

CONSTANTINE
PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

GREEK TEXT EDITED

by

GY. MORAVCSIK

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

by

R. J. H. JENKINS

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CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

EDIDIT
GY. MORAVCSIK

ANGLICE VERTIT
R. J. H. JENKINS

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DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

I.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

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

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

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

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

translator takes responsibility for everything printed in the English version, he is happy to make this cordial acknowledgment to his senior colleague.

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

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

Budapest — London
15th of March, 1949.

GY. MORAVCSIK — R. J. H. JENKINS

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

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

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

Washington, D. C.

November, 1966

Gy. M. — R. J.

¹ *Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp.* Vol. II, Commentary (University of London, The Athlone Press, 1962).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus¹ (905—959) was the second and only surviving son² of the emperor Leo VI, surnamed the Wise, (866—912) by his mistress and later fourth wife, Zoë Carburopsina.³ Constantine's early life was clouded by a series of misfortunes for which he himself was in no way responsible. His constitution was sickly, and he was indeed invalid throughout his life.⁴ His father's birth was doubtful; and he was himself born out of regular wedlock, although his legitimacy was afterwards grudgingly recognized. From his eighth to his sixteenth year he was the pawn by turns of his malignant uncle Alexander, of his mother, of the patriarch Nicholas and of the lord admiral Romanus Lecapenus. After the seizure of power by the last of these in the year 920, he was for the next twenty four years held in a degrading tutelage, cut off from all power and patronage, and, though married to the usurper's daughter Helen, demoted successively to second, third and perhaps fifth place in the hierarchy of co-emperors. It was not until January of the year 945, at the age of nearly forty, that, with the aid of a clique of guards officers devoted to his house, he was able to expel the Lecapenid usurpers and seat himself in sole majesty on the throne that was rightfully his.

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

¹ Sources in A. Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, (Paris, 1870), pp. 1—4. For date of birth, see *Vita Euthymii*, (ed. de Boor, Berlin, 1888), pp. 116—118; R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), pp. 108, 109.

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

³ For her family, see Theoph. Cont., (ed. Bonn.), p. 370; *D. A. I.*, 22₇₉; *Vita Euthymii*, p. 58; and G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès*, (Athens, 1939), p. 18.

⁴ Theoph. Cont., pp. 212, 379, 459, 464, 465.

brother-in-law.⁵ These made or marred — for the traditions are conflicting⁶ — the internal administration. The church was scandalized by the impieties of the worldly patriarch Theophylact; he, dying in 956, was succeeded by the ascetic Poyeuctus, who soon showed that stiff-necked king Stork might be worse trouble than disreputable king Log. But abroad the imperial forces, under the leadership of Bardas Phocas and his two sons, and of the proto-vestiary Basil, continued, with occasional set-backs, that glorious career which had begun with the accession of Michael III and was to terminate only with the death of Basil II. The sole major disaster recorded of the reign was the failure of a costly but ill-led expedition against Crete in 949.⁷

During these years the emperor devoted himself with tireless zeal to the *minutiae* of every department of administration, and to the punctilious observance of every kind of imperial ritual.⁸ His greatest personal contributions to the prosperity of his empire were externally, in the sphere of diplomacy,⁹ and internally, in the encouragement of higher education.¹⁰ His relaxations were the pursuits which had always lain next his heart, and which, during the long years of his enforced seclusion, he had been able to cultivate without interruption: art, literature, history and antiquities.¹¹ He found domestic happiness in the society of his three daughters, whom he tenderly loved;¹² nor is there evidence that his relations with his wife were other than uniformly affectionate, despite a difference of temperament.¹³ With his only son Romanus he was not so fortunate. To fit the youth for his future lofty station, he lavished on him a wealth of minute instruction¹⁴ which was probably excessive. The boy is said to have grown up weak and even vicious; but the accounts are conflicting, and he died at the age of 24.

By the age of fifty-four the emperor was old and worn out. His fourteen years of power had been years of ceaseless toil, and his infirmities grew fast upon him. A quarrel with the patriarch Poyeuctus, whom he seems to have had in mind to depose,¹⁵ occasioned a journey to the monks and hermits of the Bithynian Olympus; and from them he learnt the mournful tidings of his own approaching dissolution. He dragged himself back to the City guarded of

⁵ Cedrenus, (ed. Bonn.), II, p. 326.

