
πότου θεωμένων αὐτήν, ὥς φασι, τῶν ξυμποτῶν ἀπάντων, ἐς τὸ  
προῦχον ἀναβάσα τῆς κλίνης ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν ἀνασύρασά  
18 τε<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἱμάτια οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε τὴν  
ἀκολασίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. ἡ δὲ κακ τριῶν τρυπημάτων  
ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ φύσει, δυσφορομένη ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ  
τοὺς τιτθοὺς αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἢ νῦν εἰσι τρυπῶν, ὅπως καὶ  
19 ἄλλην<sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα μίξιν ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι δυνατὴ εἶη. καὶ συχνὰ μὲν B 62  
ἐκύνει, πάντα δὲ σχεδὸν τεχνάζουσα ἐξαμβλίσκειν εὐθὺς ἴσχυε.  
20 Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπὸ θεατῇ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ γυμνὴ διὰ μέσου<sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο, ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ  
τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχουσα μόνον, οὐχ ὅτι μέντοι  
ἡσχύνετο καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ δεικνύναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνταῦθα γυμνῷ  
παντάπασι παρίεναι οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀμφὶ τοὺς  
βουβῶνας<sup>4</sup> διάζωμα ἔχοντι. οὕτω μέντοι τοῦ σχήματος ἔχουσα,  
21 ἀναπεπτωκυῖά τε ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει ὑπτία ἔκειτο. θῆτες δὲ τινες οἷς δὴ  
τὸ ἔργον τόδε ἐνέκειτο,<sup>5</sup> κριθὰς αὐτῇ ὑπερθεν τῶν αἰδοίων  
ἐρρίπτουν, ἃς δὴ οἱ χῆνες οἱ ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι  
22 ἐτύγχανον τοῖς στόμασιν ἐνθένδε κατὰ μίαν ἀνελόμενοι ἦσθιον.  
ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσα ἐξάνιστατο, ἀλλὰ

On one occasion she entered the house of one of the notables during the drinking, and they say that in the sight of all the banqueters she mounted to the projecting part of the banqueting couch where their feet lay,<sup>1</sup> and there drew up her clothing in a shameless way, not hesitating to display her licentiousness. And though she made use of three openings, she used to take Nature to task, complaining that it had not pierced her breasts with larger holes so that it might be possible for her to contrive another method of copulation there. And though she was pregnant many times, yet practically always she was able to contrive to bring about an abortion immediately.

And often even in the theatre, before the eyes of the whole people, she stripped off her clothing and moved about naked through their midst, having only a girdle about her private parts and her groins, not, however, that she was ashamed to display these too to the populace, but because no person is permitted to enter there entirely naked, but must have at least a girdle about the groins. Clothed in this manner, she sprawled out and lay on her back on the ground. And some slaves, whose duty this was, sprinkled grains of barley over her private parts, and geese, which happened to have been provided for this very purpose, picked them off with their beaks, one by one, and ate them. And when she got up, she not only did not blush, but even acted as if she



- καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πράξει ἐώκει. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ  
 23 ἀναίσχυντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναισχυντοποιὸς πάντων  
 μάλιστα. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποδυσταμένη ξὺν τοῖς μίμοις ἐν  
 μέσῳ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς λορδουμένη τε καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω  
 ἀποκεντῶσα<sup>1</sup> τοῖς τε διάπειραν αὐτῆς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς οὖπω  
 πεπλησιακόσι, τὰ ἐκ παλαιστρας τῆς αὐτῇ εἰωθυίας  
 24 βρενθυομένη. οὕτω δὲ ἀκολάστως ἐς τὸ σῶμα τὸ αὐτῆς ὕβριζεν,  
 ὥστε τὴν αἰδῶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῆς φύσεως χώρᾳ κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς  
 25 ἄλλαις γυναιξίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ ἔχειν ἐδόκει. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 αὐτῇ πλησιάζοντες ἐνδηλοὶ εὐθὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ᾗσαν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ  
 κατὰ νόμον τῆς φύσεως τὰς μίξεις ποιοῦνται· ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐν  
 ἀγορᾷ τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων ἐντύχοιεν, ἀποκλινόμενοι σπουδῇ  
 ὑπεχώρουν, μή του τῶν ἱματίων τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀψάμενοι  
 26 μεταλαχέιν τοῦ μιάσματος τούτου δόξειαν. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὁρώσιν  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός. ἐς μέντοι  
 τὰς συνθεατρίας ἀγριώτατα εἰώθει ἐς αἰὲν σκορπιαίνεσθαι·  
 βασκανία γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο.  
 27 Ἐκηβόλῳ δὲ ὕστερον Τυρίῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντι  
 Πενταπόλεως ἐς τὰ αἰσχιστα ὑπηρετήσουσα εἶπετο, ἀλλά τι τῷ  
 ἀνθρώπῳ προσκεκρουκυῖα ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλαύνετο· διὸ  
 δὴ αὐτῇ ἀπορεῖσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ξυνέπεσεν, ἅπερ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 ἐπορίζετο τὴν ἐς τὸ σῶμα παρανομίαν, ἥπερ εἴθιστο,  
 ἐργαζομένη. ἐς μὲν οὖν

B 63

took pride in this strange performance. For she was not merely shameless herself, but also a contriver of shameless deeds above all others. And it was a common thing for her to undress and stand in the midst of the actors on the stage, now straining her body backwards and now trying to penetrate the hinder parts both of those who had consorted with her and those who had not yet done so, running through with pride the exercises of the only wrestling school to which she was accustomed. And she treated her own body with such utter wantonness that she seemed to have her privates<sup>1</sup> not where Nature had placed them in other women, but in her face! Now those who had intimacy with her immediately made it clear by that very fact that they were not having intercourse according to the laws of Nature; and all the more respectable people who chanced upon her in the market-place would turn aside and retreat in haste, lest they should touch any of the woman's garments and so seem to have partaken of this pollution. For she was, to those who saw her, particularly early in the day, a bird of foul omen. On the other hand, she was accustomed to storm most savagely at all times against the women who were her fellow-performers; for she was a very envious and spiteful creature.

Later she was following in the train of Hecebolus, a Tyrian, who had taken over the administration of Pentapolis, serving him in the most shameful capacity; but she gave some offence to the man and was driven thence with all speed; consequently it came about that she was at a loss for the necessities of life, which she proceeded to provide in her usual way, putting her body to work at its unlawful traffic. She

- 28 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὰ πρῶτα ἦκεν.<sup>1</sup> ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἕω  
 περιελθοῦσα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανῆκεν, ἐργασία χρωμένη ἐν πόλει  
 ἐκάστη, ἣν γε ὀνομάζοντι, οἶμαι, ἀνθρώπῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἴλεως ὁ  
 θεὸς εἴη, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ δαίμονος χῶρόν τινα τῆς  
 Θεοδώρας ἀκολασίας ἀγνώτα εἶναι.
- 29 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τετέχθαι τε τῇδε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τετράφθαι  
 ξυνέβη καὶ ἐς δημοσίους πολλὰς διαβολῆς<sup>2</sup> γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐς  
 30 πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον αὐθις, ἡράσθη  
 αὐτῆς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα P 29  
 31 ἐπλησίαζεν ὡς ἐρωμένη, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἀναγαγὼν ἐς τὸ τῶν  
 πατρικίων ἀξίωμα. δύναμιν τοίνυν ἐξαισίαν τινὰ καὶ χρήματα  
 ἐπιεικῶς μεγάλα περιβαλέσθαι ἡ Θεοδώρα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσε. B 64  
 πάντων γὰρ ἡδιστον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐφαίμετο, ὃ δὲ ξυμβαίνειν  
 τοῖς ἐκτόπως ἐρώσι φιλεῖ, χάριτάς τε πάσας καὶ χρήματα  
 32 πάντα τῇ ἐρωμένη χαρίζεσθαι. ἐγίνετό τε ἡ πολιτεία<sup>3</sup> τοῦ  
 ἔρωτος τοῦδε ὑπέκκαυμα. ξὺν αὐτῇ τοίνυν πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν  
 33 δῆμον διέφθειρεν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἄμφω γὰρ μοίρας τῆς Βενέτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 34 ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς στασιώταις τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 πολιτείαν πράγματα ἔθεντο. χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸ  
 πλείστον τοῦ κακοῦ ἐλελωφῆκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 35 Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς νοσήσαι ξυνέβη, ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 νόσῳ ταύτῃ ἐς τόσον κινδύνου

first went to Alexandria; later, after making the round of the whole East, she made her way back to Byzantium, plying her trade in each city (a trade which a man could not call by name, I think, without forfeiting forever the compassion of God), as if Heaven could not bear that any spot should be unacquainted with the wantonness of Theodora.

