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## PROCOPIUS

II

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## PROCOPIUS

 WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BYH. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES
II

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS III AND IV


LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN NEW XORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS MomXVI

Printed in Great Britain.


## CON'LEN'IS

HISTORY OF THE WARS— ..... PAOE
Book IIt. -THE vANDALIO WAR . . . . . . . . ..... 1
BOOK IV. -THE VANDAMIC WAR (continued) ..... 203
INHEX ..... 461

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK III

THE VANDALIC WAR

## ПРОKOПIOY KAIEAPEQ乏

## THEP TRN HOAEMSN AOIOE TPITOE

## I


入ows каi Maupovaious aùtei) eïpyaotal фpaiows.











 тробауорєv́є $\theta$ al.




# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA HISTORI OF THE WARS. BOOK III 

THE VANDALIC WAR

## I

Firn, then, was the final outeome of the lersian War for the Emperor Justinian; and I shall now proseed to set forth all that he did agamst the Vandals and the Moors. But first shall be told whenee came the hont of the Vandials when they demenended upon the land of the Romans. After Theodorims, the Rmanan Emperor, had departed from Jan, 17, the world, havins proned himelf one of the mest $305 \mathrm{~A} . \mathrm{D}$. jut of men and an able warrior, his kingdom was taken user by his two sons, Areadius, the elder, recoiving the Fastem portion, and Ionnome, the younger, the Westem. But the Roman pencer had been thus divided as far back as the time of Constantine and his, soms : for he tramserened his somernment to Byzantium, and making the city larger and much mone remonomed, allowed it to be named after him.

Now the earth is summonded by a cirele of one:an, cither entirely or for the most part (for our knowhedere is mot ar yot at all clear in this matler) ; and it

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA








 фpoúptov oi éт兀 $\chi \omega ́ p ı o ı, \lambda o ́ \phi \omega \nu ~ \tau \iota \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$ é $\pi \tau$ व̀ фаılo-



















"Kaxzpóros Maltretus: xapkidéros Msis, Kafursimes


## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. \& 9

is split into two continents by a sort of outfow from the ocean, a flow which enters at the western part and fomms this Sea which we know, hegiming at Gadira ${ }^{1}$ and extending all the way to the Maeotic Lake." ()f these two continconts the one to the right, as one sails into the sea, as far as the Lake, has received the name of Asia, hegmming at (iadira and at the arothern ${ }^{3}$ of the two Pillars of Heracles. Septem ${ }^{1}$ is the name given by the matives to the fort at that print, since scren hills appear there; for "septem" has the fine of "seven" in the Latin tongue. And the whole continent opposite this was named Europe. And the strait at that point separates the two continemts; by about eighty-four stades, but from them on they are kept apart by wide expanses of sea as far as the Hellespont. For at this point they doain approach each other at sestus and . Ihydus, and once mone at Byzantium and Chalcedon as fire as the rocks called in ancient times the " D)ark Blae loucks," where esen now is the place called IIeron. Fore at the pe place, the erontinents are separated from one anothew ly a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.

Now the distance from one of the Pillars of Ifemeles to the other, if one gens atones the shore and doe mot pros aroumd the Iomian (iulf and the
 Byzantimm and from Wrome i to the opporite matn-
${ }_{-}^{1}$ Cadiz. ${ }^{2}$ Sen of Aznv. ${ }^{3}$ Abila. ${ }^{4}$ Or Septem Fratres.
${ }^{5}$ Most ancient geographers divided the inhabited word into three continents, but some made two divisions. It was
 to Asia on to Furope; cf. Sallust, Jugherthe, 17.
${ }^{6}$ Kadi Keni.
7 More correctly Hydrous, Lat. Mydruntum (Otzanto).

## procopius of caesarea





























${ }^{1} \Delta \rho u o u ̂ v t o s ~ M S S .: ~ ' r o ̂ p o u ̂ v z o s ~ M a l t r e t u s, ~ D i n d o r f . ~ I n ~ 1 ' ~$


" $\pi$ áposos Maltretus: $\pi \in D$ todos MSS., Haury suggests $\pi \in p a i-$ wors.

## HISTORY OF THE MARS, III. i. 9 -I 5

land, ${ }^{1}$ is a journey of two hmodred and eighty-five days for an unencumbered traveller. For as to the land ahout the Fuxine Soa, which extends from Bygantiom to the Lake it would be imporsible totell everyhing with precision, since the harbatians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the 1)amber, make the -hore of that sea quite imponible for the lamans to traverer-execpt, indecd, that from Byzantimm to the month of the Ister is a joumery of twenty-two days, which should be added to the measure of barope by one making the computation. And on the A, iatic -ide. that is from Chateedon to the Phasis River. which. flowing foom the comntry of the Coldhians, dencends into the Pontus, the journey is accomplished in fonty daye so that the whole Roman domain, areording to the distance along the sea at least, attame the measure of a three hundred and fortynewen days' journey, if, as has been said, one forrices were the Iomian (bulf, which extends about eight humded tades fomblyous. For the passage acomst
 das such, then, was the size of the Foman empure in the ancient times.

And there fill to him whon hed the pewere in the We.t the mowe of libya, extendmen nimely days justury for onch is the distance from (iandiat lo the




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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















 «̈цф’ autìv ëтєраи," Maïоріка тє киi Mıорíка





## II

 Buor入eíar" Bripßapor tìn ékeímou katelaßor Х(́)
2 Гот

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1 \delta\delta\lambdas P'corr. : \delta\delta\omega V and P'.
```



## 

morthern ${ }^{1}$ of the Pillars of Meracles to the Ionian Gult.: And one might add also the distance around the !rulf. And the emperor of the East received territory extending one hundred and twenty days journey, from the boundaries of Cyrene in Libya as far as Epidammus, which lies on the Ionian (inlf and is called at the present time Dyratchium, as well as that portion of the country about the Euxine Sea which, as previously stated, is subject to the Romans. Sow one day's joumey extends two hundred and ten stades. or as fir a from Athens to Megam. 'Thus, then, the Roman emperors divided either eontinent hetween them. And among the islands Britain, which is outude the Pillars of Meracles and by far the laterent of all islands, was counted, as is natural, with the West; and inside the Pillars, Elousa, ${ }^{4}$ which lies in the Vediterancan in what we may call the Propontia. just inside the opening where the oce:n enters, about seren days journey from the opening, and two others near it, Majorica and Minorica, as they are called by the matives, were also ascigned to the Wintrom empire And cach of the jalands in Hhe sea itwelf fell to the share of that one of the two emperor, within whese boundaries it happened to lic.

## II

Xos while I Jomonius was holdines the inperial power 305-123 A.n.
 and I thall trell who they were and in what matmer they did w. 'There were many (inthar mations in

[^1]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



















 "'§рицтая.
7



 тíctis), igyoupérou autois ' Ihapixou, is itt-





[^2]
## HISTORY OF THE W゙ARS, II. ii. $2-S$

carlier times, just as also at the present, but the Ereatest and most important of all are the (ioths, Vimdals, Visigoths, and (icpacdes. In ancient times, however, they were named simmonata and Melandhlani ; ${ }^{1}$ and there were some too who called these nations (ietic. All these, while they are distinguished from one another by their names, as has been said, donot differ in anything elhe at all. For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handomme to look upon, and they use the same laws and protetise a common religion. For they are all of the Irian faith, and have one langume called (iothic ; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group. This perphle used to dwell above the Ister River from of wh. I atere on the (iepaedes got possession of the comatry ahout Singidumm ${ }^{2}$ and Simium, ${ }^{3}$ on both side..; of the later River, where they have remainced settled even down to my time.

But the Vingollos, separating from the others, removed fiom there and at first contered into an alliance with the Fimperon Areadius, bul at a later time (for fath with the Romans camote dwell in hambrian ), cmader the keademhip of Alarie, they became howtle ta both emperoms and, beginning
 Vos the Fompern IIomorins had brdome this time


[^3]
## procopius of caesarea

























 $\epsilon \bar{i} \lambda \epsilon \nu$, є́ $\gamma \grave{\omega} \delta \eta \lambda \omega \dot{\omega} \sigma \omega$.




 ${ }^{1}$ in MS. : $z^{\prime} \nu$ т $\mathrm{\varphi}$ Hocschel.

## HISTORY' OF 'THE WARS, H1. ii. S-15

in his mind, but glad, I think, if men allowed him to remain quiet in his palace. But when word was bronght that the barbarians with a great army were not fare off., but somewhere anong the Taulantii, ${ }^{1}$ he aboudoned the palace and fled in disorderly fashion to Ravema, a strong city lying just about at the end of the Iomian Gulf, while some saty that he brought in the barbarians himself, becenuse an uprising had been started agranst him among his subject-; but this does not seem to me trustwortly, as far, at least, as one can judge of the chamacter of the man. And the barbarians, finding that they had ino hostile forece to encounter them, became the most crucl of all men. For they destroyed all the cities which they captured, especially thise sonth of the Lomian (iulf; so completely that mothing has been le ft to my time tu know them by, unleas, indeed, it might be one tower on one gate or some such thing which chanced for remain. And they killed all the people, as many as came in their way, both odd and yomg alike, -paring meither women nor childen. Wherefore even up to the present time Italy is sparsely popmated. They alon grathered as plunder all the money out of all Enrope, and, most important of all, Hiey Ieft in leme mothing whatever of publice on pmivate wealth whon they moned on to (ianl. But I shall now tell how Alaric captured Rome.

After much time had been prent hy him in the wiene and he had mat been able cilleer be fores on be my onther derice to capture How place, here formed ther fillowing plan. Amme hee youths in lhe army
 come of age, he chose cout liow humderd whom he
${ }^{1}$ In illyricum.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
























19 ёкабтои. таи̂та бпнйдая каі тойs veavias oìk ès


20 'Propaiors тapeîðep. oì sì toús te 入óyor's





$$
{ }^{1} \text { K } \phi 0 \delta 0 \nu \text { Maltretus: } \text { ' } \phi o \delta o v \text { MS. }
$$

## HIACORY OF' IME WARS, MI. ii. 15-2I

Knew to be of gond bieth and possessed of valour beyomd their years, and told them secorety that he was abmut to make a present of them to certain of the patricians in Rome, pretending that they were slance. And he instructed them that, as suon as they got imsile the houses of those men, they should display much erentleness and moderation and serve them carerly in whatever tasks should be laid upon them by their owners : and he further dieceted them that not long afterwards, on an appointed day at about midday, when all those who were to be their masters would most likely be already andecp after their mat, they should all come to the sate called salarian and with a sudden rush kill the Enards, who would have no previous knowledere of the plot, and open the gates as quickly as possible. Diter mising thene orders to the youths, Alaric etmightway bent ambascadors to the members of the whate. statiner that he admired them for the ir losall: toward their emperon, and that he would trouble them mo longere, beceatse of their vatour and fathtuher, with wheh it was plan that they were emdowed to a remathable degree, and in order that tokems of himedf might be preserved among men beth moble and have. he wished topmesent eachome of them with some domestics. After makines this deWataton and womdine the youths mot longe afterwatl. loe commanded the hatmatam to make preparattons for Ho departure, and he lel this be haown to the Roman. Shal they heard his, words gladly, and
 - ince Hory wew (omplefly ignomand wf the phe if



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































[^4]
## HISTORI OF THE WARS, III. ii. 2I-26

the camp some were already seen moving from their pusitions and mising the siege, while it secmed that the others were just on the point of doing the very same thing. But when the appointed day had come, Alaric amed his whole force for the attack and was holding them in readiness close by the Salarian Gate; for it happerned that he had encamped there at the beginning of the siege. And all the youths at the time of the day agreed upon came to this gate, and, assailing the guards suddenly, pat them to death; then they opened the gates and received Alaric and the amy into the city at their leinure. And they set fire to the houses which were next to the gate, among which was also the honse of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stomd half-bumed up to my time; and after phundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romanc, they moved ons. At that time they say that the limperor Ifonorius in Ravenna revered the messige from one of the comuchs, ereidently a keeper of the poultry, that Rome had peri hed. And the eried ont and said, "And get it has just caten from my hands!" For he had a very latere cocti, Rome by nane; and the emuseh comprehending his words satid that it was the city of Rome Which had perivhed at the hands of darie, and the
 1, my gome frllow, lhomylat that my fond Rome had periohd." sin Ereat, they sing, was the folly with which this emperor was possessed.

Aus. 24, 410A. ${ }^{2}$

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









 ủvocrvúvą тàs тú入as.







 єтi 'P' "ATta入os oûtos oüte aútós -i loêll ikavos oüte



31








[^5]
## HISTORY OF TIIF WARS, III. ii. 27-32

But some say that Rome was not captured in this way by Alaric, but that Proba, a woman of very unusual cminence in wealth and in fame among the Roman sentorial class, felt pity for the Romans who were being destroyed by hunger and the other suffering they endured; for they were already even tasting each other's flesh; and seeing that every goond hope had left them, since both the river and the harbour were held by the enemy, she commanded her domenties, they sty, to open the gates by night.

Sow when Alarie was about to depart from Rome, he declared Attalus, me of their nobles, emperor of the Romans, inserting him with the diadem and the purple and whaterer else pertains to the imperial dignity. And he did this with the intention of remoring Flonorius from his throne and of giving over the whole power in the West to Attalus. With such a pupose, then, both Altalus and Alaric were gromg with a great amy aganst Ravenna. But this Attalu, was neither able In think wisely himself, now to be peresuaded hy one who had wisdom to offer. So while Alatice did not by any means approve the plan, Attalus sent commanders to Libya without an army. Thus, then, wore these things soing on.

And the is land of Britam revoled from the Romans, :and the whders there chose as their hing (omstan- 40tad. linn-, a man of mo mean station. And he straightway \&athered a fleet of higs and a fommedable amy and

 holdings linp, in readimes and waling to see what

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
















 व̈фи'















$$
1 \text { тク̂s "̈ } \omega \text { V : tìn Éćáay } \mathrm{P} \text {. }
$$

## IIISTORY OF TIIE WARS, III. ii. 32-39

would happen in Libya, in order that, if those sent hy Attalus were repulsed, he might himself sail for Libya and keep sone portion of his own kingdom, while if matters there should go against him, he might reach Theodosius and remain with him. For Areadius had already died long before, and his son Theodosius, still a rery young child, ${ }^{1}$ held the power of the East. But while Honorius was thus anxiously awaiting the outcome of these events and tossed amid the billows of uncertain fortune, it so chanced that some wonderful pieces of grood fortune befell him. Fir fiod is accustomed to succour those who are neither elewer nom able to devise anything of themselves, and to lend them assistance, if they be not wicked, when they are in the last extremity of de-pair ; such it thinge, indeed, befell this emperor. For it was suddenly reported from Libya that the commanders of dttalus had been destroyed, and that a host of ships was at hand from Byzantium with a very great number of soldiers who had come to assist him, thourh he had not expected them, and that Alaric, hasimer guarelled with Attalus, had stripped him of the emperom's grat) and was now keepping him under exard in the peosition of a private citizen. And afterwards dlarice died of disease, and the army of the Visigeths under the Ieadership of Adandphus penceeded into (ianl, and Comstantinus, defeated in batlle, died with his sons. Howerer the Romans never incereeded in reeonering Britain, but it remained feren that time on under tyrants. And the (ionlos, after making the erossines of the Ister, at firs ocenpiad Pammomis, but afterwards, since the (1mperore Ent: them the right, they inhabited the combtry of

[^6]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 $\mu \hat{\nu} \nu$ є่ $\nu$ тоîs $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ Гóт $\theta \omega \nu$ єipríбєтal.

## III








 3 évtav̂ga i̊púбovtal. गópou סè ülтos 'Popaiors,












## 

I That is, the athal oncerpant conlal enter a demmerer to the former owner"s action for recovery, diting his own oxenpancy for thimy yous of moro. The new law extemted the perion durins which the onsted proprictor conk recover

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. ii. 39-iii. 4

Thrace. And after spending no great time there they compuered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.

## III

Now the Vandals dwelting about the Maentic Lake, since they were prensed hy hunger, meved to the countre of the (eremans, who are now called lionks, and the river Rhince, associating with them-- elves the Alani, a Gethic people. Then from there, under the leademhip of (iodigisclus, they moved and settect in Spain, which is the first land of the Roman empire on the side of the ocean. At that time Homorius made an agreement with (iodigisclus that they should settle there on condition that it should not be to the detriment of the conntry. But there was a law among the Romans, that if any persons -hould fail to keep their property in thecir own pxeseston, and if. meanwhile, a time amonnting to thirty year hould pass, that these peremens should therneforeth mot be conteded to prowered againet those who had fireced them oun, but they were excluded by demmere fromaceess th the court; and in view of this he establithed a law that whatere time should be epent by the Vandals in the Roman doman should mot ly any mans be combed toward this, thity yan deminere: And fomentus himsilf: when the Wiat had been driven bey him to this pass, died of disease. Now before this, as it 1.6 , 2 , happeresed, the regal power haul heen shared by 'a...1.

 should be in possession of the country.

## procopius of caesarea




















 yoùs". Iбтари́ тє кай 'Apoaßoúpıò, tò "Aбтароs












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ch. xvi. 15.
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## HISTORY OF TIIF WARS, III. iii. 4-9

Honorius with Constantius, the hushand of Placidia, the sister of Areadius and Honorins; but he lived to exercice the power only a few days, and then, becoming seriously ill, he died while llonorius 421 a.s. whs still living, having never succeeded in saying or in doing anything worth recounting; for the time was not suffecient during which he lived in pumession of the royal power. Now a son of this Constantius, Valentinian, ic child just weaned, was being reared in the palace of Theodosius, but the members of the imperial court in Rome chose one of the soldiope there, Jolm by name, as emperor. This man was hoth genfle and well-endowed with sagacity and thoroushly capable of valorous deeds. At any rate he held the tyramy five years ${ }^{1}$ and directed it with morlemation, and he neither gave ear to slanderers nor dicl he do any unjust murder, willingly at least, non did he eet his hand to robbing men of money ; hut he did mot prowe able to do anything at all asianst thr harlarians, since his relations with Byzantium were hontile. Against this John, TheoAlo.ins, the son of Areadius, sent a ereat army and Aymar aml bedaborius, the son of Aypar, as genemals, and wrented from him the tymany and gave over the rosal prower for Valentinian, who was still a child. And Valentaniantook John alive, and he brought him ont in the hipportwome of Aquile wiath one of his hand. cht wif and camed him to ride in state on an as. and then after he had suffered much ill treatment from the satere performer there, both in word and in


[^7]
## procopius of caesarea






























[^8]
## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III. iii. 9-16

aver the power of the West. But Placidia, his mother, had reared this emperor and educated him in an altogether effeminate mamer, and in consequence he was filled with wickedness from childhood. For he associated mostly with sorcerers and those who busy themselves with the stars, and, being an extrandinarily zealous pursuer of love affairs with other men's wives, he conducted himself in a most indecent mamer, although he was married to a woman of exceptional beauty. And not only was this true, but he alow failed to recover for the empire anything of what had been wrested from it before, and he both lost Libya in addition to the territory previously lont and was himself destroyed. And when he 455 a.d. perished, it fell to the lot of his wife and his children to berome captives. Now the disater in Libya came about as follows.

There were two Roman generals, Actius and Boniface, especially valiant men and in experience of many was inferion to none of that time at least. These two came to be at variance in regard to matters of state, hut they attaned to such a degree of highmindedness and exeellence in every respect that if ore should call rither of them "the last of the Romans" he would not err, so true was it that all the execllent qualities of the Romans were summed up in these two men. One of these, Boniface, was appointed hy Placidia gememal of all Libya. Now this was not in acernd with the wishes of Actius, but he by no means diselowed the fact that it did now shlease him. For their hostility had mot as yet come to light, hut was concealed behind the countenance

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 voín, ᄅ̀тобтєр







 тропүópєvєv eै $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a l ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma a . ~ Є ̇ \xi ~ a i t i ́ a s ~ \gamma a ̀ p ~ o u ̉ \delta \epsilon-~$


















[^9]
## IISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iii. $16-23$

of each. But when Bonifice had got out of the way, Aetius slandered him to Placidia, saying that he was setting up a tymany and had rohbed her and the emperor of all Libya, and he said that it was very easy for her to find out the truth ; for if she should summon lBoniface to Rome, he would nerer come. And when the woman heard this, Actius seemed to hee to speak well and she acted acoordingly. But Actius, anticipating her, wrote to Bonifare secretly that the mother of the emperor was photting against him and wished to put him out of the way. And he predicted to him that there would he convincing proof of the plot; for he would be summoned rery shortly for mo reason at all. such was the amouncement of the letter. And Boniface did mot distegard the message, for as som as those arrived who were summoning him to the ('mperne, he refused to wive heed to the emperor and his motber, disclosing to no one the warning of Action So when llacidia heard this, she thought that Aetion was exeeedingly well-di prosed towards the fanperons cause and lool under consideration the que tion of Boniface. Sut Bomiface since it did me ecen for him that he was able (o array himseli asamet the (mperof, and since if he returned to Remer Hhere was clearly no safely for him, bexan (0) lay plams so that, if posihle, he might have a defonive alliance with the Vandals, who, at parsimmly stated, had wablinhed themerleme in Span mod far fom I.ibya. There (iodioniselus had died and the mesal poowe had fallen for his soms. (ionthats, "how was bow to him from his wedded


[^10]
## procopius of calsarea
































## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iii. 23-29

former was still a child and not of very energetic temper", while (izeric had been excellently trained in warfare, and was the cleverest of all men. Boniface aceordingly sent to Spain those who were his own most intimate friends and ganed the adherence of each of the sons of Godigisclus on terms of complete equality, it heing agreed that each one of the three, holding a third part of Libya, should rule over his own subjects; hut if a foe should come against any one of them to make war, that they should in common ward off the agereseors. On the basis of this agreement the Vandals crussed the strait at Gadira and came into Libya, and the Visigoths in later times settled in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Boniface, remembering the character of the man and considering how strange his action was, were greatly astonished to think that Boniface was setting up a tymany, and some of them at the order of Placidia went to (arthase. There they met Boniface and saw the hetter of Actius, and after hearing the whole story they returned to liome as quickly as they could and reported to l’acidia how Boniface stood in relation foher. And though the woman was dumbfounded, -he did mothing mpleasant to detius nor did she uphaid him for what he had dome to the emperor's homse, for he himedf wideled great power and the aflairs of the ampire were alseady in an cevil plight ; hut shar dix.comed to the fromods of Boniface the adsioe detits hat wisen, athd, offeriner vaths and peden of safity, entreated them to permade thr man, if they comld, to return to his fatherland and

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 ó нодобíces $\mu \in \tau \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon$, каì aủtoùs è̀ıтти́peı нúpıa

























## HLTORY OF THE WARS, HII. iii. $29.3^{6}$

not to permit the empire of the Romans to lie under the hand of batbarians. And when boniface head this, he repernted of his act aud of his agreement with the batbatims, and he besomeht them incesantly, promising them ererything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not recerive his words with farour, but considered that they were heing invulterl, he wat compelled to fight with them, and being defeated in the batte, he retired to Hippo ${ }^{1}$ Receins, a stronge eity in the pertion of Nomidiat that is wn the sa. There the Vandals made (:amp) under the hathehthp of (izeric and hegran a siege ; for (immharis had already died. And they say that he perished at the hand of his boother. The Vandals, lomerere do not agree with those who make this tatement, but aty that (iontharis was captured in hattle hy (iermam in spain and impaled, and that Cizeric was already sole maler when he led the Vandal, into Libyat This, indeod. I hate heard from the Vandals, stated in this way. But after murh time had panced by, since they were mathle ( and eince at the same: time they were beiner procesed hy lomerer, they raiod the siege. And a litle lator Boniface and the lomans in libya, since a numerous
 I frat with them an gemeal, decided to remew the Armoshe and a fioper batthe was fought in which they wow hadly beaton by the romoly, and they made haste to flee as cath one could. And $\Lambda$ spar


$$
{ }^{1} \text { Now corrupted to Bona. } 33
$$

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 au̇tò yévolto.

## IV


























${ }^{3}$ ö́qis Maltretus: ̈́s tis MS

HATORY OF TIIE WAR, G, III. iii. 3G-iv. 8
hedore Placidia, acquitted himself of the suspicion, howing that it had arisen against him for no true cause.

## IV

Gis the Vandals, having weested Libya from the Romans in thic way, made it their own. Ind thoec uf the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to bavery and held under guard. Amoner these happened to be Mareian, who later upon the death of theodosins assmmed the imperial power. At that time, however, (iizeric commanded that the eaptives be hought into the ling's courtyard, in order that it might he porible for him, by looking at them, to know what master each of them might serve withant degmadation. And when they were gathered under the open sky, about midday, the season being fummer, they were distressed by the sun and sat down. And somewhere or other amoner them Marcian, ruite newlected, was sleeping. Then an earfe Hew orer him upreading out his winge, as they say, and always rematmon in the same place in the air he cat a shadow over Marcian alone. And (izaroce upon secing from the upper storey what was haperning s.ine he was an exceedingly discerning persom, suppected that the thine wat a divine manifertation. and summoning the man enfuired of him who he mient he . And he replied that he was a condedential advione of A part such a peren the Romats call a "domesticus" in their own tongue. And when cigeric heard this and coneidered first the mominer

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





 єüठŋ入





















 бell immpuéros，ì入入’ ois iéeloe मétpros geyolws．

[^11]
## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III. iv. S-13

of the hird's action, and then remembered how great power Asparexercised in l3yzantimm, it became evident to him that the man was being led to royal mower. He therefore by no means deemed it right to kill him, reasoning that, if he should remove him from the world, it would be very clear that the thing which the bird had done was nothing (for he would not honour with his shadow a king who was about to die straightway), and he felt, too, that he would be killing him for no good cause; and if, on the other hand, it was fated that in later times the man should beenme king, it would never be within his power to inflict death upon hin ; for that which has been decided upon lyy Giod could never be prevented by a man's decision. But he bound Marcian by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms astanst the Vandals at least. Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when at a later time Theodosius died he received the 450 A.d. empite. And in all other respects he proved himself a affairs in Libya. But this happened in later times.

At that time (iizeric, after conquering Aspar and Boniface in battre, displayed a foresight worth reconting, whereby he made his erood fortune most thoroughly secure For fearing lest, if onec again an army should eome against him from both Rome and Byzantium, the Vandals might not be able to use the same atrength and enjoy the same fortume, sance homan affiars are wont to be overturned by Heaven and to fail by reason of the weakneses of men's bodies), he was not lifted up by the good forfune he had enjosed, but rather became moderate herause of what he feared, and so he made a treaty

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









 ıavòs ó taútクs viós, čtтass üpoevoyónov, Өuyatépe

 є่тє $\lambda є \cup ́ \tau a, ~ \lambda є ́ \xi \omega \nu$ є้р $о \mu a \iota$.

















${ }^{2} \delta$ whlded by Herwerden.
${ }^{2}$ tis MSS. : $\delta \in i \nu j$ тis Herwerden, ef. EGataia tis vii. 31, 2.

## HISTORY OF THE W.IRS, III. iv. $13-20$

with the limperor Valentinian providing that each year he should pay to the emperor tribute from Libya, and he delivered over one of his sons, Honoric. as a hostage to make this agreement binding. Su (izzeric both showed himself a brawe man in the battle and guaded the victory as securely as persible, and, since the friendship between the two peoples incerased gratly, he received batek his son I Ionoric. And at Rome Placidia had died before this thme, and after her, Valentinian, her son, also died, having no male oflyring, but two daughters had been bom to him from Eudoxia, the child of Thendusius. And I shall now relate in what manner Valentinian died.

There was a certain Miximus, a Roman semator, of the house of that Maximus ${ }^{1}$ who, while usurpiogs the imperial power, was owerthrown by the elder theodosius and put to death, and on whose acoount aloo
 thee defeat of Maximus. This younger Maximus wa; married to a woman diaceeet in her wiys and - Soed dingly famens for her beaty. For this reason a de.ife came oxer Valentinian on hate her to wife. And emere it was impemeible, much as he wished it, to meel here, he plotled am monly deed amd carried
 plate and sat down wilh him to a gatme of draughts, and a cevtain sum 1 as set as a pernalty for the lower: tad the emperor won in lhis ganme, and reoceivines Wasimus ring as a phatore for the agreed amounl, he


[^12]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































```
l \pi\epsilonрь\alpha\lambda\gammaov̂\sigmaa V: \sigmauva\lambda\gammao\hat{\imath}\sigmaa P.
```



## HIATORY OF THE WARS, IIL. iv. $20-28$

tell the witio of Maximus that her hubland bade her come as fuickly als possible to the patace to salute the quecth lindoxia. Ind the judging by the ring that the message was from Maxmus, entered her litter and was combered to the emperor's cont. And she was receired by those who had been amigned this semice hy the emperor, and led inte a certaln rom far removed from the women's apartments, where Valentinian met her and foreed her, much asamst her will. And she, after the outrage, went to her hwhand's home weeping and feeling the deepert prseible gricef hecame of her misfortume, and she cast many eurees upon Maximus as having provided the cause for what had been done. Masimus, acoordingly, became excedingly agerieved at that which had come to pase, and straightway contered into a conspiracy against the emperor; hut when he Saw that Aetius was excecdingly powerful, for he had recenfly compueved Attila, who had invaded the Loman domatn with a great amy of Mascagetace and the other besthians, the thought oceorred to him that detion womblye in the way of his undertakines. And upon enm-idering this matter, it seemed to him that it was the hetter comber to put Actios out of the way firat payime men hed to the fact that the whole hepre of the Romans centred in him. And wince the equmefos who were in attendance upon the



 that the report was true, put the man to death. sept.21,


## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

































## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iv. 28-33

by a saving which he uttered. For when the emperer conquired of him whether he hatd done well in putting Aetius to death, he replied saying that. as to this matter, he was not able to know whether he had done well or perhaps otherwise, but one thing he understond exceedingly well, that he had cut off his own right hand with the other.

So after the death of Actius, ${ }^{1}$ Ittila, since no one was a match for him, plundered all Earope with no trouble and made both emperors subservient and tributary to himself. For tribute money was sent to him every year by the emperors. At that time, while Attilat was besieging Aquileta, a city of great size and exceedingly populous situated near the sea and abo:e the Ionian (iulf, they say that the following good fortune befell him. For they tell the story that, when he was able to capture the place neither by force nor by any other means, he gave up the siege in despair, since it had atready lanted a lomes time, and commanded the whole amos without any delay to make their preparation for the departure, in order that on the morrow all might move from the ore at smorese Ind the following day about sumrise, the barbarians herd rained the siege and were already begimming the departure, when a singele male stork which had a meat ont a certain tower of the city wall and was rearing his mevtinge there suddenly rose and left the place with his gounes. And the father stork was flyere but the "lithe stomses since they were not yet quite ready to fly, were at times haring ibur father's Hight and at limeng ridings

[^13]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









 то入七оркíar катабтîpaí фaбl, тoर̂ dè тepl;ónou



















${ }^{1}$ guveival V : दuvicề P .
${ }^{2} \delta^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon}$ after ÉTt deleted by Maury.

## 

upon hia hack, and thus they flew off and went fire away from the city. And when detila saw this (fore he was most clever at compreheonding and interpreting all thing-), he commanded the army, they sayy, to remain still in the same place, adding that the bird would never hate eme flying off at random from there with hin acentlings unless he was prophesaing that some evil would come to the place at no distant time. Thus, they say, the amy of the harbarians settled down to the siege once more, and not long after that a portion of the wall-the very part which held the nest of that bivd—for mo apparent reason suddenly fill down, and it became powible for the enomy io enter the city at that proint, and thus Aguileia was captured by stom, such is the story touching Iquileia.

Later on Maximus slew the emperor with no rins. fromble and sereured the tyammy, and he married Euduxia by force. For the wife to whom he had hern weadded hated died mot longe befope. And on whe oesal inn in private he made He statement fo Eudoxia that it was all for the sake of her love that he had carried out all that he had dome. Sud sine he felt a repmbion for Xaximus ceren before that time, and had been desirous of exacting rensamer from him fon the wrone dome Valentinian, his words made her swell with rage still more as:an 1 hime and hat hew on to cary ont hem pold, - Ghere her had heard llavimus say that on aceoment of bere the mi fontmo had befaltern here hushand. And at, won at day cance, the sont lo ('arlhage

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










 тарадаßо́лтоя．

## V













 ä $\lambda \lambda$ ou ótovoûl èv тoís $\beta$ aбl入cíos фelocipler＂．s．


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ^Badóvtes 1': גaßóvtes V, Bád入ontes O. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## H心でORY OF THE WARS，III．iv． $38-\mathrm{F} .4$

contreating（izeric to avenge Valentinian，who had been destroved by an unholy man，in a mamner unworthy both of himself and of his imperial station， and to deliver her，since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of the tyrant．And she im－ pressed it upon Gizeric that，since he was a friend and ally and so great a calamity had befallen the imperial house．it was not a holy thing to fail to be－ come an arenger．For from Byantium she thought no vengeance would come，since＇Theodosius had already departed from the woild and Marcian had taken over the empire．

Mar．17， $4 う 5$ A．D．

Axn（izeric，for mo other reason than that he suspected that much moncy would come to him，set sail fir Italy with a erreat flect．And going up to Romes，sine：mo one stood in his way，he took pese－xion of the palace．Now while Maximus was trying to fleer，the Romans threw stones at him and killed him，and they cut off his head and each of his other members and divided them among themselves． Bout（izatie tomk Eadoxia captive，together with Findocia and Placidiat，the childeen of hersedf and Vabentinian，and placines an exceodingly ereat amomet of anold and other imperial treasume ${ }^{-1}$ in his ships sailed to Carthare，hasing spared ncither bronze nor anythine else whatsoever in the palace．Ile plan－ dered aloe the temple of Jupiter（apitolinus，and
 from Jerusalem，cf．IV．ix． 5.

## PROCOPIÚS OF CAESAREA

 тû̀to סè tò téyos xaikoû $\mu$ èn toû úpíatou


 $\nu \epsilon \hat{\jmath} \nu$ дíav $\mu$ év, ì tàs єiкóvas ëфере, фабì










8










 ¿̀morétepor mpòs Bèroapiou ai mólels avital




* Tapégovtat Dindorf: тapégwvial MSS.



## HSTORY OF THE WARS, III, ソ. $4-9$

twre off half of the roof. Now this rool was of bonze of the finest quality, and since gold was laid oser it exceedingly thick, it shone as a magnificent and wonderful spectacle. ${ }^{1}$ But of the ships with (izerice, one, which was bearing the statues, was lost, they sey, hut with all the others the Vandals reached purt in the harbour of ('arthase. (rizerie then marred Eudncia to Homoric. the elder of his sons; but the other of the two women, being the wife of Olybrias, a mont distinguished man in the Roman semate, he - ent to Joyzantiom together with her mother, Eudoxia, at the request of the emperor. Now the power of
 -ut in this position hy Aspar, since Marcian hatd 457 a.d. already passed from the world.

Ifterwards (izatio devined the followings scheme. Ife lore down the walls of all the cities in Libya - seret Conthare, wh that meither the Libyans them-
 hate a stomg bace fomm which to begin a rebellion, now thow sent by the emperon have any ground fon hoping to eapinre a rity and hy establishiner a extrism in it to make [rouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it eeemed that he hatd commselted wedl and had enomed prowerity for the Vandals in the eafest pesible manture ; bat in later times when Hher cities being without walls, were eaphtured by Boli aria, all the mome casily amd with leas excertion,

 gilding alone; I'lutareh, I'ubl. 15.

## procopius of caesarea

каi ì тéres סокойбí oi єủßov入ía és üvorav av̉т








 тойs àypoús, oì $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \tau 0 i \quad \tau \epsilon \hat{j} \sigma a \eta$ каi «̈pıтои,



















## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III.v. 9-I7

and that which for the time he considered wise comnsel turned out for him to be folly. For as fortunes change, men are always accustomed to change with them their judgments regurding what has been planned in the past. And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves, together with their estates and all their money, to his sons Honoric and Cenzon. For Theodorns, the youngest son, had died already, being altogether without offspring, either male or female. And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates, which were both very numerous and excellent, and distributed them among the mation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called " Yandals' estates" up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to be at the same time free men ; and they had the privilege "f goiner away wheresoever they wished. And (izerice commanded that all the lands which he hat given ower to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowerd to remain in the hands of the fomer owners, but assemed so larese a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the govermment that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into cxile or killed. For chareses were bromeht agatast them of many sotes, and heay ones too; but one charex seemed to be: the greatest of all, that a mam, having money of his own, wat hiding it. Thus the lihyan's were visited with every form of misforlunce.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

18 ＇Toùs $\delta$ è $\delta$ ì Bairĉinous te kai＇I入azoùs és






 бфйs таıঠoтolía каi c̈̀入入ovs Bapßápous éraipı－




















[^14]
## HISTORY OF THE, WARS, III. V. 18-25

The Vandals and the Alani he arranged in companies, appointing over them no less than eighty (aptains, whom he called "chiliarchs," ${ }^{1}$ making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amomed to cighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times. at least. to amount to no more than fifty thousand men. However, after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbanime with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous prople. But the mames of the Alani and all the wher barbarians, except the Moors, were united in the name of Vaudals. At that time, after the death of Valentinian, Gizeric gained the support of the Morrs, and every year at the begimning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything; and when the land had beenne dextitute of men and of money, he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. Ahd so beplundered Illyricum and the most of the Pelonmmesus and of the rent of Creece and all the Whads which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy, and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. And one day when he had cmbarked on his ship in the harbour of ('arthages and the sails were already beingespead, the pilat aked him, thery say, against what men in the word he badr them gio. And he in reply said: "Plainly

[^15]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 ти́ $\chi \circ$ є่ $\sigma \epsilon ́ \beta a \lambda \lambda \epsilon$.

## VI












 aùтокри́тора то̂̂ то入є́ $\mu$ тои тоєєîтає Baбı入íбкои,












[^16]
## HISTORY OF TIIF WARS, III. v. 25-ri. 4

against those with whom (iod is angry." 'Thus without any cause he kept making invasions wherever chance might lead him.

## VI

Asn the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Tandals because of these things, was gathering an amy against them; and they say that this amy amonnted to about one hundred thousand men. And he colleceted a theet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediteranean, shewing great gencrosity to both soldiers and sailors, for he feared lest from a parsimonious policy some obstacle might arise to hinder him in his desire to carry out his punishment of the barbarians. 'Therefore, they say, thirteen hundred centenaria ${ }^{1}$ were expended by him to no purpose But since it was not fated that the Vandals should be deatreved by this expedition, he made Basiliscus eommander-in-chief, the brother of his wife Berine, a man whe was extrondinarily desirous of the royal power, which he hopeed would come to him without a strugere if he won the friendship) of Aspar. F'or A prat himedf, being an adherent of the Arian faith, and havins mo intention of changing for formere was mable to enter upen the imperial olliee but he was easily tronge emongh to establish another in it, and it already seemed likely that he would plot amamed the Emperar Lenn, who had given him oflenere So they say that, since Aspar was then foathal lest, if the Vandals were defeated. Iamn should estahlish his
 equivalent is unknown,

## procopius of caesarea


 Tı弓éplxor.





















入ovs tás te rínels pufí(1) eine кai Tins rats




> 1 aùvds ITaury : oûqos MSS.
> 3 aùvìr VPO pr. m. : aũtīs O corr.

## HLSTORY OF THE WARA, III. , i. 4-9

powar most securely, he repeatedly urged upon Basilisens that he should spare the Vimedals and Gizeric.

Son before this time Leon had already appointed agra.n. and rent Anthemins, ats Emperor of the West, a man of the semate of ereat wealth and high birth, in order that he misht assist him in the Vandalie war: And yet (ijowic kept asking and camestly entreating that the imperial power be given to ()lubrius, who was marrici to llacidia, the danghter (ft Talcontinian, and (on aceount of his relationship, ${ }^{1}$ well-disposed toward him, and when he fated in this he wat eill more angry and kept plandering the whole land of the emperor: Now there was in Dalmatia a certain Mancellianus, one of the acquaintances of Detim and a man of repute, who, after Aetius had died in the mamer told above,$^{2}$ no longer deigned to yived whedience to the emperor. but begimning a retolution and detaching all the others from allegiance, held the power of balmatia himself, since no one dared encounter him. But the Emperor Leon at that time won over this Mate lliamus by very careful wheedlines and bade hime to the island ot sadinia, which was then subject to the Vandals. Amd he drowe out the Vamdab and eramed posesesson of it with mo great ditliculty: Sud I Hemeleins was arot from Byzantiom lo Pripulie in Libya, and alter

 led his army on foot foward ('arlmaise. Such, theor, was the seguence of events which formed the prelude of the war.
 son. 2 See chap. iv. 27.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

 $\kappa ส т \epsilon ́ \pi \lambda \epsilon \cup \sigma \epsilon, \mathrm{Ka} \mathrm{\rho} \mathrm{\chi} \mathrm{\eta} \mathrm{\delta ó} \mathrm{\nu os} \mathrm{\delta} \mathrm{\iota} \mathrm{\epsilon ́} \mathrm{\chi o} \mathrm{\nu} \mathrm{oủ} \mathrm{\chi} \mathrm{\eta ̉} \mathrm{\sigma} \mathrm{\sigma ov} \mathrm{\eta}$


















 тòv $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu \circ \nu$ є́s $\pi \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon$ ग̀ $\mu \epsilon \rho \bar{\omega} \nu$ v́ $т \epsilon \rho \beta a \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \chi \rho o ́-~$








${ }^{1}$ бтабious $\mathrm{PO}: ~ \sigma \tau a \delta i o u s ~ V . ~$
${ }^{2} \pi \rho \circ \sigma \gamma \in \nu 0 \mu \dot{\prime} \nu \eta$ VP : $\gamma \in \nu о \mu \in \dot{\prime} \eta \eta$ O.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III, vi, ro-16

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage no less than two hundred and eighty stades (now it so happened that a temple of Hermes had been there from of old, from which fact the place was named Mer. curimm ; for the Romans call Hermes " Mercurius"), and if he had not purposely played the coward and hesitated, but had undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the firat onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection without their even thinking of resistance ; so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor, when the report was brought to him that sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. But, as it was, the general's hesitation. whether caused by cowardice or treachery, prevented this success. And (iizeric, profiting by the negrigence of Basiliscus, did as follows. Amming all his subjects in the loest way he could, he filled his ships, but not all, for some he kept in readiness empty, and they were the ships which sailed most swiftly. And semding envoys to Basiliscus, he begred him to defer the war for the space of five days, in order that in the meantime he might take counsel and do those things which were especially desired by the: emperor. They say, loo, that he sent also a great :monont of erold without the knowledge of tha army of Basiliseus and thus purchaned this armistice. And he did this, thinking, as actually did happern, that a firouring wind would rise for him durines this time. And Basilisene, either as doing a favour to dypar in accordance with what

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 $\mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ т \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu$.
























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1 \pi\rhoо\sigma\pii\pi\tauotev P: \pi\alphaра\pii\pi\tauote\nu O.
2 \alphaủrà 0: avzol P, aủroís Grotius.
3 \xiuv\deltatє\phi0\epsilon{pov\tauo Haury : \xiuv\delta!\epsilonф0єiр\in\tau0 MSS.
4 E\\chi\chi\in\tau\delta\nu-\sigma\tau\delta\\o\nu P: गेv E'v \tau\hat{\omega}-\sigma\tau\delta\lambda\omega O.
5 \alpha\lambda\lambda\etá\lambdaols P: \alphà\lambda\lambda\etá\lambdaous \tau\in O.
```



60

## IIS'M()RY OF THE WARS, III. vi. IG-22

he had promised, or sedling the moment of opportunity for mones, or perhapes thinkines it the better comure, did as he wats requested and remained quicelly in the camp, awaiting the moment favourable to the enemy.

But the Viandak, as soon as the wind had arisen fior them which they had been expecting during the time they lay at rest, raised their sails and, baking in tow the boats which, as has been stated abose. Uhey had made ready with no men in them, they anded amanst the enemy. And when they came mar, ther set fire to the hoats which they were fowings when their atils were bellied by the wind. and let them go againa the Roman fleet. And since there were a ereat mumber of ships there thwo hoats easily spead fire wherever they struck, and were themselves readily destroyed together with thome with which they came in contact. And at. the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet wa, filled with tumult, as was matural, and with a Eratat din that risalled the moise catused hy the wind and the rearine of the flamese as the soldiers together with the salome smated orders to one mother and pu.hed off with their beles the fire-bonats and their own ehips as well, which were beene destroved by wom amothee in complate diworder. Snd alpady the Vamdals tor were at land ramming and shbinge the hip' , mat makiner loon! of ant of the smldiom as altomphed to cerape, amd of thedr alme ar, well. Bul there were abo some of the Romand, whe proved

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA















25

















## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vi. 22-24

themselves brave men in this struggle, and most of all John, who was a general under Basiliscus and who had no share whatever in his treason. For a great throng having surrounded his ship, he stood on the deck, and tuming from side to side kept killing very great numbers of the enemy from there, and when he perceived that the ship was being eaptured, he leaped with his whole equipment of arms from the deck into the sea. And though (ienzon, the son of Gizeric, entreated him earnestly not to do this, offering pledges and holding out promises of safety, he nevertheless threw himself into the sea, uttering this one word, that John would never come under the hands of dogs.

So this war came to an end, and IIeracleius departed for home; for Marecllianus had been destroyed treacherously by one of his fellow-oflicers. And Basiliscus, coming to Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Christ the Great (rodl ("Sophia" lhe temple is called by the men of Byzantium who consider that this designation is especially appropriate to (iod), and although, by the interresion of Berine, the queen, he eseaped this danger, he was not able at that time to reach the throne, the thing for the sake of which everything had heron done by him. For the Fmperon Leon not Ions afterwards destroyed both Asparand Ardaburius and a.d. in the palare, because he suspeeted that they were plotting against his life. 'Thus, then, did these events take place.

[^17]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAIREA

## VII





入aße tìv Baol入єíal déwn ó Zimporós te кai




 غ́ $\sigma \pi$ éprov кри́тоs. oûtos yùp ó \aiopîगos, छúp.


















## VII

Now Suthemine, the emperon of the Wint, died at the hand of his con-in-law Khecimer, and ()lybrius, suceceding to the throne, a short time atterward anfered the same fitte. And when Leron alan had died in Byzantimm, the imperial oflice wan taken ater hy the younger leon, the som of '/ano and Ariadne. the datughter of Leon, while he was still moly a fiow days odd. And his father hasing heren chanen as partuer in the roval power, the child forthwith passed from the world. Majorimus also dita.d. deares mention, who had saned the power of the Werst before this time. For this Majorinus, who burpaned in eroy virtue all who have ever been emperan of the Romamb, did mot bear liontly the loss of Libsa, hut collowted a very comsiderathle amy agam-t the Vomdals and came to I.isuria, intendans
 Majorimas mereshowed the least hestation before any lak and lean of all before Hoc dangers of wat. But thinhens it mot mevedient for him to investigate fir the stremgth of the Vandals and the charetcter of
 stomed with reenad for frituldife or hostility lowsard Har Pomatar, he dereded to trow mo eyes other than his own in uch a malter. Acomolingly lie wel ont as

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 aútós te какón тє 入áß? каі тà трабоо́нена






















 трòs Maiopínou c̀n til mpéabeía фevaku大teín, ës



${ }^{1}$ où pétpoov Vl'O in marg. : oủ pukpò̀ O in context.

## 

if an envor from the emperor to (izatic, assmming some fictitious name. And fearing lest, by becoming known, he should himself receive some harm and at the same time prewent the suceess of the enterprise, he devised the following scheme. His hair, which Was famous among all men as being so fair as to resemble pure gold, he anointed with some lind of dye, which was especially insented for this purpose, and so succeeded completely in chamging it for the time to a dark hate. And when he came before Sizeric, the barbarian attempted in many ways to terrify him, and in particular, while treating him wath engaging attention, as if a friend, he brought him into the house where all his weapons were stored, a numerous and execedingly noteworthy array. Thereupon they siy that the weapons shook of their own accord and inate forth a sound of no ordinary or casual sort, and then it seemed to (iizeric that there had been an earthquake, but when he got out-ide and made enquiries concerming the earthguake, sume no one else asreed with him, a great wonder, they say, came ofer him, but he was not able to comprehernd the meaning of what had happented. so Magorinus, having acomplished the bery thing he wished, returned to liguria, and leading his amy on foxe came to the l'illars of I Ieracles, purposiner to eross ower the strait at that point, and then to mareh by land form there aganst ('arthage And when (izerise became aware of this, and pere aeised that he had been triched hy Majorimus in the matler of the emban? he became alamod and made his preparations for war. And the Romams, baming Haw eomfidence on the valour of Majorimme already began to have fair hopes of recosering Libsa for the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














 èүє́vєто.
18 'Eu Sè Bu弓antíw ó Buनlतiokos ĺoù gàp ë́t oiós

 бно仑 т











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\begin{aligned}
& 1 \pi \in \pi р a \chi \text { ćva! I'O: } \pi \in \pi \text { рá }{ }^{1} 0 a t \mathrm{~V} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 68

## HITORY OF THE WARS, HII. vii. 13 2r

(mpire. But meantime Majorimus was altacked by the diceace of dyentery and died, a man who had a31 a.d. shewn himalf modemate toward his subjects, and an whject of hear to his ememies And amother (omperor, July 24, Xepro, upon taking over the empire, and living to enjoy it only a few dare, died of disease, and (ilycerius after him entered into this office and 474-475 a.d. -uffered a cimilar fate. And after him Augustus a-umed the imperial power. 'There were, moreover, still other emperore in the West before this time, hot though I linow their mames well, I shall make no mention of them whatever. For it so fell out that they lived only a short time after attaining the office, and as a result of this aceomplished nothing worthy of mention. Such wes the connse of everat: in the W'est.

But in Byzantium Baciliscus, being no longer able to mater his paseion for royal power, made an attemph for warp the thoone, and sucereeded withont
 refuge in laturia, which was his native home. And 4T5 A.d. while he wa, matntaning his tyamby for at yar and


 this, collereted :an army and came against him. And Bu ilioun, wht an army mader the eroneral Harmatus in omdere In aray himiorlf acaimet Keno. But when




## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 iєpòv катафєúyer oûtep каì тро́тероу. каì av̀ròv





 Baбi入íбкои tò̀ aùtoû тaîoa Kaíбapa катабтท-

















 tas te tùs otrondies Zupreny de airòs inecmoato

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vii. 21-26

couc, who wat a very younce child, and leave him as succerson to the throne upon his death. And Basilisens, deserted by all, thed for refuge to the same sanctuary as formerly: And Acacius, the priest of the city, put him into the hands of Zeno, charging him with impiety and with hatsing bought great confunion and many innovations into the ('hristian doctrine, having inclined toward the bereny of Eutyches. And this was so. And after Yemo had thus taken over the empire a second time, he carried out his pledere to I farmatus formally by apponting his son Basiliscus Cacsar, but mot longe atterwards he both stripped him of the onlice and put Hammatus to death. And he sent Basilisene logether with his children and his wife into Gappadocia in the winter season, commanding that they should be destitute of food and clowhes and fevery kind of rare. And there, being hand pressed hy both cold and hunger, they took refuge in one anotheres amme, and embating their lowed ones, perinhed. And this punishment overtome Basiliscos for the peliey he had purated. 'These things, however, happenced in later times.

But at that time (izario wis plandering the whole Roman domain just as mord as before, if mot mone circumsenting his concomy by eraft and drivins them out of their powseminns hy forere as has been pervomaly sid, and he continiad to do an until the emperor Zeno came to an agrecment with him and an endless peace was wablached between them. ley which it was provided that the Vimdak shomld meser in all time perfom any howter act aterame the Romans wor sullior such a thiose al thrir hamoks. lad this peater wis prearocd by Zomo himuelf and

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

каi òs $\mu \in \tau$ '́кєìvov тìv ßaбıдєíav тарé̉aßev
















## VIII














72

## HISTORY (OF THE W゙AR心, III. vii. 26 viii. \&

alse by his sucecoser in the empite, Anastasius And it remained in foree until the time of the emperor Jutinus. But Justinian, who was the nephew of Jutinus, vucceeded him in the imperial power, and it wats in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass, in the manner which will be told in the following natrative. (rizerice, after living on a short time, died at an 45 A.d. adsanced agre, having made a will in which he dnjoined many things upon the Vimdals and in particula that the royal power among them should alway fall to that one who should be the first in yeare atmong all the male offypring descended from (iberis himself. So (izacre, having ruled over the Vamdals thirty-nine years from the time when he captured Carthage, died, as I have said.

## VIII

Avo Honmeric, the clle of of his sons, suceceded to the theme, (imann having already departed foom the world. During the time when this Honoric ruled the Vandals they had mo war against anyone at all, except the Mons . For throush fear of (izzeric the Moners had remained quict before that time, but as somen as he wis out of their way they both did mueth harm to the Viandils and sullewed the same themosher. Ind flomorice shewed himself the most arnel and miju.t of all men loward the (hamtians in
 Arian fath, and as many as he fomod mol rearlily

## PIROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA











 övт









 छvußo入aîs, $\mu \epsilon i \zeta o \sigma \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тoùs Xpıotıayoùs iтa-








[^18]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. viii. 4-9

yiedding to him he burned, or destroyed by other forms of death; and he also cut off the tongues of many from the very throat, who even up to my time were gning about in Byzantium having their speech uninjured, and pereeving not the least effect from this punishment; but two of these, since they saw fit to go in to harlots, were thenceforth no longer able to speal. And after ruling over the Vandals eight years he died of disease ; and by that time the Mours dwelling on Mt. Aurasium ${ }^{1}$ had revolted from the Vandals and were independent (this Aurasium is a mountain of Numidia, about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage and fronting the south); and indeced they never came under the Vandals agan, since the latter were unable to carry on a war against Moors on a mountain difficult of access and exceedingly steep.