⁶ F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 286 ff.

⁷ Leo Diac., (ed. Bonn.), p. 7; Cedrenus, II, p. 336.

⁸ Theoph. Cont., pp. 447, 449.

⁹ Theoph. Cont., pp. 448, 455; *De Cer.*, I, pp. 570 ff.; Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, VI, 5.

¹⁰ Theoph. Cont., p. 446.

¹¹ See A. Stránsky, 'Costantino VII Porfirogenito, amante delle arti e collezionista', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, (Rome, 1940), II, pp. 412 ff.

¹² Theoph. Cont., p. 459.

¹³ Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

¹⁴ Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

¹⁵ Cedrenus, II, p. 337; Theoph. Cont., pp. 463 ff.

God; and there, on the 15th of November, 959, he died.¹⁶ In person, he was tall, broad-shouldered and erect in bearing, with a long face, an aquiline nose, blue¹⁷ eyes and a fair complexion. Of stainless morals, deep piety and unremitting devotion to duty, he was an emperor after the hearts of his people, who testified their affection by a spontaneous outburst of grief at his funeral.

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Rambaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

¹⁹ Zonaras, (ed. Bonn.), III, p. 483.

²⁰ Theoph. Cont., p. 446; *D. A. I.*, P₆ ff.

²¹ Theoph. Cont., p. 211.

²² Theoph. Cont., pp. 446, 447; Cedrenus, II, p. 326.

²³ *D. A. I.*, 1₆.

This belief in the practical value of learning and education, which is set out at full in the preface to the *De Administrando Imperio* and repeated in many subsequent parts of the book, was, of course, derived through Plutarch²⁴ from Aristotle; and the method of education through the early inculcation of precept, which is illustrated in a long series of mediaeval manuals of gnostic wisdom, goes back ultimately to the *Ad Demonicum*²⁵ of the Pseudo-Isocrates, which, with the Latin *Disticha* of Cato, formed the basis of primary education throughout later mediaeval and renaissance Europe. But to Constantine may be given the credit for its revival at Byzantium; for, to teach practical wisdom, the material for such teaching is required, and was in his time extremely scanty. With tireless zeal he set about the enormous task of creating such material, and set about it in three ways: first, by diligent search for and collection of books, of which the supply was quite inadequate²⁶; second, by the compilation of anthologies and encyclopedias from such books as existed but were too tedious or prolix for any but a scholar to read²⁷; third, by writing or causing to be written histories of recent events and manuals of technical instruction on the various departments of business and administration.²⁸ A school of historians wrote beneath his eye, sometimes at his dictation.²⁹ Documents from the files of every branch of the administration, from the foreign ministry, the treasury, the offices of ceremonial, were scrutinized and abstracted.³⁰ Provincial governors and imperial envoys wrote historical and topographical reports on the areas of their jurisdiction or assignment.³¹ Foreign ambassadors were diligently questioned as to the affairs of their respective countries.³² From every quarter the tide of information rolled in, was co-ordinated and written down. Learning became the key to worldly advancement.³³ The principle

²⁴ Plutarch, *De Virtute Morali*, (ed. Bernardakis, Leipzig, 1891), pp. 154, 155. For this technical usage of σοφία and φρόνησις cf. *D. A. I.*, P₇; Romanus was of course to be σοφός as well as φρόνιμος, but practical wisdom is the end of our treatise.

²⁵ Cf. *Ad Demonicum*, p. 9 C, (βουλευόμενος παραδείγματα, κτλ.), with *D. A. I.*, 46₁₈₇ (ἄξιον γάρ, φιλάτε υἱέ, κτλ.); *ibid.* p. 11 E (ὡσπερ ἐκ ταμείου προφέρεις), with *ibid.* 13₁₃ (ὡς ἐκ πατρικῶν θησαυρῶν προφέρειν).