Thus was this woman born and reared and thus had she become infamous in the eyes both of many common women and of all mankind. But when she came back to Byzantium once more, Justinian conceived for her an overpowering love; and at first he knew her as a mistress, though he did advance her to the rank of the Patricians. Theodora accordingly succeeded at once in acquiring extraordinary influence and a fairly large fortune. For she seemed to the man the sweetest thing in the world, as is wont to happen with lovers who love extravagantly, and he was fain to bestow upon his beloved all favours and all money. And the State became fuel for this love. So with her help he ruined the people even more than before, and not in Byzantium alone, but throughout the whole Roman Empire. For both being members of the Blue Faction from of old, they gave the members of this Faction great freedom regarding the affairs of State. But long afterwards this evil abated for the most part, and in the following manner.

Justinian happened to be ill for many days, and during this illness he came into such danger that it



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PROCOPIUS  
VII

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# PROCOPIUS

## BUILDINGS GENERAL INDEX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF  
GLANVILLE DOWNEY



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ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α΄

α΄. Οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, οὐδὲ λόγου  
δυνάμει θαρσῶν, οὐδὲ χωρίων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ φιλοτιμούμενος,  
ἐς τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν γραφὴν ὥρμηκα· ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον  
2 οὐδὲν ὑφ’ οὗ ἂν παρρησίας ἐς τόδε ἀγοίμην. ἀλλὰ μοι πολλάκις  
ἐννοία γέγονεν ὁπόσων τε καὶ πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον ἱστορία  
ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεσθαι εἶωθε, παραπέμπουσά τε εἰς τοὺς  
ἐπιγόνους τῶν προγεγενημένων τὴν μνήμην, καὶ  
ἀνταγωνιζομένη τῷ χρόνῳ κρυφαῖα ποιεῖσθαι διατεινομένῳ τὰ  
πράγματα. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν εὐφημίαις ἀεὶ τῶν ἀναλεγόμενων  
αὐτὴν ἐπαίρουσα, τῆς δὲ κακίας ἐπιλαμβανομένη διηνεκές,  
3 ταύτῃ τε ἀποκρουομένη τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν. τούτου οὖν δὴ μόνου  
ἐπιμελητέον ἡμῖν, ὅπως δὴ ἔνδηλα τὰ πεπραγμένα διαφανῶς  
ἔσται καὶ ὑφ’ οὗτοῦ ἐργασθείη τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα δέ,  
οἶμαι, οὐδὲ γλώσση τραυλιζούσῃ τε καὶ ἰσχυροφώνῳ οὔσῃ  
4 ἀμήχανά ἐστι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εὐγνώμονας μὲν ἱστορία ἐς τοὺς  
εὐεργέτας ἐνδείκνυται γεγονέναι τῶν ἀρχομένων τοὺς εὖ  
πεπονθότας, ἐν μείζοσι δὲ

P 2

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA  
BUILDINGS

BOOK I

i. IT is not because I wish to make a display of skill, nor  
through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride  
myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set  
about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for  
venturing so bold an intention. Yet the thought has many times  
occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which  
are wont to accrue to states through History, which transmits to  
future generations the memory of those who have gone before,  
and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion; and  
while it incites to virtue those who from time to time may read it  
by the praise it bestows, it constantly assails vice by repelling its  
influence. Wherefore our concern must be solely this—that all the  
deeds of the past shall be clearly set forth, and by what man,  
whosoever he might be, they were wrought. And this, I believe, is  
not an impossible task, even for a lisping and thin-voiced tongue.  
Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received  
benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors,  
and that they have repaid them with



- αὐτοῖς ἐκτετικέναι τὰ χαριστήρια, οἳ γε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπὶ  
καιροῦ μὲν τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἡγησαμένων  
ἀπώναντο, ἀθάνατον δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένων τῇ  
5 μνήμῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν διασώζουσι. διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῶν  
ἐπιγινομένων πολλοὶ ἀρετῶσι μὲν τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων  
ζηλοῦντες τιμάς, ἐς δὲ τὰς βλασφημίας χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες τῶν B 171  
ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἀναδύονται. ὅτου δὲ  
δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα ὑπεῖπον αὐτίκα δηλώσω.
- 6 Ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ<sup>1</sup> βασιλεὺς γέγονεν,  
ὃς<sup>2</sup> τὴν πολιτείαν πλημμελῶς κινουμένην παραλαβὼν μεγέθει  
μὲν αὐτὴν μείζω τε καὶ πολλῶ ἐπιφανεστέραν εἰργάσατο,  
ἐξελάσας ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιασαμένους αὐτὴν  
7 βαρβάρους, ὥσπερ μοι λεπτολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν P 3  
πολέμων δεδήλωται λόγοις. καίτοι λέγουσιν ποτε Θεμιστοκλέα  
τὸν Νεοκλέους<sup>3</sup> ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀνεπιστημόνως  
8 ἔχοι πόλιν μικρὰν<sup>4</sup> ποιῆσαι μεγάλην. ὁ δὲ δὴ οὐκ ἀμελέτητός  
ἐστὶν ἐμπορίζεσθαι πολιτείας ἐτέρας· πολλὰς ἀμέλει  
προσεποίησεν ἤδη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἀλλοτρίας καθ' αὐτὸν  
9 οὔσας, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργηκεν οὐ πρότερον  
οὔσας. πλανωμένην δὲ εὐρὼν τὴν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν τὰ  
πρότερα ἐς πολλὰ τε ἀναγκαζομένην ἵεναι, συντρίψας ἀπάσας  
τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάνας φερούσας ὁδοὺς, διεπράξατο ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ  
τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾷ ἐστάναι κρηπίδος.

thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is through this very service that many men of later times strive after virtue, by emulating the honours of those who have preceded them, and, because they cannot endure censure, are quite likely to shun the basest practices. And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose.

In our own age there has been born the Emperor Justinian, who, taking over the State when it was harrassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious, by expelling from it those barbarians who had from of old pressed hard upon it, as I have made clear in detail in the Books on the Wars. Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large. But this Sovereign does not lack the skill to produce completely transformed states—witness the way he has already added to the Roman domain many states which in his own times had belonged to others, and has created countless cities which did not exist before. And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation

- 10 πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους λαβὼν τῷ τε παμπληθεῖς οὐ δέον  
γεγονέναι σκοτεινοὺς ὄντας καὶ ξυγχεομένους διαφανῶς τῷ ἀπ’  
ἐναντίας ἀλλήλοις ἵεναι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄχλου αὐτοὺς τῆς  
τερθρείας ἀποκαθάρας, τὸ δὲ ἐς<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους διχοστατεῖν  
βεβαιότατα κρατυνόμενος διεσώσατο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
ἐπιβουλευουσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίας ἀφείς, τοὺς δὲ βίου  
δεομένους πλούτῳ πεποιημένος κατακορεῖς καὶ τύχην αὐτοῖς  
11 τὴν ἐπηρεάζουσιν βιασάμενος, εὐδαίμονι βίῳ τὴν πολιτείαν  
ξυνώκισεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πανταχόθεν ὑποκειμένην τὴν B 172  
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν στρατιωτῶν τε πλήθει ἐπέρρωσε καὶ  
ὀχυρωμάτων οἰκοδομίαις ἀπάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας  
ἐτειχίσατο.
- 12 Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ πλείστα ἐν ἑτέροις μοι  
συγγέγραπται λόγοις, ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ οἰκοδομουμένῳ  
δεδημιούργηται, ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται.<sup>2</sup> ἄριστον μὲν δὴ  
βασιλέα γεγονέναι Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσῃν φασίν, ὦν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν,  
13 τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας. εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτός τις P 4  
14 ἦν ὁ Κῦρος ἐκείνος οἷος δὴ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ  
παιδεύεται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. τάχα γάρ πον καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
γεγραφότος αὐτὰ δεξιότης κεκομψευμένη δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου  
15 ἐγκαλλώπισμα τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι<sup>3</sup> διαρκῶς ἴσχυσε. τοῦ δὲ

of a single faith.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, finding the laws obscure because they had become far more numerous than they should be, and in obvious confusion because they disagreed with each other, he preserved them by cleansing them of the mass of their verbal trickery, and by controlling their discrepancies with the greatest firmness; as for those who plotted against him, he of his own volition dismissed the charges against them, and causing those who were in want to have a surfeit of wealth, and crushing the spiteful fortune that oppressed them, he wedded the whole State to a life of prosperity. Furthermore, he strengthened the Roman domain, which everywhere lay exposed to the barbarians, by a multitude of soldiers, and by constructing strongholds he built a wall along all its remote frontiers.

However, most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings,<sup>2</sup> so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits which he wrought as a builder. They do indeed say that the best king of whom we know by tradition was the Persian Cyrus, and that he was chiefly responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race. But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing. For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts.



καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (ὃν δὴ καὶ φύσει βασιλέα  
καλῶν τις, οἶμαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ὡς ἡπιός ἐστι,  
16 καθ' Ὅμηρον), εἴ τις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν βασιλείαν διασκοποῖτο,  
παιδιάν τινα τὴν Κύρου ἀρχὴν οἰήσεται εἶναι. τεκμηριώσει δὲ  
τὸ τοιοῦτο ἢ μὲν πολιτεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος  
εἴρηται, τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἢ διπλασία  
γεγενημένη, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν αὐτῷ σκαιωρησάμενοι μέχρι  
ἐς φόνον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα  
αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίπερ ἐξεληλεγμένοι διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
στρατηγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων  
ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀξίωμα.

17 Τανῦν δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ  
βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, ὥς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ  
μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτὰς<sup>2</sup> θεωμένοις ξυμβαίη  
18 ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τῶν  
προγεγενημένων οὐκ ἐμπεδωθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι  
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπιστα γέγονεν. εἴη δ' ἂν εἰκότως τὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
19 παρὰ πάντα τῷ λόγῳ κρηπὶς. ἀρχομένου<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἔργου, κατὰ δὴ  
τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον, πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεναι τηλαυγές.

20 Ἄνδρες ἀγελαῖοί ποτε καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος<sup>4</sup>

But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one  
would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by  
inheritance, since he is, as Homer says,<sup>1</sup> “as gentle as a father”), if  
one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of  
Cyrus as a sort of child’s play.<sup>2</sup> The proof of this will be that the  
Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than  
doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other  
hand, those who treacherously formed the plot<sup>3</sup> against him, going  
so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the  
present moment, and in possession of their own property, even  
though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are  
actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding  
the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

But now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the  
buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the  
future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great  
number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works  
of one man. For already many works of men of former times which  
are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity  
because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the  
buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a  
foundation for my narrative. For “o’er a work’s beginnings,” as the  
old saying has it,<sup>4</sup> “we needs must set a front that shines afar.”

Some men of the common herd, all the rubbish of

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- Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπαναστάντες τὴν Νίκα  
καλουμένην στάσιν εἰργάσαντο, ἥπερ μοι ἀπαρακαλύπτως  
21 ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδιήγηται λόγοις.  
ἐνδεικνύμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τι  
ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅτε ἀποφράδες τὰ ὄπλα ἀντήραν, ἐμπρήσαι  
τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτόλμησαν (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν  
οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεὼν ἐπικαιριώτατα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
ἀπεργασάμενοι), ἐπεχώρει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς διαπράξασθαι τὰ  
ἀσέβημα, προειδὼς εἰς ὅσον τι<sup>1</sup> κάλλος τοῦτο τὸ ἱερόν  
22 μεταστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηνθρακωμένη  
τότε ξύμπασα ἔκειτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιαύτην  
ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὥστε, εἰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν τις  
ἐπύθετο πρότερον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς διολωλέναι τὴν  
ἐκκλησίαν εἴη καὶ τοιάνδε γενέσθαι, δείξας τι αὐτοῖς τῶν νῦν  
φαινομένων ἐκτύπωμα, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ὡς συντομώτατα  
εὔξασθαι πεπονθυῖαν σφίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεάσασθαι, ὅπως  
23 δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν μεταβάλοιτο σχῆμα. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς  
ἀφροντιστήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν σπουδῇ  
24 ἔειτο, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἤγειρεν ἅπαντας.  
Ἀνθέμιος δὲ Τραλλιανός, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλουμένη μηχανικῇ  
λογιώτατος, οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων,

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the city, once rose up against the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, when they brought about the rising called the Nika Insurrection, which has been described by me in detail and without any concealment in the Books on the Wars.<sup>1</sup> And by way of shewing that it was not against the Emperor alone that they had taken up arms, but no less against God himself, unholy wretches that they were, they had the hardihood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call “Sophia,”<sup>2</sup> an epithet which they have most appropriately invented for God, by which they call His temple; and God permitted them to accomplish this impiety, foreseeing into what an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be transformed. So the whole church at that time lay a charred mass of ruins. But the Emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church<sup>3</sup> so finely shaped,<sup>4</sup> that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, shewing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form. At any rate the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather all the artisans from the whole world. And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building,<sup>5</sup> not only of all his contemporaries,