After the death of Honoric the rule of the Vandals fell to Cumdamundus, the son of (enenzon, the son of 485 a.p. (izerice F'o hee, in point of years, was the first of the offepring of (iizeric. Whis Gundamundus fought agame the Moors, in mamerous concounters, and after whbeetiner the (Thristians to still greater suffering, he dierl of divease, being now at about the middle of the twelfth year of his reign. And his brother 'Tras:a- 990 a. momdus took over the kingelom, a man well-favoured in appeataner and especerally gifted with diseretion amd highminderlmess. Itowerer he contimued to famee the (hriatans to change their ancestral fath, not by torturing their bodic: is his predecessors had

[^19]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





 $\delta \eta^{1} \mu \epsilon т a \beta a \lambda \lambda о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \circ \iota$ тìv ठógav $\mu \iota \sigma \theta$ ò $\quad$ рой－


 тク̀v ßaбı入єíav，ßou入ólevos，és（－）evó́pıxuv Tol＇




















[^20]
## HS゙「ORY' OF 'TIYE WARS, III. viii. 9-I5

donce, but by secking to win them with honours and offices and presenting them with great sums of money ; and in the case of those who would not be peranded. he pretended he had not the leant knowsledge of what manner of men they were. ${ }^{1}$ dud if he caught any guilty of great crimes which they had committed either by acedent or deliberate intent, he would wfter such men, as at reward for changines their fath, that the $y$ should not be punished for their otfena:' And when his wife died without becoming the inolde: of either mate or femate offijmine wishing to entahlisis the lingdom as secourely as possible, he sent to Theoderic, the king of the Goths, asking him to sive him his sinter Amalafieda to wife, for her hunhand hatd just died. And Theoderie sent him not only his sinter but also a thousand of the notable (ionths as a bodyruard, who were followed hy a host of attendants anomiting to about five thomsand fighting men. And Theoderie also presemed his ister with one of the prommontories of sicily, which are three in number, -the one which they call lilybatmm, and as a reault of this Trasamumdus War arcomated the stronsint and most powerfal of all thase who had ruled over the Vandals. Ite becane aloo a very sperial friond of the emperor Anastasius. It wan durine the reisn of Trasammednes that it came atomet that the limdals suffered a disanter at the hand of the Morms such as hard mever befatlen them before that time.

Theore was a certain ('abam muling owe the Moner of Tripoli, a man experieneed in many wam and "arectmely haved. Thi, (abatom, upmo leaming Hal the Vandals were marching asamet him, did as

[^21]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























${ }^{1}$ aтpateíal Euagrius: $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau i \grave{\alpha} \nu$ MSS.
${ }^{2}$ aủ̃ $\delta \nu$ MSS. : aủ兀óv, ф $\eta \sigma\{\nu$ Huagrius.

## HISTORY OF'THF, WARS, III. viii. 15-20

follows. First of all he issued orders to his subjects to abstain from all injustice and from all foods tending towards luxury and most of all from association with women: and setting up two palisaded enclosures, he encomped himself with all the men in one, and in the other he shat the women, and he threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone should wo to the women's palisade. And after this lue sent spies to Carthage with the following instructions: whenever the Vandals in going forth on the expedition should offer insult to any temple which the Christians reverence, they were to look on and see what took place; and when the Vandals had passed the place, they were to do the opposite of everything which the Vandals had done to the sanctuary before their departure. And they say that he added this also, that he was ignorant of the (iod whom the Christians worshipped, but it was probable that if IIe was powerful, as He was said to he, He should wreak vengeance upon those who imsulted Him and defend those who homoured Him. Si) the spies came to ('arthage and waited quietly, observing the preparation of the Vandals ; hat when the armer set out on the mared to 'ripolis, they fillowed, clothing themedres in humble garb). And the Vandals, upen makines (amp) the first day, Ied their horsess and their other ammals into the lemples of the Cluitiams, and sparing mo insult. they acted with all the urmestraned lawleseness matimal to them, heatione as many pricests as they rambt and lahing them with many blows over the back and commanding them to render such serviee for the Vandals as Hey were acenstomed to assign to

## Procopius of caesarea
































[^22]
## HISTORY OF TIIE WARS, III. viii. 20-27

the most dishonomed of their domestios. And as soon as they had departed from there, the spies of (abaon did as they had been directed to do; for they stminhtway deansed the sanctuaries and took away with great care the filth and whatever other unholy thing lay in them, and they lighted all the lamps and bowed down befure the priests with great reverence and saluted them with all friendiness ; and after giving pieces of silver to the poor who sat about these sanctuaries, they then followed after the amy of the Vandals. And from then on along the whole route the Vandals continued to commit the same offences and the spies to render the same service And when they were coming near the Moore, the spies anticipated them and reported to Cabaon what had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were somewhere near by. And (abom, upon leaming thic, armaned for the concounter as follows. He marked off a rirele in the plain where he was abont to make his palisade, and placed his camels turned sideways in a circle as a pentection for the camp, making his line fromting the chemy abont twelve cancls deep. Then heplaced the (hildren and the women and all those who were mat fon fisting tow wher with their pexesesions in the middle, white he emmmanded the host of fighting men to stand isetwern the feet of those ammals, covering themedres with their shields. And since the phatans of the Mowos wiss of such a sumt, the Vimdals wore at a lors how to handle Hee situation; for Hary were meithere gom with the javelin nor with the bow, now did they know how to go into balle

[^23]
## procopius of caesarea







 oi mo入émor toús te ítाтous каi aùtoús, ӥтє









## IX














${ }^{3}$ aùrû V1': aùroû 0.
82

## HISTORY ON TIE WARS, HI. viii. 27 iv. 3

on foot, but they were all horsemen, and used spears and sword for the most part, so that they were mable (o) do the enemy any ham at a distance; and their horses, amoyed at the sight of the camels, refined absolutely to be driven against the enemy. And since the Moors, by hurling jarelins in ereat mumbers among them from their safe position, kept Killing both their homes and men without difficulty, becanse they were a rast theong, they began to flee, and. when the Moors came ont arainst them, the mont of them were destroyed, while some fell into the hands of the enemy ; and an execedingly small number from this amy returned home. Such was the fortane which Trasamundus suffered at the hands of the Moors. And he died at a later time, hating ruled over the Moors twenty-seren years.

## IX

Avo Ilderice, the son of Homorie, the son of :23 A.d.
 casily apponched by his subjeets and atogedhem gentle, and he shewed himself harsh neither to the ('hristian, mor to ansone else but in reeard to affairs of war he was at weakline and did not wish this thinge even to combe to his ears. Ihamer, acoordingly, has nephew and an able wariong fed the amice asametamy with whom the \andak were at wat: he it wat whom they called the Arhilles of the Vandals. During the reign of this Ilderie the I andal were drfeated in Byanciman by the Moors,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














 $\lambda o \iota s ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda \eta ́ \lambda o u s ~ \epsilon ́ \delta \omega \rho o u ̂ \nu t o . ~$

















1 vewtépors l’O: кaเvotépots V .

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, MI. ix. 3 - 8

who were ruled by Antalas, and it so fell out that they became enemies instead of allies and friends to Theoderic and the Gooths in Italy. For they put Amalafrida in prison and destroyed all the dioths, charging them with revolutionary designs aganst the Vandals and Ilderic. However, no revenge came from Theoderic, for he considered himself unable to gather a great fleet and make an expedition into Libya, and Ilderic was a very particular friend and guc- g -fiond of Justinian, who had not yet come to the throne, but was administering the govermment aceording to his pleasure ; for his mande Justinus, who was emperor, was very old and not altogether experieneed in matters of state. And Ilderie and Justinian made large presents of money to each other.

Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, (ielimer, the son of (icilaris, the son of (ienzon, the son of (izerie, who was of such aqe as to be second only to llderie, and for this reason he was expected to come into the kingdom very soon. This man was thought to be the best warrior of his time, but for the rest he was a cumning fellow and base at heart and well versed in undertaking revolutionary enterprises and in laying hold upon the money of others. Now this (ielimer, when he saw the: power coming to him, was not able to live in his aceustomed way, but assumed to himself the tasks of a king and usurpeed the rule, though it was not yet due him: and since Itderie in a sprixit of friendlines gatue in lo him, he was no longer able to restrain his lhoughts, but allying with himself all the moldent of the Vandals, he prexataded them to wrest the kingemem from Ilderie, as beting an 1 m

## procoplus of caesarea





























$1 \dot{\omega} s \mathrm{VO}: \pi \rho \delta_{s} \mathrm{P}$.




## HIN'ORY OF THR WARN゙, III. ix. S-Iる

warlike king who had been defeated by the Moors, and an betrayine the power of the Vandals into the hand of the Emperor Justinus, in order that the kingdom might not come to him. because he was of the other branch of the family for he asserted slanderonsly that this was the meaning of Ilderie's cmbascy to Byzantimm, and that he was giving over the empire of the Vimadals to Justinus. And there, being peranaded, carried out this plan. Thus Gelimer seized the supreme power, and imprisoned 530 A.d. Hderie, after he had ruled ower the Vandals seven Vears, and alow Homer and his brother Guagees.

But when Justinian heard these things, having atready received the imperial power, he sent entors 527 A.d. to ( ${ }^{\text {elelimer in Libyat with the following letter: " You }}$ are not acting in a holy manner nor worthily of the will of (izerice keepung in prison an old man and a kinsman and the king of the Vandals (if the commels of (izarice are to be of effect), and rohbing him of his offiee loy vinkence, though it would be powible for you to recere it after a shom time in a lawfal manmer. Don you therefore do no further Wrong and do not exelange the name of king for the tille wf tymon, which comes but a short time carliere Bunt an for this man, whose death may be expereded at any momont. allow him to bear in appeatance the form of rosal powere, while you do all the Hhems which it i , proprer that a king shomld do: and wait until yon can recent fom time and the law of (ios rice and from them alone, the name which belonge lo the proitions. Fore if you de this, the atlitude af the Sminhly will be fiscomathe amd at the same lime our relations with you will be friendly."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




















 ठuvaтà тıцшрク́боעтєs.'











## HIS゙OORY OF 'TIE WARS, MI. ix. Iq-23

Suht was his message. Bat (iclimer sent the convos away with nothing acoomplished, and he blinded Hoamer and also liept Ihderie and Jatgees in closer conlinement, charging them with planning flight to Byzantium. And when this too was heard by the Fimperor Justinian, he sent envoys a second time and wrote as follows: "We, indeed, supposed that fou would never go contrary to our adviee when we wrote fou the former letter. But since it ple:men, you to lase secured possession of the royal power in the manner in which you have taken and now lowd it, get from it whatever Hearen grant. But do you send to us Ilderies, and Hoamer whom Son have blinded, and his brother, to receeve what combent they ean who have been robbed of at kingern ur of sight : for we shall not let the matter rest if you do mont do this. And I speak thus becembe we are led by the hope which I had based on our friendhip. And the treaty with (igerice will not stand as an obstacle for us. For it is not to make wat upmer him who has sucereded to the kingrdom of (izerice that we comer, but to arenge Gizeric with all our power."

When (ielimer had read this, he replied as follows: Kings (islmmer the Fomperor Justmian. Neither have I taken the office by volence mor has anything matoly bewn done by me to my kinsmen. Forr Hdewire while plaming a revolution agame the hamat of ri\%erice, was dethened hy the mation of the limdal : mad I was callad to the Kinglom by my
 the law at least. Now it is well for one to administer the himely ofloce which helonge lo him and mat to maker the comeron of whem his own. Whand

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















## X






 tos toû ßaбl入écos otó入ou kaì тì тồ Baol入íкou


$$
{ }^{1} \text { Ėoteito VP in marg. } \mathrm{O}: \text { єī } \chi \in \nu \mathrm{P} \text { in context. }
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. ix. $23-\mathrm{x} .2$

for you also, who have a kingdom, meddling in other's affains is not just ; and if you break the treaty and come against us, we shall oppose you with all our power, calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold." The Emperor Justinian, upon receiving this letter, having been angry with Gelimer even before then, was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya; and since he was quick at forning a plan and prompt in carrying out his decisions, Belisarius, the General of the Fast, was summoned and came to him immediately, no announcement having been made to him nor to anyone else that he was about to lead an army against Libya, but it was siven out that he had been removed fiom the office which he held. And straightway the treaty with Persia was made, as has been told in the preceding narrative. ${ }^{1}$

## X

A.ve when the Emperor Justinian considered that Hee situation was as favourable as possible, both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took wuder consideration the situation in Libya. But when he disclosed to the magistrates that he was githering an army arainst the Vandals and Cielimer, the most of them hegan immediately to show hostility to the plan, and they lamonted it as a misfortume, recalling the expedition of the Emperon $I$ acom and the disaster of bestisens, and recoting how many soldiers

[^24]
## procopius of caesarea






























 $\pi$ таиitopiciv.
${ }^{3}$ $\epsilon$ is added by Naltretus.

## 

had perished and how much money the state had lost. But the men who were the most somon ful of all, and who. by reason of their anxicly, felt the heement reeget, were the pretorian prefect, whom the lomanis call "praterop," and the administratore of the traasury, and all to whom had been assigned the collecton of cither public or imperial ${ }^{1}$ taxes, for they reasoned that white it would be necessary for thein to produce combless sums for the needs of the war. they would be ermated meither pardon in are of failure nom extension of time in which to rime these sums. And every one of the esenerals, supposins that he himelf would command the amys, was in teroor and dread at the greatness of the dander, if it should be neecosary for him, if he were preserved from the perils of the sea, to encamp in the enemy's land, and, using his shipe as a base, to engere in a struger agamst a lingedom both laree and formidable. The soldiers, also, havine recently returned from a fone hated war, and hasimg not yet lated to the full the blexings of home were in deapair, both beeallas they were being led into seat dighting-a thing which ther had mot leavored even fom tradition before then. and hesalare they were
 (1) ri,k their lises atramat lamdals and Mons: But
 Wh. Wed to be evertators of new advenlames white others faced the dangers.

But as for saying anything to the emperor to prevent the expedition, no one dared to do this

"Tho "imperial" taxes were for the emperor's privy purse, the fiscus.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

 \& oủtos $\gamma \grave{a} p$ 'I $\omega a ́ \nu \nu \eta s, ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ằ $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \quad \sigma \omega \pi \hat{\eta}$ тàs




























## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. x. 7-13

it man of the erreatest daring and the cleverest of all men of his time. For this John, while all the others were bewailing in silence the fortune which was upon them, came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "() Emperor, the good faith which thou dost shew in dealing with thy subjects enables us to speak framkly regarding anything which will be of advantage to thy govermment, even though what is said and done may not be agreeable to thee. For thus does thy wisdom temper thy authority with justice, in that thou dost not consider that man only as loyal to thy cause who serves thee under any and all conditions, nor art thou angry with the man who speaks against thee, but by weighing all things by pure reanon alone, thon hast often shewn that it involves us in no danger to oppose thy purposes. Led by these comsiderations, () Emperor, I have come to offer this advice, knowing that, though I shall give perhaps offence at the moment, if it so chance, yet in the future the loyalty which I hear you will be made cle:rr, and that for this I shatl be able to shew thee as a wituess. For if, through mot harkoning to my words, thon shath carry out the war arambt the liandals, it will come about, if thre struggle is prolonged for there, that my adviee will win renown. Foor if thou hast confidence that thon wilt compure the ememy, it is mot at all umeasonable What thon shouldet sacrifiee the lives of men and "xpernd a vast amonnt of treasure and underen the daficulties of the strosere: for victory, coming at the end, covers up all the calamities of war. IBut if in reality theere thimes, lie on the haces of (iod, and if it belomen or, taking evample from what has hap penced in the jowt, to feat the outeme of war, on

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




















 Séovтィ Хрそ̂б $\theta$ aı."









 ${ }^{2}$ àvórutar IO : àvóntor V .

## HIS゙TORY OF THE WARS, III. x. 1320

what erounds is it not better to love a state of guiet rather than the dangers of mortal strife? 'Thou art purponing to make an expedition against (arthage, to which, if one soes by land, the joumey is one of : hondred and fonty days, and if one soes by water, he is forecd to cross the whole open sea and go to its very end. So that he who brings thee news of what will happen in the camp most needs reach thee a year after the crent. And one might add that if thou att victorions over thy encomy, thou couldst not take pmsencion of Libya while sieily and Italy lie in the hands of othere; and at the same time, if any reverse befall ther. () Emperor, the treaty having already been broken by thee, thou wilt bring the danger upon on own land. In fact, putting all in a word, it will not be pessible for thee to reap the fruits of victory, and at the same time any reversal of fortune will bring hamen to what is well established. It is before an enterprise that wise plaming is useful. For when mon hase failed, repentaner is of no avail, but before diaster comes there is modanger in altering plans. Therefore it will be: of adrantage above all clse to make fitting use of the decisive moment."

Thus spoke John ; and the Fmperor Justinian, hoarhanines to his word, checked his easere desire for the war. But one of the priests whom they call hishom, who had reme from the Fant, satid that he wished to have a word with the emperor. And when he met Jostinian, he said that (iond had bisited hims in a dream, and bidden him ero to the emperor and whoke him, bereame, after undertakimer thr task of protertines the (Chestians in lihsa from tyrants. he hant for no grood reason Lacomme afraid. ", Sud $y$ yo," He had said, "I will

## procopius of caesarea






























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{ }^{1} \text { év } \lambda_{1} \beta \dot{\prime} \eta \mathrm{~V}: \text { és } \lambda_{i} \beta u ́ \eta p \text { l’O. İ es VP : } \pi \rho d s \mathrm{O} \text {. }
$$

## HSTORY OF THE WARG, HI. x. 20-28

Myself join with him in waging war and make him loded of Libya." When the emperor heard this, he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, and he begrin to collect the army and the ships, and to malie ready supplies of weapons and of food, and he amounced to Belisarius that he should be in readiness, because he was very soon to act as genemal in Libya. Meanwhile Pudentius, one of the natives of 'lripolis in Libya, caused this district to rewolt from the Vandils, and sending to the emperor he besesed that he should despateh an amy to him ; for, he sad, he would with no trouble win the land for the emperor. And Justinian sent him Tattimuth and an army of no very great size. This force Pudentius joined with his own troops and, the Vandals being aboent, he ganed pensession of the land and made it subjece to the emperor. And (ieliner, though wishing to intlict punishment upon P'udentius, found the following obstacle in his way.

There was a reetain (indas amoner the slaves of (ielimer, a (inth by birth, a pambonate and energetic fillow pescesed of ereat bodily strength, but appearing to be well dippored to the catue of his master". Tou this diodias (ichimer entrusted the i, land of sardinia, in order both to suard the island and to pay over the :mmal tribute. But he neither mond dicion the peraperity brought by fortume mow had her the eprivit to endmere it, and so heremertook to establi.h a tyammy, and he refosed to "ontmase He: phyment of the trihute, and aclually detanthed the i fand feom the Vamdals and heded it himelf. Amd when he procived that the Emperon
 Gelimer, he wrote to him as follows:

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







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## XI



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## HISTORY OF THF WARS, III. x. 29-xi, 2

- It was neither because I vielded to folly nor berause I had suffered anything unpleasant at my master's hands that I turned my thoughts towards rebellion, but seeing the extreme cruclty of the man both toward his kinsmen and toward his -ubinets, I could not, willingly at least, be reputed to have a share in his inhumanity. For it is better to serve a just king tham a tyrant whose commands are unlawful. But do thou join with me to abist in this my ceffort and send soldiers so that I may be able to ward off my assailants."
. Ind the emperor, on recering this letter, was pleased, and he sent Eulogins as envoy and wrote a lelter paising (iodas for his wisdom and his zeal for justice, and he promised an alliance and soldiers and a gememal, who would be able to gated the Finad with him and to assist him in every other way, what mo trouble should ame to him firom the Vandals. Dat Ralogine, upon coming to Sardinia, fonund that (iodas was assuming the name and wearing the deres of a ling and that he had altachod a body-guad to his person. Sud when findit, read the emperor's letter, he satid that it Wa, hi , wisl: lo have soldiere, inded, comme to fight atones with him, but as for a commander, he had ab, ohlately wo dewire for anc. Amd having writern to



## XI

Tha cmperor, meanwhile, not having yet ascoptancrl tha. thimes, was proparing fow hambed soldiers with Cyril as commander, who were to


## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























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## HIS'ORY OF THE WARS, IH. xi. 2-7

them he ako had in readmess the expedition against Carthage, ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horsemen, sathered from the resular troops and from the "foederati." Now at an carlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political syistem, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality. ${ }^{1}$ lor the Romans call treaties with their enemies "foedera." But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, since time will hy no means consent to lieep names attached to the things to which they were formerly applicd, but conditions are ever changing about according to the desire of men who control them, and men pay litte heed to the meaning which they originally attached to a mane. And the commanders of the foederati were Dorotheos, the general of the troops in Armenia, and Solomon, who was acting as manager for the wemeral B-lisarios; (such a person the Romans call "domesticos." Now this Solomon was at comseb, but it was mot lye the devising of man that he had suffered mutilation, but some atecident wheh befell him while in swaddlane elothes had imposed this lot upon him); and there were also Cyprian, Valerian, Martimus, Slthias, John, Marcellus, and the ('yril whom I have mentimed abowe : and the commanders of the resular cavalry were linfinus and Sigan, who were of the house of Beljatius, and Partatus and Pappus, white the regular inf:mby
${ }^{1}$ These focderati were private bunts of troops under tho leadership of condottiere ; these had the title of "comt" and
 hands.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














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[^26]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 7-16

was commanded by Theodorns, who was sumamed Cteanus, :md Terentins, Zaüdus, Marcjan, and Sarapis. And a ceriain John, a native of Fphdammes, which is now called Dyrrachium, held supreme command over all the leaders of infantry. Among all these commanders solomon was from a place in the Eant, at the very extremity of the Roman domain, whew the city called Daras now stands, and Aigan was by bieth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns: and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them alon four hundred Fruli, whom Pharas led, and about six hundred harbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetace, all monnted bowmen; these were led by Ginnion and Balas, men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highent degree Ind for the whole force five handred ships were recpuired, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thomand medimmi, ${ }^{1}$ nor any one lesis than three thomsand. And in all the ressels together There were thirty thousand salors, Degytians and Immans for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed ower all the ships, (alongmas of Alexandria, Aud they had aloo ships of war prepared as for see-fighting, to the momber of ninely lwos and they were single-banked ships envered by declo, in order that the men rowing Whem migh if pow ible not be expored to the bolts wf the emonys such brats are called "dromomes" 2 ly those of the present time ; for they are able Io attatn a ereat epeed. In theere sated lwo thomsambl mon of By̌antiom, who were all rowers an well as

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















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## HIGTORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 1价23

fighting men; for there was not a single superfluous man amoner them. And Archelaus was also sent, a man of patrician standing who had already been pretorian prefect both in Byzantium and in Illyricum, but lie then held the position of prefect of the amy ; for thas the offorer charged with the mainternance of the army is designated. l3ut as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius, who was in command of the teongs of the Fiat fine the second time. And he was followed by many speamen and many guards as well, mon who were capable warrions and thoronghly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the (-mperon \&ive him writem instructions, bidding him do excrything as secmed hest to him, and stating thot his acts would be fimal, as if the emperor himself had done them. 'The writine, in fact, gave him the power of a hines. Now Belisarius was a nalime of (iommana, which lies between Thrace and Illymemn. These thinge then, took plate in this way
(ielimer, however. beines deprised of Tripolis by P'udentius and of sardinia by (iodas, sourecly hoped to reman Tripelic, ince it was stmated at a greal distance. and the rebels were alread! beines assisted by the Pomaths, amamat whom just at that moment it seeomed to him lact mot to take the field : but. he was eater (1) 世et to the i limd before any army bent by the eme
 He : acondmely weded five thousand of the Vandals :and one homdo dand twenty hipmof the fastect kind,


## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA








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## HISIORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 23-30

sent them off. And so they were sailing with great enthusiasm and eagerness against Godas and Sardinia. In the meantime the Emperor Justinian was sending off Vilerian and Martimus in advance of the others in order to await the rest of the army in the Peloponnesus. And when these two had embarked upon their ships, it came to the emperor's mind that there was something which he wished to enjoin upon them, a thing which he had wished to say previously, hut he had been so busied with the other matters of which he had to speak that his mind had been oceupied with them and this subject had been driven out. He summoned them, accordingly, intending to say what he wished, but upon considering the matter, he saw that it would not be propitious for them to interrupt their journey. He therefore sent men to forbid them either to return to him or to disembarls from their ships. And these men, upon coming near the ships, commanded them with much shouting and loud eries by no means to turn back, and it seemed to thome present that the thing which had happenced was mon crood omen and that never would one of the men in these ships return from Libya to Byzantium. For beedes the omen they suspered that a corse atoo lard come to the men from the emperor, not at all hy his own will, so that they would not return. Now if anyone should so interperet the incedent with reesaed to these two commanders, Valerian and Martimm, he will find the original opinion matrue. Bul there was a ceratin matn among the body-mpards of Martimas. Stotza- by mame, who was destined to be an ernemy of the emperor, to make an attempt to set up a Iyranny, and hy mo means Lo retum to byzantimm, and one might suppese that curse to have beern

## procopius of caesarea




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## XII





















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{ }^{1} \text { aùcòv } \mathrm{l} \mathrm{O}: \text { : om. } \mathrm{V} \text {. }
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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, Ill. xi. 30-xii. 5

turned upon him by I Ieaven. But whether this matter stands thus or otherwise, I leave to each one to reason out as he wishes. But I shall proceed to tell how the general lotisarius and the army departed.

## XII

Is the seventh year of Justinian's reign, at alonut 533 a.d. the spring equinox, the emperor commanded the general's ship to anchor off the point which is before the royal palace. 'Thither came also Epiphanius, the chief priest of the city, and after uttering an appropriate praver. he put on the ships one of the soldiers who had lately been baptized and had taken the ('hristian name. And after this the ereneral Belisarius and Antomina, his wife, set sail. And there was with them also Procopius, who wrote this history ; now previonsly he had been exceedingly terrifed at the danger, but later he had seen a vision in his sherp which camed him to take coumge and made hime eager to go on the expedition. Fore it seemed in the dream that he was in the house of lBelisarius, and one of the servants entering annonnced that sombe men had come bearing gifts; and Belisarius bade him inserstigate what sont of gifts they were, and he went out into the court and satw men who caried on their shoulder eath with the flowers and all. And he bade him bring these men inta the house and deposit the carth they were carying in the portieo; and Belisatius togedher with his sumds-

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





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${ }^{1}$ aủtd MSS. : тaútd Merwerden, approved by Christ.


## 112

## HISTORY' OF 'THE WARS, III. xii. 5-10

men came there, and he himself reclined on that carth and ate of the flowers, and urged the others to do likew ise ; and as they reclined and ate, as if upon a courh, the food secmed to them exceedingly sweet. Such, then, was the vision of the dream.

And the whole fleet followed the general's ship, and they put in at Perinthus, which is now called He racleia, ${ }^{\text { }}$ where five days' time was spent by the army, sinee at that place the general received as a present from the emperor an exceedingly great number of hores from the royal pastures, which are kept for him in the territory of Thace. And setting sail from there, they anchored off Abydus, and it came about as they were delaying there four days on acoount of the lack of wind that the following event took place. Two Massagetae killed one of their commades who was ridiculing them, in the midst of their intemperate drinkines; for the y were intoxicated. For of all men the Masmere are the most intemperate drinkers. Belisarius, acoordingly, straightway impated these two men on the hill which is near Dhodus. And sinee all, and especolally the relatives of these two men, were angry and declared that it was not in order to be punished no to be subjeet to the laws of the liomans that they had entered into an alliance (for their own laws did not make the puni hment for murder such as this, they said); and siner they were joined in voicing the acensation against the gememal even by Roman soldiers, who were ansions that there should be mo pmishment for their offeness, Beliamins called logether both the Xes aretace and the rest of the anmy and spoke as

[^28]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA































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& { }_{2}^{1} \text { xpóvou MSS.: } \lambda \text { ó } \quad \text { no Haury. }
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& { }^{3} \text { oйтє Dindorf: oúdé MSS. }
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## HIST()RY OF THE WARG, Ill. xii, yo-18

follnws: - It my words were addressed to men now for the firt time colering into war, it would require a long time for me to consince you by peech how ereat a help justice is for gaming the victory. For thome who do not anderstand the fortunes of such -rmogles think that the outcome of war lies in strength of arm alone. But yon, who have often concuered an conemy mot inferior to you in strength of body and well endowed with valour, you who have often tried your strength aganst your oppor-nent-, you, I think, are not igmomant that, while it i, mon who always do the fighting in cither army, it is (ind who judges the contest as seemes best to Hinn and beetows the victory in hattle. Now since Hhis is us, it is fittimes to comsider good bodily comdition and practioe in amm and all the other peovison fon war of lebs aceount than justice and those things which pertain to (rod. For that which may posibly be of erreatest advantage to men in need would maturally be homomed by them atome all othere things. Now the firet pmote of justice would be the pumishmont of thase whon hase commitled mojust marder. for if it is incombent upen us to sit in judement
 milled by men toward their neightomes and to adjudge and to name the juet and the manust action, ". . Fmald fimi that mothime in more precemo to a man than his life, And if any haborian who has bain hi. Kiminan "xpect; lo find imblalgeme in his trat on the eromud that her wat drumb, in all fairomes In mak. the tharge (o) muth the wome by reanom of the very eiremmstance by which, as he alleges, his


## procopius of caesarea






















## XIII







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## MINTORY ()F THE WARS, III. xii. IS-xiii. 2

any circumstances, and especially when serving in an army, to be so dromk as readily to kill his dearest friends; nay, the drmkemess itself, even if the murder is not added at all, is worlhy of punishment; and when a kinsman is wronged, the crime would clearly be of greater moment as regards punishment than when committed against those who are not kinsmen, at least in the eyes of men of sense. Now the exmmple is before you and you may see what sort of an outeome such actions have. But as for you, it is your duty to awoid laying violent hands upon anyone without provocation, or carrying off the proserssions of others ; for I shall not overlook it, he asiured, and I shall not consider anyone of you a fellow-soldier of mine, no matter how terrible he is reputed to be to the foe, who is not able to use clean hands aganst the enemy. For bravery camot be bictorious unless it be arraved along with justice." So spoke Belisarius. And the whole army, hearing What was said and looking up at the two men impaled, felt an orerwhelming far come over them and took thought to sonduct their lises with moderation, for they saw that they would not be free fiom erveat danger if they should be caught doing anything mulawful.

## XIII

Ampen this Breliantus belhoughl him how his whole deet hould alway keep toridher as it sailed and homblamen in the same place for he knew that in a large flewt, and womerally if rongh winds shomld

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## 118

## HETORY OF THE WARS, IHI. xiii. 2 S

aswail them, it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and seattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So atere combdering the matter, he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper comer for about one third of their length, and he wected upright poles on the prow of cach, and homs lights from them, so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable ; then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them.

And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they procecded more leisurely (o) Malea, where the calm prowed of the sreatest adsantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exoedingly large hips, as night came on everything was thown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme peril. At that time both the piluts and the rest of the cailors shewed themetves skilful and efficient, for white shouting at the top of their voices and making a great moise they kept pushing the ship apart with their poles, and eleverly keph the distances between their different wesels; but if a wind had arion, whether a following or a head wimd, it seems to me that the sailom would hatdly have praserved themotves and their ships. Bul as

## procopius of caesarea



 Toùs ¿̀ $\mu \phi \grave{i}$ Ba入єpravov $\tau \epsilon$ каi Map-ìov aùtóre


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 тоиâ $\sigma \varepsilon$.

















${ }^{3}$ tis тो тробаүaүধì P: om. VO.
" кaie en Himry: nal Mlisco, кàr Dindorf.


120

## HINTORY OF THE WARS, III. xiii. 8-15

it was, they eccaped, as I have said, and put in at Tatenarum, which is now called Cacnopolis. ${ }^{1}$ Then, pressing on from there, they touched at Methone, and found Valerian and Martinus with their men, who had reached the same place a short time before. And since there were no winds blowing, Belisarius anchored the ships there, and disembarked the whole army; and after they were on shore he assigned the commanders their positions and drew up the soldiers. And while he was thus engaged and no wind at all arose, it came about that many of the soldiers were destroyed by disease caused in the following manner.
'The pretorian prefect, John, was a man of worthless chameter, and so skilful at devising ways of bringing money into the public treasury to the detrinent of men that $I$, for my part, should never be compeetent to describe this trait of his. But this has been said in the preceding pages, when I was brought to this point by my marative. ${ }^{2}$ But I shall tell in the present case in what manner he dentosed the soldiers. The bered which soldiers are dentined to cat in camp must of neecessity be put twice into the owen, and be cooked so carefully as 10 lant for a very long period and not spoil in a short time, and loaves conked in this way necessarily weogh les: and for this reason, when such bread is distributed, the soldiors esenerally recoived ats their

[^30]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA













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20 Toloúpievol. toútols סè oi otpatlôtal ẅpa Aépous



 є́тı $\chi \omega p i ́ o u s ~ \chi o p \eta \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a l ~ к є \lambda \epsilon u ́ \sigma a s . ~ \beta a \sigma l \lambda \epsilon i ̂ ~ \delta e ̀ ~$
 $\mu \eta ́ \nu ~ т \iota \nu a ~ т о ́ т \epsilon ~ ' I ~ \omega a ́ \nu \nu \eta \eta ~ \zeta \eta \mu i ́ a \nu ~ ग ้ \nu є \gamma к є . ~$



[^31]
## HIN'ORY' OE TUE WARS, IIL, xiii. 15 -2 r

prortion one-fourth more than the usual weight. ${ }^{1}$ Tohn, therefore, calculating how he might reduce the anmont of firewood used and have less to pay to the bakers in wases, and also how he misht not lose in the weight of the bread, brought the still unconked dough to the public bathes of Achilles, in the basement of which the fire is lepet burning, and bede his men set it down there. And when it seemed to be cooked in some fashion or other, he threw it into bass, put it on the ships, and sent it off. And when the Heet arrived at Methone, the foase disintegrated and returned again to flour, not wholesome fons, however, but rotten and becoming mouldy and already siving out a sort of oppressive odour. And the haves were dispensed by measure ${ }^{2}$ (10 the soldiers by those to whom this office was a-isned, and they were already making the distribution of the bread by quarts and bushels. And the wodleres feeding upon this in the summer time in a place where the climate is very hot, beame sick. athd not lew than five hundered of them died ; and the same: thines was about to hapern to more, but Belisamin prevented it by ordering the bread of the comatry to be fumished them. And reporting the matter to the emperor, he himself samed in favenhut he did mot at that time bring any punishment upon John.

The.. evenks then, towls pace in the manner de eribed. Sud setting mut fom Me thone they reathed


 math fier rotion, in whith, of the onee halaed homat, but
 requisitioned.
${ }^{2}$ Instead of by weight.

## procopius of CaESAREA



















## XIV












the harbour of 'aacynthus, where they took in enough water to last them in crossing the Adriatic sea, and after making all their other preparations, sailed on. But since the wind they had was very gentle and lamend, it was only on the sixteenth day that they came to land at a deserted place in siobly near which Mount Aetna rises. And while they were being delayed in this patsage, as has been said, it so happened that the water of the whole Heet was spoiled, execpt that which Belisarius himself and his tablecompanions were drinking. For this alone was preserved by the wife of Belisarius in the following mamere. she filled with water jars made of glas: and constructed a small romm with planks in the hold of the ship where it was imporihle for the sun to penctrate, and there she sank the jars in sand, and by this means the water remaned unaffected. So much, then, for this.

## XIV

A 10 ans soon at Belianius hatd disembarked upon Hue: i land. he began to feed reatlese, knowing not how to proceed, and his mind was tomented by the thometht that he did mot know what sort of men the Sandals wore against whom he was goines, and how ctomes they were in war, or in what mamer the Roman wombl have to wage the war, or what place "ond he their base of operations. But most of all he Trat di tmoted thy the soldiere, whon were in mowtal dread of wa fightmer and hatd wo shanc in sathe beforehamd that. if they dombl be dinembarked on the land.
 batle, but if hostile shipe assated them, they would

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III xiv. $2-7$

turn to flight; for, they said, they were not able to contend asainst two enemies at onere, both men and water. Being at a loss, therefore, becanse of all these thing-, he sent Procoplus, his adviser, to Syracuse, to find out whether the conemy had any ships in ambush kecping watch over the passage across the seat, either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya, and trom what point as base it would be advantareous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Tandals. dud he bade him, when he should have aceomplished his commands, return and meet him at the place called Caucana, ${ }^{1}$ about two hundred stades distant from Syacuse, where both he and the whole fleet were to anchor. But he let it be undersood that he was sending him to buy provisions, -ince the (ioths were willing to sive them a market, this having been decided upon by the Emperor Justinian and Amalasometha, the mother of Antalarie, ${ }^{\text {- }}$ who was at that time a boy being reated under the care of his mother, Amalasomotha, and held sway onere both the (ioths and the Italians. For when Theoderie had died and the kingdom came: to his nephew, Antabarie, who had already before this lose his father, Amalascounthat was fearfal both for her whidd and fon the kingdom and cultivated the friendhip of Justinian verg earefully, and she gave heed to his commands in all matters and at that time promined to provide a market for his army and did so.

Now when Procoplins reached Sytacuse, he mor (apmeted!y mel a man who had been a fellow citizen and friend of his from rhildhood, who had been lisime in sismane for a longe lime erngened in the

[^32]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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128
shipping business, and he learned from him what he wanted; for this man showed him a domestic who had three daty before that very day come from Carthage, and he said that they need not suspect that there would be any ambush set for the fleet by the Vandals. For from no one in the world had they learned that an army was coming against them at that time, but all the active men among the Vandals had actually a little before gone on an expedition agaimst (iodas. And for this reason (ielimer, with no thousht of an enemy in his mind and regardlens of Carthage and all the other places on the sea, was staying in Hermione, which is in Byzacium, four days joumey distant from the coast; so that it was pumble for them to satl without fearing any difficolty and to anchor wherever the wind should call them. When Procopius heard this, he took the hand of the dome tic and walked to the harbour of Arethousa where his boat lay at anchor, making many empuivies of the man and scarching ont every detail. Sud going on hoard the ship with him, he wate ordere to mane the sats and to make all speed for ('anc:ana. And simer the master of the domestie staod on the shore wondering that he did not erive him bark the man, Procopius shouted out, when the ship was already under way, becering him not to be anery with him; for it was necessary that the domestio hould meet the esemeal, and, after leading the amy to Libya, would refurn after no long time to Syacuse with much money in his poeket.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



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## XV





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## H1.STORY OF THE WARS, Ill xiv. If-x\% ,

But upon coming to Cancana they foumd all in deep grief. For Doretheros, the eenctal of the troups of Armenia, hat died there, learing to the whole amy a Ereat sembe of loss. But Belisarius, when the domestic had come before him and related his whole tory, became exceedingly glad, and after bestowing many praises upon Procopins, he issued orders to give the signal for departure with the trompets. And setting amil quirkly the $\begin{aligned} & \text { touched at the islands }\end{aligned}$ of (iaulus and Melita, ${ }^{1}$ which mark the boundary between the ddriatic and Tuscan seas. There a thong vast wind arose for them, and on the following day it carricd the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "shoml's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller.

## XV

Avo when they came near the shore the gemeral berle theor firl the saike, throw wut athehors from the $h_{i j} \%$ and malie a halt ; and callinge together all the commander, to his own ship, he opeoned a disent-inn with rewat to the disembarlation. There-


"I admire, indeed, the virtue of our general, who. while wupaneing all by far in judgment and (x) E.ing the greate 1 wealth of experichere, and at

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





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## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III. xソ. z-10

the same time holding the power alone, has proposed an open discussion and bids each ont of us speak, so that we shall be able to choose whichever course seems best, though it is possible for him to decide alone on what is needful and at his leisure to put it into execution as he wishes. But as for you, my fellow offieers -I do not know how I am to say it easily-one might wonder that each one did not hasten to be the first to oppose the disembarkation. And yet I maderatand that the making of susgestions to thone who are contering upon a perilous course bringe no personal adrantage to him who offers the advice, but as a $\begin{gathered}\text { eneral thing results in bringing }\end{gathered}$ blame upon him. For when things go well for men, they attribute their success to their own judgment or to fortune, but when they fail, they blame only the one who has advised them. Nevertheless I shall speak out. Fow it is mot risht for those whodeliberate about saftey to brink from blane. You are purposing to diex.mbark on the enemy's land, fellow-officers; but in what hatour are youplaming to place the ships in safety: ()r in what city's wall will you find
 that this promontory - I mean from ('arthage Io Iomer - extende, they say, for a foumery of nine days, altoge ther without harbours and lying epern to the wind forn whaterer qualler il may blow: Amd not a simgle walled town is left in all I ibya exerpet
 onf might add that in this place, lory aty, wator is


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{ }^{1} \text { Cf. III. v. } 8 \text { ff. }
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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























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134

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, LII, xy. 10-17

suppose that some adversity befall us, and with this in view make the decisim. For that those who enter into contests of arms should expect no difficulty is not in keeping with human experience nor with the nature of things. If, then, after we have disembarked upon the mainland, a stom should fall upon us, will it not be neces ary that one of two things befall the ships, either that they flee away as far as possible. or perish upon this promontory? Secondly, what means will there be of supplying us with necessities? Let no one look to me ats the officer charged with the maintenance of the army. For every official, when deprived of the means of administering his office, is of necessity reduced to the name and character of a private person. And where shall we deposit our superfluons arms or any other part of our necessaries when we are compelled to rececive the attack of the barbarians? Nay, ats for this, it is not well even to say how it will turn ont. But I think that we onght to make straight for Carthage. For the way that there is a harbour callect stagmom not more than forty stade distant from that sity, which is entirely manarded and large emough for the whole fleet. And if we make this the base of our operations, we shall carry on the war withoul difficulty. And I, for my part, think it likely thal we shall win (arthage hy a sudden attack, ceprecially sine the enems are far away from it and that after we have won it we shall have no farther trouble. Fon it is a way with all men's mulemakinge that when the chicf puint has been eaptured, they eollapse after mo long time. It behoves mo, therefore, to bear in mind all thea. Hhings and to chowe the best esurese" So spoke Archelaus.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, MII. xv. $18-25$

And Belisarius spoke as follows: "Let no one of you, fellow-officers, think that my words are those of cemsure, nor that they are spoken in the last place to the end that it may become necessary for all to follow them, of whatever sort they may be. For I have heard what seems best to each one of you, and it is becoming that I too should lay before you what I think, and then with you should choose the better course. But it is right to remind you of this fact, that the soldiers said openly a little earlier that they feared the dangers by sea and would turn to Hight if a hootile ship should attack them, and we prayed fiod to sew us the land of Libya and allow us a peaterful diambarkation upon it. And since this is so, I think it the part of foolish men first to pray to receive from (iod the more favourable fortune, then when this is given them, to reject it and go in the contrary direction. And if we do sail straight for Carthage and a hontile fleet encounters us, the soldiers will remain without blame, if they flee with atl their might-for a delinguency amounced beforehand carries with it its own defence - bul for us, even if we come through safely, there will be no forgiveness. Now while there are many difficulties if we remain in the ships, it will be -afficient, I think. कo mention only one thing, that by which emperially they wish to frighten us when they hold over our heads the danger of a stom. For if any storm should fall upon us, one of two things. they way, must neecosarily befall the dhips, cither that they flee far from Libya or be destroyed upon this headland. What then under the present circum-


## procopius of caesarea
































138
to have the ships alone destroyed, or to have lost everything, men and all ? But apart from this, at the presint time we shall fall upon the enemy unprepared, and in all probability shall fare as we desire ; for in warfare it is the umexpected which is accustomed to s゙overn the course of events. But a little later, when the enemy have already made their preparation, the strugele we shall have will be one of strength evenly matched. And one might add that it will be neecesary perhaps to fight even for the disembarkation, and to seek for that which now we have within our grap but overe which we are deliberating as a thing not necersany. Ind if at the very time, when we are engaged in conflict, a stom also comes upon us, as often happens on the sea, then while strugerling both aspanst the waves and against the Vandals, we shall come to requet our mudence. As forme, then, I bay that we mont diecmbark upon the land with all possible speed, landing horses and amms and whatever etse we con-ider necescary for our use, and that Wr must dis a trench quickly and throw a stockade around us of a kind which can contribute to our safiety no low than any walled town one might mention, and with that as our hase must carry on the wat from there if anyone should attack us. And it w- shew ourwlocs brawe men, we shall lack nothing in the way of provi-ions. For those who hold the

 her.elf with all the wealth, and then to set it down atran on that ide to which se inclines. Therefore. for yon buth the whance of safety and of having an abmadance of grod thimes lice in your own hands."

When Bellamius had said this, the whole assembly

## procopius of caesarea






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140

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, HII xv. $3^{1-36}$

agreed and adopted his proposal, and separating from me another, they made the disembarkation as quickly as possible, about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shome the general bade both soldiers and sailons dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And ther did as directed. And since a great throng wats working and fear wats stimulating their enthusiasm and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dus on the same day, but the stockade was alin completed and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all aromed. Then, indeed, while they were digwing the trench, something happened which was altuge ther amazins. A sreat abundance of water sprans forth from the carth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzacium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water suffieed for all lases of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procoplias satd that he rejoiced at the abondance of water, not womuch becouse of it use fulness, as bee buse it eremed to him at symbel of an casy viecony, and that He:ntol was foretelling a victory to them. This, al any ralc. actually came to pase So for that night all the soldiers himonacked in the ("amp), seltherg guards and doing exerything dhe as was comblomary, cxeopt, indeed, that Belisarins commanded five bowmen to romain in each ship for the puppose of a emard, and that the ship -rif-war should anchor in a cirele about throm, bakiner eare that no one should come agranst. them to do them harm.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XVI

















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${ }^{1}$ aúrệ Wahler : aitc MSS.
${ }^{2}$ oйт'-oüтє Haury : oủd'-oủdè MSS.

## XVI

Bur on the following day, when some of the soldiers went out into the fields and laid hands on the froit, the general inflicted eorporal punishment of no casual sort upon them, and he called all the army together and spolec as follows: "This using of violence and the eating of that which belones to others seem at other times a wicked thing only on this account, that injustice is in the deed itself, as the saying is; but in the present instance so great an element of detriment is added to the wrongdoing that if it is not too harsh to say so-we must comsider the quention of justice of less account and calculate the magnitude of the danger that may arise from suur act. For I have discmbarked you upon this land hosing my eonfidence on this alone, that the Libyam, being Romans from of old, are unfaithful and hostile to the Vandals, and for this reason I thomght that mo neemsitrie, would fail us and, besides, that the ememy would not do us any injury by a sudden attack. lant mow this your latis of self-control has chatneed it all and madr the opposite true. For you have doubtle reconciled the Libyans to the Vandals, bringing their hotility round upon your own selves. Fon hy nature thome who are wronged feel comity fowad thow who have done them violencer, and it hat come: romod to this that you have exchanged your own safty and a boumiful styply of good

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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144

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xvi. 5-to

things for some few pieces of silver, when it was pouible for you, by purchasing provisions from willing owners, not to appear unjust and at the same time to enjoy their friendship to the utmost. Now, therefore, the war will be between you and both Vandals and Lihyans, and I, at least, say further that it will he agranst ford himelf, whose aid no one who does wroner can inwoke. But do you cease trespassing wantonly upon the possessions of others, and reject a gain which is full of dangers. For this is that time in which ahove all others moderation is able to satve, but lamlensmes leads to death. For if you give heed to these things, fou will find (rod propitious, the Libyan people well-disposed, and the race of the Vandals open to your attack."

With these words Belisarine dismissed the ascembly: And at that time he heard that the city of syllecetus was distant one day's journey from the camp, lying dose to the sea on the road leading to Carthage, and that the wall of this dity had been tom down for a lones time, but the inhabitants of the place had made a barrier on all sides by means of the walls of their homere, on aceount of the attarks of the Moors, and guarded a kind of fortified enclomure: he aceordingly, sent one of his speamen, Boriades, together with some of the grands, emmmanding them for make an attempt on the city and, if they captored it, to do no harm in it. but to prommere a thonsand erond thinge and to say that they had come for the sake of the perpule's freedom, that so the amy mieht be able to enter into it. And they eame near the cily about dusk and patard the night hidden in a ravine. But at marly dawn, meeting combly folls wing into the city

## 1PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xvi. 1014

with waggons, they entered quietly with them and with no trouble took possession of the city. And when day came, no one having begun any disturbance, they called towether the priest and all the other notables and amounced the commands of the general, and receiving the keys of the entrances from willing hands, they sent them to the general.
()n the same day the uversece of the public post deererted, handing orer all the govermment horses. And they captured also one of those who are oceasionally sent to bear the royal responses, whom they call "veredarii" ${ }^{1}$; and the general did him no harm but presented him with much gold and, receiving pledges from him, put into his hand the letter which the Smperor Justinian had written to the Vandals, that he might give it to the magistrates of the Vandals. And the writing was as follows: "Neither have we derided to make war upon the Vandals, nor are we heaking the treaty of (iizerie, but we are attempting (o) dethrone your tymant, who, making light of the testament of (izoric, has imprisoned jour king and in keeping him in custorly, and those of his relatives whom he hated exeredingly he put to death at the first, and the reat, after mbhins them of their sight, lie keep, undergard, motallowing them to terminate their minfortumes by death. Do you, therefore, join forees with wa and help us in freeing yourselves from "n wirked a tyanmy, in order that yom may be able lo enjoy hoth peace and frecdom. Fior we give you pladres in the mame of (ind thal these thinges will ' i.e. couriers, from veredus, "post-horse."

## procopius of caesarea







## XVII

























148

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xvi. $4-x v i i . ~ 5$

come to you by our hand." Such was the message of the emperor's letter. But the man who received this from Belisarius did not dare to publish it openly, and though he shewed it secretly to his friends, he accomplished nothing whatever of consequence.

## XVII

Avin Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the mareh to ( 'urthase. He chose out three hundred of his guards, men who were able warriors, and handed them over to John, who was in charge of the expenditures of the general's household ; such a person the Romans call "uptio." 1 And he was an Armenian by birth, a man gifted with discretion and courage in the highest degree. This John, then, he eommanded to go ahead of the amm, at a distance of not less than twenty stades, and if he should see anything of the romemy, to report it with all speed, so that they might mot be compelled to enter into battle mprepared. And the allied Mossagetae he commanded to trawel constantly on the left of the army, keepimg as many stades away or more ; and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he subpereted that it would mot be loner before (ielimer, following them from Hermione, would make an allack upen them. And these precaulions were sufficient, for on the rieht side there was no fear, sume they were travelling mot far from the coast. Aud heremmanded the satom to follow aloner with them alway and not to separate themselves far from

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## procopius of caesarea




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HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xvii. 5-10
the army, but when the wind was farouring to lower the great sails, and follow with the small sails, which they call "dolones," ${ }^{1}$ and when the wind dropped altogether to keep the ships under way as well as they could by rowing.

And when Belisarius reached Syllectus, the soldiers behaved with moderation, and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kinduess, won the Libyans to his side so completely that the ereafter he made the joumey as if in his own land; for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we eompleted the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, on in a camp made as thoronghly secure as the circumstances permited. Thus we pamed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumetum and reached the place called (irasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the puler of the Vimdals and a park the most beantiful of all we know. For it is excellemly watered by spminge and has a greal wealth of moods. And all the treecs are full of fruit ; so that cach ome of the suldiers pitched his tent ammer fruit-trex, and though all of them ate their fill of

[^36]
## procopius of caesarea























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## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III, xvii. io-d6

the fruit, which wis then ripe, there was practically no diminution to be seen in the fruit.

But Gelimer, as soon as he heard in Hermione that the encmy were at hand, wrote to his brother Ammatas in C'arthase to kill Ilderic and all the others, connected with him either by birth or otherwise, whom he was keeping under guard, and commanded him to make ready the Vandals and all others in the city servicuable for war, in order that, when the enemy got inside the narow passage at the suburb of the city which they call Decimum, ${ }^{1}$ they might come together from both sides and surround them ind, catching them as in a net, destroy them. And Ammatas carried this out, and killed Ilderice, who was a relative of his, and Emagees, and all the Libyans who were intimate with them. For Hoamer had already departed from the world. ${ }^{-}$And arming the Vandah, he made them ready, intending to make his attack at the opportune moment. But Gelimer was following behind, without letting it be known to us, except, indeed, that, on that night when we bivouacked in (ramue, scouts coming from both armies met earh other, and after an exchange of blows they each retired to their own (amp, and in this way it became evident to us that the enemy were not far away. As we proceerled from there it was imporsible to diseem the hips. Fom high rocks extending well into the sea cone matiners to make a great cirent, and there is a poojecting headland,: inside of which lies the town of Hermes. Belisarius therefore commanded Arehelams, the prefect, and Calomymus, the

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## procopius of caesarea





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## XVIII



















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admiral, not to put in at Cirthage, but to remain about two hundred stades away until he himself should summon them. And departing from Grasse we came on the fourth day to lecimum, seventy stades distant from Carthage.