²⁶ *De Cer.*, I, p. 456; Theoph. Cont., p. 212; *Prooemium ad Excerpta de Legationibus* (M. P. G., vol. CXIII), c. 633.; *Exc. de leg.*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 1.

²⁷ *ibid.* pp. 633, 636.

²⁸ Theoph. Cont., pp. 3, 4; *D. A. I.*, P₂₅ (ἐσοφισάμην κατ' ἑμαυτόν). For Constantine's own works, see Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and for those compiled under his aegis, *ibid.*, pp. 78 ff.; also Moravesik, in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, (Rome, 1939), I, pp. 514—516, and *id.*, *Byzantinoturcica*, (Budapest, 1942), I, pp. 207 ff. (2nd ed. pp. 358 ff.).

²⁹ Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

³⁰ Bury, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV, 1905, pp. 539 ff.

³¹ Theoph. Cont., p. 448.

³² Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 553, 556.

³³ Theoph. Cont., p. 447.

laid down by the illiterate Basil I³⁴ found its ultimate fulfilment in the educational reforms of his scholarly grandson. This is the true glory of the Porphyrogenitus. Among the great emperors who enriched the middle-Byzantine heritage between A. D. 843 and 1204, none is to be compared with Constantine VII for depth of scholarship, catholicity of interest or fineness of taste. Of the last, his *Life* of his grandfather is a unique memorial. It was Constantine who amassed the libraries from which his successors acquired their learning. With him Byzantium, rapidly approaching the apex of its military glory, as rapidly approached the apex of its intellectual achievement, an achievement fostered by a princely patron of the arts whose like the world scarcely saw in the thirteen centuries which divided Hadrian from Lorenzo the Magnificent.

The *De Administrando Imperio*,³⁵ to give this nameless treatise the Latin title attached to it by Meursius,³⁶ was written and compiled, as we know from internal evidence, between the years 948 and 952.³⁷ It is a manual of kingcraft addressed to the youthful Romanus, the emperor's son, and is in form, like numerous other contemporary manuals on various subjects, avowedly didactic. It aims at *teaching*³⁸ the youth to be a wise sovereign, first by a knowledge of past and present affairs, and second by giving him a summary of the experience of others in circumstances analogous to those likely to surround himself; so that, knowing what policies have succeeded or failed in the past, he may himself be able to act prudently and successfully in the future. The matter of this teaching is a political and historical survey of very wide extent, suitable to the training of one who is to rule the world. The preface divides it into four sections: the first, a key to *foreign policy* in the most dangerous and complicated area of the contemporary political scene, the area of the «northerners and Scythians»; the second, a lesson in the *diplo-macy* to be pursued in dealing with the nations of this same area; the third and longest, a comprehensive *historical* and *geographical* survey of most of the nations surrounding the empire, starting with the Saracens to the south-east, fetching a compass round the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and ending with the Armenian states on the eastern frontier; the fourth, a summary of recent *internal history, politics* and *organization*, within the borders of the empire.³⁹ Upon the whole, these divisions are adhered to in the text as we have it.⁴⁰

³⁴ Basilii Imp. *Paraenesis ad Leonem filium* (M. P. G., vol. CVII), p. XXI (περὶ παιδείσεως; cf. *D. A. I.*, ch. 1); and *ibid.*, p. XLIX (περὶ μελέτης γραφῶν; cf. Theoph. Cont., p. 314).

³⁵ For full bibliography, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, pp. 215—221 (2nd ed. pp. 367—380).

³⁶ Johannes van Meurs (1579—1639); see below, p. 23.

³⁷ Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 522 ff.

³⁸ *D. A. I.*, I₁₃, (διδάξει).

³⁹ *ibid.*, P₁₄₋₂₄.