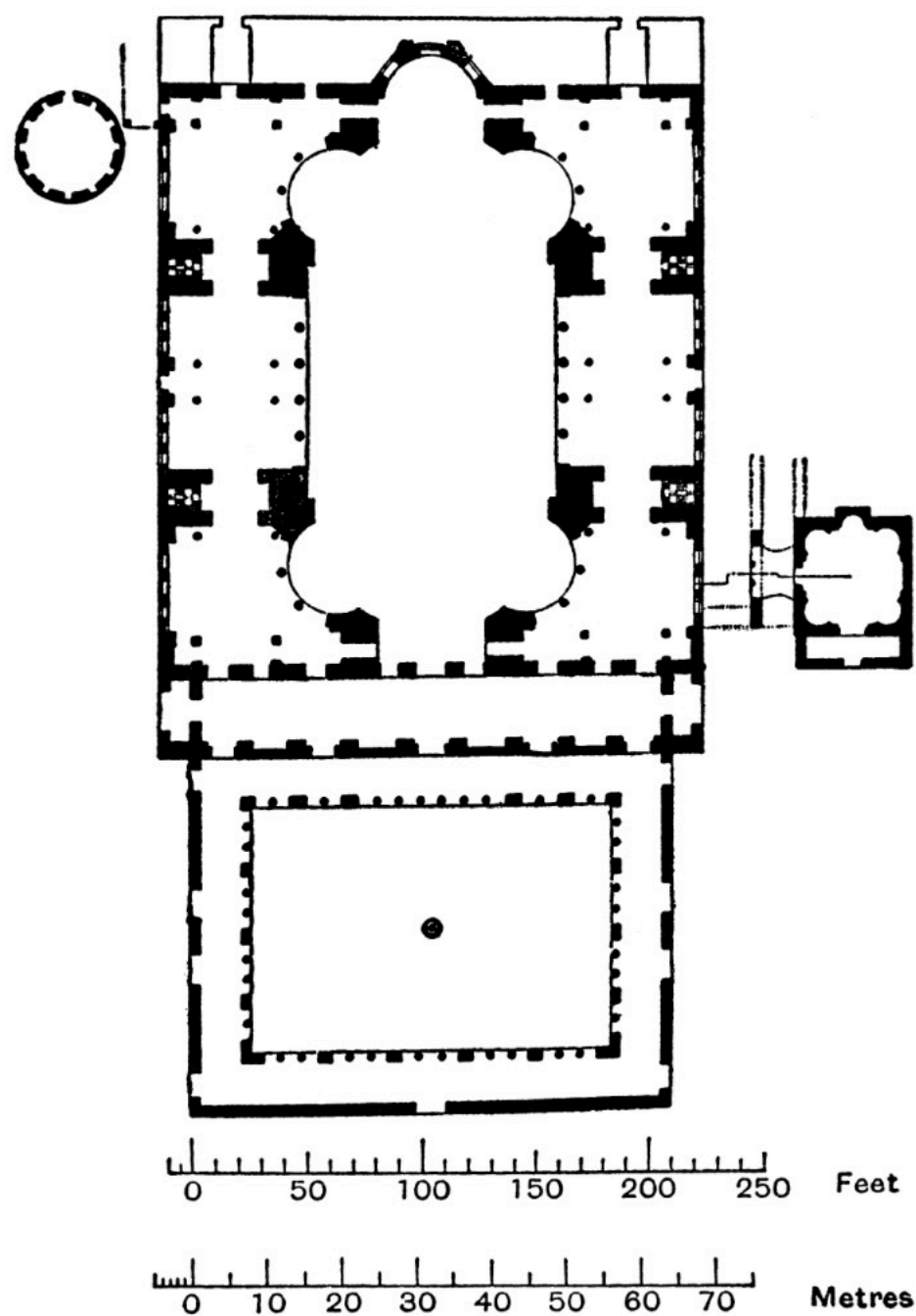


- ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένων πολλῶ, τῇ βασιλέως  
 ὑπουργεῖ σπουδῇ, τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὰ ἔργα ῥυθμίζων, τῶν τε  
 γενησομένων προδιασκευάζων ἰνδάλματα, καὶ μηχανοποιὸς  
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἕτερος, Ἰσίδωρος ὄνομα, Μιλήσιος γένος, ἔμφρων τε  
 25 ἄλλως καὶ πρέπων Ἰουστινιανῷ ὑπουργεῖν βασιλεῖ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα  
 καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς,  
 προκαταστησαμένου τοὺς ἐς τὰ πραχθησόμενα  
 26 χρησιμωτάτους αὐτῷ ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 τὸν νοῦν εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγασθείη τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐκ  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα τοὺς  
 καιριωτάτους ἀπολέξασθαι ἔσχε.  
 27 Θέαμα τοίνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλιστευμένον γεγένηται, τοῖς  
 μὲν ὁρώσιν ὑπερφυές, τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι παντελῶς ἄπιστον  
 ἐπῆρται μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὕψος οὐράνιον ὅσον, καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων  
 οἰκοδομημάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινένευκεν ὑπερκειμένη τῇ  
 ἄλλῃ πόλει, κοσμοῦσα μὲν αὐτήν, ὅτι αὐτῆς ἐστίν, ὡραϊζομένη  
 δέ, ὅτι αὐτῆς οὖσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε δὴ  
 28 ἐνθένδε ἡ πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται. εὖρος δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ  
 μῆκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἀποτετόρνενται, ὥστε καὶ περιμήκης  
 καὶ ὅλως εὐρεῖα οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται. κάλλει δὲ ἀμυθῆτος

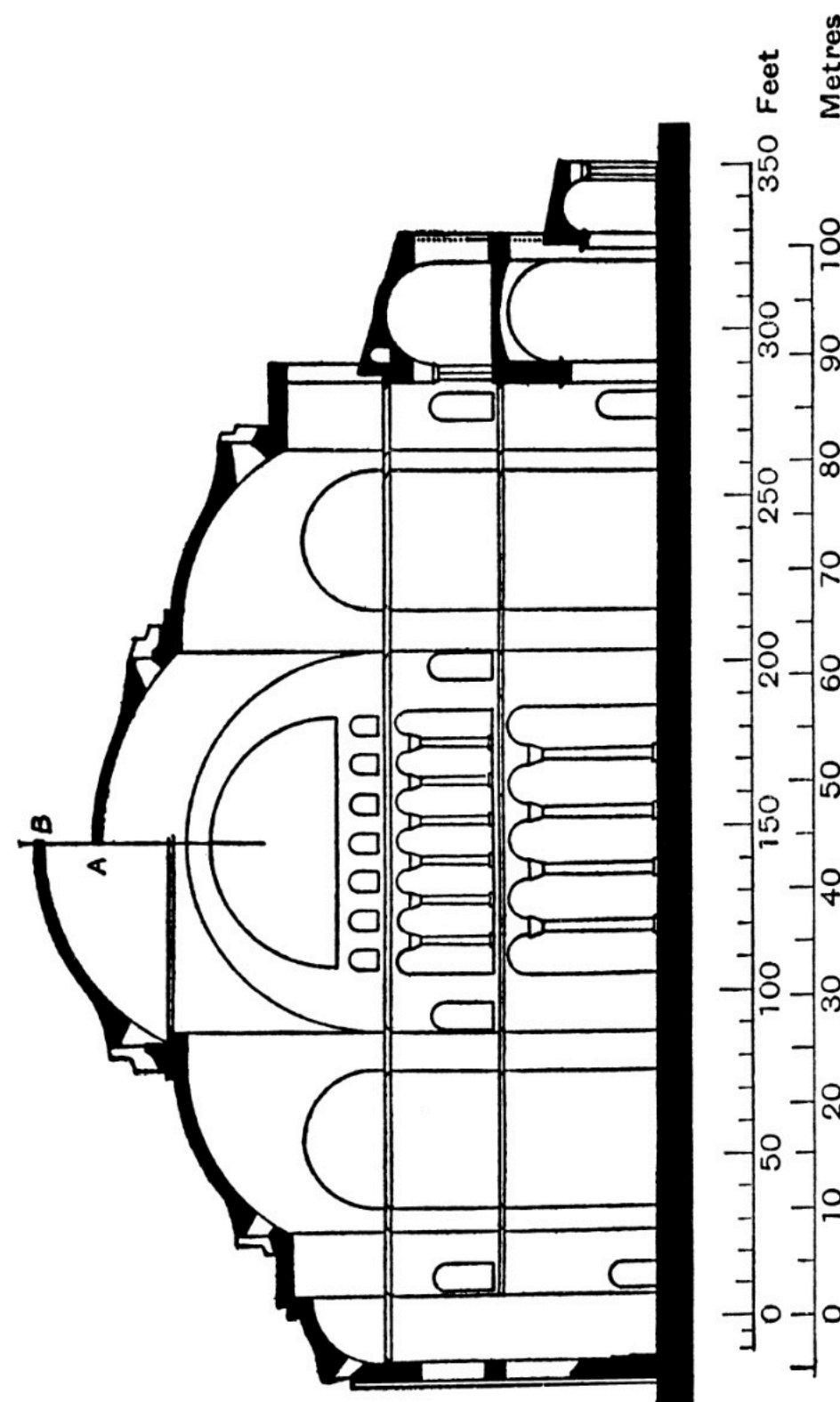
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but also when compared with those who had lived long before him, ministered to the Emperor's enthusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the future construction; and associated with him was another master-builder, Isidorus by name, a Milesian by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to assist the Emperor Justinian. Indeed this also was an indication of the honour in which God held the Emperor, that He had already provided the men who would be most serviceable to him in the tasks which were waiting to be carried out. And one might with good reason marvel at the discernment of the Emperor himself, in that out of the whole world he was able to select the men who were most suitable for the most important of his enterprises.<sup>1</sup>

So the church has become a spectacle of marvellous beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible.<sup>2</sup> For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands on high and looks down upon the remainder of the city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but glorying in its own beauty, because, though a part of the city and dominating it, it at the same time towers above it to such a height that the whole city is viewed from there as from a watch-tower. Both its breadth and its length have been so carefully proportioned, that it may not improperly be said to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually broad. And it exults in an indescribable beauty.