## XVIII

Axn on that day (ielimer commanded his nephew (iihamundus with two thousand of the Viandals to go ahead of the rest of the army on the left side, in order that Ammatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer himself from the rear, and (iibamundus from the comntry to the left, might unite and accomplish the task of encircling the enemy with less difficulty and excrtion. But as for me, during this struggle I was moved to wonder at the ways of Heaven and of men, noting how (iod, who sees from afar what will come to pas, traces out the mamer in which it seems best to him that thiners should come to pass, while men, whether they are deceived on counsel aright, know not that they have faled, should that be the issue, or that they have suceeceded, (ind's purpose being that a path shall be made for Fortune, who presses on inevitably toward that which has been foreordaned. For if Belisarius had not thus arranged his fonces, commanding the men under Joln to take the Lead, and the Massagetae to mareh on the left of the army, we shomal never hate been able to escape the Gandals. And even with this plamed so by Belisarius,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA























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## Hlstory of THE WARS, III. xviii. 4-1r

if Ammatas had observed the opportune time, and had not anticipated this by about the fourth part of a day, never would the cause of the Vandals have fallen as it did; but as it was, Ammatas came to Decimum about midday, in advance of the time, while both we and the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that he did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Viandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible, while he with a few men and not eren the pick of the army came into conflict with John's men. And he lilled twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, and he himself fell, having shewn himself a brave man in this engrgement. And the rout, after Ammatas fell, became complete, and the Tandals, fleeing at top speed, swept hack all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were adrancing in no order and mot drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that; for they were coming in binds of twenty or thirty. And seceing the Vandals under dmmatas fleeing, and thinking their pursuers were a ereat multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And John and his men, killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the witus of Cathare And there was so wreat a slamshter of Vandals in the eourse of the seventy stade. that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy lwenty thousand strong.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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${ }^{1}$ xpórov V : трótov 1 ' in context, $\gamma p$ 。 xpóvov $P$ in marg., otil. ().



## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xviii. i2-19

At the same time Gibamundus and his two thousand came to Pedion Halon, which is forty stades distant from Decimum on the left as one goes to Carthase, and is destitute of human habitation or trees or anything else, since the salt in the water permits nothing except salt to be produced there; in that place they encountered the Huns and were all destroyed. Now there was a certain nan among the Massagetae, well gifted with courage and strength of body, the leader of a few men ; this man had the privilege handed down from his fathers and ancestors to be the first in all the Humnic armies to attack the eneny: For it was not lawful for a man of the Massagretae to strike first in battle and capture one of the enemy until, indeed, someone from this house began the struggle with the enemy. So when the two armies had come not far from each other, this man rode out and stopped alone close to the army of the Vandals. And the Vandals, cither beeause they were dumbfomoded at the courageons spirit of the man or perhaps because they suspected that the enemy were contriving something agranst them, decided neither to move nor to shoot at the man. Ard I think that, since they had never had experienee of batlle with the Massagetae, but heard that the nation was very warlike, they were for this reason leerified at the daneres. And the man, returninge to his rompalriol a aid that (iod had sent them these shameres as a ready fiast. 'Then at lemeth they made

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## XIX



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## HISTORY (OF THE WARG, III. xviii. Iの-xix. $6^{-1}$

their onset and the Vandals did not withstand them, but breaking their ranks and never thinking of resistance, they were all disgracefully destroyed.

## XIX

But we, having learned nothing at all of what had happened, were going on to Decimum. And Betisarius, seeing a place well adapted for a camp, thirty-five stades distant from Decimum, surrounded it with a stockade which was very well made, and placing all the infantry there and calling together the whole army, he spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the decisive moment of the struggle is already at hand; for I perceive that the encmy are advancing upon us ; and the ships have heen taken far away from us by the mature of the place; and it has come round to this that our hope of safety lies in the strength of our hands. For there is not a friendly city, no, nor any other stronghold, in which we may put our trust and have confidence concerning ourselves. But if we should show ourselves brave men, it is probable that we shall still overeome the enemy in the war ; but if we should weaken at all, it will remain for us to fall under the hand of the Vandals and to be dentroyed disgracefully. And yet there are many admataens on our side to help us on toward victory; for we have with us both justice, with which we have come agamst our enomy (for we are here in weder torecoser what is our own ), and the hatred of Hee landak toward their own lyant. For the alliance of ciod bollows naturally those who put justice

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





 s voüs Maupovaious tetéaltal. tis dé oúk oîev és









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 Sopuфópors te каi vitaotiotais aरiтìs ë̈тeто.



[^39]
## HATORY OF THE WARS, III. xix. 6-14

forward, and a soldier who is ill-disposed toward his ruler knows not how to play the part of a brave man. And apart from this, we have been engaged with Persians and Scythians all the time, but the Vandals, since the time they conquered Libya, have seen not a single enemy except maked Moors. And who does not know that in every work practice leads to skill, while idleness leads to inefliciency? Now the stockade, from which we shall have to carry on the war, has beem made by us in the best possible mamer. And we are able to deposit here our weapons and everything else which we are not able to carry when we go forth; and when we return here again, no kind of provisions can fail us. And I pray that each one of you, calling to mind his own valour and those whom he has left at home, may so mareh with contempt against the enemy."

Ifter speaking these words and uttering a prayer after them, Belisarius left his wife and the barricaded (amp) to the infantry, and himself set forth with all the howemen. For it did not seem to him advantageons for the present to risk an engagement with the whole amy, but it seemed wise to skirmish first with the homemen and mabe trial of the enemy's strength, and finally to fight a decisive batle with the whole army. Sonding forward, therefore the commanders of the foederati, ${ }^{1}$ he himself followed with the rest of the force and his own speamen :and grards. And when the foederati and their leaders reached Decimm, they saw the corpses of the 1"Auxiliaries" ; see clap. xi. 3, 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







 каі $\mu є к р о ̀ \nu ~ ข ̈ \sigma т є р о \nu ~ B a \nu \delta i ́ \lambda \omega \nu ~ i \pi \pi \epsilon ́ \omega \nu ~ т і ́ \mu т о \lambda v ~$

 $\mu \epsilon ' \nu \omega \nu \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu$. т(i) $\nu$ ठ̀̀ ć $\rho \chi o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ai


















[^40]
## IISTORY OF THE WARS, III, xix. I4-22

fallen-twelve comrades from the forces of Joln and near them Ammatas and some of the Vandals. And hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight, they were vexed, being at a losis as to where they ought to go. But while they were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared fiom the south and a little later a very large forer of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible, since the conemy were bearing down upon them. And the opinions of the commanders were divided. For some thought that they ought to close with their assailants, but the others said that their foree was not sufficient for this. And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leaderhip of (ielimer, who was following a road between the one which Belisarius was travelling and the one hy which the Massagetae who had eneounLeved (iib)amundus hatd come. But sinee the land was hilly on both sides, it did not allow him to see cither the disaster of Gibamundus or Belisarius' stockade, nose even the road along which Belisarius' men were advancing. But when they came ne:ar cach other, a contest arone between the two ammes as to which should eaphore the highent of all the hills there. For it semed a suitable one lo enc:amp upon, and both side prefererd torenger with the comemy from there Aut the Vandals, cominer fires, took prosecssion of the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







24 €îlal. Tívtes te wovto ás $\sigma \phi$ âs oi ì $\mu \phi i$ rov



 $\eta ้ \in \sigma \alpha \nu$.
 Гє入íرєр, èv та̂̂s $\chi \in \rho \sigma i \nu$ é $\chi \omega \nu$ тò той то入є́ $\mu$ оv


















## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xix. 22-28

hill by crowding off their assailants and routed the enemy, having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place even stades distant from Decimum, where, as it happened, Uliaris, the personal guard of Belisarius, was, with eight hundred guardsmen. And all supposed that L'liaris would receive them and hold his position, and together with them would go against the Vimdals: but when they came together, these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius.

From then on I am unable to say what happened to (ielimer that, having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy, unless one ought to refer forlish actions also to God, who, whenever IIe purporace that some adversity shall befall a man, touches first his reason and does not permit that which will be to his advantage to come to his consideration. For if, on the one hand, he had made the pursuit immediately, I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him, but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fean they inspied in the Romans; or if, on the other hand, he had even ridden straight for (arthage, hee would easily have hilled all John's men, who, heedless of exerylhing else, were wandering about the plain one by ome or by twos and stripping the dead. And he would have pereserved the eity with its, lamsmes, imul ajdured our ships, which had come ralher near, and he would have withdrawn from us

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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 Búpßapoı ӥтактоí тє каi «̇тари́бкєvol 弦ך $\gamma \epsilon-$
 фєúyovolv ùvà кри́тos，тo入入oùs Èvтaи̂ta ìmo－






 $\Delta \epsilon \kappa і ́ \mu \omega$ ठєєдиктє́рєvба⿱．

## XX







all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his bruther, he turned to lamentations, and, in caring for his burial, he blunted the edge of his opportunity -an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again. Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives, bade them stop, and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length ; then, after hearing of the death of Ammatas and the pursuit of John, and leaming what he wished concerning the place and the enemy, he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians, having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared, did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there, and the battle ended at night. Now the Tandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium, whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading into Numidia. So the men with John and the Massagetae retmoned to un about dusk, and after leaming all that had happened and reperting what they had done, they passed the night with us in Decimmm.

## XX

Brer on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius (:ame up and we all proceeded together on the road toward (iathage, which we rearhed in the late evenines: and we passed the night in the open, atthough no one hindered us

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

















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${ }^{1}$ тралє́бөa! PO: iккє́бөat V.
${ }^{2}$ Haury adds $\tau \in$ after taú $\tau$ ?.
3 фú $\lambda a \xi ̆ \mathrm{~V}: \delta \in \sigma \mu \circ \phi u ́ \lambda a \xi$ PO.

## HISTORY゙ OF THE WARS, HI, xx, r-7

from marching into the rity at once. For the Carthasinians openced the gates and burned lights everywhere and the eity was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who lad been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to gruard against any ambuscade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from havines freedom to turn to plundering, as they might under the conceament of night. On that diy, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland, and the Carthaginians, for they abready sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium, and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king's palace a room filled with darkness, which the Carthaginians call Ancon, where all were cast with whom the tymat was angry. In that place, as it happened, many of the eastern merchants had bern confined up to that time. For (eelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having meged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed, all of them, this having been decided upon by (iclimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum ; to such an extremity of danger did they eome 'The guard of this prion, upon hearing what had laken place in D)ecimmon and seeing the fleet inside the point, contered the room and enguired of the men, who had mot yet learned the send news, but were stting in Her darknes, and expecting death, what amones the in

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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1 \dot{\}} \pi \epsilon ́ \delta \in \iota \xi \in \mathrm{VO}: \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \in \delta \in \iota \xi \in \mathbf{P} \text {. }
$$

## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III. xx. $7-15$

possessions they would be willing to give up and he sared. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures, but required them all to swear that, if they escaped, they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them them the whole story, and tearing off a plank from the side toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them.

But the men on the ships, having as yet heard nothing of what the army had done on the land, were completely at a loss, and slackening their sails they sent to the town of Mercurimm ; there they learned what had taken place at Decimum, and becoming exceedingly joyful sailed on. And when, with a fatouring wind blowing, they came to within one hundred and fifty stades of Carthage, Archelaus and the soldiers bade them anchor there, fearing the warning of the general, hat the sailors would not obey. For they aid that the promontory at that point was without a harbour and also that the indications were that a well-known storm, which the natives call ('ypriana, would arise immediately: And they predicted that, if it came upon them in that place, they would not be able: to save even one of the ships. And it was as they said. So they slackened their sail, for a shont time and deliberated; and they did not think they ousht to try for Mandraciom (for they shrank from violating the commands of Belis. arius, and at the same time they suspected that the entrance of Mandmacimen was cloued by the chains, and besides they fared that this harbour was mot

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III xx. I5-2r

sufficient for the whole fleet) but Stagnum seemed to them well situated (for it is forty stades distant from Carthage), and there was nothing in it to hinder them, and also it was large enough for the whole fleet. There they arrived about dusk and all anchored, except, indeed, that Calonymus with some of the sailors, discegarding the general and all the others, went off secretly to Mandracium, no one daring to hinder him, and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians.

On the following day Belisarius commanded those on: the shipes to disembark, and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation, he marched into Carthage; for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at lenerth of how much good fortune had come to them because they had diyplayed moderation toward the Libyans, and he exhorted them eamestly to prescrve good order with the erreatest care in Carthase. For all the libyans had been Iommans in earlier times and had come under the Vindals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hamels of these barbarians. For this very reason the emperor had entered into wat with the Vandals, and it was not holy that any ham should come from them to the people whose freedom they had made the ground for takine the forld against the Vandals. After such words of exhortation he entered Carthase, and, since meneny was seen by them, he went up to the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

















## XXI

Tóte $\delta$ è Bèıбápıos, є́тєi ó каıpòs és toûto










 фєка тойто калойбъ тò оїкŋца, є́тєi каі т т̀
 176

## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III. xx. 2r-xxi. 3

palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. 'There a crowd of merchants and other Carthagmians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus by oathes to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus, taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn, for the moment made the money his plunder, but not long afterwards he paid his just penalty in Byzantium. For being taken with the disease called apoplexy, he became insane and bit off his own tongue and then died. l3ut this happened at a later time.

## XXI

Bot then, since the hour was apmopriate, Belisarius commanded that lunch be prepared for them, in the very place where Gelimer was accustomed to entertain the leaders of the Vandals. This place the Romans call "Delphix," not in their own tongue, but using the (ireck word according to the ancient custom. For in the palace at Rome, where the dining couches of the emperor were placed, a tripod had stood from olden times, on which the emperor's cuphoraters used to place the couss. Now the Romam call a tripual " Delphix," since they were first made at Dophii, and from this both in Byzantion and whereror there is a kinges dininge couch they call the room "De.phix" ; for the Romans follow the (ireek

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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[^41]
## history or The wars, III. xxi. 3-10

also in calling the emperor's residence "Palatium." For a (ireek named Pallas lived in this place before the capture of 'roy and built a noteworthy house there, and they called this dwelling "Palatium"; and when dugustus received the imperial power, he $^{\text {a }}$ deceded to take up his first residence in that house, and from this they call the place wherever the emperor resides "Palatium." So Belisarius dined in the Dedphix and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for (relimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domesties of ('eliner served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory and making a display of the face that all things are hers and that nothing is the private posscasson of any man. And it fell to the bot of Bedisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to conter is -uhject city without confusion, cren if they numbered only five hondred, and esperially if they made the entry une xpeectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this encomeral showed themselves so orderly that there wat mot a single act of insoleneer nor a Horat, and inderd mothoms happened to himder the bu incer of the eity: but in a e:ptured eity, one which lad chamed its erovemment and hifted its. allegiance, it cams about that no man':s houschold

## procopius of caesarea
























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180

## HISTORY OF TIE WARS, III. xxi. Io-iy

was excluded from the privileges of the marketplace; on the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings, just as usual, ${ }^{1}$ and the soldiers themselves, getting their lunch by purchase from the market, rested as each one wished.

Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuitwall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and casy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down, and it was for this reason, the Carthaginians said, that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be imponssible in a short time to restore such a circuitwall to a safe condition. And they said that an old oracle had been uttered by the children in earlier times in Carthage, to the effect that "gamma shall pursue beta, and ayain beta itself shall pursue gramma." And at that time it had been spoken by the children in play and had been left as an unexplained riddle, but now it was perfectly clear to all. For formerly (izeric had driven out Boniface and now Belisarius was doing the same to Gelimer. This, then, whether it was a rumour or an oracle, came out as I have stated.

At that time a dream also came to light, which had been seen often before this by many persons, but without being clear as to how it would turn ont. And the dream was as follows. Cyprian,? a holy man, is reverenced above all others by the

[^42]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


































## HISTORY OF THE WAIS, III. xxi. 17-23

('arthamians. And they have founded a very noteworthy temple in his honour before the city on the sea-shore, in which they conduct all other customary services, and also celebrate there a festival which they call the " (ypriana"; and the sailors are accustomed to name after Cyprian the storm, which I mentioned lately, giving it the same name as the festival, since it is wont to come on at the time at which the Libyams have always been accustomed to celebrate the festival. This temple the Vandals took from the Christians by violence in the reign of Honoric. And they straghtway drove out their priests from the temple in great dishonour, and themselves thereafter attended to the sacred festival which, they said, now belonged to the Arians. And the Libyans, indeed, were angry on this account and altogether at a loss, but ('yprian, they say, often sent them a dream saying that there was not the least need for the Christians to be concerned about him; for he himself as time went on would be his own avenger. And when the refort of this was passed around and came to all the Liby:ms, they were expecting that some vengeance would come upon the Vandals at some time because of this sacred festival, but were umable to conjecture how in the world the vision would be realized fon them. Now, therefore, when the emperor's expedition had come to Libya, sinee the time had already come round and would bring the celebration of the fectival on the sucereding day, the priests of the Arians, in spite of the ficet that Ammatas had led the Vandals to I ecemmon, eleansed the whole sanclatary and were engased in hanging up the most

[^43]
## PIROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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 є̉ $\chi \dot{\rho} \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ 。

## XXII



 2 ßéßalos yévolto. ö́tts dè ग̄p oůtos ò 入óyos каì












184

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xxi. 23-xxii. 5

beautiful of the votive offerings there, and making ready the lamps and bringing out the treasures from the store-houses and preparing all things with exactness, arranging everything according to its appropriate use. But the events in Decimum turned out in the manner already described. And the priests of the Arians were off in flight, while the Christians who conform to the orthodox faith came to the temple of Cyprian, and they burned all the lamps and attended to the sacred festival just as is customary for them to perform this service, and thus it was known to all what the vision of the dream was foretelling. This, then, came about in this way.

## XXII

Avn the Vandals, recalling an ancient saying, marvelled, understanding clearly thereafter that for a man, at least, no hope could be impossible nor any possession secure. And what this saying was and in what manner it was spoken I shall explain. When the Vandals originally, pressed by hunger, were about to remove from their ancestral abodes, a certain part of them was left behind who were reluctant to go and not desirous of following Godigisclus. And as time went on it seemed to those who had remained that they were well off as regards abundance of provisions, and (iizeric with his followers gained possession of Lihya. And when this was heard by those who had not followed (iodigisclus, they rejoiced, since thenceforth the country was altogether

## procopius of caesarea













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{ }^{1} \pi a \rho^{\prime} \mathrm{VO}: \pi \rho \partial s \mathrm{P} .
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186

## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, III, xxii. 5-12

sulficient for them to live upon. But fearing lest at some time much later either the very ones who had contuered Libya, or their descendants, should in some way or other be driven out of Libya and retarn to their ancestral homes (for they never supposed that the Romans would let Libya be held for ever), they sent ambassadors to them. And these men, upon coming before Gizerie, said that they rejoiced with their compatriots who had met with such success, but that they were no longer able to guard the land of which he and his men had thought so little that they had settled in Libya. They prayed therefore that, if they laid no claim to their fatherland, they would bestow it as an unprofitable possession upon themselves, so that their title to the land might be made as secure as possible, and if anyone should come to do it harm, they might by no means disclain to die in behalf of it. Ciizeric, accordingly, and all the other Vandals thought that they spoke farmy and justly, and they were in the act of granting everything which the envoys desired of them. But a certain old man who was esteemed among them and had a great reputation for discretion said that he would by no means permit such a thing. "For in human affairs," he said, " not one thing stands secure ; nay, nothing which now exists is stable for all time for mon, while as regurds that which does not yet exist, there is nothing which may not come to pass." When (isereric heard this, he expressed approval and decided to send the envoys away with nothing accomplished. Now at that time both he himself and the man who had given the advice were judged worthy of ridicule by all the Vandals, as foreseeing the impossible. But when these things which have been told took

## procopius of caEsarea






























[^44]place, the Viadals learned to take a different view of the nature of human affairs and realized that the saying was that of a wise man.

Now as for those Vandals who remaned in their native land, neither remembrance nor any name of them has been preserved to my time. ${ }^{1}$ For since, I suppose, they were a small number, they were either overpowered by the neighbouring barbarians or they were mingled with them not at all unwillingly and their name save way to that of their conquerors. Indeed, when the Tandals were conquered at that time by Belisarius, no thought occured to them to go from there to their ancestral homes. For they were not able to convey themselves suddenly from Libya lo Furope', copecially as they had no ships at hand, but paid the penalty ${ }^{2}$ there for all the wrongs they had done the Romans and especially the Zacynthians. For at one time Gizeric, falling suddenly upon the towns in the Pelopomesus, undertook to ascuult Taenarum. And being repulsed from there and losing many of his followers he retired in complete disorder: And while he was still filled with anger on acoount of this, he touched at Zacyonthus, and having killed many of those he met and enslaved five hmoded of the motables, he sailed away soon afterwards. And when he reached the middle of the Achriatio sica, as it is called, he cut into small pieces the bordies of the five hundred and threw them all about the sea wilhont the least concern. But this happened in carlier times.

[^45]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XXIII

Гє $\lambda i ́ \mu \epsilon \rho$ סє̀ то́тє хри́иати́ тє то入入à $\Lambda!\beta v ́ \omega \nu$












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6 ímépau ódòv Kapxyסónos סıéxoutl．тoútous Sè toùs ävivpas（où yàp oîoí $\tau \epsilon$ j̀бav oi toû x＇upiov








 190

## IIISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xxiii. $1-9$

## XXIII

But at that time (ielimer, by distributing much money to the farmers among the Libyans and shewing great friendliness toward them, succeeded in winning many to his side. These he commanded to kill the Rumans who went out into the country, proclaming a fixed sum of gold for each man liilled, to be paid to him who did the deed. And they killed many from the Roman army, not soldiers, however, but slaves and servants, who because of a desire for money went up into the villages stealthily and were caught. And the farmers brought their heads before Gelimer and departed receiving their pay, while he supposed that they had slain soldiers of the enemy.

At that time Diogenes, the aide of Belisarius, made a display of valorous deeds. For having been sent, together with twenty-two of the body-guards, to spy upon their opponents, he came to a place two days' journey distant from Carthage. And the farmers of the place, being unable to kill these men, reported to (ielimer that they were there. And he chose out and sent against them three hundred horsemen of the Vandals, emjoining upon them to bring all the men alive before him. For it seemed (1) him a most remarkable achievement to make captive a persemal ade of Belisarius with twemtytwo body-gnards. Now Diogenes and his party had entered a certain house and were sleeping in the

## procopius of caesarea










 ф́́pouбí $\tau \epsilon$ тирà каì тоút由ע $\chi \omega \rho i s ~ o u ̉ \chi ~ o ̈ \sigma o \nu ~$



















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192

## H1sTORY OF THE WARS, HIL xxiii. $9^{-16}$

upper storey, having no thought of the enemy in mind, since, indeed, they had leaned that their opponents were far away. But the Vandals, coming there at early dawn, thought it would not be to their advantage to destroy the doors of the house or to enter it in the dark, fearing lest, being involved in a night encounter, they might themselves destroy one another, and at the same time, if that should happen, provide a way of escape for a large number of the enemy in the darkness. But they did this lecause cowardice had paralyzed their minds, though it would have been possible for them with no trouble, by carrying torches or even without these, to catch their enemies in their beds not only without weapons, but absolutely maked besides. But as it was, they made a phalanx in a circle about the whole house and especially at the doors, and all took their stand there. But in the meantime it so happened that one of the Roman soldiers was roused from sleep, and he, noticing the moise which the Vandals made as they talked stealthily among themselves and moved with their weapons, was able to comprehend what was being done, and rousing each one of his comrades silently, he told them what was going on. And they, following the opinion of Diogenes, all put on their clothes quictly and taking up their weapons went below. There they put the bridles on their horses and leaped upon them unpereeived by anyone. And after standing for a time by the court yard entrance, they suddenly opened the door there, and straightway all came out. And then the Vandals immediately

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


























## XXIV





dosed with them, but they accomplished nothing. For the Romans rode hard, covering themselves with their shields and warding off their assailants with their spears. And in this way Diogenes escaped the cnemy, losing two of his followers, but saving the rest. He himself, howerer, received three blows in this encounter on the neck and the face, from which indeed he cane within a little of dying, and one blow also on the left hand, as a result of which he was thereafter umable to move his little finger. This, then, took place in this way.

And Belinarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engrged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admimation about the circuit-wall, and setting stakes close together along it he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this, but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians, but also to Gelimer himself at a later time. For when he came as a captive to Carthage, he marvelled when he saw the wall and sad that his own nergligenec had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This, then, was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage.

## XXIV

But 'frazon, the brother of Celimer, reached Gardinia with the expedition which has heen mentioned abowe ${ }^{-}$and disembarked at the harbour of Caranalis ${ }^{2}$; and at the first onset he captured the

[^46]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



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196

## HISTORY OF THE WARG, MII. xxiv, I-9

city and killed the tymant (iodas and all the fighting men about him. And when he heard that the emperor's expedition was in the land of Libya, having an yet learned nothing of what had been done there, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "Know, O King of the Tandals and Alani, that the tyrant Godas has perished, hasing fallen into our hands, and that the island is again under thy kingdom, and celebrate the festival of triumph. And as for the enemy who have had the daring to march against our land, expect that their attempt will come to the same fate as that experienced by those who in former times marched against our ancestors." And those who took this letter sailed into the harbour of Carthage with no thought of the enemy in mind. And being brought by the guards before the seneral, they put the letter into his hands and gave him information on the matters about which he enquired, being thunderstruck at what they beheld and awed at the suddenness of the change; howerer, they suffered nothing umpleasant at the hand of Belisarius.

At this same time anothere event also oceured as follows. A shomt time before the emperor's expedition reached libya, (iclimer had sent envoys into Grain, among whom were (inthaeus and Fiuscias, in order to persuade 'Theudis, the ruler of the Visigeths, ${ }^{1}$ to establich an alliance with the Vandals. And theste envoys, upon discmbarking on the mainkand after crossing the strait at (radira, fonond 'lowedis in aplace situated far from the seat. And when they had come up to the place where he was, Thendis received them with friendlinessand entertained them

[^47]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































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## HLS'IORY OF THE WARS, III. xxiv. 9-19

heartily, and during the feast he pretended to enquire how matters stood with Gelimer and the V'andals. Now since these envoys had travelled to him rather slowly, it happened that he had heard from others everything which had befallen the Vandals. For one merchant ship sailing for trade had put out from Carthage on the very same day as the army marehed into the city, and finding it farouring wind, had come to Spain. From those on this ship 'Theudis learned all that had happened in Libya, lout he forbade the merchants to reveal it to anyone, in order that this might not become generally lnown. And when Gothacus and his followers replied that everything was as well as possible for them, he asked them for what purpose, then, they had come. And when they proposed the alliance, Theudis bade them go to the sea-coast: "For from there," he said, "you will learn of the affairs at home with certainty." And the envoys, supposing that the man was in his cups and his words were not same, remained silent. But when on the following day they met himand made mention of the alliance, and Theudis used the same words a second time, then at length they understood that some change of fortune had befallen them in Libya, but never once thinking of Carthage they sailed for the city. And upon coming to land close by it and happening upon Roman soldiers, they put themselves in theeir hands to do with them as they wished. And from there they were led away to the general, and reponting the whole story, they suffered no harm at his hand. These things, then, happencel thus. And ('yril, ${ }^{1}$ upon coming near to Siadinia and leaming
: Thu. leathe of a haml uf jortomali. (ff. III. xi. 1, 6, xxiv. 19 .

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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## XXV










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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xxiv. r9-xxy. 7

what had happened to Godas, sailed to Carthage, and there, finding the Roman army and Belisarius victorious, he remained at rest; and Solomon ${ }^{1}$ was sent to the emperor in order to amounce what had been accomplished.

## XXV

But Gelimer, upon reaching the plain of Boulla, which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller, not far from the boundaries of Numidia, began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors, however, joined his alliance, and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and reguested that the symbols of office be sent them from him according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already rececived them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Sow these symbols are a staff of silver covered with grold, and a silver (ap), - not covering the whole head, but like a cerown and held in place on all sides by bands of silver,- a kind of white cloak gathered by it

[^48]
## procopius of caesarea









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## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, HI. xxv. 7-I5

golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a 'Thessalian capee, and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them, and presented each one of them with much money. Howerer, they did not come to fight aloner with him, nor, on the other hand, did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants, they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. 'Ihus, then, matters stood with the Romans.

But (ielimer sent one of the Vandals to Sardinia with a letter to his brother Tzazon. And he went quickly to the coast, and finding by chance a merchant-ship putting out to sea, he sailed into the harbour of Caramalis and put the letter into the hands of T\%azon. Now the message of the letter was as follows:
"It was not, I venture to think, Godas who caused the island to revolt from us, but some curse of madness sent from Heaven which fell upon the Vandals. For by depriving us of you and the motables of the Vandals, it has seized and carried off from the house of (izzeric absolutely all the blessings which we enjoyed. For it was not to recover the island for us that you sailed from here, but in order that Justinian might be master of Libya. For that which Fortunc had decided upon previously it is now possible to know from the outcome. Belisarius, then, has come against us with a small army, but valone straightway departed and fled from the Vandals, taking grod fortune with her. For Ammatas and (ibhamumbes have fallen, because the Vandals lost their courage, and the horses and shipyards and all Lihy:a and, not least of all, Carthage itself, are

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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19
















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{ }^{1} \pi \rho \partial s \text { VO: } i \pi \delta े \mathrm{P} .
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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xxv. I5-23

held already by the enemy. And the Vandals are sitting here, having paid with their children and wives and all their possessions for their fature to play the part of bare men in battle, and to us is left only the plain of lBoulla, where our hope in you has set us down and still keeps us. But do you have done with such matters as rebel tyrants and Sardinia and the cares concerning these things, and come to us with your whole force as quickly as possible For when men find the very heart and centre of all in damger, it is not advisable for them to consider minutely other matters. And struggling hereafter in common asamst the enemy, we shall either recover our previous fortune, or gain the advantage of not bearing apart from each other the hard fate sent by Heaven.'

When this letter had been brought to Tzazon, and he had disclosed its contents to the Vandals, they turned to wailing and lamentation, not openly, however, but concealing their feelings as much as posible and avoiding the notice of the islanders, silently among themselves they bewailed the fate which was upon them. And straightway setting in order matlers in hand just as chanece directed, they manned the ships. And sailing from there with the whole fleet, on the third day they eame to land at the proint of Liby: which marks the boundary between the: Numidians and Mauretanians. And they rearthed the plan of Boulla travellines on foot, and there joined with the rest of the army. And in that place there were many most pitiable seenes manmis the Vandals, which 1 , at least, conld never redate as they deserve. For 1 think that even if one of the enemy themselves had happened to be a

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















## 26






${ }^{1}$ aủtss VP: aủtous O .

3 à $\pi \eta \mu \in \lambda \eta \mu$ évols $\mathrm{VP}: ~ \grave{\tau} \tau \eta \mu \in \lambda \eta \mu$ évols O .


## HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xxv. 23-26

-pectator at that time, he would probably have felt pity, in spite of himself, for the Vandals and for homan fortunc. For Gelimer and 'Tzazon threw their arms about each other's necks, and could not let (ro, but they spoke not a word to each other, but kept wringing their hands and wecping, and each one of the Vandals with Gelimer embraced one of those who had come from Sardinia, and did the same thing. And they stood for a long time as if grown together and found such comfort as they could in this, and neither did the men of Gelimer think fit to ask about (rodas (for their present fortune had prostrated them and caused them to reckon such things as had previously seemed to them most important with those which were now utterly negligible), nor could those who came from Sardinia bring themselves to ask about what had happened in Lilya. For the place was sufferent to permit them to judge of what had come to pass. And indeed they did not make any mention eren of their own wives and children, knowing well that whoever of theirs was not there had either died or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus, then, did these things happen.

# HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV 

THE VANDALIC WAR (Continued)

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## I
























# HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV 

THE VANl)ALIC WAR (contimued)

## I

Gemimer, seeing all the Vandals gathered together, led his amy against Carthage. And when they came close to it, they tore down a portion of the aqueduct, -a structure well worth seeing-which conducted water into the city, and after cneamping for a time they withdrew, since no one of the enemy came out agrainst them. And going about the country there they kept the roads under guard and thought that in this way they were besieging Carthage; however, they did not gather any booty, nor plunder the land, but took possession of it as their own. And at the same time they kept hoping that there would be some treason on the part of the Carthaginians themselves and such of the Roman soldiers as followed the doctrine of Arius. They also sent to the leaders of the: Huns, and promising that they would have many erood things from the Vandals, entreated them to become: their friends and allies. Now the IIms even before this had mot been well-disposed toward the eanse of the Romans, since they had not indeed come to them willingly as allies (for they asserted that the Roman genemal Poler had given an oath and then, dismenarling what had been sworn, had thus

## pROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





























 $\pi \dot{\lambda} \boldsymbol{\epsilon} \mu \boldsymbol{\sigma}$.



## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. i. 6-ix

brought them to Byzantium), and accordingly they received the words of the Vandals, and promised that when they should come to real fighting they would turn with them against the Roman army. But Belisarius had a suspicion of all this (for he had heard it from the deserters), and also the circuit-wall had not as yet been completed entirely, and for these reasons he did not think it possible for his men to go out against the enemy for the present, but he was making his preparations within as well as possible. Aud one of the Carthaginians, Laurus by name, having been condemned on a charge of treason and proved guilty by his own secretary, was impaled by Beliarius on a hill before the city, and as a result of this the others came to feel a sort of irresistible fear and refrained from attempts at treason. And he courted the Massagetare with gifts and banquets and every other manner of flattering attention every day, and thus persuaded them to disclose to him what Gelimer had promised them on condition of their turning traitors in the battle. And these barbarians said that they had no enthusiasm for fighting, for they feared that, if the Vandals were vanquished, the Romans would not send them back to their native land, but they would be compelled to grow old and die right there in Libya; and besides they were also concerned, they said, about the booty, lest they be rohbed of it. Then indeed Belisarius gave them plederes that, if the Vandals should be conguered decisively, they would be sent without the least delay their homes with all their booty, and thus he bound them by oaths in very truth to assist the Romans with all zeal in carying through the war.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




















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## 214

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. i. i2-IS

And when all things had been prepared by him in the best way possible, and the circuit-wall had been already completed, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows: "As for exhortation, fellow Romans, I do not know that it is necessary to make any to you,-men who have recently conquered the enemy so completely that Carthage here and the whole of Libya is a possession of your valour, and for this reason you will have no need of admonition that prompts to daring. For the spirits of those who have conquered are by no means wont to be overcome. But I think it not untimely to remind you of this one thing, that, if you on the present occasion but prove equal to your own selves in valour, straightway there will be an end for the Vandals of their hopes, and for you of the battle. Hence there is every reason why you should enter into this engrgement with the greatest eagerness. For ever sweet to men is toil coming to an end and reaching its close. Now as for the host of the Vandals, let no one of you consider them. For not by numbers of men nor by measure of body, but by valour of soul, is war wont to be decided. And let the strongest motive which actuates men come to your minds, namely, pride in past achievement. For it is a shame, for those at least who have reason, to fall short of one's own self and to be found inferior to one's own standard of valour. For I know well that terror and the memory of misfortunes have laid hold upon the enemy and compel them to become less brave, for the one fills them with fear because of what has already happened, and the other brushes aside their hope of suceess. For Fortune, once seen th be berd, straightway enslaves the spirit of those

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






















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${ }^{2}$ ท่ ทi้ VPO pr. m. : íuiv O pr. m, corr.
sautur Hawry: om. V, autar I' pr.m. corr. and O , auti P pr. m.
216

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. i. 18-25

who have fallen in her way. And I shall explain how the struggle involves for you at the present time a greater stake than formerly. For in the former battle the danger was, if things did not go well for us, that we should not take the land of others; but now, if we do not win the struggle, we shall lose the land which is our own. In proportion, then, as it is easier to possess nothing than to be deprived of what one has, just so now our fear touches our most vital concerns more than before. And yet formerly we had the fortune to win the victory with the infantry absent, but now, entering the battle with God propitious and with our whole army, I have hopes of capturing the camp of the enemy, men and all. Thus, then, having the end of the war ready at hand, do not by reason of any negligence put it off to annther time, lest you be compelled to seek for the "pportune moment after it has run past us. For when the fortune of war is postponed, its nature is mot to proceed in the same mamer as before, especially if the war be prolonged by the will of those who are carrying it on. For Heaven is accustomed to bring retribution always upon those who abandon the good fortune which is present. But if anyone considers that the enemy, secing their children and wives and most precious possessions in our hands, will be daring beyond reason and will incur risks beyond the strength which they have, he does not think rightly. For an overpowering passion springing up in the heart in behalf of what is most precions is wont to diminish men's actual strength

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## II






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${ }^{2} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau 0 \pi \kappa \delta \omega$ VP: $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \bar{\omega} O$ and Theophanes.

## HISTORY OF TIIF WAISS, IV. i. 25-ii. 6

and does not allow them to make full use of their present opportunities. Considering, then, all these things, it behooves you to go with great contempt against the enemy."

## II

Arrer such words of exhortation, Belisarius sent out all the horsemen on the same day, except five hundred, and also the guardsmen and the standard, which the Romans call "bandum," I entrusting them to John the Armenian, and directing him to skirmish only, if opportunity should arise. And he himself on the following day followed with the infantry forces and the five hundred horsemen. And the Massagetae, deliberating among themselves, decided, in order to seem in friendly agreement with both Gelimer and Belisarius, neither to begin fighting for the Romans nor to go over to the Vandals before the encounter, but whenever the situation of one or the other army should be bad, then to join the victors in their pursuit of the vanquished. Thus, then, had this matter been deeided upon by the barbarians. And the Roman army came upon the Vandals encamped in 'Tricamarum, one hundred and fifty stades distant from (arthase. So they both bivouacked there at a considerable distance from one another. And when it was well on in the night, a prodigy came to pass in the Roman camp as follows. The tips of their spears were lighted with a bright fire and the points

[^49]
## procopius of caesarea








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& \text { ? nidé Chriet: ofite MSS. }
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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. ii. 6-12

of them seemed to be burning most vigorously. This was not seen by many, but it filled with consternation the few who did see it, not knowing how it would come out. And this happened to the Romans in Italy again at a much later time. And at that time, since they knew by experience, they believed it to be a sign of victory. But now, as I have said, since this was the first time it had happened, they were filled with consternation and passed the night in great fear.

And on the following day Gelimer commanded the V'andals to place the women and children and all their possessions in the middle of the stockade, although it had not the character of a fort, and calling all together, he spoke as follows: "It is not to gain glory, or to retrieve the loss of empire alone, () fellow Vandals, that we are about to fight, so that even if we wilfully played the coward and sacrificed these our belongings we might possibly live, sitting at home and keeping our own possessions; but you see, surely, that our fortunes have come round to such a pass that, if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy, we shall, if we perish, leave them as masters of these our children and our wives and our land and all our possessions, while if we survive, there will be added our own chslitement and to behold all these enslaved; but if, indeed, we overeme our foes in the war, we shall, if we live, pass our lives among all good things, or, after the ghomions ending of our lives, there will be left to our wives and children the blessings of promperity, while the name of the Vandals will survive and their empire be preserved. For if it has ever

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA































[^50]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. ii. 12-20

hippened to any men to be engaged in a struggle for their all, we now more than all others realize that we are entering the battle-line with our hopes for all we have resting wholly upon ourselves. Not for our bodies, then, is our fear, nor in death is our danger, but in being defeated by the enemy. For if we lose the victory, death will be to our advantage. Since, therefore, the case stands so, let no one of the Vandals weaken, but let him proudly expose his body, and from shame at the evils that follow defeat let lim court the end of life. For when a man is ashamed of that which is shameful, there is always present with him a dauntless courage in the face of danger. And let no recollection of the carlier battle come into your minds. For it was not by cowardice on our part that we were defeated, but we tripped upon obstacles interposed by fortune and were overthrown. Now it is not the way of the tide of fortune to flow always in the same direction, but every day, as it rule. it is wont to change about. In manliness it is our boast that we surpass the enemy, and that in numbers we are much superior ; for we believe that we surpass them no less than tenfold. And why shall I add that many and great are the incentives which, now especially, urge us on to valour, naming the olory of our ancestors and the empire which has been handed down to us by them? For in our case that argory is obsemmed hy our unlikeness to our kindred, while the empire is bent upen fleceng form us as, untorthy. And I pass wer in silence the wals of the". pron women and the lears of our children.

## procopius of caesarea

Sáкрva, ois $\nu \hat{v} \nu, \dot{\omega} \varsigma$ ópâtє, $\pi \epsilon р \iota a \lambda \gamma \dot{\eta} \sigma a \varsigma \mu \eta \kappa \hat{v} \nu a \iota$
















 $\dot{\nu} \pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma i \sigma \tau \omega \nu$ ó кivסuvos, $\mu \epsilon \gamma i ́ \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ єilat каi









[^51]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, N. ii. 20-27

hy which, as you see. I am now so deeply mored that I am unable to prolong my discourse. But having said thic onc thing, I shall stop,--that there will be for us no returning to these most precious possessions if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy. Remembering these things, shew yourselves brave men and do not bring shame upon the fame of Gizeric."

After speaking such words, Gelimer commanded his brother Tzazon to deliver an exhortation separately to the Viadals who had come with him from sadinia. And he sathered them together a little apart from the camp and spoke as follows: "For all the Viadals, fellow soldiers, the strugerle is in behalf of those things whech you have just heard the king recount, but for you, in addition to all the other considerations, it so happens that you are vying with yourselves. For you have recently been victorions in a strusele for the maintenance of our rule, and gou have recovered the island for the empire of the Vandals: there is every reason, therefore, for you to make till greater dicplay of your valour. For those whose hazard involves the ereatest thines must needs display the eveatest meal for warfare also. Indeed, when men who strugere for the maintenance of their rule are defeaterl, should it so happern, they have mot failed in the most vital part ; but when men are choraced in hatle for their all, sumety their very lives are influenced by the outcome of the strugele. And fon the rest, if you shew yourselves batace men at the present time, you will thereby peove wilh ererainty that the destruetion ${ }^{1}$ of the tyant (iodias was an achievement of valour on your part ; but if

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\text { 1 See III. xxiv. } 1 .
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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA











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## 111









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& { }^{2} \text { пкр } \grave{\text { a Maltretus : } \pi \in \rho!\text { MSS. }}
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## HL゙「ORY OF'THE WARS, IV. ii. 27 iii. 2

you weaken now, you will be deprived of even the remown of those deceds, as of something which does mot belonge to you at all. And yet, even apart from this, it is reasomable to think that you will have an adrantage over the rest of the Vandals in this battle. Fore thome who hate failed are dimatyed by their previous fortune, while those who have encountered non reverse enter the strugre with their courage unimpaited. And this too, I think, will not be spoken out of seasinn, that if we conquer the enemy, it will be you who will win the credit for the ereatest part of the victory, and all will call you saviours of the nation of the Vandals. For men who achieve renown in company with those who have previously met with mistertume naturally clam the better fortune as their own. Considering all thene things, therefore, I say that fou should bid the women and children who are lamenting their fate to take courage even now, should summon (iod to fight with us, should go with enthusiasm against the conemy, and lead the way for our compatriots into this battle."

## III

Arres both (islimer and 'ľazon had spoken such evhortatioms, they led out the Vandals, and at about the lime of lunch, when the Romans were not experting them, but were preparing their meat, they were at hand and armayd thembelves for battle along the bank of the stream. Now the stream at that place is : an exer flowing one, to be eure, but its volume is so Stuall that it is mol even given a special name hy the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





 ］3a入єpıavòs каi ’I wánıия каі Kumpıavós тє каi I入tías каi Mápкє入入のs єíqov каi öбои äддои



 Sopuф́ópous Be入ıбарíou каi б $\eta \mu \in i ̂ o v ~ т o ̀ ~ \sigma т р а т \eta \gamma и-~-~$



















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\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \pi \rho с \sigma \iota \delta \nu \tau a s \text { V1': } \pi \rho o t \delta \nu \tau a s ~ O .
\end{aligned}
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iii. z-ro

inhabitants of the place, but it is designated simply as a brook. So the Romans came to the other bank of this river, after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances, and arrayed themselves as follows. The left wing was held by Martinus and Valerian, John, Cyprian, Althias, and Marcellus, and as many others is were commanders of the foederati ${ }^{1}$; and the right was held by Pappas, Barbatus, and Aigan, and the others who commanded the forces of cavalry. And in the centre John took his pusition, leading the guards and spearmen of Belisarius and carrying the general's standard. And Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen, leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could aroid so doing, and at that time especially, since they had in mind the purpose which has previously been explained, ${ }^{2}$ it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of the army: Such, then, was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals, either wing was held by the chiliarels, and cach one led the division under him, while in the centre was Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But (eelimer himelf was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had beon previonsly given to all the Vimdals to use neither spear nor any wher weapon in this engagement exeept their swords.

After a com-derable lime had passed and no one

[^52]
## procopius of caesarea

































## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV.iii. ェo-ı7

began the battle, John chose ont a few of those under him by the advice of belisarius and crossing the river made an attack on the centre, where Tzazon crowded them back and gave chase. And the Romans in flight came into their own camp, while the Vandals in pursuit came as far as the stream, but did not cross it. And once more John, leading out more of the guardsmen of Belisarius, made a dash against the forces of 'Tzazon, and again being repulsed from there, withdrew to the Roman camp. And a third time with almost all the guards and spearmen of Belisarius he took the general's standard and made his attack with much shouting and a great noise. But since the barbarians manfully withstood them and used only their swords, the battle became fieree, and many of the noblest of the Vandals fell, and amonge them Trazon himself, the brother of (ielimer. Then at last the whole loman army was set in motion, and cronsing the river they advanced upon the enemy, and the rout, begimning at the centre, became complete; for each of the Roman divisons tumed to flight those before them with no trouble. And the Massagetale, seemor this, aceording Io their agreement among themselves ${ }^{1}$ joined the Roman amy in making the pursuit, but this pursuit was not continued for a ereat distance. lior the Viadals entered their own (amp) quickly and remained guiet, while the Remmans, thinking that they would not be able fo fieht it out with them inside the stockade, ,tripped such of the compeses as hat ${ }^{1}$ Chap. i. 3.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a$.



























[^53]
## 232

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iii. r7-26

grold upon them and retired to their own camp. And there perished in this battle, of the Romans less than lifty, but of the Vandals about eight hundred.

But Belisarius, when the infantry came up in the late afternoon, moved as quickly as he could with the whole amy and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer, realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his amy was coming against him straightway, without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence what was taking place. And for some time it escaped the motice of the Candals that Gelimer had run away, but when they all perceived that he had fled, and the encomy were already plainly seen, then indecd the men began to shout and the children cried out and the women wailed. And they neither took with them the money they had nor did they heed the laments of those dearest to them, but every man fled in complete disorder just as he could. And the Romans, coming up, captured the camp, money and all, with not a man in it ; and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night, killing all the men upon whom they happened, and making slaves of the womentand childern. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been fomend, at least in one place. For the Vandals had phundered the Roman domain for a lomg time and had tranferred great amounts of moncy to Lilya,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA











 ov̂̀ $\mu a ́ \chi \eta ~ к а i ~ \delta i ́ \omega \xi \iota s ~ \eta ̋ \delta \epsilon ~ к а i ~ т о и ̆ ~ B a \nu \delta i ́ \lambda \omega v ~$


 $\Delta \epsilon \kappa є ́ \mu \beta р \iota о \nu ~ ' Р \omega \mu а і ̂ о \iota ~ к а \lambda о и ̆ \sigma \iota . ~$

## IV












> 1 aủroîs MSS. : aủrn̂s Theophanes,
> a $\begin{aligned} & \text { ér } \pi \text { Nopla VP : àropla O. }\end{aligned}$.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iii: 26 -iv. 3

and since their land was an especeially good one, flourishing abundantly with the most useful crops, it eame about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply, but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety-five years during which the Vimdals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth, amounting to an extromdinary sum, returned onec more on that day into the hands of the Romans. So this battle and the pursuit and the capture of the Vandals' camp happened three month after the loman amy came to Carthare, at about the middle of the last month, 533 A.d. which the Romans call "December."

## IV

Tum Belinarius, seeing the Roman army rushing abont in confusion and great disorder, was disturbed, being fearful throughout the whole night lest the crobyy, unting hy mutual agreement against him, should do him irreparable ham. And if this thing had happeroned at that time in any way at all, I believe that sont one of the Romams would have escaped and rajoyed this booly. For the soldiers, being extremely poon mon, uponheromines all of a sudden masters of lery ereal wealth and of women both young and

## procopius of camsarea

























入о $\mu$ ย́vш̀ катŋ́коvov.

$$
{ }^{1} \text { aitis VO: тoútwv } \mathrm{I} .
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV iv 3-io

extremely comely, were no longer able to restrain their minds or to find any satiety in the things they had, but were so intoxicated, drenched as they were by their present good fortunes, that each one wished to take everything with him back to Carthage. And they were going about, not in companies but alone or by twos, wherever hope led them. searching out everything roundabout among the valleys and the rough country and wherever there chanced to be a cave or anything such as might bring them into danger or anhush. For neither did fear of the enemy nor their respect for Belisarius occur to them, nor indeed anything else at all except the devire for spoils, and being overnastered by this they came to think lightly of everything else. And Belisarius, taking note of all this, was at a loss as to how he should handle the situation. But at daybreak he took his stand upon a certain hill near the road, appealing to the diseipline which no longer existed and heaping reproaches upon all, soldiers and officers alike. Then indeed, those who chanced to be near, and espectially those who were of the household of Belisarius, sent the money and slaves which they had to Canthage with their tentmates and mesmates, and themselves came up beside the sencral and gave heed to the orders given them.

And he commanded John, the Amenian, with two hundred men to follow (ielimer, and withont slackening their speed cither night on day to pursue him, until they should lake him living or dead. And he sent word to his ansociates in Carthage to lead into

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































 238

## HSTORY OF THE WARS, IV.iv. 10-19

the city all the Vandal, who were sitting as suppliants in sanctuaries in the places about the city, griving them pledges and taking away their weapons, that they might not begin an uprising, and to keep them there until he himself should come. And with those who were left he went about everywhere and wathered the soldiers lastily, and to all the Vandals he came upon he gave pledges for their safety. For it was no longer prossible to catch anyone of the Vandals except as is suppliant in the sanctuaries. And from these he took away their weapons and sent them, with soldiers to guard them, to Carthage, not giving them time to mite againt the Romans. And when everything was as well settled as possible, he himself with the greater part of the amy moved aganst (eelimer with all speed. But John, after continuing the pursuit five days and nights, had already come not far from (ielimer, and in fact he was about to engage with him on the following day. But since it was not fieted that (ielimer should be captured by John, the following obstacle was contrived by fortune. Among thone pursuing with John it happened that there was [liaric, the ade of Belisarius. Now this man was a paspmate fellow and well favoured in strength of heart and body, but not a very serious man, but one who eronerally took dolight in wine and buffonery This ['liaris on the sixth day of the pursuit, beiner drank, saw a bird sitting in a tree at about smmise, and he quickly stretedeed his bow and despatehoed a misule at the bird. And he missed the hird, but John, who was hehind it, he hit in the necek by no wili of his own. And since the wound was mortal, doln passed away a shon time afterwateds, leaving great somew at his loss to the Emperor Justinian and

## pROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















2.) rò" 'I $\omega$ ín















## HASTORY OF THE WARS, $1 \mathrm{~V} . \mathrm{i}$. $19-27$

Belisarius, the weneral, and to all the Romans and (arthaginians. For in manliness and every sort of virtue he was well endowed, and he shewed himself, to those who asoociated with him, gentle and cyuitable to a degree quite unsurpassed. Thus, then, John fulfilled his destiny. As for Uliaris, when he came to himself, he fled to a certain village which was near by and sat as a suppliant in the sanctuary there. And the soldiers mo longer pressed the pursuit of Gelimer, but they cared for John as long as he survived, and when he had died they carried out all the customary rites in his burial, and reporting the whole matter to Belisarius they remained where they were. And as soon as he heard of it, he came to John's burial, and bewailed his fate. And after weeping over him and grieving bitterly at the whole occurrence, he honoured the tomb of John with many gifts and especially by providing for it a resular income. However, he did nothing severe to Cliaris, since the soldiers said that John had enjoined upon them by the most dread oaths that no vengeance should come to him, since he had not performed the unholy deed with deliberate intent.

Thus, then, (evimer escaped falling into the hands of the enemy on that day. And from that time on Belisarius pursucd him, but upon reaching a strong city of Numidia situated on the sea, ten days distant from (arthage, which they call Hippo kewius, ${ }^{\text {b }}$ he learned that Gelimer had asecoded the monntain Papmand conld no fonger be captured by the Romans. Now this momntain is situated at the extremity of
${ }^{1}$ Now loma; $1 t$ was the home and horial place of St. Augustine.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




























 ${ }^{1}$ uóvos P' $\mu$ úvò VO.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iv. 27-32

Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer, and an ancient city named Medens lies on the outukirts of the mountain. There Gelimer rested with his followers. But as for Belisarims, he was not able to make any attempt at all on the mountain, much leas in the winter seatom, and since his affairs were still in an uncertain state, he did not think it adsisable to be away from Carthage ; and so he chose out soldeers, with Pharas as their leader, and set them to maintain the siege of the mountain. Xow this Pharas was energetic and thoronghly serious and upright in every way, although he was an Erulian by birth. And for an Frulian not to give himself over ti) treachery and drumkemess, but to strive after uprightness, is mo casy matter and merits abundant parise. ${ }^{\text {b }}$ But not only was it Pharas who maintained ondedy conduct, but also all the Erulians who followed him. This Pharas, theon, Bedisarius commanded toe estalli, himself at the fool of the mountan during the winter searon and to keep close guard, so that it would neither be persible for (iclimere to leave the mombain nor for any supplies to be brought in to him. And Phamas acted aceordingly. Them Belisarius turned to the C'malals who were sitting as suppliant, in the sanctnatice in Hijpo Regius,-and there were many of them and of the mobilityand hee ransed them all to aceept plederes and ariee, and then be sent them to Carthage with a


## Procopius of caesarea

 тoוóv $\delta є \xi \cup \mu \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon i ̂ v$ é év $\chi \in \nu$ ．

















36 cì入入à тиєúmatos aùtòv ċvavtímpa єis tòv toû






 poutos），tóte סìl aùtol te kol Bovıф́tios és épyouay 方入Aov és äpa ó Acòs тà xpípaza＇Po－




## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iv. 32-3S

guard. And there it came about that the following event happened to him.

In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface, a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceedingly faithful to Gelimer. At the begiming of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and placing all the royal treasure in it commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius, and if he should see that the situation was not farourable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adrerse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Ilippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a bery severe stom had fallen upon them and the wases of the sea were rising to a great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan se:a, ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ and then it oceured to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got coutside the harbour, they encountered great danger

[^54]
## procopius of caesarea




 фatíou $\sigma \tau a \lambda \epsilon i ̂ e v ~ т o \hat{v}$ tà I＇є入ípepos xpífata







 хрі̂на той $\Gamma є \lambda i ́ \mu є \rho о \varsigma ~ \sigma \nu \lambda i ́ \sigma а \nu т а ~ \pi \lambda о и ́ т о v . ~$

## V




 2 êv Bavסí入o九 ìpxov．Kúpı入入or $\mu$ èv ỡu छivr






 «рұ！
 ${ }^{1} \pi$ т òs PO ：тарà V ．
2.46
in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon wiving (iclimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure.

## V

Axin when he returned to Carthage, he put all the Vandals in readiness, so that at the opening of spring he might send them to Byzantium ; and he sent out an amy to recover for the Romans everything which the Vandals ruled. And first he sent Cyril to Sardinia with a great force, having the head of Tzatzon, since these islanders were not at all willing to yield to the Romans, fearing the Vandals and thinking that what had been told them as having happened in Tricamarum could not be true. And he ordered this Cyril to send a portion of the amm to Corsica, and to recover for the Roman empire the island, which had been previously subject to the Vandals; thi, istand was calted ('ymos in early

## procopius of caesarea











 $\dot{\text { д́r }}$



















3 а́фі̂кто Dindorf : $\dot{\phi} \phi$ 亿́кєто MSS.
times, and is not far from Sardinia. So he came to Sardinia and displayed the head of 'Tzazon to the inhabitants of the place, and he won back both the islands and made them tributary to the Roman domain. And to Caesarea ${ }^{\text {I }}$ in Mauretania Belisarius sent John with an infantry company which he usually commanded himself; this place is distant from Carthage a joumey of thirty days for an uneneumbered traveller, as one goes towards Gadira and the west; and it is situated upon the sea, having been a great and populous city from ancient times. Another John, one of his own guardsmen, he sent to Gadira on the strait and by one of the Pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call "Septem." ${ }^{2}$ And to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in, called Ebusa and Majorica and Dinoriea ${ }^{3}$ by the matives, he sent Apollinarius, who was a native of Italy, but had come while still a lad to Libya. And he had been rewarded with great sums of money by Ilderic, who was then leader of the Vandals, and after Ilderic had been removed from the oflice and was in confinement, as has been told in the previous narrative, ${ }^{4}$ he came to the Emperor Justinian with the other Libyans who were working in the interest of Ilderic, in order to entreat his fawour as a suppliant. And he joined the Roman expedition against (eclimer and the Vandals, and proved himself a brave man in this war and most of all at 'Tricamarum. And as a result of his deeds there Bedisarius entrusted to him these islands. And later Belisarius sent an army also into 'Tripolis to
${ }^{1}$ Annit twrem miles west of Algiers, originally Iol, now Cherchel ; named after Augustus.
${ }^{2}$ See IIT. i. 6 and noto.
${ }^{2}$ See III, i. 18.
${ }^{3}$ Jjook ILI. ix. 9.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







 pan, ès oưoè̀ tò фpoúpron toûto Bavéínols

 тò Bavoí入ay фpoúpıov тầ ßart
















$$
1 \text { ойть Haury : ойтов V, ойтє Р, ойкє́ть O. }
$$

Pudentius and 'lattimuth, ${ }^{1}$ who were being pressed by the Moors there, and thus strengthened the Roman power in that quarter.

He also sent some men to Sicily in order to take the fortress in Lilybeum, as belonging to the Timdals' lingdom, but he was repulsed fiom there, since the Goths by no means saw fit to yield any part of Sicily, on the ground that this fortress did not belong to the Vandals at all. And when Belisarius heard this, he wrote to the commanders who were there as follows: "Y'ou are depriving us of Lilybaeum, the fortress of the Vandals who are the slaves of the emperor, and are not acting justly nor in a way to benefit yourselves, and you wish to bring upon your ruler, though he does not so will it and is far distant from the scene of these actions, the hostility of the great emperor, whose good-will he has, having won it with great labour. And yet how could you but seem to be acting contrary to the ways of men, if you recently allowed Gelimer to hold the fortress, but have decided to wrest from the emperor, (iclimer's master, the possessions of the slave? You, at least, should not act thus, most excellent sirs. But reflect that, while it is the nature of friendship to cover over many faults, hostility does not brook even the smallest miscleeds, but searches the past for every offence, and allows not its encmy to grow rich on what does not in the least belong to them. ${ }^{3}$ Moreover,

## ${ }^{1}$ Sce III. 73.

${ }^{2}$ Lilyhamm hat been cerled to the Vandals hy Theoderic as dower of his sister Amalafrida on her marriage to Thrasamund, the African king (III. viii. 13).

[^55]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




















 $\pi \rho о \sigma \pi o \iota o v ́ \mu \epsilon \theta a$ ì $\mu \in \tau \in ́ \rho a \nu$ ov̉ $\sigma a \nu$, ìs $\delta \dot{\eta}$ äкра $\mu i a$









${ }^{1} \mu \dot{\eta} \pi о \tau \in \mathrm{P} O: \mu \eta \dot{\eta} \epsilon \mathrm{V}$.


## IISTORY OF THE WARS, IV.v. $15-23$

the enemy fights to avenge the wrongs which it says have been done to its ancestors ; and whereas, if friendship thus turned to hostility fails in the strugerle, it suffers no loss of its own possessions, yet if it succeeds, it teaches the vanquished to take a new view of the indulgence which has been shewn them in the past. See to it, then, that you neither do us further harm nor suffer harm yourselves, and do not make the great emperor an enemy to the Gothic nation, when it is your mayer that he he propitious toward you. For be well assured that, if you lay clam to this fortress, war will confront you immediately, and not for Lilybatum alone, but for all the possessions you daim as yours, though not one of them belongs to you." Such was the message of the letter. And the (iothis reported these things to the mother ${ }^{1}$ of Antalarie, and at her direction made the following reply: "The letter which you have written, most excellent Belisarius, carries sound admonition, but pertinent to some other men, not to us the (ioths. For there is mothing of the Emperor Justinian's which we have taken and hold; may we never lee so mad as to do such a thing! 'The whole of ticily we claim becatuse it is our own, and the fortress of Lilybacum is one of its promontories. And if Theoderic gave his sister, who was the consort of the king of the Vindals, one of the tradimeports of Sicily for her use, this is mothing. For this fact could not afford a basis for any claim on your part. But you, () (iemeral, would be acting justly toward us, if you should the willing to make the settlement of the matters in dispute between us, not as an enemy, but as a friend. And there is this difference, that friends

[^56]
## procopius of caesarea












## VI

















${ }^{1} \mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \frac{\nu}{2}$ added by Haury. ${ }^{2} \gamma^{\nu} \bar{\omega} \sigma \iota \nu$ PO: $\gamma^{\nu}{ }^{\prime} \mu \not \mu \nu$ V.
${ }^{3} \kappa \omega \lambda \dot{\mu} \mu \eta$ VO: $\lambda \dot{\mu} \mu \eta \mathrm{P}$.

- \%̈ $\pi \omega s$ V : єì $\pi \omega s$ PO Christ.


## HINTORY OF THE WARS, IV. v. 23-vi. 3

are aceustomed to settle their disampecments by arbitration, but enemies by battle. We, therefore, shall commit this matter to the Emperor Justinian, to arhitrate ${ }^{1}$ in whatever manner seems to him lawful and just. And we desire that the decisions you make shall be as wise as possible, rather than as hasty as possible, and that you, therefore, await the decision of your emperor." Such was the message of the letter of the Goths. And Belisarius, reporting all to the emperor, remained quiet until the emperor should send him word what his wish was.

## VI

But Phavas, having by this time become weary of the siege for many reasons, and especially hecause of the winter season, and at the same time thinking that the Moors there would not be able to stand in his way, undertook the ascent of Papua with great zeal. Accordingly he armed all his followers very carefully and berran the aucent. But the Moors rushed to the defence, and since they were on ground which was stecep and very hard to traverse, their efforts to hinder those making the ascent were easily aceomplished. But Pharas fought hard to foree the aseent, and one hunderd and ten of his men perished in this strugele, and he himecli with the rematinder was beaten back and retired : and as a result of this he did unt dare to attempt the ascent again, since the situation was agamet him, but he ectablished as carefol a muard as

[^57]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









 6 тєтú $\chi \eta \kappa \in \nu$ єivaı. oi $\mu$ èv, 耳áp, ${ }^{2}$ є̇ $\xi$ öтou $\Lambda \iota \beta u ́ \eta p$,



















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\begin{aligned}
& \text { " ä } \lambda \lambda \text { ous Maltretus: \& \& } \lambda \lambda \omega \text { s MSS. Christ. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{\circ} \text { aùt } \hat{\nu} \text { Hoeschel : aùroîs MSS. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vi. 3-1o

pussible, in order that those on Papua, being pressed hy hunger, might surrender themselves; and he neither permited them to run away nor anything to be brought in to them from outside. Then, indeed, it came about that (ielimer and those about him, who were nephews and cousins of his and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery which no one could describe, however eloquent he might be, in a way which would equal the facts. For of all the nations which we know that of the Vandals is the most luxurious, and that of the Moors the most hardy. For the Vandals, since the time when they gained possession of Libya, used to indulge in baths, ali of them, every day, and enjoyed a table abounding in all things, the sweetest and best that the earth and seat produce. And they wore gold very genemally, and chothed themselves in the Medic garments, which now they call "seric," ${ }^{1}$ and passed their time, thus dressed, in theatres and hippodromes and in other pheasureable pursuits, and above all else in hunting. And they had dancers and mimes and all other thing to hear and see which are of a musical nature or otherwise merit attention among men. And the most of them dwelt in parks, which were well supplied with water and trees; and they had great numbers of bancuets, and all mamer of sexual pleasures were in ereat rogne among them. But the Moors live in stully huts ${ }^{2}$ both in winter and in summer and at every other time, never remostig from them either beeause of suow or the heat of the sum or any other discomfort whatever

[^58]
## procopius of caesarea






 à入入à тòv бîtou，ท̈l тàs ò $\lambda$ úpas tє каi крıөás，оӥтє




 pías $\mu \in \tau a \beta a \lambda o ́ v t \epsilon \varsigma, ~ \in ̇ \pi \epsilon i \delta i ̀ ~ к a i ̀ ~ a u ̛ T i ̀ ~ \sigma \phi \hat{a s ~ \tau \dot{a}}$
 каi тò тєӨvíval aúтoîs $\ddot{j} \delta \iota \sigma \tau 0 \nu$ каi тò Sou入єv́धu＇















 ${ }^{1}$ à $\lambda o u ̂ v \tau \epsilon s$ Herwerden ：そ̌ovtes MSS．

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vi. io-zo

due to mature. And they sleep on the ground, the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a flecee under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change their clothing with the seasons, but they wear a thick choak and a rough shirt at all times. And they have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it to flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not a whit different from that of animals. Since the Moors, then, were of a such a sort, the followers of (iclimer, after living with them for a long time and changing their accustomed manner of life to such a miserable existence, when at last even the necessities of life had failed, held out no longer, but death was thought by them most sweet and slavery by no means disgraceful.

Now when this was learned by Pharas, he wrote to (Gelimer as follows: "I too am a barlbrian and not accustomed to writing and speaking, nor am I skilful in these matters. But that which 1 am forced as a man to know, having learned from the nature of things, this I am writing you. What in the world has happened to you, my dear Gelimer, that you have cast, not yoursclf alone, hat your whole fanily besides, into this pit? 1 s it, forsonth, that you may avoid becoming a slave? But this is assuredly mothing hut youthful folly, and making of 'liberty' a mere shitholeth, as though liberly were worth possessing at the price of all this miscry! And, after all, do you mot consider that you are, ceron now, a slave to the most wretched of the Moors, since your only hope of being saved, if the best happens, is in them? And yet why would it not be better in every way to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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 хрímaбı $\mu \in \gamma i ́ \lambda 力 \iota s ~ \delta \omega p i ́ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota, ~ B e \lambda \iota \sigma$ ípıóv te є́ $\theta$ é $\lambda \in \iota \nu$ द̀v














 є́тькєє $\mu \in ́ \nu \omega \nu$ वंтท $\lambda \lambda$ с́ $\chi$ Өає как $\omega \nu . "$

$$
\left.{ }^{1} \delta \iota \delta \delta \nu \tau a \mathrm{VP}: \delta \delta \delta \delta \nu \tau t \mathrm{O} . \quad{ }^{2} \delta_{\epsilon}^{\mathrm{t}} \mathrm{P} \mathrm{O}: \delta\right\rangle \mathrm{V} .
$$

260

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vi. 20-26

be a slave among the Romans and beggared, than to be monarch on Mount Papua with Moors as your subjects? But of course it seems to you the very height of disgrace even to be a fellow slave with Belisarius! Away with the thought, most excellent Gelimer. Are not we, ${ }^{2}$ who also are born of noble families, proud that we are now in the service of an emperor? And indeed they say that it is the wish of the Emperor Justinian to have you enrolled in the senate, thus sharing in the highest honour and being a patrician, as we term that rank, and to present you with land, both spacious and good and with great sums of money, and that Belisarius is willing to make himself responsible for your having all these things, and to give you pledges. Now as for all the miseries which fortune has brought you, you are able to bear with fortitude whatever comes from her, knowing that you are but a man and that these things are inevitable; but if fortune has purposed to temper these adversities with some admixture of good, would you of yourself refuse to accept this gladly? Or should we comsider that the grood gifts of fortune are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? Yet such is not the opinion of even the utterly senselese; but you, it would seem, have now lost your good judginent, steeped as you are in misfortunes. Indeed, discouragement is wont to confound the mind and to be transfomed to folly. If, however, you can bear your own thoughts and refrain from rebolling against fortune when she changes, it will be possible at his very moment for you to choose that which will be wholly to your advanage, and to eseape from the evils which hang over yon."

[^59]
## procopius of caesarea





























入офири́деноя ката̀ тà үеүрание́va ѐтоі́є каі

When Gelimer had read this letter and wept bitterly orer it, he wrote in reply as follows: "I am both deeply grateful to you for the advice which you have given me and I also think it unbearable to be a slave to an eneny who wrongs me, from whom I should pray God to exact justice, if He should be propitious to me,-an enemy who, though he had never experienced any ham from me either in deeds which he suffered or in words which he heard, provided a pretext for a war which was mprovoked, and reduced me to this state of misfortune, bringing Belisarius aganst me from I know not where. And yet it is not at all mikely that he also, since he is but a man, though he be emperor too, may have amething befall him which he would not choose. Butas forme, I am not able to write further. For my present misfortune has robbed me of my thoughts. Farewell, then, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre and one loaf of bread and a sponge, I pray you." When this reply was read by Pharas, he was at a loss for some tine, being unable to understand the final words of the letter, until he who had brought the letter explained that Gelimer desired one loaf because he was earger to conjoy the sight of it and to cat it, since from the time when he went up upon P'ipuar he had not seen a single baked loaf. A sponge also was necessary for him; for one of his ryes, becoming irritated by lack of washing, was greaty swollen. And being a skilful harpist he had eomposed an ode relating to his present misfortune, which he was eager to chant to the aceompaniment of a lyre while he wept oul his soul. When Phams heard this, he was deeply mosed, and lamenting the firtume of men, he did as was wrillen and sent all

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## VII



























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{ }^{1} \text { aủroîs VP : aủ }
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the things which Gelimer desired of him. However he relaxed the siege not a whit, but kept wateh more closely than before.

## VII

Avo already a space of three months had been spent in this siege and the winter was coming to an end. And (ielimer was afraid, suspecting that his beniegers would come up against him after no great time; and the bodies of most of the children who were related to him ${ }^{3}$ were discharging worms in this time of misery. And though in everything he was deeply dituensed, and looked upon everything, (xcept, indeed, death,-wwith dissatisfaction, he nevertheless endured the suffering beyond all expeectation, until it happened that he beheld a sight such as the following. A certain Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little corn, and making of it a very tiny cake, threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth. For thus it is the custom among the Moners to bake their loaves, And beside this hearth two children were sitting, in exceedingly great distress by reason of the ir hunger, the one being the son of the very woman who had thrown in the cake, and the other a nephew of (ielimer; and they were eager to sejze the cake as soon as it should seem to them to be conked. And of the two children the Vandal mot ahoad of the other and snatehed the cake first, and, Hhough it was still exceedingly hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him, and he threw it into his month and was cating it, when the other seized him by the hair of the head ${ }^{1}$ Cf. ch. vi. 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















 є่ $\gamma \chi \in \iota \rho \iota \hat{\omega}$ каi $\sigma \nu \gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \hat{\imath} \varsigma ~ т о v ́ \sigma \delta є ~ к а i ~ B a \nu \delta i ́ \lambda o u s ~$ ő $\sigma o \iota \xi v ̀ \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \mu i ̂ \nu$ є่ $\nu \tau a \hat{v} \theta a ́ ~ \epsilon i \sigma \iota . " ~$













## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vii. 5-11

and struck him over the temple and beat him again and thus compelled him with great violence to cast out the cake which was already in his throat. This sad experience (ielimer could not endure (for he had followed all from the beginning), and his spirit was weakened and he wrote as quickly as possible to Pharas as follows: "If it has ever happened to any man, after manfully enduring terrible misfortunes, to take a course contrary to that which he had previously determined upon, consider me to be such a one, O most excellent Pharas. For there has come to my mind your advice, which I am far from wishing to disregard. For I cannot resist fortune further nor rebel against fate, but I shall follow straightway wherever it secms to her best to lead; but let me receive the pledges, that Belisarius guarantees that the emperor will do everything which you recently promised me. For I, indeed, as soon as you give the pledges, shall put both myself into your hands and these kinsmen of mine and the Vandals, as many as are here with us."

Such were the words written by Gelimer in this letter. And Pharas, having signified this to Belisarius, as well as what they had previously written Io each other, begged him to declare as quickly as pussible what his wish was. And Belisarius (since he was greatly denirous of leading (ielimer alive to the e (-mperor), as soon as he had read the letter, beeame overjoyed and commanded Cyprian, a leader of foederati, ${ }^{1}$ to go to Papua with certain others, and directed them to give an oath concerning the safety of (ielimer and of those with him, and to swear that

[^60]
## procopius of caesarea





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## HSTORY OF THE WARS，IV．vii．Iェーェク

he would be honoured before the emperor and would lack nothing．And when these men had come to Iharas，they went with him to a certain place by the foot of the mountain，where Gelimer came at their summons，and after receiving the pledges just as he wished he came with them to Carthage．And it happened that Belisarius was staying for a time in the suburb of the city which they call Aclas． Accordingly Gelimer came before him in that place， laughing with such langhter as was neither moderate nor the kind one could conceal，and some of those who were looking at him suspected that by reason of the extremity of his aftiction he had changed entirely from his natural state and that，already beside him－ self，he was laughing for no reason．But his friends would have it that the man was in his sound mind， and that because he had been born in a royal family， and had ascended the throne，and had been clothed with great power and immense wealth from child－ hood even to old age，and then being driven to flight and phunged into great fear had undergone the sufferings on Papua，and now had come as a captive，hasing in this way had experience of all the gifts of fortune，both good and evil，for this reason，they believed，he thought that man＇s lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter．Now concerniner this laughter of（iclimer＇s，let each one speak aceordine to his judgment，both enemy and friend．But Belisarius，reporting to the emperor that（ielimer was a captive in Carthage，asked permission to bring him to Byzantimm with him． It the same time he ernarded hoth him and all the Tindals，in no dishonour and proceeded to put the flect in readiness．

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














 ти́ита тро̀s Bavסí入ous Sıŋ́veryкav. тои̃то gàp



## VIII









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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vii. I8-viii. 2

Now many other things too great to be hoped for have before now been experienced in the long course of time, and they will continue as long as the fortunes of men are the same as they now are; for those things which seem to reason impossible are actually accomplished, and many times those things which previously appeared impossible, when they have befallen, have seemed to be worthy of wonder; but whether such events as these ever took place before I am not able to say, wherein the fourth descendant of Cizeric, and his kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength, were compleiely undone in so short a time by five thousand men coming in as invaders and having not a place to cast anchor. For such was the number of the horsemen who followed Belisarius, and carried through the whole war against the Vandals. For whether this happened by chance or because of some kind of valour, one would justly marvel at it. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

## VIII

So the Vandalic war conded thus. But envy, as is wont to happen in cases of great good fortune, was already swelling against Belisarius, although he provided no pretext for it. For some of the officers slandered him to the emperor, charging him, without any grounds whatever, with seeking to set up a kinedom for himself,' a statement for which there
'i.e. there in Afries, as suecessor to the throne of the Vandal kings.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
























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{ }^{1} \tau a v ́ \tau \eta \mathrm{VP}: ~ \tau a \hat{\tau} \tau \alpha 0 .
$$

## 272

was no basis whatever. But the emperor did not disclose these things to the world, either because he paid no heed to the slander, or because this course seemed better to him. But he sent Solomon and gave Belisarius the opportunity to choose whichever of two things he desired, either to come to Byzantitum with (ielimer and the Vandals, or to remain there and send them. And Belisarius, since it did not escape him that the officers were bringing against him the charge of seeking supreme power, was eager to get to Branntium, in order that he might clear himself of the charge and be able to proceed against his slanderers. Now as to the manner in which he learned of the attempt of his accusers, I shall explain. When those who denounced him wished to present this slander, fearing lest the man who was to carry their letter to the emperor should be lost at sea and thus put a stop to their proceedings, they wrote the aforesaid acensation on two tablets, purposing to send two messengers to the emperor in two ships. And one of these two sailed away without beine detected, but the second, on account of some suspicion or other, was captured in Mandracium, and putting the writing into the hands of his captors, he marle known what was being done. So Belisarius, having learned in this way, was eager to come before the emperor, as has been said. Suclo, then, was the course of these events at Carthage.

But the Morns whon dwelt in Byarcium and in Numidia turned to revolt for mo grod reason, and they decided to break the treaty and to rise sudderaly asainst the Romans. And this was not out of keeping with their pecular chatacter. Fore there is amone the Monm neither fear of (iod nor respect for men.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















 iкои́баעтєऽ oi Mavpovíıoı, є̇тєi тò ßaбı入є́шs













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{ }^{1} \ddot{\sigma}_{\tau} \tau \mathrm{V}: \ddot{\pi} \pi \omega s \mathrm{P} \text { O. }
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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. viii. Io-I7

For they care not cither for oaths or for hostages, even though the hostages chance to be the children or brothers of their leaders. Nor is peace maintained among the Moors by any other means than by fear of the enemies opposing them. Now I shall set forth in what manner the treaty was made by them with Belisarius and how it was broken. When it came to be expected that the emperor's expedition would arrive in Libya, the Moors, fearing lest they should receive some harm from it, consulted the oracles of their women. For it is not lawful in this nation for a man to utter oracles, but the women among them as a result of some sacred rites become possessed and foretell the future, no less than any of the ancient oracles. So on that occasion, when they made enquiry, as has been said, the women gave the response: "There shall be a host from the waters, the overthrow of the Vandals, destruction and defeat of the Moors, when the general of the Romans shall come unbearded." When the Moors heard this, since they saw that the emperor's army had come from the sea, they began to be in great fear and were quite unwilling to fight in alliance with the Vandals, but they sent to leelisarius and established peace, as has been stated previonsly, ${ }^{1}$ and then remained quiet and waited for the future, to see how it would fall ont. And when the power of the Vandals had now come to an cond, they sent to the Roman army, investigating whe the there was anyone umbearded among them holding an ulfice. And when they saw all wearing full beards, they thought that the oracle did mot indicate the present time to them, but one many sencrations later, interperting the saying in

[^61]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























 щateíus tetaypévous eiplíl, ìmep aítois ditte. ${ }^{1}$ 啨 $\epsilon$ €i $\chi o v$ Hoeschel in marg. : àv $v \in i \chi \chi o v$ MSS.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. viii. Iク-25

that way which they themselves wished. Immediately, therefore, they were eager to break the treaty, but their fear of lBelisarius prevented them. For they had no hope that they would ever overcome the Romans in war, at least with him present. But when they heard that he was making his departure together with his guards and spearmen, and that the ships were already being filled with them and the Vandals, they suddenly rose in arms and displayed every manner of outrage upon the Libyans. For the soldiers were both few in each place on the frontier and still umprepared, so that they would not have been able to stand against the barbarians as they made inroads at every point, nor to prevent their incursions, which took place frequently and not in an open manner. But men were being killed indiscriminately and women with their children were being made slaves, and the wealth was being plundered from every part of the frontier and the whole country was being filled with fugitives. These things were reported to Belisarius when he was just about settings sail. And since it was now too late for him to return himself, he entrusted Solomon with the administration of Libya and he: also chose out the greatest part of his own guards and spearmen, instructing them to follow folomon and as quickly as possible to punish with all real those of the Moors who had risen in revolt and to exact vengeance for the injury done the Romans. And the emperor sent another amy aloo to solomon with 'Theodorns, the (appadocian, and Ildiger, who was the son-in-law of Antomina, the wife of Belisarius. And since it was (an) longer posibible to find the vevemues of the districts of Libya set down in order in documents,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREa.








## IX



 ties $\mu \in \gamma i ́ \sigma \tau a s ~ к a i ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o v ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{v ~ « そ i ́ a s ~ « i \nu a \delta \eta \sigma a-~}$













${ }^{1}$ ar ${ }^{2} \pi \nu \tau \alpha \mathrm{VO}$ : ärav ias P .
2 є่ $\kappa \beta a \lambda \beta i \delta \omega \nu$ Maltretus: ${ }^{2} \kappa \beta a v \delta i \lambda \omega \nu$ MSS.
${ }^{1}$ Examples of the Roman system have come to light in Jisyttian papyri ; cf. the declarations of personal property,
 p. gmo, col. Mahafiy and coyly.
"Since a triumph was granted only to an imperator, after 278

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. viii. 25-i. 4

as the Rumans had recorded them in former times, ${ }^{1}$ inasmuch as (iizeric had upset and destroyed everything in the beginning, Tryphon and Justratius were sent by the emperor, in order to assess the taxes for the Libyans each according to his proportion. But these min seemed to the Libyans neither moderate nor endurable.

## IX

Benstants, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years hard now passed since anyone had attained these honours, ${ }^{2}$ except, indeed, 'Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian mation and had been victorions. For he displayed the spoils and haves from the war in the midst of the city and led a prowession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient mamer, but gringe on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers until he reached the phace where the imperial throne is. ${ }^{3}$ And there was booty, first of all, whatever articles are wont. the eatablishmont of the primeiphto he Aumbetus all trimmphe were erlehtafal in the B:ane of the ermeror himself, the


 triumph in Constantinople.
 Were it the ofen and of the hippothome, the impmrial lma it the midhle of the ernere at the right ats one entrome.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESARFA

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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. ix. $4-1$ I

to be set apart for the royal service, -thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consurt to ride, and much jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and atl the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric had despoiled the Palatium in Rome, ats has been said in the preceding narrative), ${ }^{1}$ and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Terpasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. And one of the Jews, steing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them tu be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romane, and that now the Roman army has captured that the Gandals." When this had been bromght to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christian in Jerusalem. And there were lave in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himsulf, wraring some sont of a purple garment upon his shouldere, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of hody. And when Geliner reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofy seat and the people standing on eithere side and realized as he looked

[^62]
## Procopius of caEsarea

















 $\tilde{\eta} \theta \in \lambda \epsilon \nu$.







 Bèıбapiov itateías ó סijuos ïptaбє, каi т



[^63]
## ${ }^{1}$ Licclesiastes, i. …

## HIN゙IORY OF THE WARS，IV．ix．ェェ－ı 6

about in what an cril plight he was，he neither wept non eried out，but ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew scripture：${ }^{1}$＂Vanity of vanities， all is vanity．＂And when he came before the cmperor＇s seat，they stripped off the purple garment， and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian．＇This also Belisarius did，as being a suppliant of the emperor along with him．And the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic and his offspring and all those of the family of the Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money， and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised in（ialatia and permitted him to live there together with his family．However，Gelimer was by no means cmolled among the patricians，since he was unwilling to change from the faith of Arius．

A little later the triumph ${ }^{2}$ was celebrated by Belisarius in the ancient mamer also．For he had the

Jan．1， 535 A．D． fortume to be advanced to the oflice of consul，and therefore was borne aloft by the captives，and as he was thus carried in his curule chair，he threw to the populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war．For the people carried off the silver plate and golden girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals＇wealth of other sorts as a result of Belisarius＇consulship，and it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old custom was being revived．＂These things，then， took place in Byzantium in the manner described．
${ }^{2}$ Not an actual＂trinmpli，＂hut a triumphal celebration of his inauguration as consul．
${ }^{3}$ The reference is to the oht custom of distributing to the populawe larensas：（omenfieriet）of money or valuables on the oneasion of ewents of interest to the imperial honse，surh as the cmpmens a sumption of the mosular office，hit helays，et e． The fin thargens of this kind was made by Julins C＇aesar．

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## X































## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. x. $1-7$

## X

And sulomon took orer the army in Libya; but in vicw of the fact that the Moors had risen against him, as has been told previously, and that everything was in suspense, he was at a loss how to treat the situation. For it was reported that the barbarians hat destroved the soldiers in Byzacium and Numidia and that they were pillaging and phondering everything there. But what disturbed most of all both him and all Carthage was the fate which befell Aigan, the Massagcte, and Rufinus, the Thracian, in Byzacium. For both were men of great repute both in the household of Belisarius and in the Roman army, one of them, Agan, being among the spearmen of Belisarius, while the other, as the most courageno of all, was accustomed to carry the standard of the general in battle; such an officer the Romans call "bandifer." ${ }^{1}$ Now at the time referred to these two men were commanding detatchments of cavalyy in Byzacium, and when they saw the Moors plundering everything before them and making all the Lityans captives, they watched in a narrow pass with the ir followers for those who wereescorting the booty, and killed them and took away all the captives. And when areport of this came 6, the commanders of the barlarians, ('ontzinas and Fedilasas and Iomphouthes and Medisinissas, who were mot far away from this pass, they mowed againel them with their whole army in the late afternom. And the Romans, being a very few men and shut of ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Book IV. ii. 1.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA























 є่ขтаиิӨa ఱંкท́баขто.



 'Inooûs ó tô̂ Naun tais, ôs ës te тìr Ila入al-


 286

HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. x. 7-14
in a narrow place in the midst of many thousands, were not able to ward off their assailants. For wherever they might turn, they were always shot at from the rear. Then, indeed, Rufinus and Aigan with some few men ran to the top of a rock which was near by and from there defended themselves agrainst the barbarians. Now as long as they were using their bows, the enemy did not dare come directly to a hand-to-hand struggle with them, but they kept hurling their javelins among them ; but when all the arrows of the Romans were now exhausted, the Moors closed with them, and they defended themselves with their swords as well as the circumstances permitted. But since they were overpowered by the multitude of the barbarians, Aigan fell there with his whole body hacked to pieces, and Rufinus was seized by the enemy and led away. But straightway one of the commanders, Medisinissas, fearing lest he should escape and again make trouble for them, cut off his head and taking it to his home shewed it to his wives, for it was a remarkable sight on account of the extraordinary size of the head and the abondance of hair. And now, since the narration of the history has brousht me to this point, it is necessary to tell from the beginning whence the nations of the Moors came to Libya and how they settled there.

When the Hehrews had withdrawn from Egypt and had eome near the boundaries of Palestine, Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the joumbey, died, and the leadership was passed on to Joshma, the son of Nun, who led this people into Palestine, and, by disphaying a valour in war sreater than that natmal to a man, rained possession of the land. And after owerthowing all the mations he

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































[^64]288

## HISTORY OF 'THE WARS, IV. x. 14-24

canily won the cities, and he seemed to be altogether insincible. Now at that time the whole comiry along the sea from tidon as far as the boundaries of Egypt was called Phoenicia. And one king in ancient times held sway over it, as is agreed by :ll who have written the earliest accounts of the Phomiciams. In that comentry there dwelt very populous tribes, the (iergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews. ${ }^{1}$ Now when these nations saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, they emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to Egypt, which adjoined their country. And finding there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since there has been a sereat population in Aesypt from ancient times, they proceeded to Libya. And they established numerons cities and tork possession of the whole of Libya as far at the Pillars of Heracles, and there they hase lived even up to my time, using the Phoenician tongue. They also built a fortress in Sumidia, where now is the eity called Tigisis. In that phace are two columms made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phomician tongue: "We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the whber, the con of Niun." Therewere also other nations settled in Libya before the Morrs, who on account of having been cutablifhed there from of old were sad to be children of the soil. And because of this they said that Antaens, their king, who wrestled with

## ${ }^{1}$ 'Ihe Canamites of the Old Tostanent.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
























## XI






1 i.f, Clypea, or A-pis, now Kalibia, on the Carthasiman coast.

290

Hermeles in Clipea, ${ }^{1}$ was a son of the carth. And in latere times those who removed from Phoenicia with Dick came to the inhahitants of Libya as to kinsmen. Ind they willing! allowed them to fonnd and hold (arthage. But as time went on Carthage became a powerful ind populous city. And a battic took place hetween them and their neighbours, who, as has been said. had come from Palestine before them and are called Moors at the present time, and the (:artheminams defeated them and compelled them to live a rery great distance away from Carthage. Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in wand and settled the Mons at the extremity of the inhabited land of Libya, and made the Carthainians and the other Libyans subject and tributary to themetres. And after this the Moors won many victories ower the Vandals and ganced possession of the land now called Mauretania. extending from (sadira as far as the boundaries of (acesarea," as well as the most of libyat which remained. Such, then, is the story of the settlement of the Moors in Libya.

## XI

Non when Golomon heard what had befallen Rufimesand Seann, he made ready for wate and wrote as follows to the eommanders of the Moors: " ()there men than you hase cron before Whis had the ill
2. i.e., from Tangier, opposite C'adiz, to Adgiers. On Caesarea see IV. v. 5 and note.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAIREA







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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xi. z-9

furtume to lose their senses and to be destroyed, men who had no means of judging beforehand how their folly would turn out. But as for you, who have the example near at hand in your neighbours, the limdals, what in the world has happened to you that you have decided to raise your hands against the Ereat emperor and throw away your own security, and that too when you have given the most dread oaths in writing and have handed over your children as pledees to the agreement? Is it that you have determined to make a kind of display of the fact that rou have no consideration either for God or for sood faith or for kinship itself or for safety or for any wther thing at all? And yet, if such is your practice in matters which concern the divine, in what ally do you put your trust in marching against the emperor of the Romans? And if you are taking the field to the destruction of your children, what in the world is it in behalf of which you have decided to endanger fourselves? But if any repentance has by now contered your hearts for what has already taken place, write 10 us, that we may satisfactorily arrange with you touching what has already been done; hut if your madness has not yet abated, expect a Roman war, which will come upon you together with the oathe which gou have violated and the wrong which you are doing to your own children."

Such was the letter which Solomon wrote. And the Woors replied as follows: "Belisarius deluded us with ereat promises and hy this means persuaded us to become subjerts of the Fimperor Justinian; but ther Pomams, while giving us mo share in any good thinge expereted to have us, though pinched with

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA































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{ }^{1} \tau \dot{\chi} \chi \eta \mathrm{~V}: \tau u ́ \chi 0 九 \mathrm{PO} \text {. }
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294

## HISTORY (OF 'THE WARS, IV. xi. ஏ-IS

hunger, as their friends and allies. Therefore it is mone fitting that vou should be called fathless than that the Moors should be. For the men who break treaties are not those who, when manifestly wronged. bring aceusation against their neighbours and turn away from them, but those who expect to keep others in fathenal allanee with them and then do them violence. And men make (iond their enemy, not when they march arginst others in order to recover their own poseessions, but when they eret themselves into danger of war by encroaching upon the puesecssons of others. And as for children, that will be gour concern, who are not permitted to marry more than one wife; but with us, who have, it may be, fitty wives living with each of us, offspring of children can never fail."

When solomon had read this letter. he decided to lead his whole army against the Moors. So after arranging matters in Carthage, he procecded with all his troops to Byzacium. And when he reached the place which is called Mammes, ${ }^{1}$ where the four Montish commanders, whom I have mentioner at little before, were encamped, he made a stockade for himself. Now there are lofty monntains there, and a leacl space mear the fonthills of the mometains, where the barbarians had made preparations for the battle and arranged their fightime ordei as follows. They formed a cirele of their camels, just as, in the provious natmate. I have said Cabaon did, makines the front about twelve derep. And they placed the women with the ehildern within the everes; (for amomes the Woen; it is rostomary fo take also a fow

1 "()n the borders of Mauretania" according to l'tocopius, De uertificiis, vi. (j. 18.
${ }^{2}$ Chap. x. 6. ${ }^{3}$ Book III. viii. 25, 20.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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 'Aigín te кai 'Povфîvor' छvvelvexQévta, 乃ovió-











${ }^{1}$ Christ would bracket $\xi \dot{v} \nu$ rois $\pi a \sigma \sigma$ iv.
${ }^{2}$ repl MSS. : $\pi$ apà Hocschel in marg., Dindorf.

## HSTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xi. IS-24

women, with their children, to battle, and these make the stockades and huts for them and tend the horses skilfully, and have charge of the camels and the food; they also sharpen the iron weapons and take upon themselves many of the tasks in connection with the preparation for battle); and the men themselves took their stand on foot in between the legs of the camels, having shields and swords and small spears which they are accustomed to hurl like javelins. And some of them with their horses remained quiefly among the mountains. But Solomon disregarded one half of the circle of the Moors, which was towards the mountain, placing no one there. For he feared lest the enemy on the mountain should come down and those in the circle should turn about and thus make the men drawn up there exposed to attack on both sides in the battle. But againet the remander of the circle he drew up his whole army, and since he saw the most of them frightened and without comage, on account of what had befallen dgan and Rufinus, and wishing to admonish them to be of good cheer, he spoke as follows: "Men who have campaigned with Belisarius, let no fear of these men conter your minds, and, if Woors gathered to the number of fifty thousand have already defeated five hunderd Romine, let not this stand for your as an example. But call to mind your own valour, and comsider that while the Vandals defeated the Moors, you hase become masters of the Vandals in war withom any cefort, and that it is not right that thone who have compucered the greater

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































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{ }^{1} \pi \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha s \mathrm{P} O: \pi \dot{\alpha} \dot{\prime} \nu \tau \omega \mathrm{V} .
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298

## HISTORY (OF THE WARS, IV. xi. 24-35

homld be terrified before those who are inferior. And indeed of all men the Moorish nation seems to be the most poorly equipped for war's struggle. For the most of them have no armour at all, and those who have shields to hold hefore themselves have only -mall ones which are not well made and are not able to turn aside what strikes against them. And after they have thrown those two small spears, if they do not accomplish anything, they turn of their own acoord to flight. So that it is possible for you, after guarding agranst the first attack of the barbarians, to win the victory with no trouble at all. But as to your equipment of arms, you see, of course, how great is the difference between it and that of your opponents. And apart from this, both valour of heart and strength of body and experience in war and confidence because you have already concured all your enemies,--all these advantages you have; but the Moors, being deprived of all these things, put their trust only in their own great throng. And it is easier for a few who are most excellently prepared to conquer a multitude of men not good at warfare than it is for the multitude to defeat them. For while the wood soldier has his confidence in himself, the cowardly man generally finds that the very number of those arrayed with him produces a want of room that is full of peril. Furthemore, you are wartanted in decpising these camols, which camot fight for the concony, and when struck by our miswile, will, in all probability, berome the eamse of romsiderable confusion and disorder among them. And the easerones fon batlle which the eonemy hase atequirerl on acoromb of their fommer suceess will be your ally in the fight. Fon daring, when it is kepl

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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commensurate with one's power, will perhaps be of some benefit even to those who make use of it, but when it exceeds one's power it leads into danger. Bearing these things in mind and despising the encmy, ubserve silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour:" Thus spoke Solomon.

And the commanders of the Noors also, seeing the barbarians terrified at the orderly array of the Romans, and wishing to recall their host to confidence again, exhorted them in this wise: "That the Romans have human bodies, the kind that yield when struck with iron, we have been taught, O fellow-soldiers, hy those of them whom we have recently met, the hest of them all, some of whom we have overwhelmed with our spears and killed, and the others we have seized and made our prisoners of war. And not only is this so, but it is now possible to see also that we bast great superiority ofer them in numbers. And, furthermore, the strugrele for us involves the very greatest things, cither to be masters of all Libya or to be slawes to these bragents. It is therefore necessary for us to be in the highest degree brave men at the present time. For it is not expedient that those whose all is at stake should be other than exeeedingly conrageons. And it behopes us to despise the equipment of ams which the enemy have. For if they eome on foot agramet us, they will not be able to move rapidly, but will be woreted by the agility of the: Mours, and their cavalry will be torrified both by the sight of the camels, and by the moise they make, which, rising above the gencral tumull of battle, will,

## procopius of caesarea



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 ${ }^{1}$ aïtıos V : aitsẃtatos 1’O.

## HISTORY OF THE W.IRS, IV. xi. $42-5 \mathrm{t}$

in all likelihood, throw them into disorder. And if anyone by taking into consideration the victory of the Romans over the Vandals thinks them not to be witheteod, he is mistaken in his judgment. For the reales of war are, in the nature of the case, turned ley the valour of the commander or by fortune; and Belisarius, who was responsible for their gaining the mastery over the Vandals, has now, thanks to Heaven, been removed out of our way. And, besides, we too have many times compuered the Vandals and stripped them of their power, and have thus made the victory over them a more feacible and an easier task for the Romans. And now we have reason to hope to ermpuer this enemy also if you shew yourselves brave men in the struggle."

After the officers of the Morrs had delivered this whortation, they began the engagement. And at first there arose great disorder in the Roman amy. For their horses were offended by the noise made by the camels and by the sight of them, and reared up and thew off the in riders and the most of them fled in complete diander. And in the meantime the Moors were making sallice and hurting all the small spears which they had in their hands, thus cansing the Roman amy to be filled with tumult, and they were hitting them with their missiles while they were unable either to defend themselves or tor remain in pusition. But after this, solomom, ohserving what was happenings, leaped down from his horse himself first. and cansed all the othere to do the same. And when Hey had dismombed, he commanded the others to stand still, and bedding the ir shiclds before them and recesinge the misiles sent by the enemy, to remain in the ir position ; but he himself, leading forward mot

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









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## XII










304
hess than five hundred men, made an attack upon the other portion of the eircle. ${ }^{1}$ 'These men he commanded to draw their swords and kill the camels which stood at that point. Then the Moors who were stationed there beat a hasty retreat, and the men under Solonon killed about two hondred camels, and straightway, when the camels fell, the circle became acoessible to the Romans. And they advanced on the run into the middle of the circle where the women of the Moors were sitting; meanwhile the barbarians in consternation withdrew to the momtain which wats close by, and as they fled in complete disorder the Romans followed behind and killed them. And it is aided that tern thousand of the Moors perished in this encomiter, while all the women logether with the children were made slaves. And the soldiers secomed as booty all the camols which they had not killed. Thus the Romans with all their plunder went to Carthage to celebrate the festival of triumph.

## XII

Bur the batbarians, buing moved with anger, once more tork the field in a body atainst the Romans, leaving behind not one of their mumber, and they beran to wemun the eomatry in Byanciam, sparing nome of any ate of those who tell in the wo wh. And when sulomon hatd just matreherl into ('arthage it was reported that the batharians with a ereal host had come into Byzacium and wer plandering everything there He therefore departed quiclily with his
${ }^{1}$ The side towird the momutains; cf. § 20 .

## PROCOPIUS OI CAESAREA



























 крати́бшбь.




306

## MISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. 2-10

whole army and marched against them. And when he reached Bourgan, where the enemy were encamped, he remained some days in camp over arainst them, in order that, as soon as the Moors should get on level ground, he might begin the battle. But since they remained on the mountain, he marshalled his army and arrayed it for battle; the Moors, however, had no intention of ever again engaging in battle with the Romans in level country (for already an irresistible fear had come orer them), but on the mountain they hoped to overcome them more easily. Now Mt. Bourgaon is for the most p:urt precipitous and on the side toward the east extremely diflicult to ascend, but on the west it is casily accessible and rises in an even slope. And there are two lofty peaks which rise up, forming between them a sort of vale, very narrow, but of incredible depth. Now the barbarians left the peak of the mountain unoccupied, thinking that on this side no hostile movement would be made against them; and they left equally umprotected the space about the foot of the mountain where Bourgion was casy of access. But at the middle of the asecent they made their eamp and remained there, in order that, if the encmy should aseend and begin battle with them, they might at the outset, being on higher ground, shoot down upon their heads. 'They also had on the mountain many horses, prepared cither for flight or for the pursuit, if they should win the battle.

Now when Golomon saw that the Moors were mwilling to fight another hatte on the level ground, and also that the Roman amy was opposed to making

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










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## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. Io-if

a siege in a desert place, he was eager to come to an encounter with the enemy on Bourgaon. But inasmuch as he saw that the soldiers were stricken with terror because of the multitude of their opponents, which was many times greater than it had been in the previous battle, he called together the army and spoke as follows: "The fear which the enemy feel toward you needs no other arraignment, but voluntarily pleads gulty, bringing forward, as it does, the testimony of its own witnesses. For you ser, surely, our opponents gathered in so many tens and tens of thousands, but not daring to come down to the plain and engage with us, unable to feel confidence even in their own selves, but taking refuge in the difficulty of this place. It is therefore not even necessary to address any exhortation to you, at the present time at least. Foor those to whom both the circumstances and the weakness of the enemy sive courage, need not, I think, the additional assistance of words. But of this one thing it will be: needful to remind you, that if we fight out this engasement also with brave hearts, it will remain for us, having defeated the Vandals and reduced the Moors to the same fortume, to enjoy all the good things of Libya, having no thought whatever of an enemy in our minds. But as to preventing the encmy from shooting down upon our heads, and poviding that no ham come to us firm the nature of the place, I myself shall make provision."

After making this exhortation Solomon commanded Theodorus, who led the "excubitores " (for thus the

VIII xai. 1, where we are told that, lielicarins held this prition, and Amone (6. 10, where dustin, afterwards emperor, is mentioned.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA































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& { }^{2} \text { àvéßauve PO: àvéquu' } \mathrm{V} \text {. }
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Romans call their guards), to take with him a thousand infantrymen toward the end of the afternoon and with some of the standards to go up secretly on the cast side of Bourgaon, where the mountain is most difficult of ascent and, one might say, impracticable, commanding him that, when they arrived near the crest of the mountain, they should remain quietly there and pass the rest of the night, and that at sunrise they should appear above the enemy and displaying the standards commence to shoot. And Theodorus did as directed. And when it was well on in the night, they climbed up the precipitous slope and reached a point near the peak without being noticed either by the Moors or even by any of the Romans; for they were being sent out, it was said, as an advance guard, to prevent anyone from coming to the camp from the outside to do mischief. And at carly dawn Solomon with the whole amy went up against the enemy to the outskirts of Bourgaon. And when morning had come and the enemy were seen nom at hand, the soldiers were completely at a loss, secing the summit of the mountain no longer unoccupied, as formerly, but covered with men who were displaying Roman standards; for already some daylight was beginning to shew. But when those on the peak began their allack, the Romans pereeived that the army was their own and the barbarians that they had been placed between their cmemy's forees, and being shot at from both sides and having no "pportunity to ward off the encmy, they thought no more of resistance but lurned, all of them, 10 a

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. 21-2S

hasty flight. And since they could neither run up to the top of Bourgaon, which was held by the enemy, nor go to the plan anywhere over the lower slopes of the mountain, since their opponents were pressing upon them from that side, they went with a great rush to the vale and the unoccupied peak, some even with their horses, others on foot. But since the: were a numerons throng fleeing in great fear and comfusion, they kept killing each other. and as they rushed into the vale, which was exceedingly deep, those who were first were being killed constantly, but their plight could not be perceived by those who were coming up behind. And when the vale became full of dead horses and men, and the hodies made a passage from Bourgaon to the other mountain, then the remainder were saved by making the crossing over the bodies. And there perished in this struggle, among the Moors fifty thousand, as was declared by those of them who -urvived, but among the Romans no one at all, nor indeed didinyone receive even a wound, either at the hand of the incmy or by any accident happening to him, but they all enjoyed this vietory unseathed. All of the leaders of the barbarians also made their moape execpt Fodilasas, who received pledges and surrendered himeslf to the Romans. So great, howerer. was the multitude of women and children whom the Romans seized as booty, that they would sell a Morminh boy for the price of a sheep to any who wished to buy: And then the remainder of the Noor, recalled the saying of their women, to the effect that the in nation would be destroyed by a beardless man. ${ }^{1}$
(i. (hapr vii. 11 . I'mernpius has explained in III. vi. fi that Solomon was a eunuch.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














## XIII


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 'A入Aías év Kevtoupíats tề éкєín! ф фpoupíwn











## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. 29-xiii. 4

So the Roman army, together with its booty and with Esclilasas, marched into Carthase ; and those of the barbarians who had not perished decided that it was impossible to settle in Byzacium, lest they, being few, should be treated with violence by the Libyans who were their neighbours, and with their leaders they went into Numidia and made themselves suppliants of Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasimm. ${ }^{1}$ And the only Moors who remained in Byzacium were those led by Antalas, who during this time had kept faith with the Romans and together with his subjects had remained unharmed.

## XIII

But during the time when these things were happening in Byzacium, Iatas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium, bringing more than thirty thousand fighting men, was phondering the country of Numidia and cuslasines many of the Libyans. Now it so happened that Althias ${ }^{2}$ in Centuriae was keeping guard over the forts there; and he, being eager to take from the enemy some of their captives, went outside the fort with the Huns who were under his command, to the mumber of about seventy. And reasoning that he was not able to cope with such a great multitude of Moors with only seventy men, he wished to occupy some narrow pass, so that, while the enemy were matehing through it, he might be able to smatch up some of the captives. And since there are mo such roads there, hecause flat plains

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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\text { 2. } \pi \dot{\alpha} v \tau \omega s \mathrm{PO}: \pi \omega s \mathrm{~V} \text {. }
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316

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiii. \&-I \&

extend in every direction, he devised the following plan.

There is a city not far distant, named Tigisis, then an unwalled place, but having a great spring at a phace which wats very closely shat in. Althias therefore decided to take possession of this spring, reasoning that the enemy, compelled by thirst, would surely come there for there is no other water at all close by: Now it secmed to all upon considering the disparity of the armies that his plan was insane. But the Xons came up feeling very much wearied and greatly oppressed by the heat in the summer weather, and naturally almost overcome by an intense thirst, and they made for the spring with a queat rush, having no thought of meeting any ob atacle. But when they found the water held by He cmemy, they all hatted, at a loss what to do, the greatest part of their strength having been already expended because of their desire for water. Iatudas therefore had a parley with Althias and agreed to give: him the: third part of the booty, on condition that the Moors should all drink. But Althias was by mo mana williner to accept the proposial, but demanded that he fight with him in single combat for the booty. And this challenge being accepted by Iaudas, it was agreed that if it so fill out that Althias was overeame, the Mones should drink. And the whole Mooriah army was rejoiced, being in good hoper, since Althias was lean and not tall of body, while Iatade was the finest and most warlike of all the Voros. Now both of them were, ats it happened, monnted. And Iandas hurled his spean first, but as

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









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 Mavpovaíw üp













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{ }^{1} \text { Mavpov́oios Maltretus : } \mu a v p o v \sigma \text { h } \omega \text { MS. }
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318

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiii. r4-2I

it was coming toward him Althias succeeded with amazing skill in catching it with his right hand, thus filling laudas and the enemy with consternation. And with his left hand he drew his bow instantly, for he was ambidextrous, and hit and killed the horse of laudas. And as he fell, the Moors brought another horse for their commander, upon which Iaudas leaped and straiglitway fled ; and the Moorish army followed him in complete disorder. And Althias, by thus taking from them the captives and the whole of the bonty, wou a ereat name in consequence of this deed throughout all Libya. Such, then, was the course of these events.

And Solomon, after delaying a short time in (anthage, led his army toward Mt. Aurasium and Iatudas, alleging against him that, while the Roman amy was occupied in l3yzacium, he had plundered many of the places in Numidia. And this was true. solomon was also urged on against laudas by the other commanders of the Moors, Massonas and Ortalas, because of their personal enmity; Massonas, because his father Mephanias, who was the father-in-law of laudas, had been treacherously slain by him, and Ortains, hecause Iandas, together with Mastinas, who ruled over the barbarians in Mauretania, had purposed to drive him and all the Moors whom he ruled from the land where they had dwelt from of old. So the Roman army, under the leadership of Solonom, and those of the Moors who came into alliance with them, made their (amp on the river Abigas, which flows along by Aurasium and waters the land there. Jut to Jaudas it seemed inexpedient to array himself against the enemy in the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




























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## HIS'ORY' OF 'IHE WARS, IV. xiii. 2I-29

plain, but he made his preparations on Aurasium in such a way as seemed to him would offer most difficuliy to his asmalants. This momotain is about thirtecon days' journey distant from (arthage, and the largest of all known to us. For its circuit is a three days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And for one wishing to go upon it the mountain is difficult of access and extremely wild, but as one aseends and peaches the level ground plains are seen and many springs which form rivers and a grat number of altosether wonderful parlis. And the grain which grows here, and every lind of fruit, is double the size of that produced in all the rest of Libya. And there are fortresses also on this mountain, which are neglected, by reason of the fact that they do not seem necessary to the inhabitants. For since the time when the Moors wrested Aurasium from the Vindals, ${ }^{1}$ not a single enemy had motil now ever come there or somuch as cansed the barbarians to be afraid that they would rome, but even the populous city of Tanougardis, situated against the mountain on the cat at the bewiming of the plan, was comptied of ith population bey the Mons and mated to the eromud, in ordee that the enemy should not only not be able to eneamp there, but should not even have the eity as an exanse for commen near the momntain. And the Joors of that place held also the land lo the west of Aumatmm, a tract both estencive and fertile. And beyond these dwelt othere mations of the Morme, who wree ruled by ()rtanas, who had enne, as was stated above, ats an ally to Solomon and ther Romans. Amd I have heand this man say that beyond the conntry which he rulerd there was no
${ }^{1}$ Book III. viii. 5.