PLAN OF ST. SOPHIA.



A, the original dome as built by Anthemius and Isidorus.  
B, reconstruction of the dome in A.D. 558 by Isidorus the Younger



- 29 ἀποσεμνύνεται. τῷ τε γὰρ ὄγκῳ κεκόμψευται καὶ τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ  
τοῦ μέτρου, οὔτε τι ὑπεράγαν οὔτε τι ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ B 175  
τοῦ ξυνειθισμένου κομπωδεστέρα καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου κοσμιωτέρα  
30 ἐπικικῶς ἐστι, φωτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ὑπερφύως  
πλήθει. φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον,  
ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι, τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς  
31 περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν περικέχυται.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεῶ  
πρόσωπον (εἶη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ τῷ  
32 θεῷ ἱεουργοῦσι τὰ ἄρρητα) τρόπῳ τοιῷδε δεδημιούργηται.  
οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχει, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας πεποιημένη, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
τῶν πλαγίων ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βραχύ, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέσα  
ὑποχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ σχῆμά τε κατὰ ἥμισυ τὸ στρογγύλον ἰοῦσα,  
ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς  
33 ὕψος ἀπότομον ἐπανέστηκεν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὑπερβολὴ  
ἐς σφαίρας τεταρτημόριον ἀποκέκριται, ὑπερθὲν τε μηνοειδὲς τι  
αὐτῇ ἕτερον τοῖς προσεχέσι τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπῆρται, τῇ μὲν  
εὐπρεπείᾳ θαυμάσιον, τῷ δὲ σφαλερῷ τῆς συνθέσεως δοκοῦντι  
34 εἶναι φοβερὸν ὅλως. δοκεῖ γάρ πη οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ ἐπηωρῆσθαι,  
ἀλλ' ἐπικινδύνως τοῖς ἐνθάδε οὔσι μετεωρίζεσθαι. καίτοι  
35 διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστήρικται. τούτων  
δὲ δὴ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα κίονες ἐπ' ἐδάφους εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ

For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither any excess nor deficiency, since it is both more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than those which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and in the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble. Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine. And the face itself of the church (which would be the part which faces the rising sun, that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God) was constructed in the following manner. A structure of masonry (*oikodomia*) is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding at the middle, so that it forms the shape of half a circle, which those who are skilled in such matters call a half-cylinder (*hêmiky lindron*); and so it rises precipitously to a height.<sup>1</sup> The upper part of this structure ends in the fourth part of a sphere (*spkaira*), and above it another crescent-shaped (*mênoeides*) structure rises, fitted to the adjoining parts of the building, marvellous in its grace, but by reason of the seeming insecurity of its composition altogether terrifying. For it seems somehow to float in the air on no firm basis, but to be poised aloft to the peril of those inside it. Yet actually it is braced with exceptional firmness and security. On either side of this are columns arranged on the pavement; these likewise do not

κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστῶτες, ἀλλ' εἴσω κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμίκυκλον ὥσπερ  
 ἐν χορῷ ἀλλήλοις ὑπεξιστάμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεράνωθεν  
 36 οἰκοδόμημα μηνοειδὲς ἀποκρέμαται. τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐώου κατ'  
 ἀντικρὺ<sup>1</sup> τὰς εἰσόδους ἔχων ἐγγήγερται τοῖχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ἐκατέρωθεν οἷ τε κίονες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπερθεῖν ὁμοιότατα τοῖς  
 37 δεδηλωμένοις ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐστήκασιν. κατὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νεῶ μέσα  
 λόφοι χειροποίητοι ἐπανεστήκασιν τέσσαρες, οὓς καλοῦσι  
 πεσσούς, δύο μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν, δύο δὲ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον,  
 ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις, κίονας ἐν μέσῳ ἐκάτεροι κατὰ  
 38 τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἔχοντες. πεποιήνται δὲ οἱ λόφοι λίθοις  
 εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετοι, λογάδην μὲν συνειλεγμένοις, ἐς  
 ἀλλήλους<sup>2</sup> δὲ πρὸς τῶν λιθολόγων ἐπισταμένως  
 ἐναρμοσθεῖσιν,<sup>3</sup> ἐς ὕψος μέγα. εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς εἶναι  
 39 σκοπέλους ὁρῶν ἀποτόμους. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀψίδες τέσσαρες ἐν  
 τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνέχουσιν καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄκρα ξύνδυο ξυνιόντα  
 εἰς ἄλληλα ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ ἡρήρυσται τῶν λόγων τούτων, τὰ  
 40 δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐπηρμένα εἰς ἀπέραντον ὕψος ἡώρηται. τῶν δὲ  
 ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο κατὰ κενοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπανεστήκασιν πρὸς  
 ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, αἱ δὲ λειπόμεναι  
 οἰκοδομίαν τέ τινα καὶ κίονας

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stand in a straight line, but they retreat inward in the pattern of  
 the semicircle (*hēmikyklon*) as if they were yielding to one another  
 in a choral dance, and above them hangs a structure of crescent  
 shape (*mēnoeides*). And on the side opposite the east is reared a  
 wall containing the entrances (*eisodoi*), and on either side of this  
 there stand in a semicircle (*hēmikyklon*) not only the columns  
 themselves but also the structure above them, all this being very  
 similar to the columns and structure I have just described. And in  
 the centre of the church stand four man-made eminences (*lophoi*),  
 which they call piers (*pessoi*), two on the north side and two on the  
 south, opposite and equal to each other, each pair having between  
 them just four columns.<sup>1</sup> The piers (*lophoi*) are composed of huge  
 stones joined together, carefully selected and skilfully fitted to one  
 another by the masons, and rising to a great height. One might  
 suppose that they were sheer mountain-peaks. From these spring  
 four arches (*apsides*) which rise over the four sides of a square,  
 and their ends come together in pairs and are made fast to each  
 other on top of these piers (*lophoi*), while the other portions rise  
 and soar to an infinite height. And while two of the arches rise  
 over empty air, those namely on the east and the west sides, the  
 other two have under them certain structural elements  
 (*oikodomia*), including



- 41 μικροὺς<sup>1</sup> κομιδῇ ἔνερθεν ἔχουσιν. ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν κυκλοτερῆς  
οἰκοδομία ἐν στρογγύλῳ ἐπῆρται· ὅθεν ἀεὶ διαγελάῃ πρῶτον ἡ  
42 ἡμέρα. ὑπεραίρει γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, καὶ διαλείπει  
τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κατὰ βραχύ, ἐξεπίτηδες παρειμένον τοσοῦτον,  
ὅσον τοὺς χώρους, οὗ δὲ τὸ διηρημένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας  
43 συμβαίνει εἶναι, φέγγους διαρκῶς ἀγωγοὺς εἶναι. τῶν δὲ  
ἀψίδων τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐξεργασμένης, ἐς  
44 τρίγωνα τέσσαρα μεταξὺ τὸ ἔργον ἀποτετέλεσται. καὶ ἡ μὲν  
τριγώνου ἐκάστη<sup>2</sup> κρηπὶς πεπιεσμένη τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν  
ἀψίδων ἐνέρσει ὁξείαν ποιεῖται τὴν κάτω γωνίαν,  
συναναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν εὐρυνομένη τῇ μεταξὺ χώρα ἐς  
τὸ κυκλοτερὲς τελευτᾷ, ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς  
45 λειπομένας ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς  
46 παμμεγέθους ἐπανεστηκυῖά τις σφαιροειδῆς θόλος ποιεῖται  
αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον. δοκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς  
οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ σφαίρᾳ<sup>3</sup> τῇ χρυσῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
47 οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη καλύπτειν τὸν χώρον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐς  
ἀλληλά τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐν μεταρσίῳ ἐναρμοσθέντα, ἕκ τε  
ἀλλήλων ἡωρημένα καὶ μόνοις ἐναπεριδόμενα τοῖς ἄγχιστα  
οὖσι, μίαν μὲν ἁρμονίαν ἐκπρεπεστάτην τοῦ ἔργου ποιοῦνται,  
οὐ παρέχονται δὲ τοῖς θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τινι ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἐπὶ  
48 πολὺ τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ μεθέλκει τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ  
μεταβιβάζει ῥᾶστα ἐφ' ἑαυτό. ἀγχίστροφός τε