## PROCOIPUS OF CAESAREA


 poúviol $\mu \epsilon \lambda a \nu o ́ \chi p o o t, ~ \grave{\lambda \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \lambda \epsilon u к o i ́ ~ т \epsilon ~ \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ \tau a ̀ ~}$ б'́ната каi тas ко́pas छаข日oí. таиิта $\mu \in ̀ \nu ~ \delta i ̀ ̀ ~$

30 ミодó $\mu \omega \nu$ סє Mavpovoíwn tє тoùs $\xi v \mu \mu$ (íxovs













 бтратотє $\delta \in \dot{v} \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \grave{\gamma \gamma \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda о \nu т о ~ о i ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu ı o \iota, ~ к а i ~}$












## HSTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiii. 29-3

fabitation of ment but desert land cexternding to a Ereat di tance, and that beyond that there are men, mot hark-skinmed like the Moors, but very white in loody and fair-haired. Somuch, then, for these things.

And Solomon, after bribing the Moorish allies with great sums of money and rarnestly exhortiner them, begran the asrent of Mt. Aurasium with the whole armyarmacel as for hattle, thinking that on that day he would do battle with the encmy and just as he was have the matter out with them accordiner as fortune should wi h. Acerordinely the soldiers did not even tale: with them any fored, except a little, for themsolves and their horses. And after proceerding over very rounh ground for about fifty stades, they made a bivouac. And covering a similar distance cach day they came on the seventh day to a place where there was an anciont forterss and an ever-flowing stream. The place is called "shield Mountain" by the Romants in their own tongne. ${ }^{1}$ Now it was reported to them that the enemy were cacamped there, and when they reacherd this place and encomentered mo eneny, they made camp and, preparing themselves for batte, remained there ; and three days time was apent by them in that place. And since the encemy kept altorether out of their way, and their provisions had failed, the: thought came to Solomon and to the whole army that there had been some plot against them on the part of the Moors who were their allies ; for these Moors, were not unacguanted with the conditions of travel on Aurasimm, and maderstood,
${ }^{2}$ i.e. Clypas. Not the plave mentioned in IV. x. 24.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA












 $\xi \cup \mu \mu a \chi o \hat{v} \tau \epsilon \epsilon$ є่ті Maupovoíovs бтратєúovтal.









41 Aúpríolov aĩ̈ıs otpatєúol. "̈̈ца Sè каi otpatク-







## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiii. $3^{6-42}$

probably, what had been deeided upon by the enemy: they were stealthily soing out to meet them each day, it was said, and had also frequently been sent to their country by the Romans to reconnoitre, and had decided to make nothing but false reports, in order, no doubt, that the Romans, with no prion knowledge of conditions, might make the ascent of Mt. Aurasium without supplies for a longer time or withont preparing themselves otherwise in the way which would be best. And, all things considered, the Romans were suspicious that an ambush had been set for them by men who were their allies and began to be afraid, reasoning that the Moors are said to be by nature untrustworthy at all times and especially whenever they mareh as allies with the Romans or any others against Moors. So, remembering these things, and at the same time being pinched by hunger, they withdrew from there with all speed without accomplishing anything, and, upon raching the platin, constructed a stockade.

After this shomon established a part of the army in Numidia to serve as a guard and with the remainder went to Carthage, since it was already winter. There he aranged and set everything in order, so that at the beginning of spring he might agrin march agranst Aurasium with a larger equipment and, if possible, without Moors as allies. At the same time he prepared generals and another army and a flect of ships for an expedition aganst the Vone who dwell in the island of Sardiniat for this ivand is a large one and flouribhing besides, being about iwn thieds as lares as Sicily (for the perimetere of the hamd makes a journey of twenty days for an unchemabored trave:lere) ; and lying, is

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 үàp tò ma入aiòv és tov́tous toùs Bapßúpous ópyin










 $\Lambda \imath \beta$ и́n є̇фє́рєто т $\mathfrak{n} \delta \epsilon$.

## XIV

'Ev ס̀è 'Ita入ía катì toùs xpóvous toùs aủtoùs












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\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { à } \phi \alpha \nu \text { oûs } \mathrm{VO}: \text { ̇ } \mu \phi \text { avoūs } \mathrm{P} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

it does, between Rome and Carthage, it was oppressed by the Moors who dwelt there. For the Vandals in ancient times, being emraged against these barbarians, sent some few of them with their wives to surdinia and confined them there. But as time went on they seized the mountains which are near Caranalis, at first making plundering expeditions secretly upon those who dwelt round about, but when they became no less than three thousand, they even made their raids openly, and with no desire for concealment plundered all the country there, being called Barbaricini ${ }^{1}$ by the natives. It was against these barbarians, therefore, that Solomon was preparing the Heet during that winter. Such, then, was the course of events in Libya

## XIV

ANo in Italy during these same times the following erents took place. Belisarius was sent against Theodatus and the Gothice nation by the Emperor Justinian, and sailing to Sicily he secured this island "ith no trouble. And the manner in which this was done: will be told in the following patges, when the history leads me to the narration of the events in Italy. For it has not seemed to me out of order first to record all the events which happenced in Libya and after that to turn to the portion of the history touching Italy and the (ioths.

During this winter Belisarius remaned in Syracuse

[^67]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










 $\epsilon \hat{i} \chi \in \nu$.
7






















## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, IV, xiv.4-1o

and Solomen in Carthage. And it came about during this year that a most dread portent took place. For the sun give forth its light without brightness, like the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed exeedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it shed were not clear ner such as it is accustomed to shed. And from the time when this thing happened men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor any other thing leading to death. And it was the time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his 530-537 a.d. reign.

At the opening of spring, when the Christians 586 A.d. were celebrating the feast which they call Easter, there arose a mutiny among the soldiers in Libya. I shall now tell how it arose and to what end it came.

After the Vandals had been defeated in the battle, as I have told previously, ${ }^{1}$ the Roman soldiers touk their daughters and wives and made them their own by lawful marriage. And each one of these women kept urging her husband to lay clam to the possension of the lands which she had owned previously, saying that it was not right or fitting if, while living with the Vandals, they had enjoyed these lands, but after contering into marriage with the conquerors of the Vandals they were then to be deprived of their possessions. And having these things in mind, the soldiers did not think that they were bound to yield the lands of the Vandals to Solomon, who wished to rerrister them as belonging to the commonwealth and to the emperor's house and said that while it was mot umreasomable that the slaves and all wher things of value shoult er as booty 10 the soldiers, the land itself beloned to the emperor

[^68]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































[^69]
## IISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiv. IO-I7

and the empire of the Romans, which had nourished them and eansed them to be called soldiers and to be such, not in order to win for themselves such land as they should wrest from the barbarians who were trespassing on the Roman empire, but that this land might come to the commonwealth, from which both they and all others secured their maintenance. This was one cause of the mutiny. And there was a second, concurrent, cause also, which was no less, perhaps even more, effective in throwing all Libya into confusion. It was as follows: In the Roman army there were, as it happened, not less than one thonisand soldiers of the Arian faith; and the most of these were barbarians, some of these being of the Erulian ${ }^{1}$ nation. Now these men were urged on to the mutiny by the priests of the Vandals with the greatest zeal. For it was not possible for them to worship God in their aceustomed way, but they were excluded both from all sacraments and from all sacered rites. For the Emuperor Justinian did not allow any Christian who did not espouse the orthodox faith to receive baptism or any other sacrament. But most of all they were agitated by the feast of Fanter, during which they found themselves unable to haptize ${ }^{2}$ their own children with the sacred water, or do anything else pertaining to this feast. And as if these things were not sufficient for Heaven, in its eagemess to ruin the fortunes of the Romans, it so fell out that still another thing provided an occasion for those who were planning the mutiny. For the Vamdals whom Belisarius took to Byzantium were

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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## HASORY OF THE WARS, N. xiv. 17-23

plated by the emperor in five cavalry squadrons, in moder that they might be setted permanently in the dities of the Viast ; he also called them the " Vandals of Justinian," and ordered them to beeake themselves in ships to the East. Now the majority of these Vandal soldiers reached the East, and, filling up the squadrons to which they had been assigned, they have been fighting against the Persians up to the present time ; but the remainder, about four hundred in mumber, after reaching Lesbos, waiting until the sails were bellied with the wind, foreed the sailurs to submission and sated on till they reached the Pelopmonesus. And setting sail from there, they came to land in Libya at in desert place, where they abmandoned the ships, and, after equipping themselves, went up to Mt. Aurasium and Mauretania. Flated by theit accession, the soldiers who were plaming the mutiny formed a still closer conspiacy among themelves. And there was much talls about this in the eamp and oaths were already being lakern. And when the reat were about to celebsate the Kastee festival, the Arians, beinge vexed by their wachason from the sacred rites, purposed to attack them vigorously.

Aud it seemed best to their leading men to kill Solomon in the eanctuary on the first day of the feast, which they call the ireat day. And they were fortumate enoush not lo be fomud out, since no one

March 23, 536 A.D. diorlosed this plan. For thoush there were many who shated in the homible plot, no word of it was disulesed to any homile persson as the orders were pasent around, aud than they sucoeded completely in eccerping deloction, for erent the speatmen and suand of Solomon for the most part and the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


















 Өaкóv te tòv $\pi$ é̀as каi tîs étaıpías סıa入vтìn








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[^72]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, 1 V . xiv. $23-29$

majority of his domesties had become associated with this mutiny because of their desire for the lands. And when the appointed day had now come, Solomon was sitting in the sanctuary, utterly ignorant of his own misfortune. And those who had decided to kill the man went in, and, urging one another with nods, they put their hands to their swords, but they did nothing nevertheless, cither because they were filled with awe of the rites then being performed in the sanctuary, or because the fame of the general caused them to be ashamed, or perhaps also some divine power prevented them.

And when the rites on that day had been completely performed and all were betaking themselves homeward, the conspirators legan to blame one another with having turned soft-hearted at no fitting time, and they postponed the plot for a second attempt on the following day. And on the next day they acted in the same manner and departed from the sanctuary without doing anything, and entering the market place, they reviled each other openly, and every single man of them called the next one soft-hearted and a demoralizer of the band, not hesitating to censure strongly the respect felt for Solomon. For this reason, indeed, they thought that they could no longer without danger remain in Carthage, inasmuch as they had disclosed their plot to the whole city: The most of them, accordingly, went wat of the city quickly and besan to plunder the lands and to treat as enemies all the Libyans whom they met; but the rest remataed in the eity, giving no indication of what their own intentions were but pretending ignorance of the plot which had been formed.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























${ }^{1}$ бiঠпрофоройvтєs VO Theophanes:
 $\mu \dot{\mu}{ }^{0}$.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiv. 30-37

But Solomon, upon hearing what was being done by the suldiers in the country, becane greatly disturbed, and ceased not exhorting those in the city and urging them to loyalty toward the emperor. And they at first seemed to receive his words with farour, but on the fifth day, when they heard that those who had gone out were secure in their power, they gathered in the hippodrome and insulted solomon and the other commanders without restraint. And Theodorus, the Cappadocian, being sent there by solomon, attempted to dissuade them and win them by kind words, but they listened to nothing of what was said. Now this Theodorus had a certain hostility agrainst Golomon and was suspected of photting against him. For this reason the mutineers straightway clected him gencral over them by acclamation, and with him they went with all speed to the palace carrying weapons and raising a great tumult. There they killed another Theodorus, who was commander of the guards, a man of the greatest excellence in cevery respect and an cepecially caprable warrion. Aud when they had tasted this blood, they begra immediately tokill everyone they met, whether Libyan or Roman, if he were known to Solomon or had money in his hands: and then they tumed to plundering. groing up) into the honsen which had no soldien to defend them and seizing all the most valuable things, mutil the coming of night, and drmakromeno following their loil, made them ceatse.

And Sohmon succeeded in esceqping umoticed

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




























## XV


 ${ }^{1}{ }_{\sigma \tau \alpha \sigma}$ ิิтaı PO : $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega ิ \tau a ı ~ V . ~$
into the great sanctuary which is in the palace, and Martinus joined him there in the late afternoen. And when all the mutincers were sleeping, they went out from the sanctuary and entered the house of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, who compelled them to dine although they had no desire to do so, and conveyed them to the harbour and put them on the skiff of a certain ship, which happened to have been made ready there by Martinus. And Procopius also, who wrote this history, was with them, and about five men of the house of Solomon. And after accomplishing three hundred stades they reached Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, and, since they had reached safety. Solomon straightway commanded Martinus to go into Numidia to Valerian and the others who shared his command, and endeavour to bring it about that each one of them, if it were in any way possible, should appeal to some of the soldiers known to him, either with money or by other means, and bring them back to loyalty toward the emperor. And he sent a letter to Theodorus, charging him to take care of Carthage and to handle the other matters as should seem possible to him, and he himself with Procopius went to Belisarius at Syracuse. And after reporting everything to him which had taken place in Libya, he berged him to come with all speed to Carthage and defend the emperor, who was suffering mololy treatment at the hands of his own soldiers Solomon, then, was thus engaged.

## XV

Bot the mutineers, after plundering everything in (arthase, gathered in the plain of Boulla, and

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. i-8

chose Stotzas, ${ }^{1}$ one of the guards of Martinus, and a passionate and energetic man, as tyrant over them, with the purpose of driving the emperor's commanders out of all Libya and thus gaining control over it. And he armed the whole force, amounting to about eight thousand men, and led them on to C'arthage, thinking to win over the city instantly with no tronble. He sent also to the Vandals who had run away from Byaantium with the ships and those who had not gone there with Belisarius in the begiming, either because they had escaped notice, or because those who were taking off the Vandals at that time took no account of them. Now they were not fewer than a thousand, and after no great time they joined Stotzas and the army with enthusiasm. And a great throng of slaves also came to him. And when they drew near Carthare, Stotzas sent orders that the people should surrender the city to him as quickly as possible, on condition of their remaining free from harm. But those in (arthare and Theodorus, in reply to this, refused flatly to obey, and announced that they were guarding Cathage for the emperor. And they sent to Stotzas Joseph, the secretary of the emperor's ruards, a man of no humble birth and one of the household of Belisavius, who had recently been sent to (arthare on some mission to them, and they demanded that Stotzas should go mo further in his violenee. But Stotzas, upon hearing this, straightway killed Joseph and commeneed a siege. And those in the city, becoming terrified at the danger, were purposing to survender themselves and Carthage to Stopzas under an arrecement. Such was the course of events in the army in Libya.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. III. xi. 30.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 $\pi \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \lambda u ́ \chi \nu \omega \nu$ íфús, ìvía т $̀ v$ тó̀ev oi























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## HISTORY OF THE W'ARS, IV.xv.9-16

But Belisarius selected one hundred men from his own spearmen and guards, and taking Solomon with him, sated into Carthage with one ship at about dusk, at the time when the besiegers were expecting that the city would be surrendered to them on the following day. And since they were expecting this, they bivomaked that night. But when day had come and they learned that Belisarius was present, they broke up camp as quickly as possible and disgracefully and in complete disorder beat a hasty retreat And Belisarius gathered about two thousand of the army and, after urging them with words to be loyal to the emperor and encouraging them with large gifts of money, he began the pursuit of the fugitives. And he overtook them at the city of Membresa, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. There both armies made camp and prepared themselves for battle, the forces of Belisarius making their entrenchment at the River Bagradas, and the others in a high and difficult position. For beither of them saw fit to enter the eity, since it was without walls. And on the day following they joined battle, the mutineers trusting in their mumbers, and the troops of Belisarius despising their conemy as both withont sense and without erencrals. And Belisarius, wishines that these thoushts should be firmly lodeded in the minds of his soldiers, celled them all logelher and spoke as follows:-
"The situttion, fellow-soldiers, both for the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA












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${ }^{1}$ ois VO: 亏̄̄s P , ̈̈s conjectured by Classen.
2 oủ סén PO : oủ ${ }^{2}$ é of V .

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. $16-23$

emperor and for the Romans, falls far short of our hopes and of our prayers. For we have now come to a combat in which even the winning of the victory will not be without tears for us, since we are fighting against kinsmen and men who have been reared with us. But we have this comfort in our misfortune, that we are not ourselves beginning the battle, but have been brought into the conflict in our own defence. For he who has framed the plot against his dearest friends and by his own act has dissolved the ties of kinship, dies not, if he perishes, by the hands of his friends, but having become an enemy is but making atonement to those who have suffered wrong. And that our opponents are public enemies and barbarians and whatever worse name one might call them, is shewn not alone by Libya, which has become plunder under their hands, nor by the inhabitants of this land, who have been wrongfully slain, but also by the multitude of Roman soldiers whom these enemies have dared to kill, though they have had but one fault to charge them with-loyalty to their government. And it is to avenge these their victims that we have now come against them, having with good reason become enemies to those who were once most dear. For nature has made no men in the world either friends or opponents to one another, but it is the actions of men in every case which, either by the similarity of the motises which actuate them unite them in alliance, on by the difference set them in hostility to each other, making them friends or enemies as the case may be. That, therefore, we are fighting against men who are oullaws and enemies of the state, you must now be convineed; and now I shall

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



















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\end{aligned}
$$

make it plain that they deserve to be despised by us. For a throng of men united by no law, but brought together by motives of injustice, is utterly mable by mature to play the part of brave men, since valour is unable to dwell with lawlessness, but always shuns those who are unholy. Nor, indeed, will they preserve discipline or give heed to the commands given by Stotzas. For when a tymmy is newly orgmized and has not yet won that authority which self-confidence gives, it is, of necessity, looked upon by its subjects with contempt. Nor is it honoured through any sentiment of loyalty, for a tyranny is, in the nature of the case, hated; nor does it lead its subjects by fear, for timidity deprives it of the power to speak out openly. And when the cnemy is handicapped in point of valour and of discipline, their defeat is ready at hand. With sreat contempt, therefore, as I said, we should go against this enemy of ours. For it is not by the numbers of the combatants, but by their orderly array and their bravery, that prowess in war is wont to be measured."

So spoke Belisarius. And Stotzas exhorted his troops as follows: "Men who with me have escaped our servitude to the Romans, let no one of you count it unworthy to die on behalf of the freedom which you hase won by your courare and your other qualities. For it is not so terrible a thing to grow old and die in the midst of ills, as to return again (o) it after having gained freedom from oppressive conditions. For the interval which has given one a taste of deliverance makes the misfortune, naturally crough, hamder to bear. And this being so, it is

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














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 $\mu i ́ \omega \nu$ аúтóvoнós тє каi тü $\lambda \lambda a$ єن̉ $\delta a i \mu \omega \nu$, i $\sigma \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon ́-$






之то́т $\zeta \alpha$ ¢ $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$ 。
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{ }^{1} z_{\chi \omega \nu} \text { PO : } \quad \chi_{\chi \in \omega \nu} \mathrm{V} \text {. }
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## HIsTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. 33-41

necessary for you to call to mind that after conquering the Vandals and the Moors you yourselves have enjoyed the labours of war, while others have become masters of all the spoils. And consider that, as soldiers, you will be compelled all your lives to be acyuainted with the dangers of war, either in behalf of the emperor's cause, if, indeed, you are again his slaves, or in behalf of your own selves, if you preserve this present liberty. And whichever of the two is preferable, this it is in your power to choose, either by becoming faint-hearted at this time, or by preferring to play the part of brave men. Furthermore, this thought also should come to your minds,--that if, having taken up arms against the Iomans, you come under their power, you will have experience of $n o$ moderate or indulgent masters, but you will suffer the extreme of punishment, and, what is more, your death will not have been unmerited. To whomsoever of you, therefore, death comes in this battle, it is plain that it will be a glorious death; and life, if you conguer the enemy, will be independent and in all other respects happy; but if you are defeated, -I need mention no other bitterness than this, that all your hope will depend upon the merey of those men yonder. And the conflict will not be cevenly matched in regard to strength. For not only are the conemy ereatly surpassed by us in numbere, but they will come agranst us whout the least conthusiasm, for I think that they are praying for a share of this our freedom." such was the speceh of Stotzas.

As the armies entered the eombat, a wind bothe viobent and axeredingly tronblesome began to blow in the firees of the mutincers of Stotzas. For this

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. 41-49

reason they thought it disadvantagrous for them to fight the battle where they were, fearing lest the wind by its overpowering force should cary the missiles of the enemy against them, while the mpetus of their own missiles would be very seriously checked. They therefore left their position and moved toward the flank, reasoning that if the enemy also should change front, as they probably would, in order that they might not be assailed from the rear, the wind would then be in their faces. But Belisarius, upon seeine that they had left their position and in complete disorder were moving to his flank, gave orders immediately to open the attack. And the troops of Stotzas were thrown into confusion by the unexpected move, and in great disorder, as each one could, they Hed precipitately, and only when they reached Numidia did they collect themselves again. Few of them, however, perished in this action, and most of them were Vandals. For Belisarius did not pursue them at all, for the reason that it seemed to him sulficient, since his army was very small, if the enemy, having been defeated for the present, should gre out of his way. And he gave the soldiers the encmy's stockade to plunder, and they took it with not it man inside. But much money was found there and many women, the very women because of whom this war took place. ${ }^{1}$ After accomplishing this, Belisarius marched back to (antlage And someone coming from Sicily reported to him that a mutiny had broken out in the amy and was about to throw everything into confusion, maless be himself should return to them with all speed and take measures to prevent it. He there-

[^73]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



















 є่тi $\xi v \gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon i \varsigma ~ т \epsilon ~ к а і ̀ ~ \sigma u \nu т р о ́ ф о и я ~ \sigma т р а т є и ́ о \nu т є \varsigma, ~$









[^74]
## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. +9-56

fore arranged matters in Libya as well as he could and, entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, went to Sicily.

And the Roman commanders in Numidia, hearing that the troops of Stotzas had come and were gathering there, prepared for battle. Now the commanders were as follows: of foederati, ${ }^{1}$ Marcellus and Cyril, of the cavalry forces, Barbatus, and of infantry Terentius and Sirapis. All, however, took their commands from Marcellus, as holding the authority in Numidia. He, therefore, upon hearing that Stotzas with some few men was in a place called Gazophyla, ${ }^{2}$ about two days' journey distant from Constantina, ${ }^{3}$ wished to anticipate the gathering of all the mutineers, and led his army swiftly against them. And when the two armies were near together and the battle was about to commence, Stotzas came alone into the midst of his opponents and spoke as follows:
"Fellow-soldiers, you are not acting justly in taking the field against kinsmen and those who have been reared with you, and in raising arms against men who in rexation at your misfortunes and the wrongs you have suffered have decided to make war upon the emperor and the Romans. Or do you not remember that you hawe been deprived of the pay which has been owing you for a long time back, and that you have been robbed of the enemy's spoil, which the law of war has set as prizes for the dangers of battle: And that the others have clamed the right to lise sumpluously all their lives upon the grod things of victory, while you have
${ }^{3}$ ('irta, later named Constantina, now Constantine (Kisantina).

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA















## XVI













 кai тaîs "̈̀ $\lambda \lambda a i s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma l l ~ o ै v, ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ " ̈ ̀ \lambda \lambda o u s ~$

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\end{aligned}
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HISTORY OF TIIE WARS, IV. xv. 56-xvi. 3
fillowed as if their servants? If, now, you are angry with me, it is within your power to vent your wrath upon this body, and to escape the pollution of killing the others; but if you have no charge to bring against me, it is time for you to take up your weapons in your own behalf." So spoke Stotzas; and the soldiers listened to his words and greeted him with great farour. And when the commanders saw what was happening, they withdrew in silence and took refuge in a sanctuary which was in (iazophyla. And Stotzas combined both armies into one and then went to the commanders. And finding them in the sanctuary, he gave pledges and then killed them all.

## XVI

Wiren the emperor learned this, he sent his nephew Gemmanus, a man of patrician rank, with sume few men to Libya. And Symmachus also and Dommicus, men of the senate, followed him, the former to be prefect and charged with the maintenance of the army, while Dommicus was to command the infantry forces. For John, ${ }^{1}$ who had held the office of prefeet, had already died of disease. And when they had sailed into (arthage, (iemmans counted the soldiess whom they had, and upon looking over the broks of the scribes where the names of all the soldiers were registered, he found that the third part of the army was in Carthage and the other

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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${ }^{2} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \omega \bar{\nu}$ YP': $\sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \omega \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu 0$.
cities, while all the rest were arrayed with the tyrant arsamst the Romans. He did not, therefore, begin any fighting, but bestowed the greatest care upon his army. And considering that those left in Carthage were the kinsmen or tentmates of the enemy, he kept addressing many wimning words to all, and in particular satd that he had himself been sent by the en!peror to Iibya in order to defend the soldiers who had been wronged and to punish those who had muprowoked done them any injury. And when this was found out by the mutincers, they began to come over to him a few at a time. And Germanus both received them into the city in a friendly mamer and, giving pledges, held them in honour, and he gave them their pay for the time during which they had been in arms agamst the Romans. And when the report of these acts was circulated and cane to all, they began now to detach themselves in large numbers from the tyrant and to march to Carthage. Then at last Cemmanus, hoping that in the battle he would be evenly matehed in strength with his opponent, began to make preparations for the conflict.

But in the meantime Stotzas, already perceiving the trouble, and fearing lest by the defection of still others of his soldiers the army should be reduced still more, was pressins for a deresive encomenter immediately and trying to take hold of the war with mone vigour. And since he had some hope regerveng the soldien in (arthage, that they would come over to him. and thenght that they womld readily desert if he ("ame: near them, he hededot the hope to all his men;

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























${ }^{1} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \mu \psi \in \sigma \theta \in$ Dindorf : $\mu \epsilon \in \mu \psi \eta \sigma \theta \in$ MSS.
${ }^{2}$ aitsá $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon \mathrm{P}$ : ait ád $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a t \mathrm{~V}$, aittá $\eta \eta \sigma \theta \in \mathrm{O}$.

## HASORY OF THE WARS, IV. xvi. 9-I7

and after encouraging them execodingly in this way, he advanced swiflly with his whole army against Canthage. And when he had come within thirly five tade of the rity, he made camp not far from the sab, and (ermanus, after ammeng his whote army and arraying them for battle, maresed forth. And when they were all outside the city, since he had heard what Stotzas was hoping for, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows:
"That there is nothing, fellow-soldiers, with which you cin justly reproach the emperor, and no fault which you can find with what he has done to you, this, I think, no one of you all could deny ; for it was he who took you as you came from the ficlds with your wallets and one small fiock apiece and brought you together in Byantium, and has caused you to be so powerful that the Roman state now depends upon you. And that he has not only been treated with wanton insult, but has also suffered the most dreadful of all thinge at your hands, you yourselves, doubtless, know full well. And desiring that you should preserve the memory of these things for ever, he has dismissed the accusations bronght adomet you for your crimes, asking that this dobt alone be due to him from you-shame for what you have done. It is reasomable, therefore, that you, beines thus resarded by him, should learn anew the If won of erond faith and correct your former folly. Fon when repentance eomes at the fitting time upen those who hese dome wromer, it is acoustomed to make thone who have been ingored indulgent: and seprice which comes in seaton is wont for bring amother nane to those who have been called ungrateful.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





























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## HSTORY (OF THE WARS, IV. xvi. $8-24$

"And it will be needful for you to know well this also. that if at the present time you shew yourselves completely loyal to the emperor, no remembrance will remain of what has gone before. For in the nature of things every course of action is characterized by men in accordance with its final outcome; and while a wrong which has once been committed can never be undone in all time, still, when it has been corrected by better deeds on the part of those who committed it, it receives the fitting reward of silence and generally comes to be forgotten. Moreover, if you act with any disregard of duty toward these accursed mascals at the present time, even though afterwards you fight through many wars in behalf of the Romans and often win the victory over the enemy, you will never again be regarded as having requited the emperor as you can requite him to-day. For those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain for themselves a farer apology. As resards the emperor, then, let each one of you reason in some such way. But as for me, I have not voluntarily done you any injustice, and I have displayed my good-will to you by all possible means, and now, facing this danger, I have decided to ask this much of you all: let no man advance with us agrainst the enemy contrary to his judgement. But if anyone of you is already desirous of armying himself with them, without delay let him go with his weapons to the enemy's camp, granting us this one fawour, that it be not stealthily, but openly, that he has decided to do us wrong. Indeed, it is for this reason that 1 am making my speech, not in Carthage, hut after coming on the battle-fiedd, in order that 1

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










## XVII



















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might not be an obstacle to anyone who desires to desert to our opponents, since it is possible for all without danger to shew their disposition toward the state." 'Thus spoke (ermanms. And a great uproar ensued in the Roman amy, for each one demanded the right to be the first to display to the ereneral his loyalty to the emperor and to swear the most dread oaths in confirmation.

## XVII

Now for some time the two armies remained in position opposite each other. But when the mutineers saw that nothing of what Stotzas had foretold was coming to pass, they began to be afrad as having been mexpectedly cheated of their hope, and they broke their ranks and withdrew, and marched off to Numidia, where were their women and the money from their booty. And (iemmanus too came there with the whole amy not long afterwards, having made all preparations in the best way possible and ake brimging along many wagons for the army. And overtabing his upponents in a place which the Romanc call scalace Veteres, he made his preparations for batlle in the following manner. Placeng the wasons in line facing the front, he arrayed all the infantry along them under the leadership) of Domnicus, so that hy reaton of having their rear in security they might fight with the sreater commere And the bert of the howermen and those who had (rome will him from Byantiom he himself had on the left of the infantry, white all the others he phaced on the risht wing, not marehalled in one body but

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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## HINORY OF THE WARS, IV. xvii. 5-I4

in three divisions. And Ihdiger led one of them, Theodorus the (appadocian another, while the rematining ote, which was larger, was commanded by John. the brother of Pappus, with three others. Thus did the Romans array themselves.

And the mutineers took their stand opposite them, not in order, however, but scattered, more in the mamer of barbarians. And at no great distance many thousands of Moors followed them, who were commanded by a number of leaders, and especially by Iaudas and Ortanas. But not all of them, as it happened, were faithful to Stotzas and his men, for many had sent previously to (iemmanus and argreed that, when they came into the fight, they would array themselves with the emperor's army against the enemy. However, Germanus could not trust them altorether, for the Moorish nation is by nature faithless to all men. It was for this reason also that they did not array themselves with the mutineers, but remained behind, waiting for what would come to pass, in order that with those who should be victorious they might join in the pursuit of the vanquished. Such was the purpose, then, of the Moors, in following behind and not mingling with the mutincers.

And when Stotzas came close to the enemy and saw the standard of (iemmanus, he exhorted his men and began to charge agrinst him. But the mutimus Eruli who were arrayed about him did not follow and ewen tried with all their might to prevent him, saying that they did not know the character of the forees of (iemmanus, but that they did know that those arrayed on the enemy's

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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right would ly no means withstand them. If, therefere, they should advance against these, they would not only give way themselves and turn to Hight, but would also, in all probability, throw the rest of the Roman amy into confusion ; but if they should attack (iermanus and be driven back and put (1) rout, their whole cause would be ruined on the apot. And Stotzas was persuaded by these words, and permitted the others to fight with the men of (iermanus, while he himself with the best men went against John and those arrayed with him. And they failed to withstand the attack and hastened to flee in complete disorder. And the mutineers took all their standards immediately, and pursued them as they fled at top speed, while some too charsed upon the infantry, who had already begun tu abandon their ranks. But at this juncture (iermanus himself, drawing his sword and urging the whole of that part of the army to do the same, with great difficulty routed the mutineers opposed to him and adranced on the run against Stotzas. And then, since he was joined in this effort by the men of Iddiger and Theodorus, the two armies mingled with each other in such a way that, while the mutinecers were pursuing some of the ir enemy, they were being overtaken and killed by others. And as the confusion became greater and greater, the troops of Gemanus, who were in the rear, pressed on still more, and the mutincers, falling into great fear, thought mo longer of resistance. But neither side conld be distinguished either hy their own commades or hy their opponconts. For aill used one language and the same equipment of arms, and they differed neither in figure nor in dress now in any other thing

## procopius of caesarea
















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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xvii. 2I-30

whaterer. For this reason the soldiers of the emperen by the advice of (iemmans, whenever they captured amyone, asked who he was : and then, if he sad that he was a soldiev of (remmanus, they b:de him give the watchword of Germanus, and if he was not at all able to give this, they killed him imetantly. In this struggle one of the enemy got by umoticed and killed the horse of Germanus, and (remmanus himself fell to the ground and came into danger, and would hase been lost had not his gruards quickly saved him by forming an enclosure around him and mounting him on another horse.

As for Sitotzas, he succeeded in this tumult in cecaping with is few men. But Gemmanus, urging on his men, went straight for the enemy's camp. There he was encountered by those of the mutineers who had been stationed to guard the stockade. A stubborn fight took place around its entrance, and the mutineers came within a little of forcing back their opponents, but (femmanus sent some of his followers and bade them make trial of the camp at anothere point. These men, since no one was defending the (amp) at this place, wot inside the stockade with little frouble. And the mutinecrs, upon secing them, rushed off in flight, and Germanus with all the rest of the army dathed into the encomy's camp. There the soldiers, fimding it easy to plunder the goods of the: (amp), ne ither took any account of the enemy now paid any further heod to the exhortations of their general, since looty was at hand. For this reason Cierm:mas, fearing lest the enemy should ist tomether

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369
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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



















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## XVIII











## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xvii. 30-xviii. 3

and come upon them, himself with some few men took liss stand at the entrance of the stockade, uttering many laments and urging his mheeding men to return to good order. And many of the Moors. when the rout had taken place in this way, were now pursuing the mutineers, and, arraying themselves with the emperor's troops, were plandering the (amp) of the vanquished. But Stotzas, at first having confidence in the Moorish army, rode to them in order to rencw the battle. But perceiving what was being done, he Hed with it hundred men, and succeeded with difficulty in making his escape. And once more many gathered about him and attempted to engage with the enemy, but being repulsed no lese decisively than before, if not even more so, they all came over to Gemmanus. And Stotzas alone with some few Vandals withdrew to Mauretania, and taking to wife the datugter of one of the rulers, remained there And this was the conclusion of that mutiny.

## XVIII

Nou there was among the body ghards of Theodorns. the Cappadocian, a certain Naximmons, an exceedingly babe man. This Jaximimus had first get at very laree number of the suldiem lo join with him in a convpiracy agaime the envernment, and was mow purpuing to attempt a I yamay. And he inge eager to ansociate with himself will mome me-t, ho evplatued
 native of P'alestine, who was a man of goond birth and

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





























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${ }^{1}$ है MSS : 解 clitors.
${ }^{2} \mu \epsilon \tau a \pi \epsilon \mu \psi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu \nu=$ < $<\bar{v} \nu>$ conjectured by Hoeschel.
the first of the personal friends of Theodorus. Now Asclepiades, after conversing with Theodorns, straightway reported the whole matter to (iermanus. And he, not wiohing as yet, while affairs were still unsettled, tu begin any other disturbance, decided to get the best of the man by cajoling and flattering him rather than by punishment, and to bind him by oaths to loyalty toward the goremment. Accordingly, since it was an old custom among all Romans that no one should become a body-suard of one of the commanders, muless he had previonsly taken the most dread aaths and given pledges of his loyalty both toward his own commander and toward the Roman (emperor, he summoned Maximinus, and praising him for his daring, directed him to be one of his bodyguards from that time forth. And he, being overjoyed at the extraordinary honour, and conjecturing that his project would in this way get on more easily, took the oath, and though from that time forth he was counted among the body-guards of Germanus, he did not hesitate to disregard his oaths immediately and to stremgthen much more than ever his plans to achieve the tyrany.

Now the whole city was celehating some general festival, and many of the compirators of Maximinus at about the time of lunch came aceording to their acrement to the palace, where fiermanus was entertaining his friend at a feast, and Maximinus took his atand bewide the comechers with the other body-guards. And as the drinking procecded. someone entered and amonneed to (emmanus that many soldiers were atanding in ereat diander before the door of the court, putting forward the whare that the government owed them their pay for a long period. And

## PIROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































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## HIS'ORY OF THF WARS, IV. xviii, Io-18

hee commanded the most trusty of the wrards secretly to keep close watch orer Maximinus, allowing him in no way to perecive what was being done. Then the conspirators with threats and tumult proceeded on the run to the hippodrome, and those who shared their plan with them gathered gradually from the houses and were assembling there. And if it had so chanced that all of them had come together, no one, I think, would have been able easily to destroy their power ; but, as it was, Germanus anticipated this, and, before the sreater part had yet arrived, he straightway sent against them all who were welldisponed to himself and to the emperom: And they attacked the conspirators before they expected them. And then, since Maximinm, for whom they were waiting to begin the batte for them, was not with them, and they did not see the crowd gathered to help them, as they had thought it would be, hat instead eren beheld their fellow-soldiers mexpectedly fighting agraime them? they combeguently lost heart and were easily onerome in the brosente and rushed off in Hight and in complete disorder. And their opponents slew many of them, and they aloo captured many aliwe and honght them to (iemamus. Those, howeere, who had mot atready come to the hippodrome wate no indication of their sentiment toward Yaximimus. And (iemmams did mot are fit to ano on and seek them out, hut he enquired whether Maximimus, since he had sworn the wath, had taken part in the plot. And since it was proved that, though mumhered among his own bedy enards he had carried on his demigns still mone than before, (semmanus impaled hime close by the fortifications of Carthage, and in

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


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## XIX























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 376

## HIS゙OOR OF TIE WARS, IV. xviii. 18 -xix. 6

this way sucereded completely in putting down the sedition. As for Maximinus, then, such was the end of his plot.

## XIX

dive the emperor summoned Germanus together with Symmathus and IDomnicus and again entrusted all Libya to Solomon, in the thirteenth year of his 539-540 A.D. reisu; and he provided him with an army and officers, among whom were Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanas, and John, the son of Sisiniolus. For Martinus and Valerianus had already before this gone under summons to Byzantium. And Solomon sailed to Carthage, and having rid himself of the sedition of Stotzas, he ruled with moderation and guarded Libya securcly, setting the army in ordex, and sending to Byzantium and to Belisarius whatever suspicious clements he found in it, and enrolling new soldiers to equal their mumber, and removing those of the Vandals who were left and especially all their women from the whole of Iibya. And he surrounded each city with a wall, and guarding the laws with great strictness, he restored the government completely. And libya became under his rule powerful as to its revenues and prosperous in other respects.

And when everything had been arranged by him in the bert way possible, he again made an expedifoon arsimst laudas and the Moors on Aurasium. And first he sent forward Gontharis, one of his own

## procopius of caesarea


































## HISTORX OF THE WARS, IV. xix. 6-15

hody-guards and an able warror, with an army. Now (iontharis came to the Abigas River and made (amp) near Bagas, a deserted city. And there he congeted with the conemy, but was defeated in battle, and retiring to his stochade was aherady being hard pressed by the siege of the Moors. But afterwards golomon himself arrived with his whole army, and when he was sisty stades away fom the camp which (rontharis was commanding, he made a stockade and remained there ; and hearing all that had befallen the force of Gontharis, he sent them a prat of his army and bade them keep up the fight agrainst the enemy with comrage. But the Moors, having gained the upper hand in the engrgement, as I have said, did as follows. The Abigas River flows from Aurasium, and descending into a plain, waters the land just as the men there desire. For the natives conduct this stream to whatever place they think it will best serve them at the moment, for in this plain there are many chamels, into which the Abigas is divided, and contering all of them, it passes undergoound, and reappears arain abone the ground and gathers its stream tore ther. This takes place over the greatest part of the plain and make it possible for the inhabitants of the regiom, by stopping up the waterways with earth, or by again opening them, to make use of the watere of this river as they wish. So at that time the Wones shat off all the channels there and thus allowed the whole stream to flow about the (amp) of the Romans. As a revult of this, a deep, muddy marsh fommed there through which it was mprosible to go; this terrified them exceedingly and redueed them to a state of helplessuess. When

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV, wix. r5-2r

this was heard by Solomon, he came quickly. But the barbarians, becoming aftaid, withdrew to the foot of Aurasimm. And in a place which they call Babosis they made eamp and remained there. So Solomon mored with his whole amy and came to that place. dud upon congaing with the enemy, he defeated them decisively and turned them to flight. Now after this the Moors did not think it advisable for them to fight a pitched battle with the Romans; for they did not hope to overcome them in this kind of contest: but they did have hope, based on the difficult character of the country around Aurasium, that the Romans would in a short time give up by reason of the sufferings they would have to endure and would withdraw from there, just as they formerly had done. The most of them, therefore, went off to Manretania and the babmarians to the south of Aurasium, but Iaudas with twenty thousand of the Moors remained there. And it happened that he had built a fortress on Aurasim, Zerboule by name. Into this he entered with all the Moors and remained quiet. But solomon was by no means willing that time should be wasted in the siege, and learning that the plans about the city of Tamousade were full of grain just becoming ripe, he led his army into them, and settling himself there, began to plunder the land. Thens, after firing everything, he returned again to the fortress of Zerboule.

But duriner this time, while the Romans were phundering the land, Iaudas, leavines behind some of the Woors, about as many as he thought would be -ufficient for the defence of the fortress, himselt ascenderl to the summit of Anasium with the rest of the army, not wishing to stand siege in the fort and

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



















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## HISTORY OF TIE WARS, IV. xix. 2r-3I

have provisions fail his forces. And finding a high place with cliffs on all sides of it and concealed by perpendicular rocks, 'loumar by name, he remained quie lly there. And the Romans besieged the fortress of Zerboule for three days. And using the ir bows, since the wall was not high, they hit many of the barbarians upon the parapets. And by some chance it happened that all the leaders of the Moors were hit by these missiles and died. And when the three days' time had passed and night came on, the Romans, having learned nothing of the death of the leaders among the Moors, were plaming to break up the siege. For it seemed better to Solomon to go against Iaudas and the multitude of the Moors, thinking that, if he should be able to capture that force by siege, the harbarians in Zerboule would with less trouble and difficulty yield to the Romans. But the barbarians, thinking that they could no longer hold out against the siege, since all their leaders had now been destroyed, decided to flee with all speed and abandon the fortreas. Accordingly they fled immediately in shence and without allowing the enemy in any way (o) pereeve it, and the Romans also at daybreak hegran to prepari for departure. And since no one appeared on the wall, although the besieging army wats withdrawing, they began lo wonder and fell into the enveatest perphexity amomg thembeloes. And in this state of uncevtam? they went around the fortress and found the sate opern from which the Wowre had departed in flight. And entering the fortres they treated everythines as plander, but they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA







## XX














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had no thought of pursuing the enemy, for they had set out with light equipment and were familiar with the country round about. And when they had plundered ererything, they set guards over the fortress, and all moved forward on foot.

## XX

Avin coming to the place Toumar, where the enemy had shat themselses in and were remaining quiet, they encamped near by in a had position, where there would be no supply of water, except a little, nor any other necessary thing. And after much time had been spent and the barbarians did not come out against them at all, they themselves, no less than the enemy, if not even more, were hard prosed ly the siege and hegan to be impatient. Aud more than anything else, they were distressed he the lack of water ; this Solomon himself gratrded, fisinge each day no more than at single cupful to each minn. Aidd since he saw that they were openly discontented and no longer able to bear their present harlhhips, he plamed to make trial of the place, although it was difficult of access, and called all together and exhorted them ats follows: "Sinee (iod has ermated to the Romans to besiege the Mons on Aurasinm, a thine which hitherod has been beyond hope and now, to such as do not see what is actually being dome, is allogether incredible, it is necerosary that we too should lemd our aid to the hetp that has come from above, and mot prowe false lo this fatour, but mudergoiner the danger with enthusitasm, should

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






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{ }^{1} \pi \rho o \sigma l \epsilon \sigma \theta a t \text { editors: } \pi \rho o l \in \sigma \theta a l \mathrm{~V}, \pi \rho o \dot{\sigma} \sigma \theta a t \mathrm{O} \text {. }
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## HISTORY' ()F THE WARG, IV. xx. 5-13

reach after the grod fortune which is to eome from success. For in every case the turning of the scales of humatn affairs depends upon the moment of opportunity; hut if a man, by wilful cowardice, is traitor to his fortune, he cannot justly blame it, having by his own action brought the guilt upon himself. Now as for the Moors, you see their weakness surely and the place in which they have shut themselves up and are keteping guard, deprived of all the necessities of life. And as for you, one of two things is necessary, cither without feeling any rexation at the siege to await the surrender of the enemy, or, if you shrink from this. to accept the victory which goes with the danger. And fighting against these barbarians will be the more free from danger for us, inasmuch as they are already fighting with hunger and I think they will never even come to an engagement with us. Having these things in mind at the present time, it behooves you to execute all your orders with eagerness."

After Solomon had made this exhortation, he looked about to see from what point it would be best for his men to make an attempt on the place, and for a long time he seemed to be in perplexity: For the difficult nature of the ground seemed to him quite tor) much to contend with. But while Solomon was considering this, chance provided a way for the enterprise as follows. There was a certain (iezon in the amm, a foot-soldiere, "optio"" of the detachment to which solomon belonged; for thus the Romans call the paymaster. This (iezon, either in play or in ander, or perhaps even moved by some divine impmbe, hegan to make the aseent alome, apparently fobng against the enemy, and not far from him
${ }^{1}$ See Book III. xvii. 1 and note.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA






























 őpos Mavpovoíoss є́ $\beta$ ßatòv éбтає.

388

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xx. i3-22

Went some of his fellow-soldiers, marrelling sreatly at what he was doing. And three of the Moors, who had been stationed to guard the approach, suspecting that the man was coming against them, went on the run to confront him. But since they were in a narrow way, they did not proceed in orderly array, but each one went separately. And (iezon struck the first one who came upon him and killed him, and in this way he despatched each of the others. And when those in the rear perceived this, they advanced with much shouting and tumult against the enemy. And when the whole Roman army both heard and saw what was being done, without wating either for the general to lead the way for them or for the trumpels to give the signal for battle, as was customary, nor indeed even keeping their order, but making a great uproar and urging one another on, they ran against the enemy's camp. 'There lufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zatunas the son of Pharesmanes, made a splendid display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And by this the Moors were teror-stricken, and when they learned that their gmards also had been destroyed, they straightway furned to flight where each one could, and the most of them were overtaken in the difficult ground and killed. Aud laudas himself, though struck by a javelin in the thigh, still made his escape and withdrew to Mauretania. But the Romans, after plundering the enemy's camp, decided not (t) abandon Aurasimm again, but to guard fortrewses which solomon was to build there, so that this momntain might not be atgin ancessible to the Moors.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





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 тєí $\chi \in \sigma \iota$.



## HITORY (OF THE WARS, IV. xx. 23-30

Now there is on Aurasium a perpendicular rock which rises in the midst of precipices; the natives call it the Rock of (ieminianus; there the men of ancient times had built a tower, making it very small as a place of refuge, strong and massaibable, since the nature of the position assisted them. Here, as it happened, laudas had a few days previously deposited his money and his women, setting one old Moor in charge as guardian of the money. For he could never hare suspected that the enemy would either reach this place, or that they could in all time capture the tower by force. But the Romans at that time, searching through the rongh comntry of Aurasium, came there, and one of them, with a laugh, attempted to climb up to the tower; but the women begran to taunt him, ridiculing him as attempting the impussible; and the old man, peering out from the tower, did the same thing. But when the Roman soldier, climbing with both hands and feet, had come ne:a them, he drew his sword quietly and leaped forward as quickly as he could, and struck the old man a fair blow on the nerk, and sucereded in cutting it through. And the hard fell down to the ground, and the soldieq4, now emboldened and holding to one another, aseended to the tower, and took out from there both the women and the monery of wheh there was an execedingly gral duantity. And hy means of it Solomon sumomoded many of the dities in Libya with walls.

Amd after the Moors had retired from Numidia.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA












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## XXI

Tєт









## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xx. 30-xxi. 2

defeated in the mamere described, the land of Zabe, which is beyond Mt. Aurasium and is called "lirst Mauretania," whose metropolis is Sitiphis, ${ }^{1}$ was added to the Roman empire by Solomon as a tributary province ; for of the other Manretania Caesarea is the first city, where was settled Mastigas ${ }^{2}$ with his Moors, having the whole country there subject and tributary to him, except, indeed, the city of Caesarea. For this city Belisarius had previouslyrecorered for the Romans, as has been set forth in the previous narative ${ }^{3}$; and the Romans always journey to this city in ships, but they are not able to go by land, since Moors dwell in that country. And as a result of this all the Liby:ms who were subjects of the Romans, coming to enjoy secoure peace and finding the rule of Solomon wise and rery moderate, and having no longer any thought of hostility in their minds, seemed the most fortunate of all men.

## XXI

Bur in the fourth gear after this it came about that all their hessings were turned to the opposite F'or in the serenternth year of the reisn of the 543-54t A.d. Fmperor Jutinian, (yrus and Sergius, the sons of Bacrous, solomon's brollere, were assigned by the emperoe to mule ower the citien in Libya, (yrus, the edder. to hase Pentapolis, and hergius Tripolis. . Ind the Voors who are called levathate came to herevius

[^77]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




























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with a great army at the city of Leptimagna, ${ }^{1}$ spreading the report that the reason they had come was this, that Sergius might give them the gifts and insiguia of office which were customary ${ }^{2}$ and so make the peate secure. But Sergius, persuaded by Pudentius, a man of Tripolis, of whom I made mention in the preceding narmative ${ }^{3}$ as having served the Fmperor Justinian aganst the Vandals at the beginning of the Vandalic War, received eighty of the barbarians, their most notable men, into the city, promising to fultil all their demands; but he commanded the rest to remain in the suburb. Then after giving these eighty men pledges concerning the peace, he invited them to a banquet. But they say that these barbarians had come into the city with treacherous intent, that they might lay a trap for Sergius and kill him. And when they came into conference with him, they called up many charges against the Romans, and in particular said that their (rops had been plundered wrongfully. And Sergius, paying no heed to these things, rose from the seat on which he was sittines, with intent to go away. And one of the barbarians, laying hold upon his shoulder, attempted to prevent him from going. Then the others berren to shout in confusion, and were already rushing together about him. But one of the bodyguards of Sergius, drawing his sword, deeppatehed that Moor. Aud as a result of this a greal tumult, as was natural, anowe in the room, and the guards of Sererius

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{ }^{1} \text { Now Lehicla. }{ }^{2} \text { l3ook III. x. } 22 \text { ff. }
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## PIROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA























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 396

## HASTORY OF THE WARS, W. xxi. 1o-17

killed all the barbarians. But one of them, upon secing the othere being slain, ru- hed out of the house where these things were taking place, unnoticed by anyone and coming to his tribemates, revealed what had befallen their fellows. And when they heard this, they betook themselves on the run to their own camp and together with all the others armaed themselves in arms against the Romans. Now when they came near the city of Leptimagna, Sergius and Pudentius confronted them with their whole army. And the battle becoming a hand-to-hand fight, at first the Romans were victorious and slew many of the enemy, and. plundering their camp, secured their goods and enslaved an exceedingly great number of women and children. But afterwards Pudentius, being possessed by a spirit of reckless daring, was killed; and Sergius with the Roman army, since it was already growing dark, marched into Leptimagna.

It a later time the barbarians took the field against the Romans with a greater array. And Sergius went to join his uncle Solomon, in order that he too might (1) to mect the enemy with a larger army; and he foum there his brother Cyrus also. And the barbarians, coming into Byzacium, made rads and plundered a great part of the country there ; and Antalas (whom I mentioned in the preceding narrative ${ }^{1}$ as having remained faithful to the Romans and as being for this reasom wole ruler of the Moors in Byazeime had by now, as it happened, become hostile to Solomon, becouse solomon had depmived him of the maintenance with which the emperor had homoured him and had kitled his brother, charging him with responsibility for an uprising agamet the people of Byateium.
${ }^{1}$ Book IV. xii. 30.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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## HISTORY (OF THE WARS, IV. xxi. 17-23

So at that time Intalas was pleased to see these barbarians, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with them, led them against Solomon and Carthage.

And Solomon, as soon as he heard about this, put his whole army in motion and marched against them, and coming upon them at the city of Tebesta, distant six days' journey from ('arthage, he established his camp in company with the sons of his brother Bacchus, Cyrus and Sergius and Solomon the younger. And fearing the multitude of the barbarians, he sent to the leaders of the Leuathae, reproaching them because, while at peace with the Romans, they had taken up arms and come against them, and demanding that they should confirm the peace existing between the two peoples, and he promised to swear the most dread oaths, that he would hold no remembrance of what they had done. But the barbarians, mocking his words, satd that he would of course swear by the sacred writings of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call Gospels. Now since Sercrius had once taken these oaths and then had slain those who trusted in them, ${ }^{1}$ it was their desire to go into battle and make a test of these same sacred writings, to see what sort of power they had aganst the perjurers, in order that they might first have absolute confidence in them before they finally entered into the agreement. When Solomon heard this, he made his preparations for the combat.

And on the following day he engaged with a
$\therefore$ it reference to his slanghter of the eighty notahles, IV. xxi. 7, where, however, nothing is said of an onth sworn on the Gospels.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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## XXII




 400
portion of the enemy as they were bringing in a rery large booty, conquered them in battle, seized all their booty and kepl it under guard. And when the soldiers were dissatisfied and counted it an outrage that he did not give them the plunder, he said that he was awating the outcome of the war, in order that they might distribute cerery thing then, according to the share that should seem to suit the merit of each. But when the barbarians advanced a second time, with their whole army, to give battle, this time some of the lomans stayed behind and the others entered the encounter with no enthusiasm. At first, then, the battle was evenly contested, but later, since the Moors were vastly superior by reason of their great numbers, the most of the Romans fled, and though solomon and a few men about him held out for a time arranst the missiles of the barbarians, afterwards they were orerpowered by the enemy, and Heceing in haste, reached a ravine made by a brook which flowed in that rewion. And there Solomon's horse: stumbled and threw him to the ground, and his body-guards lifted him quickly in their arms and set him upon his horse. But overcome by great pain and umable to hold the reins longer, he was orertaken and killed by the bubamians, and many of his guards besides. Such was the end of Solomon's life.

## XXII

Aften the death of Solomon, Sergius, who, as has been said, was his mephew, took over the govermment of libya by gift of the cmperor. And this man became the chief cause of great ruin to the people of Libya,

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





















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 402

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxii. 2-8

and all were dissatisfied with his rule-the officers because, being exceedingly stupid and young both in character and in years, he proved to be the greatest luaggart of all men, and he insulted them for no just cause and disregarded them, always using the power of his wealth and the authority of his office to this end ; and the soldiers disliked him because he was altogether umanly and weak; and the Libyans, not only for these reasons, but also because he had shown himself strangely fond of the wives and the possessions of others. But most of all John, the son of Sisiniolus, was hostile to the power of Sergius; for, though he was an able warrior and was a man of unusually fair repute, he found Sergius absolutely ungrateful. For this reason neither he nor anyone else at all was willing to take up arms against the enemy. But almost all the Moors were following Antalas, and Stotzas came at his summons from Mauretania. And since not one of the enemy came out against them, they began to sack the country, making phunder of everything without fear. At that time Antalas sent to the Rmperor Justinian a letter, which set forth the following:
"That I am a slave of thy cmpire not even I myself would deny, but the Moors, having suffered unholy treatment at the hands of Solomon in time of peace, have taken up arms under the most severe constraint, not liftimg them against thee, but warding off our persomal encmy; and this is especially true of me. For he mot mily decided to deprive me of the maintenance, which Belisarius long before

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxii. 8-15

specified and thou didst grant, but he also killed my own brother, although he had no wrongdoing to charge against him. We have therefore taken vengeance upon him who wronged us. And if it is thy will that the Moors be in subjection to thy empire and serve it in all things as they are accustomed to do, command Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, to depart from here and return to thee, and send another general to Libya. For thou wilt not be lacking in men of discretion and more worthy than Sergius in every way; for as long as this man commands thy army, it is impossible for peace to be established between the Romans and the Moors."

Such was the letter written by Antalas. But the emperor, even after reading these things and learning the common enmity of all toward Sergius, was still unwilling to remove him from his office, out of respect for the virtues of Solomon and especially the manner of his death. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Solomon, the brother of Sergius, who was supposed to have disappeared from the world together with his uncle Solomon, was forgotten by his brother and by the rest as well ; for no one had learned that he was alive. But the Moors, as it happened, had taken him alive, since he was very young; and they encuired of him who he was. And he said that he was a Vandal by birth, and a slave of Solomon. He said, moreover, that he had a friend, a physician, Pegasius by name, in the city of Laribus near by, who would purchase him by giving ransom. So the

## procopius of caesarea


























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## XXIII

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Moors came up close to the fortifications of the city and called Pegasius and displayed Solomon to him, and asked whether it was his pleasure to purchase the man. And since he agreed to purchase lim, they sold solomon to him for fifty pieces of gold. But upon getting inside the fortifications, Solomon taunted the Moors as having been deceived by him, a mere lad ; for he said that he was no other than Solomon, the son of Bacchus and nephew of Solomon. And the Moors, being deeply stung by what had happened, and counting it a terrible thing that, while having a strong security for the conduct of Sergius and the Romans, they had relinquished it so carelessly, came to Laribus and laid siege to the place, in order to capture Solomon with the city. And the besieged, in terror at being shat in by the barbarians, for they had not even carried in provisions, as it happened, opened negotiations with the Moors, proposing that upon receiving a great sum of money they should straightway abandon the siege. Whereupon the barbarians, thinking that they could never take the city by force-for the Moors are not at all practised in the storming of walls-and at the same time not knowing that provisions were scarce for the besieged, welemed their words, and when they had received three thousand pieces of gold, they abandoned the siege, and all the Ieuathae retired homeward.

## XXIII

But Antalas and the ammy of the Moors were gathering again in Byaramon and Stotzas was with

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



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[^78]408

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. $1-10$

them, hasing some few soldiers and Vandals. And John, the son of Sisiniolus, being carnestly entreated by the Libyans, gathered an army and marched against them. Now Himerius, the Thracian, was commander of the troops in Byzacium, and at that time he was ordered by John to bring with him all the troops there, together with the commanders of each detachment, and come to a place called Menephesse, which is in Byzacium, and join his force there. But later, upon hearing that the enemy were encamped there, John wrote to Himerius telling what had happened and directing him to unite with his forces at another place, that they might not go separatcly, but all together, to encounter the enemy. But by some chance those who had this letter, making use of : another road, were quite unable to find Himerius, and he torether with his army, coming upon the camp of the enemy, fell into their hands. Now there was in this Roman army a certain youth, Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoencician and a native of Emesa, commanding a detachment of horse. This man alone, together with the soldiers under him, fifty in number, enguged with the enemy. And for some time they held out, but later, being overpowered by the great multitude, they ran to the top of a hill in the neighbourhood on which there was also a fort, but one which offered no security. For this reason they surendered themselves to their opponents when they asernded the hill to attack them. And the Moors killed neither him nor any of the soldiers, but thery made prisoners of the whole force; and Himerins they kept under guard, and hauded over his soldiers to Stotzas, since they agreed with

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




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[^79]410

HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. io-iy
great readiness to march with the rebels against the Romans; Himerius, however, they threatened with death, if he should not carry out their commands. And they commanded him to put into their hands by some device the city of Hadrumetum on the sea. And since he declared that he was willing, they went with him against Hadrumetum. And upon coming near the city, they sent Himerius a little in advance with some of the soldiers of Stotzas, dratrging along, as it seemed, some Moors in chains, and they themselves followed behind. And they directed Himerius to say to those in command of the gates of the city that the emperor's army had won a decisive victory, and that John would come very soon, bringing an innumerable multitude of Moorish eaptives; and when in this manner the gates had been opened to them, he was to get inside the fortifications together with those who went with him. And he carried out these instructions. And the citizens of Hadrumetum, being deceived in this way (for they could not distrust the commander of all the troops in Byzacium), opened wide the grates and received the enemy. Then, indeed, those who had entered with Himerius drew their swords and would not allow the guards there to shut the gates again, but straightway received the whole army of the Moors into the city. And the barbarians, after plundering it and establishing there some few guards, departed. And of the Romans who had been captured some few escaped and came to Carthage, among whom were Severianus and Himerius. For it was not difficult for those who wished it to make

## procopius of caesarea

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${ }^{1}$ そnovtes V : àkoúotot PO .



HINTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. 17-23
their escape from Moors. And many also, not at all unwillingly, remained with Stotzas.

Not long after this one of the priests, Paulus by name, who had been appointed to take charge of the sick, in conferring with some of the nobles, said: "I myself shall journcy to Carthage and I an hopeful that I shall return quickly with an army, and it will be your care to receive the emperor's forces into the city." So they attached some ropes to him and let him down ly night from the fortifications, and he, coming to the sea-shore and happening upon a fishing-vessel which was thereabouts, won over the masters of this boat by great sums of money and sailed off to Carthage. And when he had knded there and come into the presence of Sergius, he told the whole story and asked him to give him a considerable army in order to recover Hadrumetum. And since this by mo means pleased Sergius, inasmuch as the army in Carthage was mot great, the priest begged him to give him some few soldiers, and receiving not more than eighty men, he formed the following plan. He collected a large number of boats and skiffs and embarked on them many sailors and Libyans also, clad in the garments which the Roman soldiers are accustomed to wear. And setting off with the whole fleet, he sailed at full speed straight for Hadrumetum. And when he had cone elose to it, he sent some men stealthily and declared to the notables of the city that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had recently come to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA














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 29 ä入入as．oi $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \tau о \iota ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma \iota \mu о \iota ~ \sigma \chi \epsilon \delta o ́ z ~ \tau \iota ~ a ̈ \pi a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \epsilon ́ \varsigma ~$











## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. $23-32$

Garthage, and had sent a very considerable army to the citizens of Hadrumetum. And he bade them take courage at this and open for them one small gate that night. And they carried out his orders. Thus Paulus with his followers got inside the fortifications, and he slew all the enemy and recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor ; and the rumour about Germanus, beginning there, went even to Carthage. And the Moors, as well as Stotzas and his followers, upon hearing this, at first became terrified and went off in flight to the extremities of Libya, but later, upon learning the truth, they counted it a terrible thing that they, after sparing all the citizens of Hadrumetum, had suffered such things at their hands. For this reason they made raids everywhere and wrought unholy deeds upon the Libyans, sparing no one whatever his age, and the land became at that time for the most part depopulated. For of the Libyans who had been left some fled into the cities and some to Sicily and the other islands. But almost all the notables came to Byzantium, among whom was Paulus also, who had recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor. And the Moors with still less fear, since no one came out against them, were plundering everything, and with them Stotzas, who was now powerful. For many Roman soldiers were following him, some who had come as deserters, and others who had been in the beginning captives but now remained with him of their own free will. And John, who was indeed a man of some reputation among the Moors, was remaining quiet because of the extreme hostility he had conceived against Scrgius.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XXIV






























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## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV xxiv. x-7

## XXIV

At this time the emperor sent to Libya, with some few soldiers, another gencral, Areobindus, a man of the senate and of good birth, but not at all skilled in matters of warfare. And he sent with him Athanatsius, a prefect, who had come recently from Italy, and some few Armenians led by Artabanes and John, soms of Juhn, of the line of the Arsacidae, ${ }^{1}$ who had recently left the Persian army and as deserters had come back to the Romans, together with the other Armenians. And with Areobindus was his sister and Prejecta, his wife, who was the daughter of Vigilantia, the sister of the Emperor Justinian. The emperor, however, did not recall sergius, but commanded both him and Areobindus to be generals of Libya, dividing the country and the detachments of soldiers between them. And he enjoined upon Sergius to carry on He war against the barbarims in Numidia, and upon dreobindus to direct his operations constantly against the Moors in Byzacium. And when this expedition Ianded at Carthage, Sergius departed forthwith for Numidia with his own army, and Areobindus, upon leaming that Antalas and Stotzas were encamped near the city of Siccavencria, which is three days' jummey distant from Carthage, commanded Jolm, the son of Sisiniolus, to go against them, choosing rout whatever was best of the army ; and he wrote to Sorgius to unite with the forces of John, in order that they might all with one common force engage ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Book II. iii. 32.

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
































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with the enemy. Now Sergius deeded to pry no heed to the message and have nothing to do with this affair, and John with a small army was compelled to engage with an inmmerable host of the enemy. And there had always been great enmity between him and stotzas, and each one used to pray that he might become the slayer of the other before departing from the world. At that time, accordingly, as soon as the fighting was about to come to close quarters, both rode out from their armies and came against each other. And John drew his bow, and, as . Stotzas was still advancing, made a successful shot and hit him in the right groin, and Stotzas, mortally wounded. fell there, not yet dead, but destined to survire this wound only a little time. And all came up immediately, both the Moorish army and those who followed Stotzas, and placing Stotzas with little life in him against a tree, they advanced upon their enemy with great fury; and since they were far superior in mumbers, they routed John and all the Romans with mo difficulty. Then, indeed, they say, John remarked that death had now a certain sweetness for him, since his prayer regarding Stotzas had reached fulfilment. And there was a steep place near by, where his horse stumbled and threw him off. And as he wats trying to leap upon the horse again, the enemy caught and killed him, a man who had bown himself grai hoth in repulation and in salome. And stonzats leaned this and then died, remarking only that mow it was most sweet to dic.

## l'ROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

т!̂ $\mu$ úx









## XXV


















[^81]In this battle John, the Armenian, brother of Artabanes, also died, after making a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And the emperor, upon hearing this, was very deeply grieved because of the valour of John; and thinking it inexpedient for the two generals to administer the province, he immediately recalled Sergius and sent him to Italy with an army, and gave over the whole power of Libya to Areobindus.

## XXV

And two months after Sergius had departed from there, Gontharis essayed to set up a tyranny in the following manner. He himself, as it happened, was commanding the troops in Numidia and spending his time there for that reason, but he was secretly treating with the Moors that they might march against Carthage. Forthwith, therefore, an army of the enemy, having been gathered into one place from Numidia and Byzacium, went with great zeal against Carthage. And the Numidians were commanded by Coutzinas and Iaudas, and the men of Byzacium by Antalas. And with him was also John, the tyrant, and his followers; for the mutineers, after the death of Stotzats, had set him up as ruler over themselves. And when Areobindus learned of their attack, he summoned to Carthare a number of the officers with their men, and among them Gontharis. And he was

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

5 'Apuєviors каi 'Iptaßárms. ò $\mu \in ̀ \nu$ oûv 'Ipeó-






















 'P'ouaious oùv aútê émarópelos, Гóv,






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\({ }^{1} \pi 0 \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu \mathrm{~V}\) : ėvavti \({ }^{2} \mathrm{PO}\).
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joined also by Artabanes and the Armenians. Areobindus, aceordingly, bade (iontharis lead the whole army against the enemy. And (iontharis, though he had promised to serve him zealously in the war, proceeded to act as follows. One of his servants, a Moor by birth and a cook by trade, he commanded to go to the enemy's camp, and to make it appear to all others that he had run iway from his master, but to tell Antalas secretly that Gontharis wished to share with him the rule of Libya. So the cook carried out these directions, and Antalas heard the word gladly, but made no further reply than to say that worthy enterprises are not properly brought to pass among men by cooks. When this was heard by Gontharis, he immediately sent to Antalas one of his body-guards, [Titheus by name, whom he had found especcially trustworthy in his service, inviting him to come as close as possible to Carthage. For, if this were done, he promised him to put. Areobindus out of the way. So Ulithens without the knowledge of the rest of the barbarians made an agreement with Antalas that he, Antalas, should rule liyzacium, having half the pmacesions of Areobindus and taking with him fifteen humdred Roman soldicers, while Gontharis should assume the dignity of king, holding the power over ( arthare and the rest of libya. And alter settling these matters he returned the the Roman camp, which they had made entirely in front of the cireuit-wall, distributing amoner themselves the guarding of fach

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










 кívঠuvov.











18 aưtov̂ 入áßol. 'A peóßıvঠos $\mu$ èv oû̀ kai Kout 彑̌iras







 ${ }^{1} \mu$ avpovoious oủ $\mathrm{V}: \mu a v \rho o v \sigma\{\omega \nu \mathrm{PO}$.
424
gate. And the barbarians not long afterwards proceeded straight for Carthage in great haste, and they made (amp and remained in the place called Decimum. ${ }^{1}$ And departing from there on the following day, they were moving forward. But some of the Roman army encomentered them, and engaging with them unexpectedly, slew a small number of the Mons: But these were straightway called back by Gontharis, who rebuked them for acting with reckless daring and for heing willing to give the Romans fortknowledge of the danger into which they were thrown.

But in the meantime Areobindus sent to Coutzinas secerety and beg:n to treat with him with regard to tuming traitur: And Contzinas promised him that, as soon as they should begin the action, he would turn against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacium. For the Moors keep fath neither with any other men nor with each other. This Arcobindus reported to (iontharis. And he, wishing to frustrate the enterprise by having it postponed, advised Areobindus by no means to have fath in Coutzinas, unless he shonld receive from him his children as hostages. So Areobindus and Coutzinas, constantly sending secret messages to each othere, were busying themselves with the plot agranst Antalas. And Gontharis sent Ulithe us once more and made known to Antalas what was being done. And he decided not to make any charges against Containas nor did he allow him to know that he had diseovered the plot, nor indeed did he disclose anything of what had been agreed upon by himself and Gontharis. But though encmies and

[^82]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


























 $\tau \in \lambda \in i ̄ \nu$ eै $\gamma \nu \omega$.

## XXVI




426
hontile at heart to one another, they were arrayed together with treacherous intent, and each of them was marching with the other against his own particular friend. With such purposes Coutzinas and Antalas were leading the Moorish army against Carthage. And Gontharis was intending to kill Areobindus, but, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at sole power, he wished to do this secretly in battle, in order that it might seem that the plot had been made by others against the general, and that he had been compelled by the Roman army to assume command over Libya. Accordingly he circumvented Arebhindus by deceit, and persuaded him to go out against the enemy and engage with them, now that they had already come close to Carthage. He decided, therefore, that on the following day he would lead the whole army against the enemy at sumrise. But Areobindus, being very inexperienced in this matter and reluctant besides, kept holding back for no good reason. For while considering how he should put on his equipment of arms and armour, and making the ot ther preparations for the sally, he wasted the greatest part of the day. He accordingly put off the engagement to the following day and remained quict. But Gontharis, suspecting that he had hesitated purposely, as being aware of what was being done, decided openly to accomplish the murder of the general and make his attempt at the tyranny.

## XXVI

Ivn on the succeeding day he proceeded to act as follows. Opening wide the gates where he himself

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA













 4 тô̂ méخas $\sigma$ tä $\mu \dot{\jmath} \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \tau \rho o ́ t r o \nu . ~ \delta i o ̀ ~ \delta i ̀ ~ o u ̉ \delta e ̀ ~$


















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1 \text { és P: ipòs } \mathrm{O} .
$$

428

## IISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxvi. x- $\delta$

kept guard, he placed huge rocks under them, that no one might be able casily to shut them, and he placed armoured men with bows in their hands about the parapeet in great numbers, and he himself, having put on his breastplate, took his stand between the gites. And his purpose in doing this was not that he might reccive the Moors into the city; for the Moors, being altogether fickle, are suspicious of all men. And it is not unnatural that they are so; for whoerer is by nature treacherous toward his neighbours is himself unable to trust anyone at all, but he is compelled to be suspicious of all men, since he estimates the character of his neighbour by his own mind. For this reason, then, Gontharis did not hope that even the Moors would trust him and come inside the circuit-wall, but he made this move in order that Areobindus, falling into great fear, might straightway rush off in flight, and, abandoning Carthage as quickly as he could, might betake himself to Byzantium. And he would have been right in his expecetation had not winter come on just then and 54l-545 A.D. frustrated his plan. And Areobindus, learning what was being done, summoned Athanasius and some of the motables. And Artabanes also came to him from the camp with two others and he urged Areohindus neither to lose heart nor to give way to the daring of Contharis, but to go against him instantly with all his men and engage him in battle, before any further trouble arose. At first, then, Areobindus sent to (iontharis one of his friends, Phredas by name, and commanded him to test the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA









 бтратєิิтає $\lambda \iota \mu \hat{\omega}$ тє каі Mavpovбíoıs $\mu a \chi o ́ \mu \in \nu о \iota$





 тоîs бтратью́таıs троíєбөal ö $\sigma a \pi \epsilon \rho$ aúrois т̀̀













[^83]
## HISTORY OF THE WHRS, IV. xxvi. 9-ı6

other's purpose. And when Phredas returned and reported that (iontharis by no means denied his intention of seizing the supreme power, he purposed immediately to go against him arrayed for battle.

But in the meantime Gontharis slandered Areobindus to the soldiers, saying that he was a coward and not only possessed with fear of the enemy, but at the sane time quite mwilling to give them, his soldiers, their pay, and that he was planning to run away with Anastasius and that they were about to sail very soon from Mandracium, ${ }^{1}$ in order that the soldiers, fighting both with lunger and with the Moors, might be destroyed; and he enquired whether it was their wish to arrest both and keep them under guard. For thus he hoped either that Areobindus, perceiving the tumult, would turn to Hight, or that he would be captured by the soldiers and ruthlessly put to death. Moreover he promised that he himself would adrance to the soldiers money of his own, as much as the govermment owed them. And they were approving his words and were possessed with great wrath against Areobindus, but while this was going on Areobindus together with Artabanes and his followers came there. And a battle took place on the parapet and below about the gate where (iontharis had taken his stand, and neither side was worsted. And all were about to gather from the camps, as many as were well disposed to the emperor, and capture the mutineers by force. For (iontharis had not as yet deceived all, but the majority remained still meorrupted in mind. But Areobindus, seeing then for the first time the killing of men for he had not yet, as it ${ }^{1}$ The port of Carthage; see III. xx .3.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


























 $\gamma_{1}{ }^{\prime} \omega \dot{\mu} \boldsymbol{\tau}$




[^84]
## HIS゙MORY (OF TIEE WARS, IV. xxvi. $16-25$

happened, become aequainted with this sight), was terror-stricken and, turning coward, Hed, unable to endure what he saw.

Now there is a temple inside the fortifications of (arthage hard by the sea-shore, the abode of men who are rery exact in their practice of religion, whom we have always been accustomed to call "monks"; this temple had been built by Solomon not long before, and he had surrounded it with a wall and rendered it a very strong fortress. And Areobindus, fleceing for refuge, rushed into the monastery, where he had already sent his wife and sister. Then Artabanes too ran away, and all the rest withdrew from Carthage as each one could. And Gontharis, having taken the city by assault, with the mutincers took ponsession of the palace, and was already guarding hoth the gates and the harhour most carefully. linst, then, he summoned Athanasius, who came to him without delay, and by using much flattery Athanasius made it appear that what had been done pleased him exceedingly. And after this Gontharis - ent the priest of the city and commanded Areobindus, after receiving pledges, to come to the palace, threatening that he would besiege him if he disobeyed and would not again give him pledges of safety, but would use every means to capture and put him to death. So the priest, Reparatus, stontly declared to Areobindus that in accordance with the decision of (xontharis he would swear that no harm would come: to him from (iontharis, telling alon what he had threatened in case he did not obey. But Areobindus became afraid and agreed that he would lollow the priest immediately, if the

## PROCOPIUS OI CAESAREA.












 iкetmpían aùtê tí te Өeîa $\lambda$ ógua tipotelvóperos



















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{ }^{1} \text { mapà } \mathrm{PO}: \pi \rho \grave{s} \mathrm{~V} . \quad{ }^{2} \pi \mu \grave{s} \mathrm{~V}: \pi a p a ̀ ~ \mathrm{l} ’ \mathrm{O}
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARG, IV. xxvi. $25-33$

priest, after performing the rite of the sacred bath! in the usual manner, should sweat to him by that rite and then give him pledges for his safety. So the priest did acoording to this. And Areobindus without delay followed him, dad in a garment which was suitable neither for a gencral nor for any one else in military service, but altogether appropriate to a slase or one of private station this garment the Romans call "casula" 2 in the Latin tongue. And when they came near the palace, he took in his hands the holy scriptures from the priest, and so went before (iontharis. And falling prone he lay there a long time, holding out to him the suppliant olivebranch and the holy scriptures, and with him was the child which had been counted worthy of the sacred bath by which the priest had given him the pledge, as has been told. And when, with difficulty, Gontharis had raised him to his feet, he enguired of (iontharis in the name of all things holy whether his safety was secure. And Guntharis now bade him most positively to be of good cheer, for he would buffer no ham at his hands, but on the following day loould be gone from ('arthage with his wife and his posisessions. 'Then he dismissed the priest Reparatus, and bade Areobindus and Athanasius dine with him in the palace. And during the dinner he honoured Areobindus, inviting him to take his place first on the couch; but after the dinner he did not let him (ro, but compelled him to sleep in a chamber alone: and he sent there Ulithens with ecretain others Io assail him. And while he was wailing and crying aloud again and again and speaking many entreating
${ }_{2}$ i.e. baptism.
${ }^{2}$ A garment with a cowl, liko the cucullus.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





## XXVII

























 436

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV, xxvi. 33-xxvii. 8

words to them to more them to pity, they slew him. Athanasius, however, they spared, passing him by, I suppose, on account of his advanced age.

## XXVII

Avd on the following day Gontharis sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but decided to deprive him of the money and of the soldiers. Antalas, therefore, was outraged, because he was not carrying out anything of what had been agreed with him, and at the same time, upon considering what Gontharis had sworn and what he had done to Areobindus, he was incensed. For it did not seem to him that one who had disregarded such oaths would ever be faithful either to him or to anyone else at all. So after considering the matter long with himself, he was desirous of submitting to the Emperor Justinian; for this reason, then, he marched back. And learning that Marcentius, who commanded the troops in Byzacium, had fled to one of the islands which lie off the coast, he sent to him, and telling him the whole story and giving pledses, persuaded him by kind words to come to him. And Marcentius remained with Antalas in the camp, while the soldiers who were on duty in Byzacium, being well disposed to the emperor, were grarding the city of Hadrumetum. But the soldiers of Stotzas, being not less than a thousand, perceiving what was being done, went in great haste, with John leading them, to Gontharis; and he gladly received them into the city. Now there were five hundred Romans and about eighty Huns, while all the rest

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA




$10 \lambda a ́ \theta \rho a$ Śè àve入єє̂̀ тòv ГóvӨapıv є́ßou入єv́єто，I＇pク－















 ＇Pouaíols tanû̀ êk tîs Be入ıoapiou likys toîs tє


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\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \mu \delta \nu ч \text { VP: } \pi \delta \nu \omega \mathrm{O} \text {. }{ }^{2} \text { клє́о́оs VP: кра́тоs } \mathrm{O} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxvii. 8-17

were Vandals. And Artabanes, upon receiving pledges, went up to the palace with his Armenians, and promised to serve the tyrant according to his orders. But secretly he was purposing to destroy Gontharis, having previously communicated this purpose to Gregorius, his nephew, and to Artasires, his body-guard. And Gregorius, urging him on to the undertaking, spoke as follows:
"Artabanes, the opportunity is now at hand for you, and you alone, to win the glory of Belisariusnay more, even to surpass that glory by far. For he came here, having received from the emperor a most formidable army and great sums of money, having officers accompanying him and advisers in great numbers, and a fleet of ships whose like we have never before heard tell of, and numerous cavalry, and arms, and everything else, to put it in a word, prepared for him in a manner worthy of the lioman empire. And thus equipped he won back Libya for the Romans with much toil. But all these achievements have so completely come to naught, that they are, at this moment, as if they had never beenexeept indeed, that there is at present left to the Romans from the victory of Belisarius the losses they have suffered in lives and in money, and, in addition, that they are no longer able even to guard the good things they won. But the winning back of all these things for the emperor now depends upon the courage and judgment and right hand of you alone. Therefore consider that you are of the house of the Arsacidae by ancient descent, and remember that it is seemly for men of molle birth to play the part of brave men always and in all places. Now many remarkable deeds have been performed by you in

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA













20 ó ठè ГóvAapıs 'Apeoßípסov $\mu \in ̀ v ~ т \eta ́ v ~ т є ~ ॠ u r a ̂ ̂ k a ~$
















## HIS'ORY OF THE WARS, IV, xxvii. 1 ク-2z

behalf of freectom. For when you were still young, you slew Acacius, ${ }^{1}$ the ruler of the Armenians, and cittas, ${ }^{2}$ the general of the Romans, and as a result of this becoming known to the king Chosroes, you campaigned with him against the Romans. And since you have reached so great a station that it devolves upon you not to allow the Roman power to lie subject to a drunken dog, show at this time that it was by reaw of noble birth and a valorous heart that at the formere time, gond sir, you performed those doeds; and I as well as Artasires here will assist you in everything, so far as we have the power, in accordance with your commands."

So spoke (iregroms ; and he excited the mind of Artabanes still more against the tyrant. But Gontharis, bringing out the wife and the sister of Areohindus from the fortress, compelled them to remain at a certain house, showing them no insult by any word or deed whatsocver, nor did they have provisions in any less measure than they needed, nor were they ermpelled to say or to do anything except, indered, that Prejecta was forced to write to her uncle that (iontharis was honouring them exceedingly and that he was altogether gruiltless of the murder of her hoshand, and that the base deed had bewn done by Elithens, (iontharis by no means apmoving. And (iontharis was persuaded to do this hy Pasiphilus, a man who had been foremost among the matinews in liyzacium, and had assisted Contharis wry fratly in his cffort to establish the tyranny. For Pashilus mantained that, if he should do His, the romperor would marry the young woman to him, and in view of his kinship with her would

[^85]
## procopius of caesarea


 'Avtàخav каi Mavpovaíovs тoùs є̇v Buそ̧aкíњ






 Où入ítcos ò Sopuфópos• єítovto Sè rai Maupoúбıol,



















 Cf. Book II. xxy. 29.
give also a dowry of a large sum of money. And Gontharis commanded Artabanes to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium. For Coutzinas, having quarrelled with Antalas, had separated from him openly and allied himself with Gontharis; and he gave Gontharis his son and his mother as hostages. So the army, under the leadership of Artabanes, procceded immediately against Antalas. And with Artabanes was John also, the commander of the mutineers of Stotzas, and Ulitheus, the body-guard of Gontharis; and there were Moors also following him, led by Coutzinas. And after passing by the city of Hadrumetum, they came upon their opponents somewhere near there, and making a camp a little apart from the enemy, they passed the night. And on the day after that John and Ulitheus, with a detachment of the army, remained there, while Artabanes and Coutzinas led their army against their opponents. And the Moors under Antalas did not withstand their attack and rushed off in flight. But Artabanes of a sudden wilfully played the coward, and turning his standard about marched off towards the rear. For this reason Clitheus was purposing to kill him when he came into the camp. But Artabanes, by way of excusing himself, said he feared lest Marcentius, coming to assist the cnemy from the city of Hadrumetum, where he then happened to be, would do his forces irreparable harm ; but (iontharis, he said, ought to march against the enemy with the whole amy. And at first he considered going to Hadrumelum with his followers

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 $\pi \omega \nu$ ċфavíбavтı ßaбı入є́a тє каi $\Lambda \iota \beta \cup ́ \eta \nu ~ \pi р а ү-~$






37 тoùs тo入єнious т $\hat{\varphi}$ бтрат $\hat{\omega}$ є’ $\xi \eta \gamma \dot{\eta} \sigma a \sigma \theta a \ell$ ．то入－






## XXVIII













 ${ }^{1} \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \dot{\mu} \mu \nu 0 s \mathrm{~V}: \pi \alpha \rho a \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \dot{\mu} \mu \nu 0 s \mathrm{YO}$ ．
and uniting with the emperor's forces. But after long deliberation it secmed to him better to put Gontharis out of the world and thus free both the emperor and Libya from a difficult situation. Returning, accordingly, to Carthage, he reported to the tyrant that he would need a larger army to meet the enemy. And Gontharis, after conferring with Pasiphilus, consented, indeed, to equip his whole army, but purposed to place a guard in Carthage, and in person to lead the army against the enemy. Each day, therefore, he was destroying many men toward whom he felt any suspicion, even though groundless. And he gave orders to Pasiphilus, whom he was intending to appoint in charge of the garrison of Carthage, to kill all the Greeks ${ }^{1}$ without any consideration.

## XXVIII

And after arranging everything else in the very best way, as it seemed to him, Gontharis decided to entertain his friends at a banquet, with the intention of making his departure on the following day. And in a room where there were in readiness three couches which had been there from ancient times, he made the banquet. So he himself reclined, as was natural, upon the first conch, where were also Athanasius and Artahanes, and some of those known to Gontharis, and Peter, a Thacian by birth, who had previously been a body-guard of Siolomon. And on both the wher eonches were the first and noblest of the Sandals. John, however, whon commanded the mutineers of Stotzas, was entertained by Pasiphilus in

[^86]
## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



 oi тòv каıрòv Є̇тıт
 7 Stevoeito. és Грдүópıov oûu каi 'Aptaбípŋи каi






 $\epsilon \epsilon \pi \epsilon \in \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'Ap $\mu \epsilon \nu^{\prime} \omega \nu$ mo






 Г'óv $\theta a \rho \iota \nu$ vто́тт








${ }^{1}$ є̈кабтоу V : є̈кцаттоs PO .
${ }^{3}$ ф́́oovtas V1’: đ̌oytas O.
${ }_{4}^{2}$ Haury would prefer фídos.
${ }^{4}$ тov̂ Haury: toùs MSS.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxviii. 5-9

his own house, and each of the other leaders whererere it suited the several friends of (xontharis to entertain them. Artabanes, accordingly, when he was bidden to this banquet, thinking that this oweation furnished him a suitalole opportunity for the murder of the tyrant, was planning to carry out his purpose. He therefore disclosed the matter to (rremius and to Artasires and three other bodyguards, bidding the body-guards get inside the hall with their swords (for when commanders are entertaned at a banquet it is customary for their bodyguards to stand behind them), and after getting inside to make an attack suddenly, at whatever moment should seem to them most suitable; and Artasires was to strike the first blow. At the same time he directed Gregorius to pick out a large number of the most daring of the Armenians and bring them to the palace, carrying only their swords in their hands (for it is not lawful for the escort of officers in a city to be amed with anything else), and leaving these men in the restibule, to come inside with the body-guards; and he was to tell the plan to no one of them, hut to make only this explanation, that he was suspicions of Gontharis, fearing that he had called Artabanes to this banquet to do him harm, and therefore wished that they should stand beside the soldiers of Gontharis who had been stationed there on guard, and giving the appearance of indulgine in some play, they were to lake hold of the shirlds which these guards carried, and waving them about and otherwise moving them keep constantly turnims them up and down; and if any tomult or slonuting tonk place within, they were to take up these very shiclds and come to the rescue on the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA












 є́ $\chi$ ovtos.

 "'Еу⿳亠 тò $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ є́ $\gamma \chi \epsilon i ́ p \eta \mu a ~ o ́ к \nu \eta \prime \sigma є \ell ~ o u ̀ \delta є \mu l a ̂ ~ ن ́ т о-~$











 каі т(̂)
${ }^{1}$ Haury would read av̉zoús.
${ }^{2}$ Haury proposes natà más, "one by one," for natì tàs тouds. ${ }^{3} \delta \dot{\eta}$ Hocschel: $\delta$ é MSS.
448

## HSTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxviii. 9-1.4

rum. Such were the orders which Artabanes gave, and (requrius proceeded to put them into execution. And Artabires devised the following plan: he cut some arows into two parts and placed them on the wrist of his left arm, the sections reaching to his elbow. And after binding them very carefully with straps, he laid over them the sleeve of his tunic. And he did this in order that, if anyone should raise his sword over him and attempt to strike him, he might avoid the chance of suffering serious injury; for he had only to thrust his left arm in front of him. and the stecel would break off as it crashed upon the wood, and thus his body could not be reached at any point.

With such purpose, then, Artasires did as I have said. And to Artabanes he spoke as follows: "As for me, I have hopes that I shall prove equal to the undertaking and shall not hesitate, and alus that I shall touch the body of Gontharis with this sword; but as for what will follow, I am unable to ay whether God in His anger against the tyrant will oro-rperate with me in this daring deed, or whether, arenging some sin of mine, He will stand arainst me there and be an obstacle in my way. If, therefore, you see that the tyrant is mot wounded in a vital spont, do you kill me with my sword without the least hesitation, so that I may not be torlured by him into sayiner that it was by your will that I rushed into the undertakinge, and thus not only perish myself most shamefully, but also be compelled agatust my will to deatroy you as well." And after Artasires had spokson such words he too, together wilh (imentius sum one of the body-guards, entered the foom where the couches were and look his

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA


 є่тоíovข.
 Oólıクs, є̈p



























$$
{ }^{1} \text { \% } \lambda \frac{}{} \text { V : om, PO. }
$$

stand behind dreabanes. And the rest, remaining by the guards, did as they had been commanded.
so detasires, when the banquet hat only just bequm, wats purposing to set to work, and he was aheady tunching the hilt of his sword. But Grecrorius preverted him by suring in the Amenian tongue that (iontharis was still wholly himself, not having as yet drank any great quantity of wine. Them Artasires groaned and said: "My grood fellow, how finc a heart I have for the deed, and now you have for the moment wrongfully hindered me!" And as the drinking went on, (iontharis, who by now was thoroughly saturated with wine, began to wive portions of the food to the body-guards, yielding to a generous mood. And ther, upon receiving these portions, went outside the building immediately and were about to eat them, leaving beside Gontharis only three body-guards, one of whom happened to be Clitheus. And Artasires also stanted to go out in erdere to taste the morsels with the rest. But just then a kin! of fear cane over him lest, when he should wish to draw his sword, something might prevent him. Accordingly: as soon as he got outside, he secoetly threw away the sheath of the word, and taking it naked meder his am, hidden by his cloak, he rushed in to (iontharis, as if to say amething without the knowledge of the others. And Artabanes, seemg this, was in a fever of excitemant, and became cxecedingly amxious by reasom of the surpassing magnitude: of the issue at stake ; he began to mose his head, the colour of his countenance chatiged repeatedly, and he seomed to have become altogether like one imspired, on aceoment of the greatness of the undortaking. And Peter, upon secing

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA























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 ${ }^{1} \tau \omega ิ \nu$ ढ̈т $\omega \nu \tau \delta \mathrm{V}: \tau \delta \nu \nu \omega ิ \tau 0 \nu \tau \delta \nu \mathrm{l}$ ’O.
$45^{2}$
this understood what was being done, but he did not disclose it to any of the others, because, being well disposed to the emperor, he was exceedingly pleased by what was groing on. And Artasires, laving come close to the tyrant, was pushed by one of the servants, and as he retreated a little to the rear, the servant observed that his sword was bared and cried out saying: "What is this, my excellent fellow:" And Gontharis, putting his hand to his dight ear, and turning his face, looked at him. And Artasires struck him with his sword as he did so, and cut off a piece of his scalp together with his fingers. And Peter cried out and exhorted Artasires to kill the most unholy of all men. And Artabanes, secing Goutharis leaping to his feet (for he reclined close to him), drew a two-edged dagger which hung by his thigh-a rather large one-and thrusting it into the tyrant's left side clean up to the hilt, left it there. And the tyrant none the less tried to leap up, but having received a mortal wound, he fell where he was. ( litheus then brought his sword down upon Artasires as if to strike him over the head; but he held his left arm above his head, and thus profited by his own idea in the moment of greatest need. For since Llitheus' sword had its edge turned when it struck the sections of arrows on his arm, he himself was unscathed, and he killed ©litheus with no difficulty. And Peter and Artabanes, the one serging the swond of (iontharis and the other that of lithe us whon had fallem, killed on the spot those of the body-guirds who remained.

## procopius of caesarea





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 454

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'Thus there arone, as was natumal, an execedingly sreat tumalt and confusion. And when this was percesised by those of the Amentans who were standing by the tyrant's guards, they immediately pieked up the shields according to the plan which had been arranged with them, and went on the run to the banquet-romm. And they slew all the Vandals and the friends of Contharis, no one resisting.

Then Artabanes enjoined upon Athamasius to take charge of the money in the palace: for all that had been left by Areobindus was there. And when the gutarl learned of the death of Gontharis, straightway many arrayd themselves with the drmenians; for the most of them were of the household of Areohindus. With one accord, therefore, they prodamed the Fmperor Justinian triumphant. And the cry, coming forth from a multitude of men, and being, therefore, an exceedingly mighty sound, was strones canough to reach the greater part of the city. Wherefore those who were well-disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and straightway killed them, some while enjoying sleep, others while taking ford, and still others white they were awfestruck with fear and in terrible perplexity. And among these was Pasiphilus, but not John, for he with some of the Viandals fled to the sanctuary. To these Artathanes gave pledgex. and making them rise from Here, sent them to Byzantium, and havines thus reeovered the city for the emperone the continued to Eratad it. And the murder of the lymat took place (an) the thirly-sisth day of the tyamise in the nimetecnth year of the reign of the "Emprom" Justiniath. 5.t5-510 A.D. dud detabmes won great, fame for himself from

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA










 Aıßún є́yє́vєто，＇Avтá $\lambda a$ тє каi Mavpovoiols тоĭs

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{ }^{1} \text { aủ̃ol VO: aủtoû P. } \quad 2 \delta \grave{~ V P ~: ~} \delta \grave{\epsilon} \text { oủ } \pi 0 \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \mathrm{O} \text {. }
$$ 456

this deed among all men. And straghtway Prejecta, the wife of Areobindus, rewarded him with great sums of monery and the emperor appointed hims gencral of all Libya. But not long after this Artabanes entreated the emperor to summon him to l3yzantium, and the emperor fulfilled his request. And having summoned Artabanes, he appointed John, the brother of Pappus, sole general of Libya. And this John, immediately upon arriving in Libya, had an engagement with Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium, and conquering them in battle, slew many ; and he wrested from these barbarians all the standards of Solomon, and sent them to the emperor-standards which they had previously secured as plunder, when Solomon had been taken from the world. ${ }^{1}$ And the rest of the Moors he drove as far as possible from the Roman territory. But at a later time the Leuathat came amain with a great army from the country about Tripolis to Byzacium, and united with the forces of Antalas. And when John went to meet this army, he was defeated in the engagement, and losing many of his men, fled to Laribus. And then indeed the encmy, overumning the whole country there as far as Carthage, treated in a terrible manner those Lihyins who fell in their way. But not long afterward John collected those of the soldiors who had survived, and drawing into alliance with him many Mors and especrially those under Coutzinas, cance to battle with the encomy and unexpectedly ronted them. And the Romans, following them up ${ }^{1}$ Seo Book IV. xxi. 27.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA





 $\nu \epsilon ́ \chi \theta \eta \gamma \in \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a$.

HISTORY OF TIIE WARS, IV. xxviii. 51 - 52
as they fled in complete disorder, slew at great part of them, while the rest escaped to the confines of Libya. Thus it came to pass that those of the Libyans who survived, few as they were in number and excecdingly poor, at last and after great toil found some peace.

## INDEX

Abigas River, in Numidia, flowing down from Mt. Aurasium, IV. xix. 7,11 , xiii. 20 ; its many channels, IV. xix. 11-13; turned upon the Roman camp, IV. xix. 14
Abydus, city on the Hellespont, III. i. 8; the Roman fleet delayed there, III. xii. 7-xiii. 5
dcacius, ruler of Armenians; slain by Artabanes, IV, xxvii. 17
Acacius, priest of Byzantium, clelivers over Basiliscus, III. vii. 22
Achilles, Bath of, in Byzantium, III. xili. 16

Achilles, The, of the Vandals; name applied to Hoamer, HI, ix. 2

Aclas, suburb of Carthage, IV. vii. 13

Adaulphus, king of the Visigoths, JII. ii. 37
Adriatic Sea, divided from the Tuscan Sea by the islands Gaulus and Melite, III. xiv. 16 ; crossed by the IRoman flect, III. xiii. 21 ; the scene of one of Gizeric's atrocities, 11I. xxii. 18
Aetius, Roman general ; his splendid qualities, 115. iil. 14, 15 ; rival of Boniface, III. iii. 15 ; whom he slanders to Placidia, III. 111. 17; writes a deceitful letter to Boniface, 1If. iil. 18, 28 ; spared by Placidia by reason of his great power, III. iil. 29 ; defeats Attila, IIr. iv. 24; Maximus plans to destroy him, III. iv. 24, 25 ; slandered to the emperor, III. iv. 26; his death, iII. iv. 27, vi. 7; a great loss to the emperor, III. Iv. 28
Aetna, mountain In sicily, IIr. xiii. 22

Aigan, a Massagete, bodyguard of Belisarius, III. xi. 7, 9, IV. X. 4; commander of cavalry, III. xi. 7 ; on the right wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iii. 4; makes a successful attack upon the Moors in Byzacium, IV. X. 5 ; his force in turn annihilated by the Moors, IV. x. 6 ff. ; his death, IV. x. 10, xi. 22
Alani, a Gothic people, allies of the Vandals in their migration, III. iii. 1; with the Vandals in Africa, III. y . 18, 19 , xxiv. 3 ; lose their individuality as a people, III. v. 21
Alaric, king of the Visigoths, invades Europe, III. ii, 7 ; captures Rome by a trick, III. ii. 14-23; plunders the city, III. ii. 24; declares Attalus emperor of the Romans, III. ii. 28 ; marches with Attalus against Ravenna, III. ii. 29 ; opnoses sending of commanders to Libya by Attalus, III. ii. 30 ; quarrels with Attalus, and reduces him from the kingship, III. ii. 36 ; clies of disease, III. ii. 37
Alexandria, the home of Calonymus, III. xi. 14.
Althias, commander of Roman auxiliaries, III. xi. 6 ; on the left wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iil. 4 ; commander of Huns in Numidia, IV. xiii. 2; his encounter with Iaudas, IV. xiii. $3-10$; his fame from the deed, IV. xili. 17
Amalasountha, mother of Antalaric; makes an agreoment with Justinian, 1II. xiv. 5; courts his friendship to secure protection, III. xiv. 6 ; appealed
to by the Goths in regard to Lilybaeum, IV. v. 18
Amalafrida, sister of Theoderic; sought and given in marriage to Trasamundus, III, viii. 11, 12; presented with Lilybacum, III. viii. 13 ; put under guard by the Vandals, III. ix. 4
Ammatas, brother of Gelimer ; instructed to prepare to meet the Romans near Carthage, 11. xvil. 11; xviil. 1; kills his kinsmen in prison, IU. xvii. 12; his inopportune arrival at Decimum, III. xviii. 4,5 , on the day before Easter, III. xxi. 23; engages with John there and is defeated, III. xviii. 5, 6; his death, III. xviii. 6; xix. 30, xx. 0 , xxy. 15 ; his body found by the Romans, III. xix. 14
Anastasius, emperor of the East, keeps peace with the Vandals, III. vii. 26, viii. 14

Ancon, a dungeon in the royal residence in Carthage, III. גx. 4; unexpected release of 1Roman merchants conflned there, III. xx. 5-9

Antaeus, the mythical wrestler, king in Libya, IV. x. 24
Antalas, ruler of the Moors in Byzacium, III. ix. 3, JV. xxv. 2; remains faithful to the Romans, IV. xii. 30 ; becomes hostile to Solomon, IV. xxi. 17; joins forces with the Leuathae, IV xxi. 18; gathers almost all the Moors under him, IV. xxii. 5 ; writes a letter to Justinian, IV. xxii 6-10; gathers his army again, IV. xxiii. 1; Areobindus sends an army ngainst him, IV. xxiv. 6; makes an agreement with Gontharis for the destruction of Areobindus, IV. xxv. 6-10; Coutzinas agrees to turn against him, IV. 25, 15, 18; hears of the plot of Coutzinas and keeps his knowledge secret, IV. xxv. 19-21; resents the sending of the head of Areobindus to him by Gontharis, IV. xxvii. 1, 2 ; decides to side with Justinian, IV. xxvil. 4 ; persuades

Marcentius to come to him, IV. xxvii. 5, 6 ; Artabanes sent against him, IV. xxvii. 23 ; his quarrel with Coutzinas, IV. xxvii. 24; Artabanes marches against him, IV. xxvii. 25 ; his army spared by Artabanes, 15 . xxvii. 28, 29; defeated by John, Iv. xxviii, 46, 47

Anthemius, a wealthy senator, appointed emperor of the West by Leon, ur. vi. 5 ; killed by his son-in-law, Rhecimer, III, vii. 1
Antonina, wife of Belisarius, mother-in-law of Ildiger, IV. viil. 24 ; sets sail with Belisarius for Africa, 111. xii. 2; preserves drinking water for Belisarius and his attendants, III. xiii. 23, 24 ; with the army at Decimum, III. xix. 11, גx. 1
Apollinaris, a native of Italy; comes to Justinian to seek support for Ilderic, IY. v. 7,8 ; his good services to the lRomans, 1V. v. 9 ; sent to the islands of Ebusa, Majorica, and Minorica, with an army, IV. v. 7
Aquileia, city in Italy, IH. iii. 9 ; its size and importance, III. iv. 30 ; besieged and captured by Attila, III. iv. 30 ff .
Arcadius, elder son of Theodosius I; receives the eastern empire, III. i. 2 ; brother of Honorius and Placidia, IIt. iii. 4; his alliance with the Visigoths, III. ii. 7; succeeded by his son Theodosius II, III. ii.. 33
Archelaus, a patrician ; manager of expenditures of the African expedition, III. xi. 17; adrises against disembarking on the African coast, III. Xv. 2-17; ordered by Belisarius not to take the Heet into Carthage, III. xvii. 16; commands the fleet to anchor off Carthage, iII. $x x .11$

Ardaburius, son of Aspar, Roman general ; sent against the tyrant John, 111. iii. 8; destroyed by Leon, III. vi. 27
Arcolindus, a senator; sent as general to Libya, IV. xxiv. 1;

## INDEX

his incxperience in warfare, IV. xxlv. 1, xxv. 25, xxvi. 16; accompanied by hils sister and wifo, IV, xxiv. is: shares the rule of Libya with Sergius, IV. xxiv. i, 5 ; sends John ackainst Antalas and Stotzas, 1 V . xxiv, 6 ; writes to Serkius to unite with John, iv. xxiv. 7 ; made sole commander of Libya, IV. xxiv. 16 ; sends Gontharis against the Moors, IV. xxv. 4, 5; arranges with Coutzinas to turn agalnst the other Moors, IV, xxv. 15 ; tells Gontharis of his dealings with Coutzinas, IV. Xxv. 10; persuaded by $G$, to postpone the engarement, 1 V . Xxv. 17, 18 ; his death planned and inally accomplished by Gontharis, IV. xxv. 220-xxv1. 33 ; treasure left by lim in the palace, 15 . xxvili. 35 ; slister of, IV. xxiv. 3 ; placed in a fortress for her safety, IV. xxyl. 18 ; removed from the fortress by Gontharis, IV. xxvil :
Arcthusa, harbour of Syracuse, III. xiv. 11

Arladne, daughter of Lcon, wife of Zenon, and mother of I.con the younger, III. vil. 2; ilees. to Isauria with Zenon, IIY. vil. 18
Arian falth, disqualifled one for the oflice of emperor, III. vi. 3 ; followed by all Goths, III. II, 5 ; bys the vandals, III. vill. 4, xxl. 20; by some arnong the Roman soldiers, IV. I, 4, Xiv. 12, 21 ; adhered to steanlfastly by Celimer, IV.ix. 14 ; Arlan priests of the Vandals, $111 . \times x 1.23,25$
Armenia, IMr. xl. 5 Armenians, sent with Areobindus to Jibya, IV. xxiv. 2 ; follow Artabanes in entering the service of Gontharis, IV, xxvil. 9 ; support Artabanes in his plot against Gontharis, IV. xxvill. 8, 34, 36
Arsacldac, the anclent royal famlly of Armenia, 1v. xxiv. 2, xxvil. 16
Artabanes, son of John of the Arsacidae; gent to dibya in command of Armenlans, IV.
xxiv. 2; known to Chosroes for his brave deeds, IV, xxvil. 17 ; brother of John, IV. xxiv. 15 ; uncle of Gregorius, IV, xxvii. 10 ; joins Arcobindus, $1 v .0 x v$. 4 ; supports him against Gontharis, Iv. xxvi. 7, 13, 19; enters the service of Gontharis, IV. xxvil. 9 ; his plot to kill the tyrant, Iv. xxvil. 10; urged on by Gregorius, Iv. xxvil. 11-19; sent against Antalas, IV. xxvil. 23,25 ; joins battle, but allows the enemy to escape, IV. xxvii. 27-29; threatened by Ulitheus, IV. xxvii. 30 ; his excuses, Iv. xxvii. 31, 32 ; after deliberation returns to Carthage, IV, xxvil. 33, 35 ; entertained by Gontharis at a banquet, IV. xxyiii. 3 ; arranges to carry out his plot against Gontharis, IF. xxviil. 6-9 : Artasires makes a request of him, IV, xxvili. 12, 13 ; he succeeds in destroying Gontharis with his own hand, IV. xxvili. 15-30; assisted by P'eter, cuts down the body-guards who remain, IV. Xxvili. 33 ; directs Athanasius to look after the treasure of Areobindus, IV. xxviii. 35 ; sends John and others to Byzantium, IV. xxvlii. 40 ; wins great fame, IV. xxvili. 42 ; rewarded with money by Prejecta, Iv. xxviil. 43; made general of all Libya, iv. xxvili. 43 ; summoned to Byzantfum, IV. xxvili. 44.