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a number of rather small columns. Upon the crowns of the arches rests a circular structure (*kykloterês oikodomia*), cylindrical (*strongylon*) in shape; it is through this that the light of day always first smiles. For it towers above the whole earth, as I believe, and the structure is interrupted at short intervals, openings having been left intentionally, in the spaces where the perforation of the stone-work takes place, to be channels for the admission of light in sufficient measure. And since the arches where they are joined together are so constructed as to form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between the arches produces four triangles (*trigôna*).<sup>1</sup> And while each supporting end (*krêpis*) of a triangle, having been contracted to a point by the coming together of each pair of arches, makes the lower point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its width is extended by the intermediate surface, it ends in the segment of a circle (*kykloterês*) which it supports, and forms the remaining angles<sup>2</sup> at that level. And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome (*sphairoeidês tholos*) which makes the structure exceptionally beautiful. Yet it seems not to rest upon solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden dome (*sphaira*) suspended from Heaven. All these details, fitted together with incredible skill in midair and floating off from each other and resting only on the parts next to them, produce a single and most extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not permit the spectator to linger much over the study of any one of them, but each detail attracts the eye and draws it on irresistibly to itself. So the vision

- ή τῆς θεάς μεταβολή ἐς αἰὲ γίγνεται, ἀπολέξασθαι τοῦ  
 49 ἐσορῶντος οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος ὅ τι ἂν ποτε ἀγασθείη μᾶλλον τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀποσκοποῦντες<sup>1</sup> πανταχόσε τὸν  
 νοῦν, τὰς τε ὀφρῦς ἐπὶ πᾶσι συννενευκότες, οὐχ οἰοί τέ εἰσι  
 ξυνεῖναι τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται αἰὲ ἐνθὲνδε  
 καταπεπληγμένοι τῇ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἀμηχανία. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ  
 πη ἔχει.
- 50 Μηχαναῖς δὲ πολλαῖς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ  
 Ἀνθέμιος ὁ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ οὕτω δὴ  
 μετεωριζομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεπράξαντο  
 εἶναι· ὧνπερ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπάσας ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι τε ἄπορον καὶ  
 λόγῳ φράσαι ἀμήχανον, μία δέ μοι μόνον ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι  
 51 γεγράφεται ἢ δύναιτ'<sup>2</sup> ἂν τις σύμπασαν τοῦ ἔργου τεκμηριῶσαι  
 τὴν δύναμιν. ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε· οἱ λόφοι, ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως,  
 οὐ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις πεποίηνται, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ  
 52 τοιῷδε. λίθων ἐπιβολὴ ἐν τετραγώνῳ διαπεπóνηται, σκληρῶν B 178  
 μὲν φύσιν, ἐργασίαν δὲ λείων, ἐντομὴν<sup>3</sup> δέ, εἰ μὲν τὰ προὔχοντα  
 ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοῦ λόγου πλευρῶν μέλλοιεν, ἐγγωνίων, εἰ δὲ τὴν  
 53 μεταξὺ κεκλήρωνται χώραν, ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ γεγενημένων.  
 συνήρμοσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ τίτανος, ἥνπερ ἄσβεστον  
 ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄσφαλτος, ἢ Σεμιράμιδος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι  
 φιλοτιμία, οὐκ

constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others. But even so, though they turn their attention to every side and look with contracted brows upon every detail, observers are still unable to understand the skilful craftsmanship, but they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight. So much, then, for this.

It was by many skilful devices that the Emperor Justinian and the master-builder Anthemius and Isidorus secured the stability of the church, hanging, as it does, in mid-air. Some of these it is both hopeless for me to understand in their entirety, and impossible to explain in words; I shall record only one of them for the present, from which it should be possible to gain an impression of the strength of the whole work. It is as follows: The piers (*lophoi*) which I have just mentioned are not constructed in the same way as other structures, but in the following manner. The courses of stone were laid down so as to form a four-cornered shape, the stones being rough by nature but worked smooth; and they were cut to the angles when they were destined to form the projecting corners of the sides of the pier, but when they chanced to be assigned to a position between the angles, they were cut in rectangles (*tetrapleuron*).<sup>1</sup> These were held together neither by lime (*titanos*), which they call “asbestos”,<sup>2</sup> nor by asphalt, the material which was the pride of Semiramis in Babylon,<sup>3</sup> nor by any other such thing,



ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μόλιβδος ἐς τέλμα χυθείς, καὶ  
 μεταξὺ πανταχόσε χωρήσας, τῶν τε λίθων τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ  
 54 ἐντετηκῶς καὶ συνδέων ἀλλήλοις αὐτούς. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ  
 ἐξείργασται. ἐπὶ τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῶ ἱωμεν.  
 Χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδήλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφή πᾶσα,  
 κεραννύσα τὸν κόμπον<sup>1</sup> τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων  
 55 αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῷ. στοαὶ τέ εἰσιν ἐκατέρωθι  
 δύο, οἰκοδομία μὲν τοῦ νεῶ οὐδεμιᾷ διειργόμεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 μείζον αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσαι τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μέτρον, καὶ τῷ μήκει μέχρι  
 56 ἐς τὸ πέρας συνεξικνούμεναι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος καταδέεσται. καὶ  
 αὐταῖς δὲ ἢ τε ὀροφὴ θόλος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐγκαλλώπισμα.  
 ταύταιν δὲ<sup>2</sup> ταῖν στοαῖν ἀτέρα μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐχομένους  
 57 διακεκλήρωται, γυναιξὶ δὲ ταῦτό ποιουμέναις ἢ ἄλλη ἀνείται.  
 παραλλὰξ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ διαφέρουσι δήπου ἀλλήλαιν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐταῖν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς

P 8

but by lead (*molibdos*) poured into the interstices (*telma*), which  
 flowed about everywhere in the spaces between the stones and  
 hardened in the joints (*harmonia*), binding them to each other.<sup>1</sup>  
 Thus were these parts constructed; but let us proceed to the  
 remaining portions of the church.

The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold, which adds glory  
 to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails,  
 shining out in rivalry with the gold. And there are two stoa-like  
 colonnades (*stoai*),<sup>2</sup> one on each side, not separated in any way  
 from the structure of the church itself, but actually making the  
 effect of its width greater,<sup>3</sup> and reaching along its whole length, to  
 the very end, while in height they are less than the interior of the  
 building. And they too have vaulted ceilings (*orophê tholos*) and  
 decorations of gold. One of these two colonnaded stoas has been  
 assigned to men worshippers, while the other is reserved for  
 women engaged in the same exercise. But they have nothing to  
 distinguish them, nor do they differ from one another in any way,  
 but their very equality serves to beautify the church, and

- 58 κάλλος διήκει καὶ ὠραΐζει τὸ ἐμφερές. τίς δ' ἂν τῶν ὑπερώων τῆς  
 γυναικωνίτιδος ἐρμηνεύς γένοιτο, ἢ τὰς τε παμπληθεῖς διηγοῖτο  
 59 στοὰς καὶ τὰς περιστύλους αὐλάς, αἷς ὁ νεὼς περιβέβληται; τίς  
 δὲ τῶν τε κιόνων καὶ λίθων διαριθμήσαιο τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἷς  
 60 τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώπιστα; λειμῶνί τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν B 179  
 ὠραίῳ τὸ ἄνθος. θαυμάσειε γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως τῶν μὲν τὸ  
 ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοάζον, καὶ οἷς τὸ φοινικούν ἐπανθεί καὶ  
 ὦν τὸ λευκὸν ἀπαστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὖς ταῖς  
 61 ἐναντιωτάταις ποικίλλει χροιαῖς ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος ἢ φύσις.  
 ὀπηνίκα δέ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ ἴοι, ξυνίησι μὲν εὐθύς ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπεία δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ροπῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο  
 ἀποτετόρνευται· ὁ νοῦς δέ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαιρόμενος  
 62 ἀεροβατεῖ, οὐ μακράν πον ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν μάλιστα οἷς αὐτὸς εἴλετο. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ τὴν  
 πρώτην μόνον ἰδόντι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐκάστω ταῦτο  
 63 τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὄψεως αἰεὶ ἀρχομένης. τούτου  
 κόρον οὐδεὶς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ παρόντες μὲν<sup>1</sup>  
 τῷ ἱερῷ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις γεγῆθασιν, ἀπιόντες δὲ τοῖς  
 64 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλόγοις ἀποσεμνύνονται. ἔτι μέντοι<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
 κειμηλίων τοῦ νεὼ τοῦδε τά τε χρυσώματα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ  
 λίθοις ἐντίμοις ξύμπαντα μὲν φράσαι ἀκριβολογουμένῳ  
 ἀμήχανον ἄπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν· ἐνὶ δὲ  
 65 μόνῳ τεκμηριούσθαι τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγομένοις ἐφίημι· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ

their similarity to adorn it. But who could fittingly describe the galleries (*hyperôa*) of the women's side (*gynaikonitis*), or enumerate the many colonnades and the colonnaded aisles (*peristylloi aulai*) by means of which the church is surrounded? Or who could recount the beauty of the columns (*kiones*) and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom. For he would surely marvel at the purple of some, the green tint of others, and at those on which the crimson glows and those from which the white flashes, and again at those which Nature, like some painter, varies with the most contrasting colours. And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen. And this does not happen only to one who sees the church for the first time, but the same experience comes to him on each successive occasion, as though the sight were new each time. Of this spectacle no one has ever had a surfeit, but when present in the church men rejoice in what they see, and when they leave it they take proud delight in conversing about it. Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church—the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here—it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example. That part of the shrine which is



ἱεροῦ τὰ μάλιστα χώρος ἀβέβηλος καὶ μόνοις ἱερεῦσι βατός,  
ὄνπερ καλοῦσι θυσιαστήριον, λιτρῶν ἀργύρου μυριάδας  
ἐπιφέρεται τέτταρας.

- 66 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίας, ἣνπερ  
μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, συνελόντι τε καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ  
διαριθμησαμένῳ εἰπεῖν, λόγῳ τε βραχυτάτῳ τὰ τῶν  
πραγμάτων ἀξιολογώτατα φράσαι, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ  
67 δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ. οὐ χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἐδείματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονουμένη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
68 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τῶν ἀψίδων,  
ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως (λώρους δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ  
ἐπικαλοῦσι) μία τις, ἥ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν,  
ἐπανειστήκει μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἤδη, οὐπω δὲ ὅλη κατὰ τὸ μέσον  
69 συνετετέλεστο, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἔτι. οἱ δὲ πεσσοὶ ὧν δὴ ὑπερθεῖν ἡ  
οἰκοδομία ἐγίνετο, τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὸ  
μέγεθος, ἀμηγέπη ἐξαπιναίως ἀπορρηγνύμενοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν  
70 διαλυθησομένοις ἐώκεσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τε Ἀνθέμιον καὶ  
Ἰσίδωρον τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσι περίφοβοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα  
71 τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, δυσέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ γεγεννημένοι. αὐτίκα  
δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτῳ<sup>1</sup> μὲν ποτε ἡγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῷ δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ  
γάρ ἐστι μηχανικός, ἐς τὸ πέρας αὐτοῖς περιελίξαι τὴν ἀψίδα  
ταύτην ἐπήγγελλεν. αὐτὴ γάρ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνεχομένη τῶν  
ἐνερθεῖν

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especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the  
Inner Sanctuary (*thysiastêrion*), is embellished with forty thousand  
pounds' weight of silver.

So the church of Constantinople (which men are accustomed  
to call the Great Church), speaking concisely and merely running  
over the details with the finger-tips, as it were, and mentioning  
with a fleeting word only the most notable features, was  
constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian. But it was  
not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with  
labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul, as I shall  
straightway shew. One of the arches which I just now mentioned  
(*lôri*<sup>1</sup> the master-builders call them), the one which stands toward  
the east, had already been built up from either side, but it had not  
yet been wholly completed in the middle, and was still waiting.  
And the piers (*pessoï*), above which the structure was being built,  
unable to carry the mass which bore down upon them, somehow  
or other suddenly began to crack, and they seemed on the point of  
collapsing. So Anthemius and Isidorus, terrified at what had  
happened, carried the matter to the Emperor, having come to  
have no hope in their technical skill. And straightway the  
Emperor, impelled by I know not what, but I suppose by God (for  
he is not himself a master-builder), commanded them to carry the  
curve of this arch to its final completion. "For when it rests upon  
itself," he said, "it will no longer need

- 72 πεσσων οὐκέτι δεήσει. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος ἦν, εὖ οἶδα  
ὅτι κόλαξ τε ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
μάρτυρες πάρεσι τῶν τηνικάδε πεπραγμένων πολλοί, οὐκ  
73 ὀκνητέα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου λειπόμενά ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
τεχνῖται τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ ἀψὶς ἐπ' ἀσφαλούς  
74 ἡώρητο πᾶσα, ἐπισφραγίζουσα τῇ πείρᾳ τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας  
ἀλήθειαν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας  
ἀψίδας αἱ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ βορρᾶν  
75 ἄνεμον, τοιόνδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν λῶροι καλούμενοι  
τοῦ νεὼ τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐξωγκωμένοι ἡώρηντο, βαρυνόμενα δὲ  
αὐτοῖς ἐπεπονήκει τὰ ἔνερθεν πάντα, κίονές τε οἱ τῇδε ὄντες  
76 χάλικας σμικρὰς ὥσπερ ἀποξυσθέντες ἀφίεσαν. καὶ αὖθις μὲν  
ἄθυμοι τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσιν οἱ μηχανικοὶ γεγενημένοι τῷ  
77 βασιλεῖ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα ἐσήγγελλον. αὖθις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς B 181  
ἀντεπετεχνήσατο<sup>1</sup> τάδε. τούτων δὴ τῶν πεπονηκότων τὰ ἄκρα,  
ὅσα τῶν ἀψίδων ἐπέβαν, διελεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα  
ἐκέλευσεν, ἐντιθέναι δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῆς  
78 οἰκοδομίας ὑγρὸν ἀπολωφθήσειεν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα.<sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν  
κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν· ἡ δὲ κτίσις διαγέγονε τὸ

the props (*pestoi*) beneath it.”<sup>1</sup> And if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible; but since there are available many witnesses of what then took place, we need not hesitate to proceed to the remainder of the story. So the artisans carried out his instructions, and the whole arch then hung secure, sealing by experiment the truth of his idea. Thus, then, was this arch completed; but in the process of building the other arches, indeed, those namely which are turned toward the south and the north, the following chanced to take place. The so-called *lōri* had been raised up, carrying the masonry of the church, but everything underneath was labouring under their load, making the columns (*kiones*) which stood there throw off tiny flakes, as if they had been planed. So once more the master-builders were dismayed at what had happened and reported their problem to the Emperor. And again the Emperor met the situation with a remedy, as follows. He ordered them immediately to remove the upper parts (*akra*) of the masonry which were strained, that is, the portions which came into contact with the arches, and to put them back much later, as soon as the dampness of the masonry should abate enough to bear them. These instructions they carried out, and thereafter the structure stood



λοιπὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οὔσα. φέρεται<sup>1</sup> δέ τι καὶ μαρτύριον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου τοιόνδε.