Artasires, body-guard of Artabanes; shares knowlerlge of his plot against Gontharls, Iv. xxvil. 10, 18 ; renders good service in the execution of the plot, IV. xxvili. 7-32; his ingenfous protection for his arm, IV. xxvili. $10,11,31$
Asclepiades, a native of lalestine and friend of lheodorus, iv. xvill. 3; reveals the plot of Maximinus to Theodorus and Germanus, iv, xvili. 4
Asia, the continent to the right of the Mediterranean as one salls into it, 111. 1. 5; distance from

Europe at different points, IIr. i. 7, 8; distance along the Asiatic side of the Euxine, III. 1. 11
Asiaticus, father of Severianus, IV. xxiii. 6

Aspar, Roman general ; father of Ardaburius, III. iii. 8 ; of the Arian faith, III. vi. 3 ; his great power in Byzantium, 111. iv. 8; sent against the tyrant John, III, iii. 8 : defeated by the Vandals in Libya, 1II. iii. 35; returns home, IIY. iii. 36 ; makes Leon emperor of the East, III. v. 7; his friendship sought by Basiliscus, III. vi. 2; quarrels with Leon, III. vi. 3 ; urges Basiliscus to spare the Vandals, III. vi. 4, 16 ; destroyed by Leon, III. vi. 27 ; the emperor Marcian had been his adviser, III. iv. 7
Atalaric, son of Amalasuntha; ruler of the Goths, III. xiv 5 ; succeeded his grandfather Theoderic, MII. xiv. 6
Athanazius, sent with Areobindus to Libya, IY. xxiv. 2 ; summoned by Arcobindus, IV. Xxvi. 6; being summoned by Gontharis, pretends to be pleased, IV. xxvi. 21, 22 ; with Areobindus entertained by Gontharis, IV. xxvl. 31 ; spared by the assassins of Gontharis, IV. xxvi. 33; entertained by Gontharis at a second banquet, IV. xxviii. 3; directed by Artabanes to look after the treasure of Areobindus, IV. xxviii. 35

Athens, its distance from Megara a measure of one day's journey, III. i. 17

Attalus, made king of the Vislgoths and declared emperor of the Romans by Alaric, III. ii. 28 ; of noble family, ibid.; his lack of discretion, 1II. ii. 29 ; marches with Alaric against Ravenna, ibid.; sends commanders alone to Jibya against the advice of Alaric, III. il. 30, 32 ; failure of his attempt upon Libya, ibid.; quarrels with Alaric, and is reduced from the kingship,

Attila, leader of the IIuns, clefcated by Aetius, III. iv. 24; overruns Lurope, IIL. iv. 29 ; besieges and captures Aquileia; III. iv. 30 ff .
Augustus, emperor of the West, IN. vii. 15
Aurasium, a mountain in Numldia; distance from Carthage, III. viii. 5, IV. xiii. 22 ; its great size, fruitful plateaus, and defences, IV. xiii. 23-25; source of the Abigas River there, IV. xiii. 20, xix. 11; adjoins First Mauretania, IV. Xx. 30 ; taken by the Moors from the Vandals. III. viii. 5 , IV. xiii. 26 ; its west side also held by the Moors, Iv, xiii. 27 ; Moors of, ruled by Iaudas, IV. xii. 29, xiii. I; Solomon marches thither, IV. xiii. 18 ; Iaudas establishes himself there, IV. xiii. 21; ascended by Solomon, IV. xiii. 30 ff. ; the Romans eluded by the Moors on the mountain, IV. xiii. 35,36 ; Solomon prepares more carefully for a second attempt, 1v. xiii. 40 ; in which he succeeds completely in dislodging the Moors from there, IV. xix. 5-2x, 20; fortilied and held by the Romans, $\mathrm{IV} . \mathrm{xx} .22$; capture of Iaudas ${ }^{3}$ treasure there, IV. Xx. 23-29; fugitive Vandals return thither, IV. xiv. 19

Babosis, place in Numidia, Ir. xix. 16

Bacchus, brother of Solomon, and father of Cyrus and Sergius, IV. xxi. 1; 19 ; father of Solomon the younger, IV. xxi. 19, axii. 17
Bagais, a deserted city near the Abigas River, Iy, xix. 7
Bagradas River, in Libya, IF. xv. 13
Balas, leader of the Massagetae, III. XI. 12

Bandifer, "standard-bearer"(Latin), cf. Bandum, Iv, X. 4
Bandum, the Latin term for "standard" in Procopius' time, IV. il. 1
Barbaricini, name applied to the Moors in Sardinia, IV, xiii. 44

## INDEX

Barbatus, commander of Roman cavalry, III. XX. 7, IV: XV. 50: on the Roman right wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iil. 4: his death, IV. Xv. 59
Basiliscus, brother of Berine ; commander of an expedition against the Vandals, III. vi. 2 ; his aspirations to the throne, ibid.; urged by Aspar to spare the Vandals, III. vi. 4 ; landing in Africa, makes a complete failure of the expedition, III. vi. 10-24, x. 2; returning to Byzantium, becomes a suppliant, III. vi. 26; saved by Berine, ibid.; makes himself tyrant in Byzantium, III, vii. 18 ; his misrule, III. vii. 19 ; sends an army under Harmatus to meet Zenon, III. vii. 20 ; becomes a suppliant, III. vii. 22 ; exiled to Cappadocia and dies, III. vii. 24,25

Basiliscus, son of Harmatus, IIT. vii. 21 ; made Caesar and then removed by Zenon, III. vii. 23
Belisarius, Roman general; a native of "Germany," III. xi. 21 ; summoned from the East, III. ix. 25 ; ordered to be in readiness to lead the African expedition, III. X. 21; made commander-in-chlef of the African expedition with unlimited power, III. xi. 18, 20 ; sets sail for Africa, III. xii. 2; punished two Massagetae for murder, III. xil. 9 ; addresses the army at A bydus, III. xil. 10-21; provides for the safe navigation of the fleet, III. xiii. 1-4; dlsembarks the army at Methone, III. xiii. 9 ff. ; provides a supply of bread for the army, III. xiii. 20 ; his wife preserves the drinking water, III. xiil. 23,24 ; sends Procopius to Syracuse to get information, III. xiv. 3 ff . ; his anxiety regarding the Vandals and the attitude of his own soldiers, III. xiv. 1, 2; starts from sicily toward Africa, III. xiy. 15 ; holds a consultation regarding disembarking on the African coast, IIr. xv. 1 ff. ; dis-
embarks the army and fortifies a camp, III. xv. 31-33; orders the fleet not to put in at Carthage, III. xvil. 16; commands five men to remain on each ship, III. xv. 36 ; punishes some of the soldiers for stealing and addresses the army, III. xvi. 1-8; advances with the army to Decimum, where he defeats the Vandals in an engagement, III. xvi. $9-x i x$. 33 , xxi. 16, xxii. 14; captures with ease the unwalled cities of Libya, mi. v. 9 ; prevents the army from entering Carthage on the evening of their arrival, III. xx. 2; his commands respected by the greater part of the fleet, III. XX. 15 ; enters Carthage with his army, III, Xx. 17 ; exhorts the soldiers to moderation, III. Xx. 18-20; sits upon the throne of Gelimer, III. xx. 21; hears and answers complaints of Carthaginian citizens, III. xx. 22, 23 ; lunches in Gelimer's palace, III. xxi. 1, 5 ; enjoys great renown by reason of the peaceful entry into Carthage, III, xxi. 8; his treaties with the Moors, III. Xxy. 2-9, Iv. viii. 11 ff., xi. 9 ; considers the repair of the fortifications of Carthage, III. xxi. 11 ; presses on the work of repairing them, III. xxiii. 19, 20 ; spares the messengers of Tzazon, III. xxiv. 6 ; and the envoys of Gelimer, III. xxiv. 17 ; takes measures to prevent desertions to the Vandals, IV. i. 7-11; addresses the army, IV. 1. 12-25; defeats the Moors in the battle of Tricamarum, IV. II. 1-iii. 18 ; attacks the Vandal camp, XV. iii. 19 ; takes measures to stop the disorder in the Roman army, IV. iv. 6-8; sends John the Armenian to pursue Gelimer, IV. iv. 9 ; himself follows Gelimer, IV. iv. 13; mourns the death of John the Armenian, IV. iv. 24 ; spares Uliaris, IV. iv. 25 ; continues the pursuit of Gelimer, IV. Iv. 26; leaves Pharas to besiege Gelimer, IV. iv. 28 ;

## INDEX

sends suppliant Vandals to Carthage, IV. IV. 32 ; captures Boniface with the treasures of Gelimer, IV. iv $33-41$; returns to Carthage, IV. v. 1.; sends out armies to recover many lost provinces, v. v. $1-10$; makes an unsuccessful expedition to Sicily, IV. V. 11; writes a letter to the Goths, IV. v. 12-17; their reply, IV. V. 18-24; reports to Justinian, IV. V. 25 ; receives the report of Pharas regarding Gelimer, IV. vii. 10 ; sends Cyprian with instructions, IV. vii. 11 ; receives Gelimer at Aclas, IV. vii. 13,14 ; reports the capture of Gelimer, IV. vii. 17 ; the victim of unjust slander, IV. viii. 1, 2 ; given choice of going to Byzantium or remaining in Carthage, IV. viil. 4 ; chooses the former, IV. viii. 5 ; learns of the accusation of treason to be brought against him, IV. viii. 6, 7; hears the report of the uprising of the Moors, IV. viii. 22; leaves Solomon in charge of Libya, IV. vili. 23; returning to Byzantium, receives great honours, IV. ix. 1 ff. ; brings Vandals with him, IV. ix. 1, xiv. 17; pays homage to Justinian in the hippodrome, IV. ix. 12; later celebrates a " triumph" in the old manner, IV. ix. 15 ; becomes a consul, ibid.; distributes much wealth of the Vandals to the people, IV. ix. 16; subjugates Sicily, IV. xiv. 1 ; passes the winter in Syracuse, IV. Xiv. 4, 41 ; Solomon begs him to come to Carthage from Syracuse to put down the mutiny, IV. xiv. 41, 42; arrives at Carthage in time to prevent its surrender, IV, xv. 9-10; pursues and overtakes the fugitives, IV. xv. 11, 12; encamps at the Bagradas River and prepares for battle, IV. xv. 13-15; addresses the army, IV. XV. 10-29; defeats Stotzas army, IV. xv. 40 di. ; forbids pursuit of the enemy, but allows their camp to be plundered, IV. xv. 46, 47 ; returns to Car-
thage, IV. XV. 47 ; upon receipt of uniavourable news, sets sail for Sicily, IV. xv. 48,49 ; Solomon seads suspected soldiers to him, IV. xix. 3 ; counted the chief cause of the defeat of the Vandals, IV. xi. 44.
Berine, wife of the Emperor Leon, and sister of Basiliscus, III. vi. 2; gains clemency for Basiliscus, III. vi. 26

Boniface, Roman general; his splendid qualities, III. iii. 14, 15 ; rival of Aetius, III, iii. 15 ; made gencral of all Libya, III. iii. 16; slandered by Aetius, III. iii. 17; summoned to Rome by Placidia, III. iii. 18 ; refuses to come, HII. iii. 20 makes an alliance with the Vandals, III. iii. 22,25 ; the true cause of his conduct discovered by his friends, III. iii. 27, 28 ; urged by Placidia to return to Rome, III. iii. 29; unable to persuade the Vandals to withdraw, meets them in battle and is twice defeated, III. iii. $30-35, \mathrm{xxi}, 16$; returns to Rome, III. iil. 36
Boniface, the Libyan, a native of Byzacium; entrusted by Gelimer with his wealth, IV. iv. 33, 34; falls into the hands of Belisarius, 1v. iv. 35-41
Boriades, body-guard of Belisarius ; sent to capture Syllectus, Iu. xvi. 9

Boulla, Plain of, distance from Carthage, III. xxy. 1; near the boundary of Numidia, ibid.; the Vandals gather there, III. xix. 32, xxy. 1; the only territory left to the Vandals, 111. Xxv. 16; Gelimer and Trazon meet there, III. xxv. 22; mutineers gather there, Iv, xv. 1
Bourgaon, mountain in Byzacium ; battle there with the Moors, IV. xii. 3 ff .

Britain, counted in the Trestern empire, III. 1. 18; revolts from the Romans, MII. ii. 31; not recovered by the Romans, but held by tyrants, 111. it. 38
Byzacium, a Moorish province in

## INDEX

Libya, III. xix. 32; a dry region, III. xv. 34 ; the town Hermione there, III. xiv. 10; Moors of, defeat the Vandals, III. ix. 3 ; Moors, of, seek alliance with the Romans, III, xxy. 3 ; the home of Boniface, the Libyan, IV. iv. 33 ; Moors of, revolt, IV. viii. $9, \mathrm{x} .2$, xii. 1, 2; Roman force annihilated there, IV. X. 3 ff.; Solomon marches thither to confront the Moors, IV. xi. 14; Moors of, sutfer a crushing defeat, IV, Xii. 21-25; abandoned by the Moors, IV. xii. 29 ; except those under Antalas, IV. xii. 30 ; plundered by the Leunthae, IV. 2xi. 17; Moors gather there once more, IV. xxiii. 1 ; Himerius of Thrace commander there, IV. xxiii. 3, 14; Moors march thence against Carthage, IV. xxv. 2; defeated by Joha, IV xxviii. 46 ; subsequent battles, IV. xxviii. 47 If.

Byzantium, distance from the mouth of the Danube, III. i. 10 ; from Carthage, III. X. 14; its chief priest Epiphanius, III. xii. 2 ; natives of, as rowers in the Roman fleet, iII. xi. 16

Cabaon, a Moorish ruler, prepares to meet the Vandals, III. viii. 15-16; sends spies to Carthage, III. viii. 17 If.; receives the report of his spies, III. viii. 24 ; prepares for the conilict, III. viii. 25,26, IV. xi. 17 ; defeats the enemy, ill. viii. 28
Caenopolis, name of Taenarum in Proconilis' time, inf. xiii. 8
C'acsar, a title given to one next below the emperor in station, III. vii. 21, 23

Chesarea, lirst city of "Second Mauretania," IV. xx. 31 ; situated at its castern extremity, IV. x. 20 ; rlistance from Carthage, IV. v. 5; recovered for the Romans by Belisarius, ibid., iv, xx. 32
Calonymus, of Alexandria, admiral of the lloman lleet, III. xi. 14; ordered by Belisarius not to
take the fleet into Carthago, III. xvii. 16 ; enters the harbour Mandracium with a few ships, and plunders the houses along the sea, III. SX. 16 ; bound by oath to return his plunder, H1. xx. 23 ; disregards his oath, but later dies of apoplexy in Byzantium, III. Xx. 24, 25
Capitolinus, see Juniter.
Cappadocia, Basiliscus exiled thither, III vii. 24
Caputvada, a place on the African coast ; distance from Carthage, III. xiv. 17: the Roman army lands there, ibid.
Caranalis, town in Sardinia, captured by Tzazon, III. xxiv. 1 , xxv. 10, x , xiii. 44

Carthage, city in Africa, founded by Dido, IV. X. 25 ; grows to be the metropolis of Libya, IV. $x$. 26, 27 ; captured by the Romans, IV. X. 28 ; after the Vandal occupation, its wall preserved by Gizeric, III. v. 6 ; the only city with walls in Libya, III. xv. 9 ; its defences neglected by the Vandals, III. xxi. 11, 12 ; entered by the Roman army under Belisarius, III. xx. 17, 21 ; its fortifications restored by Belisarius, III. xxili. 19, 20 ; besieged by Gelimer, Iv. i. 3 ; by Stotzas, IV. xy. 8 ; its surrender preyented by Belisarius, Iv. xv. 9,10 ; the harbours, Stagnum, III. XV. 15, xx. 15, and Mandracium, III. XX. $3,14, \mathrm{IV}$. xxvi. 10 ; the ship-yard Misuas, 1V. xiv. 40 ; its suburb Aclas, IV. vil. 13 and Decimum, III. xvil. 11; its aqueduct, IV. 1. 2 ; its hippodrome, $I V$. xiv. 31 , xviil. 11; its palace, III. xx. 21, IV. xiy. 34, xvili. 8, xxvi. 20 ; the priest of the city, Reparatus, IV. Xxvi. 24, 31 ; monastery built and fortified there by Solomon, Iv. xxvi. 17 ; an ancient saying among the children there, II. xxi. 14-16; church of st. Cyprian, and a special annual festival in his honour, III. xxi 17, 18 ; distance from Aurasium,

## INDEX

III. vili. 5 , IV. xiil. 22 ; from the Plain of Boulla, III. xxv. 1; from Byzantium, III. X. 14 ; from Caesarea, IV. v. 5 ; from Caputvada, III. xiv. 17; from Decimum, III. xvii. 17 ; from Grasse, III. xvii. 8; from Hippo Regius, IV. iv. 26 from louce, III. xv. 8 ; from Membresa, $1 v$. xv. 12; from Mercurium, II. vi. 10 ; from Siccaveneria, IV. xxiv. 6 ; from Stagnum, III. xv. 15, xx, 15 ; from Tebesta, IV. xxi. 19 ; from Tricamarum, IV. ii. 4

Casula(Latin), garment beftting one of humble station, IV. xxvi. 26
Caucana, place in Sicily, III, xiv, 4, 11, 14 ; distance from Syracuse, III. xiv. 4
Centenarium, a sum of money, so called because it "weighs one hundred pounds" (I. xxii. 4), III. vì. 2

Centuriae, place in Numidia, IV. xiii. 2

Chalcedon, city opposite Byzantium, 111. i. 8, 9 ; distance from the Phasis River, III. 1. 11
Chiliarch, III. v. 18, IV. iii. 8
Chosroes, Persian king; Artabanes known to him, IV. xxyii. 17
Christ, His temple in Byzantium, III. vi. 26

Christians, persecuted by IIonoric, III. viii. 3,4 , xxi. 19 ; by Gundamundus, III. viii. 7 ; courted by Trasamundus, III. viii. 9, 10; not troubled by Ilderic, III. ix. 1 ; Justinian reproached for not protecting them, III. x. 10 ; the church of St. Cyprian taken from them by the Vandals, III, xxi. 19: consoled in a dream sent by St. Cyprian, III. xxi. 21; recover the church of St. Cyprian, III. xxi. 25 ; in Jerusalem, receive the treasures of the temple, IV. ix. 9 ; reverence their churches and their worship, III. viii. 17, $18,20,24$; their rite of baptism, III. xii. 2, IV, xxvi. 25,28 ; their feast of Laster, IV. xiv. 7; if not of the orthodox faith, excluded from the church, IV. xiv.

14; Christian scriptures, IV. xxi. 21, xxyi. 28; Christian teachings, offended against by Basiliscus, III. vii. 22
Cilicians, as sailors in the African expedition, III. xi. 14
Clipea, city in Africa, IV. x. 24
Clypea, see Shield Mountain
Colchis, at the end of the Black Sea, III. i. 11
Constantina, city in Africa; distance from Gazophyla, 1v. xv. 52
Constantine the Great ; division of the Roman empire dating from his time, III. i. 3 ; his enlargement of Byzantium and giving of his name to the city, ibid.
Constantinus, chosen king by the soldiers in Britain, III. ii. 31 ; his invasion of Spain and Gaul, ibid.; defeated and killed in battle, III. ii. 37
Constantius, husband of Placidia, partner in the royal power with Honorius; his brief reign and death, III. iii. 4 ; father of Valentinian, III. iii. 5
Corsica, called Cyrnus in ancient times, IV. v. 3 ; Cyril sent thither with an army, ibid.; recovered for the Roman empire, IV. v. 4
Coutzinas, a Moorish ruler, joins in an attack upon a Roman force, IV. X. 6 ; agrees to turn against the other Moors, IV. Xxv. 2, 15 ; his further dealings with Areobindus, IV. Xxv. 17, 18 ; ignorant of Antalas' knowledge of his plot, 1V. גxv. 20, 21; separates from Antalas, and sides with Gontharis, IV. Xxvii. 21; marches with Artabanes against Antalas, IV. xxvii. 25, 27 ; in alliance with John, IV, xxviii. 50
Cteanus, name applied to Theodorus, III. xi. 7
Cyanean Rocks, or " Dark Blue Rocks" at the mouth of the Bosphorus, III. i. 8
Cymrian, commander of Roman auxiliaries, III. xi. 6 ; on the left wing at the battle of Tricamarum, iy. lii. 4 ; sent by Belisarius to bring Gelimer from Рариа, V. vii. 11.

## INDEX

Cyprian, a saint, especlally reverenced at Carthage, III. XxI. 17 ; a church to him there and a festival celebrated in his honour, III. xxd. 18, 23, 25 ; sends a dream to devout Christians, 111. xxi, 21

Cypriana, a periodic storm on the African coast, III. xx. 12
Cypriana, a festival celebrated at Carthage, in honour of Cyprian, from which the storm was named, int. xxi. 18
Cyrene, city in Africa, marking the division between the eastern and western empires, IIf. i. 16
Cyril, sent as commander of an army to Sardinia, III xi. 1, 6 ; avoids Sardinia and sails to Carthage, iH. xxiv. 19 ; sent to Sardinia and Corsica with an army, IV. V. 2, 3; wins them back for the empire, IV. V. 4; commander of auxiliaries in Numidia, IV. xy. 50 ; his death, IV. XV. 59
Cyrnus, ancient namo of Corsica, IV. v. 3

Cyrus, son of Bacchus and brother of Sergius; becomes ruler of Pentapolis in Libya, IV. xxi. 1, 16; brother of Solomon the younger, IV. xxi. 19 ; marches with Solomon against the Moors, ibid.

Dalmatia, held by Marcellianus as tyrant, III. vi. 7
Danube River, called also the Ister, III. 1. 10
Daras, city on the eastern frontier of the empire ; home of Solomon, III. xi. 9

December, ry, iil. 28
Decimum, suburb of Carthage, IIr. xvii. 11, 17, xvili. 5, xix. 1, 14, 23,33, xx. $6,7,10$, xx1. 23, 24, IV. $x \times v .12$; the Vandals routed there, III. xviil. $7-11$ xix. 31 ; distance from Carthage, III. xvil. 17 ; from Pedion IIalon, III. xvill. 12

Delphi, tripods first made there, III. xxl. 3

Delphix, a word used by the IRomans to designato a royal
banquet room, III. xxi, 2, 3; in the palace of Gelimer, In. xxi. 5

Dido, her emigration from Phoenicia, IV. x. 25
Diogenes, guardsman of Bellsarius; his notable explolt on a scouting expedition, III, xxiil. 5-18
Dolones, the large salls on ships, III, xvil. 5
Domesticus, a title designating a kind of confldential adviser, mit. iv 7, xi. 5
Domnicus, senator, accompanies Germanus to Libya, IV. xvi. 2; at the battle of Scalae Veteres, IV. xvii. 4; summoned to Byzantium, IV. xix. 1
Dorotheus, general of Armenia ; commander of auxiliaries, III xi. 5 ; his death; III. xiv. 14

Dromon, a swift ship of war, III xi. 15, 16 , xv. 36

Dryous, city on the east coast of Italy, III. i. 9, 12
Dyrrachium, the name of Epidamnus in Procopius' time, III. i. $16, x i 8$

Easter, a feast of the Christians, IV. xiv. 7; Arians annoyed by exclusion from it, IV. xiv. 15
Ebusa, island in the western Mediterranean, so-called by the natives, III. 1. 18; Apollinarius sent thither with an army, IV. v. 7
Egypt, formerly marked the limit. of Phoenicia, IV. X. 15 ; densely populated from ancient times, IV. X. 10 ; the migration of the Hebrews from there, 1V. x. 13; the Phoenicians pass through it on their way to Libya, IV. x. 18
Egyptians, as sailors in the African expedition, III. xi. 14
Emesa, city in Syria; home of Severianus, iv. xxiii.' 6
Lpidamnus (Dyrrachium), city on the Ionian Sea, III. 1. 10 ; lome of John, III. xi. 8
Epiphanius, chief priest of Byzantium; blesses the flect, III. xil. 2
Erull, Roman auxiliaties in the African expedition, III. xi. 11;

## INDEX

their untrustworthy character, IV. iv. 30 ; of the Arian faith, IV. xiv. 12; dissuade Stotzas from attacking Germanus, 1. xvii. 14, 15

Escilasas, a Moorish ruler; jolns in an attack upon a Roman force, IV. x, 6 ff . ; surrenders himself to the Romans, IV. xil. 26 ; brought to Carthage, IV. xii. 29
Euagees, brother of Hoamer ; imprisoned by Gelimer, III. ix. 9. 14; killed in prison by Ammatas, III. xvii. 12
Eudocia, daughter of Eudoxia; taken captive by Gizeric, III. v. 3 ; married to Monoric, III. v. 6
Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius and wife of Valentinian, III. iv. 15, 20 ; mother of Eudocia and Placidia, III. v. 3 ; forced to be the mistress of Maximus, III. iv. 36 ; invites Gizeric to avenge her, III, iv. 37-39 ; taken captive by Gizeric, III. v. 3 ; sent to Byzantium, III. v. 6
Eulogius, Roman envoy to Godas, III, x. 32, 33 ; returns with his reply, III. x. 34
Europe, the continent opposite Asia, 111. 1. 7, xxii. 15 ; distance from Asia at different points, III. 1. 7, 8 ; distance along the European side of the Euxine, III. i. 10 ; extent of the western empire in, III. i. 14 ; invaded by Alaric, III. ii. 7 ; all its wealth plundered by the Visigoths, III, ii. 13 ; overrun by Attila, III. iv. 29
Eustratius, sent to Libya to assess the taxes, Iv. viii. 25
Eutyches, heresy of, III. vii. 22
Euxine Sea, distance around it, III. 1. 10,11 ; receives the waters of the Phasis, III. i. 11
Excubitori, a Latin name for "guard," IV. xii. 17

Foederati, auxiliary troops, III, xi. 2, 3, 5, xix. 13, 14, IV. iii. 4, vii, 11, xy .50
Foedus (Latin) " treaty," III. xi. 4
Franks, name used for all the Germans in Procopius' time, III. iil. 1

Fuscias, sent as envoy to Spain by Gelimer, III. xxiv. 7 ff.

Gadira, the strait of Gibraltar at the western extremity of the Mediterranean, III. i. 4, 5, xxiv. 8 , IV. V. 5,6 ; width of the strait, III. 1. 7 ; distance from Tripolis, III. 1. 14 ; and from the Ionian Sea, III. i. 15 ; marking the limit of Mrauretania, IV. x. 29 ; the Vandals cross there, III. iii. 26 ; see Heracles, Pillars of
Galatia, lands there given to Gellmer, IV. ix. 13
Gaulus, island between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, III. xiv. 16
Gaul, the Visigoths retire thither, III. ii. 13,37 ; invaded by Constantius, III. ii. 31
Gazophyla, place in Numidia, IV. xy. 52; distance from Constantina, ibid.; Roman commanders take sanctuary there, IV. XY. 59

Geilaris, son of Genzon and father of Gelimer, 11I. ix. 6
Gelimer, king of the Vandals; son of Geilaris, III. ix. 6; brother of Tzazon, III. xi. 23, xxiv. 1 ; and of Ammatas, III. xvii. 11; uncle of Gibamundus, III. xviil. 1; his character iii. ix. 7: encroaches upon the authority of Ilderic, III. ix. 8 ; secures the royal power, ibid.; allowed by the Goths to hold Tilybacum, IV. v 13 ; imprisons Ilderic, Hoamer, and Euagees, III. ix. 9 ; defies Justinian, and shews further cruelty to the imprisoned princes, III. ix. 14; replies to Justinian, III. ix. 20-23; Justinian prepares an expedition against him, iII. X. 1 ff.; sends envors to Spain, III. xxiv. 7; his slave Godas becomes tyrant of Sardinia, III. x. 25-27; sends an expedition to Sardinia, III. Xi. 22,23 ; his ignorance of the approaching Roman expedition, III. xiv. 10; entrusts his wealth to Boniface, IV. iv. 34 ; confines Roman merchants in a dungeou

## INDEX

In the palace, III. $\mathrm{xx} .5,6$; expected by lbelisarius to make an attack, MI. xvil. 4; writes to his brother in Carthage, IIK. xvii. 11; follows the Roman army, III. xvii. 14; plans his attack upon the Roman army, III. xviil. 1; comes upon the Romans with a large force of cavalry, III. xix. 18 ; anticipates them in seizing a point of advantage, III. xix. $20-22$; by a great blunder loses the chance of defeating the Roman armies, III. xix. 25-29 ; attacked and routed by Belisarius, III. xlx. 30, 31, xxi. 16; flees to the Plain of Boulla, III. xix. 32 ; Belisarius sits upon his throne, III. xx .21 ; his banquet-hall, servants, and even food, used by the Romans, III. xxi. 1-6; reason for his not staying in Carthage, III. xxi. 12 ; encourages Libyan farmers to kill Roman soldiers, III. xxiii. 1-4; eluded by a party of Roman scouts, III. xxiii. 6-16; Tzazon writes to him from Sardinia, III. xxiy. 2-4; collects the Vandals in the Plain of Boulla, III. Xxv. 1; sends a letter to Tzazon in Sardinia, iII. Xxv. 10-18; leads the Vandals against Carthage, IV. i. 1 ; cuts the aqueduct and tries to besiege the city, IV. i. 2, 3; prepares the Vandals for battle at Tricamarum, and addresses the army, IV. II. 8-22; at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iit. 0; flees from the Vandals; camp, IV. iii. 20; pursued by John the Armenian, IV. iv. 9, 11; and by Belisarius, IV. iv. 13, 26 ; escapes his pursuers, and takes refuge on Mt. Papua, IV, iv. 26, 28 ; Moors there friendly to him, IV. Iv. 27; Pharas set to guard him, IV. iv. 28, 31 ; suffers great misery on Mit. Papua, IV. vi. 4, 14; recelves a letter from Pharas, IV . vl. 15-20; replies with a letter, 1V. vi. 27-30; the meaning of his strange reruest, IV. vi. 31-33; after eaduring
extreme suffering, is induced by a piteous slght to surrender, IV. vil. 1-6; writes a second time to Pharas, IV. vil. 6-9 ; Cyprian comes to Papua to take him prisoner, IV. vil. 11 ; surrenders himself, IV. vii. 12 ; meets Belisarius at Aclas, IV. vii. 14; his unexpected laughter, IV. vii. 14-16; marvels at the restoration of the fortifications of Carthage by Belisarius, III. xxiil. 20,21 ; his capture re ported by Belisarius, IV. vii. 17 ; reaches Byzantium with Belisarius, Iv. ix. 1: a slave in Belisarins' triumph, IV. ix. 10 ; before Justinian in the hippodrome, IV. ix. 11, 12 ; given lands in Galatia, but not made a patrician, IV. ix. 13, 14 ; nephew of, IV. vii. 4
Geminianus, Rock of, on Mt Aurasium, IV. xX 23
Genzon, son of Gizeric; receives Libyan slaves, III. v. 11 ; tries to save John, III. vi. 24; father of Gundamundus and Trasamundus, III. viii. 6,8 and of Geilaris, III. ix. 6; his death, III. viii. 1

Gergesites, ancient people of Phoenicia, IV. X. 17; emigrate to Egypt and theu to Libya, IV. x. 18, 19

Gepaides, one division of the Gothic peoples, III. ii. 2 ; their location, III. 11. 6

Getic, a name sometime applied to the Gothic peoples, III. ii. 2
Gezon, a Roman infantryman, paymaster of his company, IV. xx. 12 ; scales the fortress of Toumar and leads the army to its capture, IV. XX. 13-16

Germania, the home of Belisarius, III. xi. 21

Germans, called Franks in Procopius' time, III. iii. 1 ; according to one account killed Gontharis, III. iil. 33

Germanus, Roman general, nephew of Justinian ; sent to Libya, IV. xvl. 1; makes a count of the loyal part of the army, IV. xvl.

## INDEX

3 ; wins over many mutineers by persuasion, IV. xvi. 4-6; prepares to meet Stotzas in battle, IV. xvi. 7; arrays his army for battle, IV. xvi. 10 ; addresses his troops, IV. XVI. 11-24; follows the mutineers into Numidia, IV. xvil. 2 ; overtaking the enemy at Scalae Veteres, prepares for battle, IV. xvil. 3-6; receives offers of desertion from the Moors with Stotzas, IV. xvii. 9 ; not able to trust them. IV. xvil. 10 ; Stotzas proposes to attack his division, IV. Xvil. 13; rallies the Romans, IV. xvii, 18; routs the mutineers, IV. xvii. 19, 20; his horse killed under him, IV. xvil. 23 ; orders his men to distinguish their comrades by the countersign, IV. xvil. 22 ; captures and plunders the enemy's camp, IV. Xvii. 24-29 ; tries to restore order in the army, IV. xvii. 30 ; defeats Stotzas in a second battle, IV. xvil. 34 ; learns the plot of Maximinus from Asclepiades; IV. Xvili 4 ; invites Max. to join his body-gruards, IV. xviii. 5. 6; frustrates the attempt of Maximinus, IV. xvili. 8-15; examines Max, and impales him, IV, xviili. 17, 18 ; summoned to Byzantium, IV. xix. 1; false report of his coming to Carthage, IV. xxili. 23, 25
Gibamundus, nephew of Gelimer, III. xviii. 1 ; sent to attack the Roman army on the left, ibid. ; his force destroyed at Pedion Halon, III. xviii. 12, 19, xix. 18, 19, xxv. 15
Glzeric, king of the Vandals; son of Godigisclus and brother of Gontharis, III. ill. 23 ; father of Honoric, Genzon, and Theodorns, III. v. 6, 11, vi. 24 ; be. comes ruler of the Vandals with his brother, III. lii. 23 ; according to one account destroyed his brother Gontharis, III. iii. 33 ; his great ability, uI. iii. 24; invited by Boniface to share Libya, 14. Lii. 25; leads the

Vandals into Libya, III. ill. 33: besieges Hippo Rregius, int. ill. 32,34; discovers Marcian among Roman captives, III. iv. $3-8$; spares his life and makes him swear friendship to the Vandals, III. iv, 9,10 ; secures possession of Tibya, ru. xxi. 16 , xxii. 4 ; secures his power by making a compact with Valentinian and giving his son as a hostage, III. 1v. 12-14, xvi. 13 ; receives his son back, III. iv. 14 ; receives ambassadors from the Vandals who had not emigrated, III. xxii. 7; at first hears them with favour, but later refuses their petition, III. xxii. 9-11; makes an attempt on Taenarum, III. xxii. 16 ; attacks Zacynthus and brutally massacres many of the inhabitants, III. xxil. 17, 18 ; invited by Eudoxia to punish Maximus, III. iv. 38, 39 ; despoils the city of Rome, III. V. 1 ff. IV. IX. 5, 8; takes captive Eudoxia and her daughters, III. v. 3 : removes the walls of Libyan cities, III. V. $S_{2}$ xv. 9 ; wins ridicule thereby in later times, III. v. 9 ; destroyed all the tax records of Libya, IV. vili. 25 ; enslaves notable Libyans and takes property from others, III. v. 11, 12; exempts confiscated lands from taxation, III. V. 14 ; with the Moors, makes many inroads into Roman provinces, III, V. 22-25; Aspar urges Basiliscus to spare him, III. vi. 4; desires the appointment of Olywrius as emperor of the West, III. vi. 6 ; his fear of Leon, 4 vi. 11; persuades Basiliscus to delay, III. vi. 12-16; destroys the Roman fleet, 1 II. vi. 17-21; recejves Majorinus disguised as an envoy, LIt. vii. $6,7,9,10$; prepares to meet the army of Majorinus, III. vii. 12; forms a compact with Zenon, III. vil. 26 , ix. 23 ; his death and his will, III. vil. 29, 30. ix. 10 , xri. 13 ; the "law of Gizeric," III. 1x. 12

## INDEX

Glycerius, emperor of tho West, dles after a very short relgn, III. vil. 15

Godas, a Goth, slave of Gelimer ; sets up a tyranny iu Sardinia, 111. x, 25-27. xi. 22, xxv. 11; invites Justinian to support him, III. X. 28-31; receives the envoy Eulogius, III. x. 33 ; sends him back with a letter, III. x. 34; the Vandals send an expedition against him, IIY. XI. 23, xiv. 9 ; killed by Tzazon, xi, xxiv. 1,3 , IV. ii. 27
Godigisclus, leader of the Vandals in their migration, III. iii. 2 , xxii. 3, 5; settles in Spain by agreement with Honorius, III. iii. 2 ; dies in Spain, III. iii. 2?3; father of Gontharis and Gizeric, III. iii. 23

Gontharis, son of Godigisclus and brother of Gizeric ; becomes ruler of the Vandals with his brother, III. ii. 23; his mild character, III. iii. 24 ; invited by Boniface to share Libya, III. iii. 25 ; his death, III. iii. 32, 33.
Contharis, body-guard of Solomon ; sent forward against the Moors, IV. xix. 6; camps near the Abigas River, IV. xix. 7; defeated by the Moors and besieged in his camp, IV. xix. 8 ; receives support from Solomon, IV. xix. 9 ; attempts to set up a tyranny, IV. xxv. 1 ff. ; summoned to Carthage and sent against the Moors, IV, xxy. 4, 5; makes an agreement with Antalas to betray the Romans, IV. xxv. 6-10; recalls Roman skirmishers, IV. xxv. 14 ; hears of the treasonable plan of Coutzinas, IV. xxv. 16 ; Fursuader Areabinilus to post pone the engagement, IV. xxv. 17, 18 ; reveals the plot to Antalas, IV. xxv. 10; plans to kill Areobindus, IV. Xxv. 22; persuades him to joln battle with the Moors, IV. Xxv. 23 IP. ; openly sets about establishing his tyranny, IV. Xxy 28 If.; summons Athanasius, 1 V 。 xxyl. 21; and Arcobindus, IV. xxy!. 23; bis
recoption of Areobindus, IV. xxvi. 27-32; has him assassinated, Iv, xxyl. 32,33 ; offends Antalas by sending him the head of Areobindus, 1 y . xxvil. 1, 2; recelves the mutineers under John, IV. xxvil. 7, 8 ; removes the wife and sister of Areobindus from the fortress, IV. xxvii. 20; compels Prejecta to write a false report in a letter to Justinian for his own advantage, IV, xxvii. 20-22; sends Artabanes against Antalas, IV. xxvil. 23 ; Coutzinas sides with him, 1v. Xxvii. 21; Artabanes determines to kill him, IV. xxvii. 34; prepares a larger army against Antalas, IV. xxvii. 36 ; destroys many in the city, IV. xxvil. 37, 38; entertains Artabanes and others at a banquet, IV. xxviil. 1 if. ; his murder planned by Artabanes, IV. xxviii. 6 If. ; his death, IV. xxviii, 27-30
Gospels, the sacred writings of the Christians; oaths taken upon them, IV. xxi. 21.
Gothaeus, sent as envoy to Spain by Gelimer, III. xxiv. 7 ff.
Goths, general description of the Gothic peoples, III. II. 2 ff. ; their migrations, mi. Ji. 6 ff. ; their common religion and language, III. II. 5 ; enter Pannonia and then settle in Thrace for a time, III. il. 39 ; subdue the western empire, III. il. 40 ; in Italy, Belisarius sent against them, IV. xiv. 1; furnish the Roman fleet a market in Sicily, III. xiv. 5 ; refuse to give up Lilybacum, IV. v. 11; receive a letter of remonstrance from Belisarius, IV. v. 12-17; their reply, IV. v. 18-24
Grasse, a place in Libya, III. xvil. $8,14,17$; its pleasant park, MII. xvii. 9, 10; distance from Carthage, IU. xvil. 8
Greece, plundered by Gizeric, IIr. v. 23

Greeks, contemptious term for the subjects of the omperor, IV. xxyll. 38

## INDEX

Gregorius, nephew of Artabnes ; with him plans the murder of Gontharis, IV. xxviii. 7-9; urges Artabanes to carry out the plot, EV. xxvil. 10-19; takes his stand in the banquet-hall, IF. xxvili. 14; restrains Artasires, IV xxvill. 16
Gundamundus, son of Gezon ; becomes king of the Vandals, III. viii. 6 ; his reign and death, III. viil. 7; brother of Trasamundus, III. viil. 8

Hadrumetum, city in Libya, III, xvii. 8, IV. xxvil. 26, 31, 33 ; taken by the Moors, IV. xxili. 11-15; recovered by Paulus, a priest, IV. xxiii. 18-25, 29 ; guarded for the emperor, IV xxvii. 6

Harmatus, Roman General : marches against Zenon, III, vil. 20 ; surrenders to him, III. vii. 21 ; killed by Zenon, MI. vii. 23
Hebrews, their migration from Egypt to Palestine, IV. x. 13 ; history of the, IV. x. 17
Hebrew Scripture, quoted by Gell. mer, IV. ix. 11
IIellespont, strait between Sestus and Abydus, III. 1. 7
Heracleia, the name of Perinthus in Procopius' time, III. xii. 0
Heracles, wrestled with Antaeus in Clipea, IV. X. 24
Heracles, Pillars of, Gibraltar, III. i. $5,9,15,18$. vii. 11, IV. X. 20

Heraclins, defeats the Vandals in Tripolis, III. vi. 9 ; returns to Byzantium, III. vi. 25
Hermes, called Mercury by the Romans, III. vi. 10; town of Hermes or Mercurium, on the coast of Libya, III. vi. 10, xvii $15, \mathrm{xx} .10$
Hermione, town in Byzacium ; distance from the coast, III. xiv. 10, xvii. 4, 11

Hieron, near the mouth of the Bosphorus, III. I. 8
Timerius of Thrace, commander in Byzacium; falls to unite with John, and falls into the liands of the Moors, IV, xxili. 3-5 ; guarded
by the Moors, IV. xxiii. 10 ; puts Hadrumetum into their hands, $1 V$. xxili. 10-15 ; escapes to Carthage, Iv xxili. 17
Hippo Regius, a strong city of Numidia, III. iii. 31, IV. iv. 32 ; besieged by the Vandals, wí. iil. 39, 34 ; distance from Carthage, IF. iv. 26 ; Boniface the Libyan captured there, IV iv 34, 36, 39
Hoamer, nephes of Ilderic; acts as his general, inf, ix. 2; imprisoned by Gelimer, III. ix. 9; blinded by Gelimer, III. ix. 14, 17; his death, III. xvil. 12
Honoric, son of Gizeric ; given as a hostage to Valentinian, III. iv. 13 ; returned, MI. iv. 14 ; marries Eudocia, III. v. 6 ; receives Libyan slaves, III v. 11; succeeds to the throne of the Vandals, III. vili. 1, xxi. 19; makes war on the Moors, m. viii. 1, 2; persecutes the Christians, m . viii. 3,4 ; his death, III. viii. 5 ; father of Ilderic, III. ix. 1; in his reign the church of St. Cyprian taken by the Arlans, MI. xxi. 19

Honorius, younger son of Theodosius; receives the western empire, III. 1. 2, ii. 1 ; brother of Arcadius and Placidia, III. iii. 4 ; the western empire overrun by barbarians during his reign, III. ii. 1; retires from Rome to Ravenna, III. ii. 8, 9 ; accused of bringing in the Visigoths, MI. ii 10 ; his stupid remark upnn hearing of the fill of Rome, wi. ii. 25,20 ; displaced from the throne of the western empire by Attalus, III. ii. 28 ; prepares for flight either to Libya or to Byzantium, III. if. 32; his good fortune in extreme peril, III. ii. $34-37$; allows the Vandals to settle in Spain, HI. Jii. 2; provides that they shall not acquire possession of the land, III. lii. 3 ; shares royal power with Constantius, III. iii. 4; his death, III. 1ii. 4

Huns, see Massagetae

## INDEX

Iaudas, ruler of the Moors in Auraslum, IV. xil. 29, xxv. 2 ; the best warrior among the Moors, IV. xiii. 13 ; plunders Numidia, IV. xili. 1 ; his combat with Althias at Tigisis, IV, xiii. 10-16; Solomon marches against him, IV. xiii. 18 ; accused before Solomon by other Moorish rulers, IV, xiii. 19; slays his father-in-law Mephanius, ibid.; establishes himself on Mt. Aurasium, IV. xill. 21; with the mutineers of Stotzas, IV. xvil. 8 ; Solomon marches against him, IV xix. 5 ; remains on Mt. Aurasium, IV. xix. 19 ; goes up to the top of Mt. Aurasium, IV. xix. 21 ; escapes wounded from Toumar, IV. xx. 21 ; deposited his treasures in a tower at the Rock of Geminianus, IV. xx. 24
Ilderic, son of Honoric, becomes king of the Vandals, III. ix. 1 ; an unwarlike ruler, ibid.; uncle of Hoamer, III. ix. 2; suspected plot of the Goths against him, III. ix. 4; on terms of special friendship with Justinian, III. ix. 5; makes large gifts to Apollinarius, 1v. v. 8; allows Gelimer to encroach upon his authority, III. ix. 8 ; dethroned and imprisned, ITM, ix. 8, 9, 14, 17: killed in prison by Ammatas, III. xvil. 11, 12 ; his sons and other offspring receive rewards from Justinian and Theodora, IV. ix. 13

Ildiger, son-in-law of Antonina, IV. vill. 24 ; sent to Libya with an army, ibid.; made joint commander of Carthage with Theodorus, IV. XV. 49; at the battle of Scalae Veteres, IV. xvil 6, 19
Illyricum, III. xi. 17, 21 ; plundered by Gizeric, III. v. 23
Ionlan Sea, III. 1. 9, 12, 15, 11. 9, 11
Ionians, as sailors in the African expedition, III. xi. 14
Iouce, distance from Carthage, III. xy. 8
lourpouthes, a Moorish ruler, Joins in an attack upon a Roman forco, \$V. x. 0 18.

Ister, called also the Dambe, IIr. 1. $10,11.6$; crossed by the Goths, III. il. 39

Italy the brutal destruction of its cities and people by the Visigoths, III. Ii. 11, 12 ; invaded by Gizeric, III. v. 1 ff., 22, 23
Jebusites, ancient people of Phoenicia, IV. X. 17; emigrate to Egypt and then to Libya, iv. $x$. 18, 19
Jerusalem, captured by Titus, IV. ix. 5 . Christians there receive back the treasures of the temple, Iv. ix. 9

Jews, their treasures brought to Byzantium by Belisarius, IV. ix 5 ; sent back to Jerusalem by Justinian, IV. ix. 9 ; one of them warns the Romans not to keep the treasures of the temple in Jerusalem, IV. ix, 6-8
John the Armenian; financial manager of Belisarius, III. xvii. 1, 2; commanded to precede the Roman army, III. xvii. 2, xviii. 3; engages with Ammatas at Decimum and defeats his force, III. xviil. 5,6 ; pursues the fugitives to Carthage, III. xyiii. 10, xix. 30 ; rejoins Belisarius, III. xix. 33 ; entrusted with the command of a skirmishing force, IV. ii. 1; in the centre at the battle of Tricamarum, IV ili. 5 ; begins the fighting, IV. ili. 10 , 12, 13 ; pursues Gelimer, IV. iv. 9,14 ; killed accidentally by Uliaris, IV. iv. 18, 19 ; his character, IV iv. 20 ; cared for and buried by his soldiers, IV. iv. 22 ; mourned by Belisarius, 1V. iv. 24
John, father of Artabanes and John, of the Arsacidae, IV. xxiv. 2
John, commander of nuxiliaries, III. xi. 6 ; on the left wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. Lil. 4; sent with an army to Caesarea, iv. v. 5

John, a general under Basiliscus; his excellent fighting against the Vandals, 1II. vi. 22-2.
John the Cappaderian, urges Jugtinian not to malie war on tho

## INDEX

Vandals, Inf. x. 7-17; practorian perfect; supplies the army with bad bread, IlI. xiiti. 12 ft.
John, guardsman of Bellsarius ; sent to the Pillars of 1Leracles with an army, IV, V. 6
John, a Roman soldier, chosen emperor, MII. iii. 5 ; his virtues as a ruler, III. iii. 6,7 ; reduced from nower by Theodosius, IIf. iii. 8 ; captured, brutally abused, and killed by Valentinian, III. iil. 9
John of Epidamnus, commander-in-chief of infantry, III. xi. 8, IV. xvi. 2

John, son of John, of the Arsacidae ; sent to Libya in command of Armenians, IV. xxiv. 2 ; brother of Artabanes, IV. xxiv. 15; his death, ibid.
John the mutineer, succeeds Stotzas as general of the mutineers, IV. xxv. 3 ; leads the mutincers to join Gontharis, IV. Xxvii. 7; marches with Artabanes against Antalas, IV. xxvii. 25 ; does not take part in the battle, IV. xxvii. 27: entertained by Pamphilus at a banquet, $r \mathrm{~V}$. xxviii. 5 ; taken from sanctuary, and sent to Byzantium, IV. xxviii. 39, 40
John, brother of Pappus; at the battle of Scalae Veteres, $1 \nabla$. xvii. 6, 16 ; made general of Libya, IV. xxviii. 45 ; his varying fortunes in fighting with the Moors, IV. xxviii. 46-51
John, son of Sisiniolus; sent as commander to Libya, IV. xix. 1; especially hostile to Sergius, IV. xxii. 3, 4; marches against the Moors, IV. xxili. 2 ; fails to meet Himerius, IV, xxiii. 3-5; quarrels with Sergius, IV. xxiii 32 ; sent against Antalas and Stotzas, IV. xxiv. 6 ; meets the enemy at a great disadyantage, IV. xxiv. 8 ; his enmity against Stotzas, Iv. xxiv. 9; gives him a mortal wound in the battle, IV. xxiv. 11; his army routed by the Moors, IV xxiv. 12; his death, Iv. xxiv. 13, 14 ; Justinian's sorrow at his death, IV. xxiv. 16

Joseph, an imnerial scrilue, sent as envoy to Stotzas, 1Y. xv. 7; killed by Stotzas, IV. xץ. 8
Joshua ("Jesus"), son of Nun ("Naues"), brings the Hebrews into Palestine, IV. X. 13 ; subjugates the country, IV. X. 14; mentioned in a Phoenician inscription, IY. X. 22
Juppiter Capitolinus, temple of, in Rome despoiled by Gizeric, ur. v. 4

Justinian, succeeds his uncle Justinus as emperor, III. vil. 27 ; on terms of especial friendship with Ilderic, III. ix. 5 ; sends warning to Gelimer, III. ix. 10-13; sends a second warning to Gelimer, III. ix. 15-19; approached by Apollinarius and other Libyans seeking help for Ilderic, IV. v. 8 ; prepares to make war upon Gelimer, III. ix. 24, 25 ; summons Belisarius from the East to command the African expedition, III. ix. 25 ; makes preparations for the expedition, III. X. 1 ff. ; discouraged by John the Cappadocian, III. x. 7 ff. ; urged by a priest to prosecute the war, III. x. 18-20; continues preparations III. X. 21 ; invited by Godas to support him in Sardinia, III. x. 28-31 ; sends an envoy to him, III. x. 32; and later an army, III. xi. 1; sends Valerianus and Martinus in advance of the African expedition, 11I. xi. 24; despatches the expedition, III. xii. 1 ff.; makes an agreement with Amalasountha for a market, III. xiv. 5 ; their mutual friendship, III. xiv. 6 ; his letter to the Vandals, III. xvi. 12-14; never properly delivered, III. xvi. 15 ; the Goths appeal to him as arbiter, IV. v. 24 ; receives report of Belisarius regarding the dispute with the Goths, IV. v. 25 ; hears slander against Belisarius, Iv. viii. 2 ; sends Solomon to test him, IV. viil. 4 ; sends the Jewish treasures back to Jerusalem, IY. ix. 0 ; reccives the homage of Gelimer and of Bell-

## INDEX

sarius, IV. ix. 12; distributes rewards to (ielimer and others, IV. ix. 13 ; sends Belisarius against the Goths in Italy, IV. xiv. 1 ; sends Germanus to Libya, IV. xvi. 1 ; entrusts Solomon again with the command of Libya, IV. xix. 1; receives a letter from Antalas, IV. xxil. 6-10; refuses to recall Sergiths, IV. Xxii. 11 ; sends Areobindus to Libya Iv. xxiv. 1; recalls Sergius and sends him to Italy, IV. xxiv. 16 ; appoints Artabanes general of all Libya, Iv. xxviii. 43; summons him to Byzantium, IV. xxviii. 44; uncle of Germanus, IV. xvi. I; and of Vigilantia, IV. xxiv. 3 ; the Vandals of, IV. xiv. 17: excluded all not of the orthodox faith from the church, 1v. xiv. 1t ; years of reign noted, III. xii. 1, IV. xiv. 6 , xix. 1 , xxi. 1, xxviii. 41
Justinus, Roman emperor, uncle of Justinian, III. vii. 27; not a vigorous or skilful ruler, III. ix. 5; Ilderic accused of betraying the Vandals to him, III. ix. 8

Laribus, or Laribous, city in Libya, IV. xxili. 14, xxviil. 48; attacked by the Moors, IV, xxii. 18-20
Latin tongue, the, III L. 6, IV. xill. $3: 3$
Laurus, a Carthaginian; impaled by Belisarius, IV. 1. 8
J.eon, emperne of the Fast, III. v 7 ; sends an expedition against the Vandals, IUI. vi. 1 ff., xx .2 ; quarrels with Aspar, III. vi. 3 ; appoints Anthemius cmperor of the West, III. vi. 5 ; wins over the tyrant Marcellianus and sends him against the Vandals in Sardinia, III. vi. 8 ; dreaded by Gizeric, 111. vI. 11 ; his expedition clestroyed by the Vandals, III. vi. 17 ff. ; destroys Aspar and Ardaburius, 1II. vi. 27; his death, LII. vil. 2 ; husband of Berine, 14. vi. 2; father of Ariadne, IIf. vil. 2
Leon the younger, son of Zenon and Ariadne, III. vii. 2 ; becomes
emperor while an infant, iII. vil. 2: dies soon afterwards, III. vii. 3

Leontius, son of Zaunus, sent as commander to Libya, IV. xix. 1 ; fichts valorously at the capture of Toumar, IV. XX. 19 ; brother of Rufinus, ibid.
Leptes, city in Libya, III. xvii. 8
Leptimagna, city in Tripolis ; threatened by an army of Leuathae, IV. xxi. 2, 13, 15
Lesbos, passed by the fugitive Vandals, IV. xiv. 18
Leuathae, tribe of Moors; present demands to Sergins, IV. xxi. 2; their representatives received by Sergius and killed, IV. xxi. 4-10; come in arms against Ieptimagna, IV. xxi. 12; routed by the Romans, IV, xxi 14 ; march against the Romans a second time, IV. xxi. 16 ; scorn the overtures of Solomon, 1v. xxi. 20-22; capture Solomon, son of Bacchus, IV. xxil. 13; release him, IV. xxii. 16 ; besiege Laribus, Iv. xxii. 18 ; depart to their homes, IV, xxii. 20 ; join the Moors of Byzacium against the Romans, IV. xxviii. 47

Libya, included in "Asia," III. i. 5 ; its aborigines, IV. X. 23 ; the Phoenicians emigrate thither, IV. x. 19 ; Phoenician tongue used there, IV. X. 20 ; subjugated by the Romans, IV. X. 28 ; fallure of the Visigothic king Attalus to get a foothold there, III. ii. 30, 32, 36 ; lost by Valentinian, III iii. 12 ; occupled by the Vandals, III. iil. 26, xxii. 4 ; who remove the walls of the cities, III. v. 8, xv. 9 ; recovered for the Romans by Belisarius, MII. xvi. 9 ff. ; prospers under the rule of Solomon, IV. xix. 3 xx. 33 ; who restores the walls of the cities, IV. xix. 3, xx. 29; overrun by the Moors, IV. xxiii. 26-31, xxviii 49
Libyans, enslaved and impoverished by Gizeric, III. v. 11-13, 15-17; cannot trust tho Vandals, III. xvi. 3; their sufferings at the

## INDEX

hands of the Vandals, III, XX. 19 ; oppressed by the Moors, IV viil. 20, xxill. 27; enjoy peace at last, IV. Xxviil. 52
Liguria, the army of Majorinus halts there, III. vii. 4, 11
Lilybaeum, a promontory of Sicily ; presented to Amalafrida, III. viii. 13 ; Belisarius attempts unsuccessfully to take it, IV. v. 11 ; he asserts his claim, IV. V. 12 ff. ; the claim denied by the Goths, IV. V. 19 ff.