β'. Ἀγορά τις πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα· καλοῦσι δὲ Αὐγουσταῖον τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ἐνταῦθα ξυνθῆκαι λίθων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐπτα ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποιήνται, κατὰ μὲν ἀπόβασιν ξυγκείμεναι πᾶσαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάστη τῆς ἔνερθεν οὔσης ἐλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν λίθων ἕκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθμὸν γεγονέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείνη ἀγειρομένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ

- 2 βάθρων καθήσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λίθων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπανέστηκεν ἐξαίσιον ὅσον, οὐ μονοειδὴς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἐν περιδρόμῳ εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετος, ἐγγωνίοις μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ
- 3 οὔσιν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐμπειρία τῶν λιθοδόμων ἐναρμοσθείσι. χαλκὸς δὲ ἄριστος ἐν τε πίναξι καὶ στεφάνοις διαχυθεὶς περιβάλλει πανταχόθι τοὺς λίθους, ἐν μὲν τῷ βεβαίῳ συνδέων, ἐν κόσμῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς συγκαλύπτων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα σχεδόν τι
- 4 πάντα καὶ διαφερόντως τά τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐς τοῦ κίονος τὸν τύπον ἀπομιμούμενος. ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὗτος τὸ μὲν χρώμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ ἀκιβδήλου πρᾶότερος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ
- 5 ἀποδέων ἰσοστάσιος ἀργύρῳ εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ

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B 182

secure.<sup>1</sup> And the Emperor, in this way, enjoys a kind of testimonial from the work.

ii. Before the Senate House there happened to be a sort of market-place, which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaeum. In that place there is a structure of stones, which is made up of not less than seven courses, laid in a rectangle, all fitted to each other at their ends, but each course being narrower than that beneath, and set back, with the result that each of the stones becomes, from the way it is set, a projecting step, so that people assembled there sit upon them as upon seats. And at the top of the stones there rises a column of extraordinary size, not a monolith, however, but composed of large stones in circular courses, cut so as to form angles on their inner faces, and fitted to one another by the skill of the masons. And finest brass, cast in panels and garlands, covers the stones on every side, both serving to bind them securely, and covering them with adornment, and giving the shaft throughout, but particularly at the base and the capital, the appearance of a column. This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver. And on the



- χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ὑπερμεγέθης ἵππος, τετραμμένος πρὸς ἑω,  
 θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδιονμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω  
 6 λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ. ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν  
 ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὡς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ  
 δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἡρήρεισται οὗ ὑπερθέν ἐστιν, ὡς τὴν  
 βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὡς, ἐπειδὰν  
 7 τὸ μὴ ἐστήξειν αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἶεν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ  
 ἵππῳ χαλκῇ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν κολοσσῶ ἐμφορῆς.  
 8 ἔσταλται δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἢ εἰκὼν· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν  
 9 ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδεται καὶ τὰ σφυρά  
 ἐστι κνημίδων χωρίς. εἴτα ἡρωϊκῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος  
 αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασείοιτο παρεχόμενον,  
 10 αἶγλη τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει. φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς  
 εἶναι τὸν ὀπωρινὸν ἐκείνον ἀστέρα. βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά  
 11 πον τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν ἡμιόχην ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιούμενος.  
 καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαιᾷ πόλον, παραδηλῶν ὁ πλάστης ὅτι  
 γῇ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα δεδούλωται πᾶσα, ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος  
 οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὀπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπικείται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ  
 12 τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρισται κράτος. προτεινόμενος δὲ<sup>2</sup> χεῖρα τὴν  
 δεξιὰν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους

summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east, a very noteworthy sight.<sup>1</sup> He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward. Indeed he holds his left fore foot in the air, as though it were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so that they may be ready whenever he decides to move. Upon this horse is mounted a colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles, that is, the costume he wears is known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down,<sup>2</sup> and a dazzling light flashes forth from it. One might say, in poetic speech, that here is that star of Autumn.<sup>3</sup> And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war.<sup>4</sup> And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he

διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνη βαρβάροις καθῆσθαι οἶκοι  
καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ᾧδὲ πη ἔχει.

- 13 Ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁμορον οὐσαν καὶ  
συγκαταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πρότερον τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης  
ἐπώνυμον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγέθη ἐδείματο, ἱερῶν  
τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σχεδόν τι ἀπάντων, μετὰ γε τῆς Σοφίας τὸν  
14 νεῶν, οὐδενὸς<sup>1</sup> δεύτερον. ἦν δέ τις μεταξὺ ταύταιν δὴ ταῖν  
ἐκκλησίαιν ξενῶν, ἀνθρώποις ἀνειμένος ἀπορουμένοις τε καὶ  
15 νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα, εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῖεν.  
τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τις θεοσεβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο,  
Σαμφῶν ὄνομα. ἔμεινε δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς<sup>2</sup> τοῖς στασιώταις  
16 ἀνέπαφος, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκατέρα συγκαταφλεχθεὶς ἀπολώλει.  
Ἰουστινιανὸς<sup>3</sup> δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνικοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς, κάλλει μὲν  
κατασκευῆς ἀξιώτερον, πλήθει δὲ οἰκιδίων παρὰ πολὺ μείζω  
προσόδῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐπετείων δεδώρηται χρημάτων μεγάλων,  
17 ὅπως δὴ πλείοσιν ἐς αἰὲν τάλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνθρώποις ἰῶτο τὰ  
πάθη. κόρον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἢ πλησμονὴν τινα ὥς  
ἤκιστα ἔχων, δύο ξενῶνας ἐτέρους ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἔθετο ἐν  
ταῖς Ἰσιδώρου τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίου καλουμέναις οἰκίαις, τῆς  
βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας αὐτῷ τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἔργων  
18 ξυνεπιλαμβανομένης τὸ ἱερώτατον. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἱερὰ  
ξύμπαντα, ὅσα τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνέθηκε, τοσαῦτα  
τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν, ὥστε λεπτολογεῖσθαι  
19 μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς ἀμήχανα εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ ὁ  
πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰὼν

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commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to  
advance no further. So much, then, for this statue.

The church called after Eirenê, which was next to the Great  
Church and had been burned down together with it, the Emperor  
Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to  
any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia. And  
between these two churches there was a certain hospice, devoted  
to those who were at once destitute and suffering from serious  
illness, those who were, namely, suffering in loss of both property  
and health. This was erected in early times by a certain pious man,  
Samson by name. And neither did this remain untouched by the  
rioters, but it caught fire together with the churches on either side  
of it and was destroyed. The Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, making  
it a nobler building in the beauty of its structure, and much larger  
in the number of its rooms. He has also endowed it with a  
generous annual income of money, to the end that through all time  
the ills of more sufferers may be cured. But by no means feeling  
either a surfeit or any sort of weariness in shewing honour to God,  
he established two other hospices opposite to this one in the  
buildings called respectively the House of Isidorus and the House  
of Arcadius, the Empress Theodora labouring with him in this  
most holy undertaking. All the other shrines which this Emperor  
dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size, that it is  
impossible to write about them in detail. For neither the power of  
language, nor the whole span of eternity, would suffice