Massagetae, called Huns in Procopius' time, III. xi. 9 ; their love of wine, III. xil. 8 ; their custom of allowing only members of a certain family to begin a battle, 111. xviii. 14; in the army of Aetius, III. iv. 24 ; in the African expedition of Belisarius, III. xi. 11, xil. $8-10$, xvii. 3, xviii. $3,12,17$, xix. 18,33 , IV. xili. 2 ; their doubtful allegiance, IV. i. $5,6,9-11$, ii. 3, iii. 7, 16 ; with the mutineers under John, IV. xxvil. 8

Macotic Lake, at the eastern extremity of the "Mediterranean," III. i. 4 ; limit of the Euxine, III. i. 10 ; home of the Vandals, III. iii. 1

Majorica, island in the western Mediterranean, III. i. 18 ; Apollinarius sent thither with an army, IV. Y. 7
Majorinus, emperor of the West; makes an expedition against the Vandals, III vii. 4-13; disguised as an envoy and received by Gizeric, III. vii. 8-10; his death, III. vii. 14
Malea, southern promontory of the Peloponnesus, 1II. xiii. 5
Mammes, a place in Byzacium ; Solomon encamps there, IV. xi. 15 ; battle fought there, IV. xi. 47-54
Mandracium, the harbour of Carthage, III. XX. 14,15 , IV. viii. 7 , xxvi. 10 ; opened to the Roman Ileet, III. גx. 3; entered by Calonymus with a few ships, III. xx .10

Marcellianus, rules as independent tyrant over Dalmatia, III. vi. 7; won over by Leon and sent to Sardinia against the Vandals, III. vi. 8 ; destroyed by treachery, III. vi. 25

Marcellus, commander of auxiliaries, III, xi. 6; on the left wing at the battle of Tricamarum, Iv. iii. 4; commander-in-chief of Roman forces in Numidia, IV. $\mathrm{xv} .50,51$; leads his army against Stotzas, IV. xv. 52; his death, IV. xv. 59

Marcentius, commander in Byzacium; persuaded by Antalas to join him, IV. xxrii. 5, 6, 31
Marcian, confldential adviser of Aspar, III iv. 7; taken prisoner by Gizeric, III. iv. 2 ; his career foreshadowed by a sign, III. iv. 4-8; spared by Gizeric, III. iv. 9,10 ; becomes emperor of the East, III. iv. 10, 39 ; his successful reign, III. iv. 11; his death, III. ソ. 7

Marcian, commander of infantry, III. xi. 7

Martinus, commander of auxiliaries, III. xi. 6,29 ; sent with Valerian in advance of the African expedition, III. xi. 24; meets the Roman fleet at Methone, III. xiii. 9 ; on the left wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iii. 4; escapes with Solomon from the mutiny in Carthage, IV. xiv. $37-40$; sent back to Numidia, IV. xiv. 40 ; summoned to Byzantium, IS. xix. 2
Massonas, son of Mephanias ; a Moorish ruler, accuses Inudas to Solomon, IV, xiti. 19
Mastigas, Moorish ruler, IV. Xx. 31
Mastinas, ruler of Moors in Mauretania, IV. xiii. 19
Mauritania, occupied by the Moors, Iv. X. 29; Moors of, seek alliance with the Romans, III. גxv. 3 ; ruled by Mastinas, IV, xiii. 19 ; fugitive Vandals return thither, Iv, xiv. 19; Inudas retires thither, IV, wx, 21; "First Mauritania," called Zabo, subjugated by Solomon, IV גス. 30;

## INDEX

Stotzas comes thence to join Antalas, IV. xxii. 5; adjoins Numidla, 111. xxy. 21; city of Cacsarea there, IV. v. 5
Maximinus, body-guard of Theodorus the Cappadocian; tries to set up a tyranny, IV. xvili. 1-3; upon invitation of Germanus, becomes a body-guard of his, IV. xviii. 6, 7; his attempt frustrated by Germanus, IV. xvili. 8-15; examined by Germanus and impaled, IV. xviii 17, 18
Maximus the elder, his tyranny, III. Iv 16 ; the festival celebrating his defeat, ibid.
Maximus, a Roman senator, III. iv. 16 ; his wife outraged by Valentinian, III. iv. 17-22 ; plans to murder Valentinian, III. iv. 24 ; slanders and destroys Aetius, III. iv. 25-27; kills Valentinian, and makes himself tyrant, III. iv. 36 ; stoned to death, III. v. 2

Medeos, city at the foot of Mt. Papua in Numidia, IV.iv. 27
Medic garments, i.e. silk; called "seric" in Procopius' time, as coming from the Chinese (Seres) ; worn by the Vandals, IV. vi. 7
Medissinissas, a Moorish ruler; joins in an attack upon a Roman force, IV. X. 6 If. ; slays Rufinus, IV. $\mathrm{x}, 11$

Megara, its distance from Athens the measure of a one day's journey, IIJ. i. 17
Melanchlaenae, an old name for the Goths, III. ii. 2
Melita, island between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas (Malta), III, xiv. 16
Membresa, city in Libya, IV. xy, 12; distance from Carthage, ibid.
Menephesse, place in Byzacium, Iv, xxilit. 3
Meplianias, a Moor, father of Massonas, and father-in-law of Iaudas, IV. xiii. 10 ; treacherously slain by Iaudas, ibid.
Mercurium, a town near Carthage, III, vi. 10, xvil. 15, xX 10

Mercurlus, the Latin name for Hermes, ili. vi. 10
Methone, a town in the Peloponnesus, III. xiil. 9 ; the Roman fleet stops there, III. xili. 9-21
Minorica, island in the western Mediterranean, III. i. 18 ; Apollinarius sent thither with an army, iv. v. 7
Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, IV. xiv. 40

Monks, their monastery in Carthage, IV. xxvi. 17

Moors, a black race of Africa, IV. xili. 29; an account of their origin in Palestine, and migration westward, IV. X. 13 ff. ; driven away from Carthage, IV. x. 27, 28 ; possess themselves of much of Libya, IV. X. 29; take MIt. Arrasium from the Vandals, IV. xiij. 26, 27 ; those beyond Mt. Aurasium ruled by Ortainas, IV. xiii. 28 ; on Aurasium, ruled by Iaudas, IV. xii. 29, xiii. 1; of Mauritania, ruled by Mastinas, IV, xiii. 19 ; inhabit Mt. Papua, IV. iv. 27 , vi. 19, 20 ; not merged with the Vandals, III. v. 21 ; their alliance secured by Gizeric, III. V. 22; make war on the Vandals, III. viii. 1, 2 ; dwelling on Mt. Aurasium, establish their independence from the Vandals, III. viii. 5; their wars with Gundamundus, III. viii. 7; inflict a great disaster upon the Vandals, III. viii. 15-28; of Byzacium, defeat the Vandals, HII. ix. 3 ; most of them seek alliance with the Romans, III. xxv. 2-4, IV. viii. 11 ff.; their doubtful fldelity, IU. exy. 9 ; stationed in the rear of the Vandals at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iii. 8 ; threaten the Roman power in Tripolis, IV. $\mathrm{V}, 10$; on Mt . Papua, drive back Pharas and his men, IV. vi. 1-3; of Byzacium and Numidia, rise and overrun the country, IV. vili. $20-23, x .1,2$; caught by Aigan and luninus in an ambush, IV. X. 5; in turn annihilate the Roman force, IV. X.

## INDEX

C fi.; receive a warning letter from Solomon, 1V, xi. 1-8; their reply, IV. xl. 9-13; Solomon marches against them, IV. xi. 14 ; prepare for battle at Mammes, $1 \mathrm{~V} . \mathrm{xi} .17,18,37-46$; defeated by the Romans, IV. xi. 47-54 ; rise against the lomans a second time, 1 V . xii. 1 ; establish themselves on Mt. Bourgaon, IV. xii. 3-9; suffer a crushing defeat, IV. xii. 17 ff.; finally understand their ancient prophecy, IV. xil. 28 ; emigrate from Byzacium to Numidia, IV. xil. 29 ; those under Antalas remain in Byzacium, IV. xil. 30 ; of Aurasium, take up arms under Iandas, IV. xiii. 1 ff. ; checked by Althias at the spring of Tigisis, IV. xiii. 8, 9 ; in the army of Solomon, IV. xili. 20; elude Solomon on Mt. Aurasium, IV. xiii. 35, 36; Solomon prepares another expedition against them, IV. xiil. 40 ; with the mutineers of Stotzas, XV. Xvii. 8 ; their uncertain allegiance, IV. xvii. $9-12$; join in the pursuit of the mutineers, IV. xvii. 31; on Aurasium: Solomon marches against them, IV. xix. 5 ; defeat Gontharis, IV, xix. 8 ; flood the Roman camp, IV. xix. 14 ; retire to Mt. Aurasium, IV. xix. 16 ; defeated by Solomon, retire to the heights of Aurasium, IV. xix. 17, 18; abandon the fortress of Zerboule to the Romans, IV. xix. 23-32; overwhelmingly defeated at Toumar, IV. xx. 1 ff. ; defeat the-Romans under Solomon, IV. xxi. 25-28; gather under Antalas, IV. xxil. 5; tricked by Solomon the younger, IV, xxil. 12-17 ; attack Laribus, IV. xxil. 18-20; gathered a second time by Antalas, IV, xxiii. 1: capture limmerius and take Hadrumetum, IV. xxiil. 10-15; lose Hadrumetum, IV. xxiii. 25 ; pillage all Libya unhindered, IV. xxiii. 26-32; defeat the loman army at Siccaveneria, IV. xxiv. $8-12$; at the invitation of Gon-
tharis, march against Carthage, IV. xxv. 1, 2 ; of Coutzinas, in the army of Artabanes, IV. xxvil. 25 ; of Byzacium, defeated by John, IV. xxviii. 46 ; with the Leuathae defent John, IV. xxviii. 47, 48 ; routed in a third battle, IV. xxviii. 50,51 ; of Coutzinas, in alliance with John, IV. Xxviii. 50 ; in Sardinia, Solomon prepares an expedition against them, IV. xiii. 41, 45 ; sent thither by the Vandals, IV. xiii. 43 ; overrun the island, IV. xiii. 42,44 ; called Barbaricini, Iv. xiii. 44 ; their polygamy, IV. xi. 13; untrustworthy by nature, IV. xiii. 37, xvii. 10, even among themselves, IV. Xxv. 16 ; suspicious toward all, IV. xxvi. 2 ; their hardiness as a nation, IV. vi. $5,10-13$; their reckless character, IV. viii. 10 ; their female oracles, IV. viii. 13 ; their method of cooking bread, IV. vii. 3; accustomed to take some women with their armies, IV. xi, 18, 19 ; undesirable allies, IV. xiii. 40 ; not practised in storming walls, Iv. xxii. 20 ; not diligent in guarding captives, IV. xxiii. 17 ; the symbols of kingship among them received from the Roman emperor, Im. xxy. 5-7; Moorish old man, guardian of Iaudas' treasures, IV. xx. 24; slain by a Roman soldier, IV. xx. 27; Moorish woman, IV. vii. 3
Moses, leader of the Hebrews, his death, IV. X. 13

Nenos, emperor of the West, dies after a reign of a few days, III. vii. 15

Numidia, in Africa, adjoins Mauritania, III. xxv. 21 ; its boundary near the plain of Boulla, III. xxv. 1 ; Mt. Papua on its borders, IV. iv, 27 ; includes Mt. Aurasium, IIT. viil. 5 ; and the city of Hippo Regius, III. lii. 31, IV. Iv. 26 ; and the city of Tigisis, IN. x. 21 ; Moors of, seek alliance with the Romans, III. xxy. 3 ; plundered by the Moors, IV. vili.

## INDEX

$9, \mathrm{x} .2$; plundered by Iaudas, IV. xiii. 1,18 ; a place of retreat for the mutineers of Stotzas, IV. xv. 44, 50 , xvii. 1; Ronians retire from there, IV. xx. 30; Gontharis commander there, IV. xxy. 1; Moors of, march out against Carthage, IV. xxv. 2
Nun ("Naues"), father of Joshua ("Jesus"), IV. x. 13, 22

Ocean, Procopius' conception of it as encircling the earth, III. 1. 4
Olyvrius, Roman senator, husband of Placidia, III. v. 6, vi. 6 ; becomes emperor of the West; killed after a short reign, III. vii. 1

Optio (Latin), a kind of adjutant in the Roman army, III. xvii. 1, IF. xx .12
Ortajas, Moorish ruler beyond Mit. Aurasium, IV. xili. 19, 28 ; accuses Iaudas to Solomon, IV. xiil. 19 ; with the mutineers of Stotzas, IF. xvii. 8; his report of the country beyond his own, IV, xili. 29

Palatium, the imperial residence in Rome; said to be named from Pallas, Ini. xxi. 4; clespolled by Gizeric, III. V. 34 , IV. Ix. 5
Palestine, settlement of the Hebrews there, IV. x. 13 ; 30ors emigrated thereirom, 15. x. 27
Pallas, an "eponymous" hero, used to explain the word "Palatium," 11 . xxi. 4
Pamonia, entered by the Goths, III. ii. 39

Pappus, brother of John, IV. xvil. e, xxvili. 45; commander of cavalry, III. xi. 7 i on the right wing at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iii. 4
Papua, mountain in Nimidla, IV. iv. 27; Gelimer takes refuge there, IV. 26, 28; its ascent attempted by Pharas, IV. vi. 1; closely besteged, IV. iv. 28, vi. 3; C'yprian sent thither to receive Gelimer, IV. vii. 11
Pasiphiluq, $\Omega$ mutincer in the Roman army ; active supporter
of Gontharis, IV. Xxvii. 21, 22, 36, 38: entertains John at a banquet, Iv. xxviii. 3 ; his death, 1v. Xxvill. 33
Patrician rank, III. 11. 15, xi. 17, IV. vi. 22, xvi. 1; Gelimer excluded from it because of Arianism, IV. ix. 14
Paulus, a priest of Iadrumetrm ; rescues the city from the Moors, IV. xxiii. 18-25; comes to Byzantium, IV. xxiii. 29
Pedion Halon, in Libya, distance from Decimum; forces of Gibamundus destroyed there, III. xviii. 12

Pegasius, friend of Solomon the younger, IV. Xxii. 14, $1 \overline{5}$.
Peloponnesus, III. xi. 24, IV. xiv. 18; plundered by Gizeric, III. v. 23, xxii. 16

Pentapolis, part of Libya; its rule falls to Cyrus, IV. xxi. 1
Perinthus, called Heracleia in Proconius' time, III. xii. 6
Persians, wi. xix. 7; make peace with the Romans, III. i. 1, ix. 25, 26; Vandals fight against them IV. xiv. 18
Peter, Roman general, accused by the Massagetae of unfair dealing, IV. 1. 6

Peter, of Thrace, body-guard of Solomon; at the banquet of Gontharis, IV. xxviii. 3; looks with approval upon Artabanes' plot, IV. xxviii. 24, 28 ; with Artabancs cuts down the bodyguards who remain, IV, xxviii. 33
Pharas, leader of Eruli, in the African expedition, III. xi. 11; left in charge of the siege of Gelimer on Mt. Papua, IV, iv, 28,31 , vi. 1,3 ; his correspondence with Gelimer, IV. vi. 15-30, vii. 6-1) ; learns the reasons for Grolimer's pecullar request, and fuliils it, iv. vi. 31-34; reports to Belisartus, iv. vil. 10 ; his good qualities, IV, iv. 29, 31 ; an uneducated man, iv. vi, 15
Pharesmanes, father of Zaunas, IV. xix. 1, xx. 19

Phasis River, in Colchis, III. i. 11 ; distance from Chalcedon, ibid.

## INDEX

Phoenicia, its extent, IV. X. 15 ; ruled by one king in ancient times, IV. x. 16 ; home of various peoples, IV. x. 17 ; Dido's emigration therefrom, IV. X. 25; Phoenician tongue, spoken in Libya, IV. x. 20; Phoenician writing. on two stones in Numidia 11. ג. 2 : $=$

Pliredas, friend of Areobindus, sent by him to Gontharis, IV. xxvi. s. is

Placidia, sister of Arcadius and Honorius and wife of Constantius, III, iii. 4 ; mother of Valentinian, brings him up in vicious ways, III. iii. 10 ; as regent for her son, appoints Boniface general of all dibya, III, iii. 16 ; gives ear to Aetius" slander of Boniface, III. iii. 17, 18 ; summons him to Rome, III. iii. 18 ; sends men to Boniface at Carthage, ill. iii. 27 ; upon learning the truth tries to bring him back, III. iii. 28, 29 ; finally receives him back, III. iii. 36 ; her death, III. iv. 15

Placidia, daughter of Eudoxia and wife of Olyvrius: taken captive by Gizeric, iII. v. 3, vi. 0 ; sent to Byzantium, III. v. 6
Pontus, see Euxine.
Praetor, III, x. 3
Praetorian, see Prefect
Prefect, praetorian prefect (lit. "of the court '"), III. x. 3, 7, xi. 17, xiii. 12; of the army, " financial manager," III. Xi. 17: cf. III. xv. 13 , xvii. 16, IV. xvi. 2

Prejecta, daughter of Vigilantia and wife of Areobindus, accompanies him to Libya, 1v, xxiv. 3 ; placed in a fortress for her safety, IV. xxvi. 18; removed from the fortress by Gontharis and compelled to give a false report in a letter to Justinian, IV. Xxvii. 20 ; presents a great sum of money to Artabanes, IV, xxviii. 48
Proba, a notable woman of Rome ; according to one account opened the gates of the city to Alaric, III. 1i. 27

I'rocopius, anthor of the Mistory of the Wars; sails with Belisarius for Africa, 111. xii. 3 ; his
reassuring dream, ill. xii. 3-5; sent by Belisarius to Syracuse to get information, III xiv, 3, \& 7-13: praised by Belisarius III. xiv 15 ; congratulates Jjelisarius upon a good omen, IIf. xv. 35 ; escapes from Carthage with Solomon 15. xiv. 39 ; goes to Belisarius in Syracuse, IF. xiv. 41

Pudentius, of Tripolis; recovers this country for the lioman empire, III. x. 22-24, xi. 22. Tr. xxi. 3 ; receives support from Belisarius, IV. v. 10 ; persuades Stumb to rewish only ryme sentatives of the Leuathae, N . xxi. 3 ; fights against the Leuathae, IV. xxi. 13, 14 ; his death, IV. Xxii. 15

Ravenna, city in Italy; the refuge of Honorius, III. ii. 9,25 ; attacked by Alaric and Attalus, III. ii. 29

Reparatus, priest of Carthage ; sent by Gontharis to summon Areobindus, IV. xxvi. 23; with difticulty persuades him to come, IV. xxvi. 24-27; dismissed by Gontharis, IV. xxvi. 31
Rhecimer, slays his father-in-law Anthemius, emperor of the West, III. vii. 1

Rhine River, crossed by the Vandals, III. iii. 1
Romans, subjects of the Roman empire, both in the East and in the West; mentioned constantly throughout: celebrate a festival commemorating the overthrow of Maximus, 111. iv. 16 : accustomed to enter subject cities in disorder, HI, xxi. y; require especial oaths of lovalty from body-guards of officers, IV. xviii. 6 ; subjugate the peoples of Libya, IV. 入. 28; lose Libya to Gizeric and the Vandals, III, iii. 31-35; send an unsuccessful expedition under Basiliscus against the Vandals, III, vi. 1-24; make peace with the lersians, III. ix. 26 ; send a second expedition under Belisarius, 111 . xi. 1 df.; defeat the Vandals

## INDEX

at Decimum, Itt. xviii. 5-19, xlx. 31-33; at Tricamarum, IV. ii. 4 ff. ; defent the Moors at the battle of Mammes, IV. xi. 47-54; on Mt. Bourgaon, IV. xii. 19 ff. ; and on Mt. Aurnsium, IV, xix. 5-2x. 22; further conflicts with the Moors, IV, xxi.-xxviii.; poverty of the Roman soldiers, IV. iv. 3 ; their marriages with the Vandal women, IV, xiv. 8 ; and their desire for the Vandals estates, IV. xiv. 10 ; they make a mutiny, IV. xiv. 7 ff .
Rome, abandoned by Honorius, III. ii. 8,9 ; completely sacked by the Visigoths, III. ii. 13 ; captured by Alaric, III. ii. 14-23; sacked by Alaric, III. ii. 24; according to one account, was delivered over to Alaric by Proba, III. ii. 27 ; the suffering of the city during the siege of Alaric, III. ii. 27 ; despoiled by Gizeric, III. v. 1 ff., IV. ix, 5

Rome, name of a cock of the Emperor Honorius, III. ii. 26
Rufinus, of Thrace ; of the house of Belisarius and his standardbearer, IV. X. 3, 4; commander of cavalry, III. xi. 7; makes a successful attack upon the Moors in Byzacium, IV. x. 5 ; his force in turn annihilated by the Monrs, IV. x. 6 ff.; captured and killed, IV. X. 10,11, xi. 22
Rufinus, son of Zatinas and brother of Leontius ; sent as commander to Jibya, IV. xix. 1 ; fights valorously at the capture of Toumar, IV. xx. 19

Salarian Gate, at Rome, III. ii. 17, 22
Sallust, Roman historian, the house of, burned by Naric, III. ii. 21
Sarapis, commander of leman in. fantry, III. xi. 7, IV. XV. 50 ; his death, IV. xv. 50
Sardinia, its size compared with that of Sicily, IV. xili. 42 ; half Way between Jome and Carthage, ibit.; recovered by the Romans from the Vandais, III. vi. 8, 11 ; occupied by the tyrant Godas, 111. X. 26, 27 ; Gelimer sends an
expedition to recover it, III. xi 22, 23; subdued by Tzazon, III, xxiv. 1,3, IV. ii. 25 ; avoided by Cyril, ifi, xxiv. 19; Tzazon and his men summoned thence by Gelimer, III. xxv. 10, 17, $2 \neq$, 25 ; recovered for the Roman empire by Cyril, IV. v. 2, 4; Solomon sends an expedition against the Moors who had overrun the island, IV. xiii. 41-45
Sauromatae, an old name for the Goths, III. ii. 2
Scalae Veteres, place in Numidia, IV. Xvii. 3

Scythians, a barbarian people, IIT. xix. 7 ; in the army of Attila, III. iv. 24

Scriptures of the Christians; Areobindus seeks to protect himself by them, IV. xxvi. 27 ; see also Gospel, and Hebrew Scriptures
Septem, fort at the Pillars of Heracles, III. 1. 6; John sent thither with an army, IV. V. 6
Sergius, son of Bacchus, and brother of Cyrus ; becomes ruler of Tripolis in Libya, IV, xxi, 1; brother of Solomon the younger, IV. xxi. 19 ; threatened by an army of Leuathae, IV, xxi. 2; receives representative from them, IV. xxi. 3 If. ; meets them in battle, IV. xxi. 13, 14 ; retires into the city, IV. xxi. 15 ; and receives help from Solomon, IV. xxi. 16, 19 ; succeeds Sulomon in the command of Libya, IV. xxii. 1; his misrule, IV. सxil. 2 ; his recall demanded by Antalas, IV. xxii. 9,10 ; Justinian refuses to recall him, IV. xxii. 11; appealed to by Paulus to save Hadrumetum, but does nothing, IV. xxiii. 20, 21 ; quarrels with John, son of Sisiniolus, IV, xxii. 3 ; xxiil. 32 ; shares the rule of Libya with Areobindus, IV, xxiv. 4,5 ; departs to Numidia, iv. xxiv. 6 ; disregards Arcobindus ${ }^{3}$ instructions to unite with John, iv. xxiv. 7,8 ; recalled and sent to Italy, IV. xxiv. 16, xxv. 1
Seric, see Medic Garments, IV. vi. 7 Sestus, city on the Hellespont, 111. 1. 8

## INDEX

Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoenician; his daring encounter with the Moors, IV. xxiii. 6-3; escapes to Carthage, IV. xxiii. 17

Shield Mountain (Clypea), ancient fort on Aurasium, IV. xili. 33
Shoal's Head, see Caputyada, III. xiv. 17

Siccaveneria, city in Libya; distance from Carthage, IV. Xxiv. 6
Sicily, its size compared with that of Sardinia, IV, xiii. 42 ; invaded by Gizeric, III. v. 22, 23 ; concessions given the Vandals there, III. viil. 13, IV. v. 21 ; reached by the Roman fleet, III. xiii. 22; expedition sent thither by Belisarius, IV. V. 11; claimed by the Goths, IV. v. 19; subjugated by Belisarius, Iv. xiv. 1 ; a mutiny there causes Belisarius to return to it, IV. Xv, 48,49 ; refuge of Libyans, IV. xxiii. 28
Sidon, city at the extremity of Phoenicia, IV. x. 15
Sigeum, promontory on the coast of the Troad, iII. xiii. 5
Singidunum, town in the land of the Gepaides, modern Belgrade, III. il. 6

Sinnion, leader of the Massagetae, III. xi. 12

Sirmium, town in the land of the Gepaides, III. ii. 6
Sisiniolus, father of John, IV. xix. 1, xxii. 3, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 6

Sitiphis, metropolis of "First Mauritania," IV. Xx. 30
Sittas, Roman general; slain by Artabanes, Iv. xxvii. 17
Sophia, name of the great church in Byzantium, III. vi. 26
Solomon, commander of auxiliaries, III. xi. 5 ; a eunuch, III. xi. 6 ; a native of the country about Daras, III. xi. 9 ; uncle of Bacchus, IV. xxi. 1 ; sent to report Belisarius' victory to the emperor, IH. xxiv. 19 ; returns to Libya, IV. viii. 4; left by Belisarius in charge of Libya, IV. viii. 23 ; receives reinforcements from Byzantium, IV. viii. 24; disturbed by the news of uprisings in Libya, IV. x. 1 fif;
writes to the Moorish leaders, IV. xi. 1-8; their reply, IV. xi. 9-13; moves against the Moors with his whole army, IV. xi. 14 ; addresses his troops, IV. Xi. 2336; inticts a crushing defeat upon the enemy at Nammes, ir. xi, 15 fI . receives word of the second Moorish uprising, and marches back, IV. xil. 2; wins a brilliant victory on Mt. Bourgaon, IV. xii. 3 ff.; moves against Iaudas, IV. xili. 18 ; instigated against him by other Moorish leaders, IV. xiii. 19 ; encamps on the Abigas River, IV. xiii. 20 ; ascends Mt. Aurasium with few provisions, IV. xiii. 30-33; eluded by the Moors, IF. xiii. 35, 36 ; returns to Carthage, IV. xiii. 39 ; prepares a second expedition against Mt. Aurasium, IV. xilii. 40 ; and against Sardinia, IV. xiii. 41,45 ; passes the winter in Carthace, IV. xiv. 4 ; opposed by the soldiers in regard to confiscated lands, IV. xiv. 10 ; plan to assassinate him, IV. xiv. 22 ; his guards implicated in the plot, IV. xiv. 23 ; failure of the conspirators to act, IV. xiv. 24-27; tries to win back the loyalty of his men, IV. xiv. 30 ; insulted openly, IF. xiv. 31; sends Theodorus to the mutineers, IV. xiv. 32; his enmity torrard Theodorus, IV. xiv. 33 ; his acquaintances lilled by the mutineers, IV, xiv. 36 ; flees to a sanctuary in the palace, IV. xiv. 37 ; joined by Martinus there, ibid. : they come out to the house of Theodorns, IV. xiv. 38 ; escape in a boat to Misuas, whence he sends Martinus to Numidia, IV. xiv. 40 ; writes to Theodorus, and departs to Syracuse, IV. xiv. 41 ; begs Belisarius to come to Carthage. ir. xiv. 42; returns with him, IF. xv. 9; entrusted again with the command of Libya, IV. xix. 1 ; his prosperous rule, IN. xix. 3, 4, xx. 33; marches against Iaudas once more, If xix. 5 ; sends Gontharis ahead, iv. xix 6 ; hears
of the defeat of Gontharis, IV. xix. 9 ; advances to the camp of Gontharis, thence to Babosis, IV. xix. 16 ; defeats the Moors in battle, IV. xix. 17 ; plunders the plain and then returns to Zerboule, IV . xix. 20 ; which he unexpectedly captures, IV. xix. 25-31; his care of the water supply during the siege of Toumar, IV. 2x. 3i addresses the army, IV. xx. 4-9; tries to find a point of attack, IV. xx. 10, 11; fortifies Mt. Aurasium against the Moors, IV. xx. 22; fortifles many Libyan cities with money captured from laudas, IV. xix. 3, xx. 29 ; subjugates Zabe, or "First Mauritania," IV. גX. 30 ; appealed to by Sergius for help, IV. xxi. 16 ; incurs the enmity of Antalas, IV. xxi. 17, xxii. 7, 8 ; marches against the Moors, IV. xxi. 10 ; his overtures scorned by the Leuathae, IV. xxi. 20-22; captures some booty and refuses to distribute it to the soldiers, IV. xxi. 23, 24; defeated by the Moors and slain, IV. xxi. 2כّ-28; Justinian's regard for him, iv. xxii. 11; builds and fortifies a monastery in Carthage, IV, xxvi. 17; standards of, recovered from the Moors, IV. xxviii. 46
Solomon the younger, brother of Cyrus and Sergius; marches with Solomon against the Moors, IV. xxi. 19 ; his capture and release, IV, xxil. 12-17
Solomon, king of the Jews, IV.ix. 7
Sophia, temple of, in Byzantium ; appropriateness of its name, III. vi. 2 t

Spain, settled by the Vandals, in iii. 2, 22; invaded by Constan. tinus, III. ii. 31 ; settled by the Visigoths, III. iii. 26. xxiv. 7, IV. iv. 34

Stagnum, a harbour near Carthage, III. Xv. 15; the Roman fleet anchors there, III. Xx. 15, 16
Stotzas, a body-guard of Martimus, destined not to return to Byzanthum, III. xi. 30 ; chosen tyrant by the mutineers, IV. Xv. 1; marches on Carthage, iv. xv. 2;
invites the Vandals to join his army, Iv. xv. 3,4 ; demands the surrender of Carthage, IV. XV. 5 ; kills the envoy Joseph, and besieges Carthage, IV. XV. 8 ; addresses his troops, IV. XV. 30-39; defented by Belisarius, IV. xV .40 ff ; his forces gather in Numidia, IV, xy. 50 the Romans march against him at Gazophyla, IV. xv. 52; comes alone into the Roman army and addresses the soldiers, IV. xv. 53-57; received with favour, IV. XV. 58 ; kills the Roman commanders in a sanctuary IV. XV. 59 ; eager to fight a battle with Germanus, IV. xvi. 8 ; approaches Carthage, hoping for defection from there, IV. xvi. 9, 10; his hopes falsified, IV. xviif. 1 ; defeated by Germanus at Scalae Veteres, IV. xvii. 3 ff ; escapes with a few men, Iv. xvii. 24; hopes to renew the battle with the help of the Moors, IV. xvii. 32; makes his escape with difficulty, IV. xvii. 33 ; suffers another defeat, IV. xvii. 34 ; withdraws to Mauritanis and marries the daughter of a Moorish chief, IV. xvii. 35 ; the end of his mutiny, ibud. ; IY. xix. 3 ; joins Antalas, IV xxii. 5, xxíii. 1; receives Roman captives, IV. xxiii. 10, 17 ; joins the Moors in plundering Libya, IV. xxiii. 2631; Areobindus sends an army against him, IV. xxiv. 6; his enmity against John, IV. xxiv. 9 ; mortally wounded by him in battle, IV xxiv. 11 ; carried out of the battle, Iv. xxiv. $12^{\circ}$ his death, IV. xxiv. 14 ; succeeded by John as tyrant of the mutincers, IV. xxv. 3
Syllectus, city in Libya, III, xvi. 9 ; captured by Belisarius' men, III. xvi. 11; entered by the Roman army, IIt. xvil. 6
Symmachus, a Roman senator; accompanies Germanus to Libya, IV. xvi. 2 ; summoned to Byzantium, Iv, xix. 1
Syracuse, city in Sicily, III. xiv. 13 ; its harbour Arethusa, III. xiv.

11: Procopius sent thither, III. xiv. 3, 7; Belisarius passes the winter there, IV. xiv. 4, 41 ; distance from Caucana, III. xiv 4

Taenarum, called Caenopolis in Procopius' time; promontory of the Peloponnesus, III. xiii. 8 ; Gizeric repulsed from there, III. xxii. 16

Tamougadis, a city at the foot of Mt. Aurasium; dismantled by the Moors, Iv. xili. 26, xix. 20
Tattimuth, sent in command of an army to Tripolis, III. x. 23 ; receives support from Belisarius, IV. V. 10

Taulantii, a people of Illyricum, III, ii. 9
Tebesta, city in Libya; distance from Carthage, IV. axi. 19
Terentius, Roman commander of infantry, III. xi. 7, IV. Xv. 50
Theoderic, king of the Goths; gives his daughter in marriage to the king of the Vaudals, and makes certain concessions in Sicily, III. viii. 11-13, IV. V. 21 ; becomes hostile to the Vandals, III. ix. 3 ; refrains from attacking them, III. ix. 5 ; his death, III. xiv. 6 ; grandfather of Antalaric, ibid.; brother of Amalafrida, III. viil. 11, 13
Theodora, wife of Justinian ; distributes rewards to Gelimer and others, IV. ix. 13
Theodorus, youngest son of Gizeric ; his death, III. V. 11
Theodorus, called Cteanus, commander of infantry, III. xi. 7
Theodorus, commander of guards ; sent to the top of Mt. Bourgaon by Solomon, IV. xii. 17 ; killed by the mutineers, IV. xiv. 35 ; his excellent qualities as a soldier, ibid.
Theodorus, the Cappadocian; sent to Libya with au army, Iv. viil. 24 ; sent by Solomon to quiet the mutineers, IV. xiv. 32; his enmity against Solomon, IV, xiv. 33 ; elected general by the mutineers, IV. xiv. 34 ; gives Solomon and Martinus dinner and helps them to escape, IV. xiv. 38: bidden by Solomon to
take care of Carthage, IF. xiv 41 ; refuses to surrender Carthage to Stotzas, IV", XV. 6 ; made joint ruler of Carthage with Ildiger, IV. xy. 40 ; at the battle of Scalae Veteres, IV. xvii. 6 , 19 ; learns of the plot of Maximinus from Asclepiades, iv xviii. 4

Theodosius I, Roman emperor, father of Arcadius and Honorius. III. i. 2; overthrows the tyranny' of Maximus, III. iv. 16
Theodosius 1I, sou of Arcadius : becomes emperor of the East, III. ii. 33 , iii. 6 ; Honorius considers the possibility of finding refuge with him, III. ii. 32 ; rears Valentinian, III. iii. 5; makes him emperor of the West, III. iii. 8 ; sends an army against the tyrant John, ibid.; his death, III. iv. 39 ; succeeded by Marcian, III. iv. 2, 10: father of Eudoxia, III, iv. 15
Thrace, starting point of Alaric's invasion, III, ii. 7 ; the Goths settle there for a time, ur. ii. 39; home of several Roman commanders, II. xi. 10 ; adjoins "Germania," III. xi. 21; royal horse-pastures there, III. xii. 6 ; home of Mimerius, IF. xxili. 3; and of Peter, IF. xxviii. 3

Thessnlian cape, or chlamys, III. xxv. $\overline{7}$

Theodatus, king of the Goths; Belisarius sent agaiust him, IV. xiv. 1

Theudis, king of the Visigoths, IF. iv. 34; receives envoys from Gelimer, II, xxiv. - -16
Tigisis, city in Numidia. IV, x. 21 ; two Phoenician inscriptions there; IV. 2.22 ; its great spring, IT xiii. 5

Titus, lioman emperor, $15 . \operatorname{ix} .2$; his capture of Jerusalem, IV. ix. 5 ; son of Vespasiau, ibid.
Toumar. place on the summit of Mt. Anrasium, IV. xix. 22; besjeged by the Romans, IV. Xx. 1 fi. ; scaled by Gezou and captured by Solomon. IV, xx, 1-20
Trajan, loman emperor, If, ix. 2

## INDEX

Trasamundus, brother of Gundamundus; becomes king of the Vandals, III. vili. 8 ; tries to win over the Christians. III. viil. 9, 10 ; asks the hand of Amalafrida, III. viil. 11; becomes a friend of Anastasius, 1II. viii. 14 ; his death, iII. vili. ov
Tricamarum, place in Libyn; distance from Carthage, IV. ii. 4 ; Vandals defeated there, IV. iil. 1 ff., iv. 35, v. थ, 9
Tripolis, district in Libya; distance from Gadira, III. i. 14; the Vandals there defeated by Heraclius, 111, vi. 9, 11 ; Moors dwelling there, MI. viii. 15 ; lost again by the Vandals, III. $x$. :22-2t; Gelimer hopeless of recovering it, MII. xi. 22 ; Belisarius sends an army thither, IV. v. 10 ; rule of, falls to Sergius, IV. xxi. 1 ; Leuathae come from there with a large army, IV xxviii. 47

Troy, III. xxi. 4
Tryphon, sent to Libya to assess the taxes, IV. viii. 25
Tuscan Sea, separated from the Adriatic by Gaulus and Melita, 111. xiv. 16; severity of its storms, IV. Iv. 37
Tzazon, brother of Gelimer: sent with an army to recover Sardinia, nII. xi. 23 ; overthrows and kills Godas in Sardinia, III. xxiv. 1 ; writes to Gelimer, III. xxiv, 2-4; receives a letter from him, III. xxv. 10-13; thereupon departs for Libya, III. xxv. 19-21; meets Gelimer in the Plain of Boulla, 111. xxv. 24; addresses his troops separately, IV. ii. 23-32; commands the centre at the battle of Tricamarum, IV. iii. $1,8,10,12$; his death, IV. iii. 14; his head taken to Sardinia by Cyril, IV. v. 2, 4

Uliaris, body-guard of Belisarins, H11. xix. 23 ; his stupid action at Decimum, III. xix. 24; kills John the Armenian accidentally, IV, iv. 15 ff, ; takes refuge in a sanctuary, Iv. iv. 21 ; spared by Delisarius, iv. iv. 25

Ulitheus, trusterl body-guard of Gontharis, rv. xxy. 8 ; bears messages to Antalas, IV. Xxv. 8-11 19 ; at Gontharis order assassinates Areobindus, IV, xxvi. 32,33 , xxvil. 20 ; marches with Artabanes against Autalas, IV. xxvii. 25 ff. ; killed by Artasires at the banquet of Gontharis, IV xxviii. 19 tf.

Valentinian, son of Constantius, reared by 'Theodosius, III. iii. 5 ; made emperor of the West, III. iii. 8 ; captures John and after brutal abuse kills him, III. iii. 9 ; his viciousness resulting from early training, in. iii. 10, 11 ; loses Libya to the empire, III. iii. 12; receives tribute and a hostage from Gizeric, III, iv. 13 ; returns the hostage,.III. iv. 14 ; slays Aetius, III. iv. 27 ; outrages the wife of Maximus, MI. iv. 16 If.; slain by him, III. iv. 15,36 ; son of l'lacidia, III. iii. 10 ; father of Eudocia and Placidia, III. v. 3, vi. 6; husband of Eudoxia, III. iv. 15 ; members of his family reccive rewards from Justinian and Theodora, IV. ix. 13

Valerian, commander of auxiliaries, III. xi. 6; sent with Martinus in advance of the African expedition, III. xi. 24, 29 ; meets the Roman flect at Methone, III. xiii. 9 ; on the left wing at the battle of 'Tricamarum, IV. iii. 4 ; Martinus sent to him in Numidia, Iv. xiv. 40 ; summoned to Byzantium, IV. xix. 2

Vaudais, a Gothic people, III. ii. 2; whence they came into the loman empire, ini. i. 1, iii. 1 fl. ; a portion of them left behind and lost to memory, Inf, xxii: 3, 13 ; settle in Spain, 111. iii. 2 ; their alliance sought by Boniface, III. iii. 22, 25 ; cross from Spain into Libya, III. iii. 26 ; defeat Bonlface in battle, 1 H . iii. 31 ; besiege Hipno Regius, 14. ili. 32, 34 ; deleat a second Roman army iII. iii. 35 ; secure possession of

## INDEX

Libya，III．xxii． 4 ；send Monrs to Sardinia，IV．xiii． 43 ；take the church of St．Cyprian at Car－ thage from the Christians， 11. xxi． 10 ；invade Italy and sack Rome，III．v． 1 ff ．；their numbers tugether with the Alani，MI．V． 18－20；absorb all barbarian peoples associated with them except the Moors，III．v． 21 ； Ieon sends an expedition against them，III．vi． 1 If．；driven out of Sardinia by Marcellianus，IM． ri．S：defeated in Tripolis hy Heraclius，iII．vi． 9 ；lost Mt． Aurasium to the Moors，IV，xiii． 26：enter into an＂endless peace＂with the emperor Zeno， III．vii．26；make war on the Moors，1II．viii．1， 2 ；suffer a great disaster at the hands of the Moors，III．viii．15－28； defeated by the Moors，and be－ come enemies of the Goths，III． ix． 3 ；defeated many times by the Moors，IV．X． 29 ；Justinian prepares an expedition against them，III．x． 1 If．；lose Tripolis， III．x．22－24；and Sardinia， III．x．25－27；letter addressed to them by Justinian，III．xvi． 12－1t：recover Sardinia，III． xxiv． 1 ；defeated by the Romans at Decimum，III．xviii． 1 II．； greatly feared by the Roman army 1II．xix． 27 ；collected by Geli－ mer in the Plain of Boulla，IIs． xxy． 1 1f．；besicge Carthage， IV．i． 3 ；invite the Huns to join them，IV．i． 5 ；defeated by the Romans at Tricamarum，IV． ii． 4 ff ．；taken to Byzantium by Belisarius，IV．xiv．17；some of them go to the East，while the others escape to Libya，IV．xiv． 17－19；together with their women，sent out of Libya，IV． xix． 3 ；unon invitation of Stot－ zas，join the mutineers，IV．Xv． 3，4；accumulate great wealth in Airica，IV．iii． 26 ；not trusted by the Libyans，III．Xvi．3； their effeminacy as a nation，IV．
vi．5－9；their women，as mives of the Romans，incite them to mutiny，IY．xiv． 8,9 ；priests of， incite Romans of Arian faith to mutiny，IV．Xiv． 13 ；Vandals estates，established by Gizeric， 111．v． 12 Vandals of Justinian， IN．xix， 17
Veredarii（Latin），royal messengers， III．xvi． 12
Vespasian，Roman emperor，father of＇litus，IV．ix． 5
Vigilantia，mother of Prejecta，and sister of Justinian．IV．xxiv． 3
Visigoths，a Gothic people，III．ii． 2 ； their alliance with Arcadius， iII．ii． 7 ；the destruction wrought by them in Italy，III．ii．11－12； settle in Spain，II，iii．＇26；IF． iv． 34 ：invited to form alliance with the Vandals，III．Exiv． 7

Zabe，called＂First Mauritania＂ subjugated by Solomon，IV．xx． 30
Zacynthus，island off the coast of Greece，III．xiii，21；its in－ habitants the victims of Gizeric＇s atrocity，III．xxii．15，17， 18
Zaïdus，commander of Roman in－ fantry，III．גi． 7
Zaunus，son of Paresmanes，and father of Leontius and Rufinus， IV．xix．1，xx． 19
Zeno，emperor of the East：hus－ band of Ariadne，and father of Leon the younger，wir．vii．2； shares the empire with his infant son，1II．vii．3；Hees into Isauria，III．vii． 18 ；gathers an army and marches against Basil－ iscus，III．vii．20；meets Har－ matus and receives the army by surrender，III．vii．21；captures Basiliscus and banishes him， III．vii．22， 24 ；becomes emperor a second time，III．vii． 23 ；kills Harmatus，ibih．；forms a compact with Gizeric，III．vii． 26
Zerboule，fortress on Mt．Aurasium， IV．Nix．19， 20 ；besigged by the Romans．I5．xix．23－27；aban－ doned by the Moors，IV．xix． 23－3：

[^87]
[^0]:    ${ }^{2}$ At Aulon (Avlonat).
    ${ }^{2}$ Addines these fon days to the other items (285, 22, 40), the total is 351 days.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Calpe (fib)raltar).
     in the crast-line around the Adriatic to Dymachium.
    ${ }^{3}$ About Lwenty-four Linglish miles. ${ }^{3}$ Iviza.

[^2]:    
    
    8 oīc P : aủdé V , P ' in marg.

[^3]:    1 "Bhack-cloaks." 2 belgrade. ${ }^{3}$ Nitrovit\%.

[^4]:    
    

[^5]:    
    

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ He ascended the throne at the age of seven.

[^7]:    

[^8]:     prom. ${ }^{2}{ }^{\xi} \xi \in \pi a l \delta \in u \sigma \epsilon \mathrm{~V}: \notin \pi a l \delta \in \nu \sigma \in \mathrm{P}$.
    
    

[^9]:    ${ }^{2}$ oi $\mathrm{V}: \delta \mathrm{P}$. ${ }^{2}$ ís $\mathrm{V}:$ t's P .
    

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Geiseric, Gaiseric, less properly Cienseric.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ tis Bawhelar of ahlenl liy Hamry，fom Thwophanes i． 104， 29.
    ：〒aûta Maltretus：чaútŋ MS．

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ Bmperor in Gaul, Britain and Spain 383-388. Aspirings to be Emperor of the Wiest, he inviled Italy, was defeated by Theordosius, and? put to death.

[^13]:    1 This is an error, for Attila died before Aetins.

[^14]:    
    ${ }^{2} \tau \dot{\alpha} s \mu^{\prime \prime} \nu V: \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ O．
    ${ }^{3}$ tàs $\delta^{\prime} \mathrm{VO}$ pr．m．corr．：tà $\delta$ è O pr．m．

[^15]:    2 i.e. " learlers of in thousand."

[^16]:    ${ }^{1} \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \omega \nu 0$ : $\lambda \epsilon \in \gamma \omega \nu \mathrm{V}$.
    

[^17]:    1 i.e. "wisclom."

[^18]:    
    

[^19]:    1 Jehel Auress.

[^20]:    
    
    4 tpiẁ added by Himury．

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. to what sect or religion they belonged.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1} \pi \tau \omega \chi$ îs VO Luagrins: $\pi 0 \lambda \lambda o i ̂ s$ P.
    2 elval MSS. : léva Dindorf.

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Book IV. xi. 17 ff.

[^24]:    ${ }^{2}$ Book I. xxii. 16.

[^25]:    

[^26]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ трибни́prot VO Theophanes: $\delta v \sigma \mu$ úprot P.

[^27]:    
    2. i.e. "runners."

[^28]:    ${ }^{2}$ Firegli, on the Sea of Marmora.

[^29]:    

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cape Matapan.
    ${ }^{2}$ Bouk I, xxiv. 12-15; xxy, 8-10.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ The comparative idea is repuiced to govern atafuni.
    
    
    
    
    

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now Porto Lombardo. ${ }^{2}$ Or Athataric.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now (iozzo and Malta.

[^34]:    
    
    
    

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ An adjutant, the general's own "choice."

[^36]:    1 Topsails.

[^37]:    1. i.. Thimum miliurium, tenth milutome from Carthase.

    2 Hefore 533 A. D ).
    ${ }^{3}$ Hormanm, Lat. Nersurii pronantorium (Cape Bon).

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ каì Kàarinuq tề ravápXé supphied by Haury from Theo. phanes. "2 ¿xpt VO: áxpos ô P .
    

[^39]:    

[^40]:    
    
    
    
    164

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ ката入ín O ：raтa入úєı V ，катa入̀́oı P ．
    ${ }^{2}$ єi $\sigma \tau \iota a ́ \theta \eta \mu \mu \varepsilon \nu$ 1’：єi $\sigma$ тia O．
    ${ }^{3}$ ouัtє－oйтє Haury ：oủdè－oủSè MSS．

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ The tronps were hilleted as at a peaceful oereupation. ${ }^{2} \mathrm{it}$. (yprian (cima, 2017) 2.77 A. D. $)$, Bishop of Carthate.

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chap). xx. 13.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ อйтє—ойтє Haury : où
    

[^45]:    ${ }^{2}$ Compare the remarks of Cibbon, iv. p. 205.
     H1. Vandal: in Afrima, at the time of Janliarims, at 80,000 ralu. and intimatco that practically all propisherd.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chap. xi. 23. ${ }^{2}$ Cagliari.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ ()n thia Themetis ami his acesession to the thernes of the Visigoths in Spain seo V. xii. 50 ff.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Mun a dus fordorutorum, and Itomestions of Pelisarius. Cf. ILI. xi. 5 ff.

[^49]:    1 The wrillum prortorium carried by the eavalry of the infurial grant, [V., x. \& below; cf. Lat. punmum.

[^50]:    入erumévars O. ¿̀ ti added by Capps (or oú).
    

[^51]:    
    

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ "Auxiliaries"; see Book III, xi, 3 and noto.
    ${ }^{2}$ Chap, i, 3.

[^53]:    

[^54]:    1 Ther (irerek implies that the 'Tuscan son wass stormy, like the Ahriate. 'The Syrtes farther cast had a bad reputafion.

[^55]:    ? "Primmh hip" and "hostility" refer to tho present relation: hetwon. Justinian and the (iothsand what they may 1,ecome.

[^56]:    1 Amalasounthe.

[^57]:    ${ }^{1}$ The momerminen heween Queen Amalasountha and Justinian is given in V. iii. 17.

[^58]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 「atin - , ion, "silk," as coming from the ('hinese (Seres).
    arf. Thurstides' deacription of the huts in which thes Athenians lived during the great plague.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pharas and the other Eduli.

[^60]:    1 "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ IJook III. xxv. 2-4.

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ (f. Benk III, e. 3: that was in A.1, 4.5.5. The spoliation of Jerusalem by 'Titus had taken place in A.D. 70.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Haury would read $\mu \in \theta_{i}^{\prime} \epsilon \sigma \theta a l$ " abandon."

[^64]:     т $\eta \gamma^{\partial} \nu 0$.

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the late Empire tho excubitores， 300 in number， constituted the select guard of the palace．Their com－ mander，cemes excubitorum，hehl high rank at court ；cf．

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ See III. viii. 5.
    ${ }^{2}$ A rames juedorutorum, mentioned in III. xi. (i.

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ The rewion in the interior of Sardinia called Bmbargia or Barhemia still preserves this mame. lbut l'mooping' Faplamation of the orwin of the butharian settlers there has not been generally accepted.

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book III, xviii. 7 ff.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ IV. iv. 30 and note.

[^70]:    2 Jiptism was alministered only during the fifty days
     baptism of Arians.

[^71]:    

[^72]:    

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. chap. xiv. 8.

[^74]:    1 "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.
    ${ }^{2}$ More correctly Gadiaufala, now lisar-Sbehi.

[^75]:    1 John the C'appadocian, cf. I. xxiv. 11 ff.

[^76]:    

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now Setif. $\quad$ Called Mastinas in IV. xiii. 19.
    ${ }^{3}$ Book IV. v. 5. ${ }^{1}$ Cyrenaica.

[^78]:    ${ }^{1} \lambda เ \pi \alpha \rho о и ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \mathrm{VP}: \pi \alpha \rho \alpha к \alpha \lambda о и ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ O.

[^79]:    ${ }^{1}$ '่ $\pi \eta \gamma \gamma \in \lambda \lambda$ ov Maltretus: $\quad$ п $\pi \eta \gamma \gamma \in \lambda \lambda \in$ MSS.

[^80]:    Vot. II.

[^81]:    ${ }_{2}^{1}$ Haury prefers $\tau \bar{\omega}$ ठv́o $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma$ ú.
    
    

    * кар ${ }^{\text {® }}$
    ${ }^{5} \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma เ \omega ิ \tau \alpha l \mathrm{~V}$ : $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega ิ \tau \alpha!\mathrm{PO}$.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Book III. xvii. 11, xxi. 23.

[^83]:    
    
    ${ }^{3}$ бтабtútas V : бтратіш́таs P O .

[^84]:    

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Porsk II. iti. 25. ${ }^{2}{ }^{2}$ Cf. ! bovk II. iii. 15. ${ }^{3}$ Justinian.

[^86]:    ${ }^{1}$ A comtemptuons term for "suljects of the emperor."

[^87]:     13UNO．ルと，ちUFFいった．