⁴⁰ Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

The method of compilation has been elucidated in detail in the General Introduction to the Commentary⁴¹. These findings can here be very briefly summarized. The work as we have it now is a *rifacimento* of an earlier work which corresponds to chapters 14—42 in the present arrangement. This earlier work was a historical and antiquarian treatise probably entitled *Περὶ ἔθνων*, which the emperor had compiled during the 940's as a companion volume to his *Περὶ θεμάτων*. As the *Περὶ θεμάτων* described the origins, antiquities and topography of the imperial provinces, so the *Περὶ ἔθνων* told the traditional, sometimes legendary, stories of how the territories surrounding the empire came in past centuries to be occupied by their present inhabitants (Saracens, Lombards, Venetians, Slavs, Magyars, Pechenegs). These chapters, then, are the earliest parts of *D. A. I.* The remaining parts of the book (except for a few chapters — 23—25, 48, 52, 53 and perhaps 9 and 30 — of source-material included by oversight) are notices of a different kind: they are *political directives*, illustrated by contemporary or nearly contemporary examples. Chapters 1—8, 10—12, explain imperial policy towards the Pechenegs and Turks. Chapter 13 is a general directive on foreign policy from the emperor's own pen. Chapters 43—46 deal with contemporary policy in the north-east (Armenia and Georgia). Chapters 49—52 are guides to the incorporation and taxation of new imperial provinces, and to some parts of civil and naval administration. These later parts of the book are designed to give *practical instruction* to the young emperor Romanus II, and were probably added to the *Περὶ ἔθνων* during the year 951—952, in order that the whole treatise might mark Romanus' fourteenth birthday (952). The book as it now stands is therefore an amalgam of two unequal parts: the first historical and antiquarian, the second political and diplomatic.

The sources of the various sections, where these are known, are noted in the apparatus to the present volume. But the peculiar construction of the book, with its diversity of styles and often careless expression, calls for a note of explanation regarding the English translation. The chief value of the treatise to the modern historian lies in its third section, which provides information not found elsewhere about the origins and early history of many nations established on the borders of the Byzantine empire in the tenth century of our era. This information, valuable as it is, is often given in a style so careless as to leave many statements open to more than one interpretation. Chapter 39 is a notable instance of this;⁴² but there are several others. Now, these statements have been, are and probably will continue to be the subject of controversy between scholars of many nations; and it is therefore our duty as translators, at whatever cost to elegance or even in a few cases to sense, to render

⁴¹ See *D. A. I.* Vol. II, Commentary (London, 1962), pp. 1—8; also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (2nd ed.) I, pp. 361—367.

⁴² *D. A. I.*, 39₃₋₅, 7-10.

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

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

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

⁴³ Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

⁴⁴ e. g.: *D. A. I.* 43₁₃₋₁₆, 46₅₄₋₆₄.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 13₁₄₉₋₁₇₆, 51₁₈₄₋₁₈₆.

large. This confidential character of the book, confirmed, if confirmation be required, by its manuscript history and by the circumstance that later writers betray no knowledge of it,⁴⁶ enhances its value. It is no partial document of propaganda, fudged up to impress domestic or foreign circles. Much of it is an honest appreciation of the contemporary political situation, compiled from information upon which the government based its day-to-day foreign policy. And, as such, it is unique.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

⁴⁶ See below, p. 32.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

1. MANUSCRIPTS

The *De Administrando Imperio* is preserved in four mss.¹ Three of these contain the full text, the fourth a part only. These mss. are:

P = *codex Parisinus gr. 2009*: codex on vellum, of 211 numbered leaves.² There are also some additional leaves, 4 at the beginning of the ms. (3 vellum, 1 paper), and 7 at the end (4 paper, 3 vellum). The leaves are of sizes varying between c. 23.8 cm — 24 cm × 15 cm. The first three of the additional leaves are blank. On the recto of the fourth is a Greek table of the contents of the codex, in a later hand;³ on the verso of the same leaf is gummed a small slip of paper, inscribed with the table of contents in Latin.⁴ On the first numbered page begins the first Greek text, which covers 4 pages (fol. 1^r—2^v); it is entitled: 'Ἐπιστολὴ Πυθαγόρα πρὸς Λαΐδα («Letter of Pythagoras to Laïs»), and is followed, still on fol. 2^v, by a table which relates to it. The «Letter» and table have been published from this ms. by P. Tannery.⁵ At fol. 3^r begins the text of *D. A. I*, and it finishes at fol. 211^r. This text originally constituted an independent codex, with which the «Letter of Pythagoras» was subsequently bound up, as is clear from the facts, *a*) that the numeration of the quaternios

¹ See Gy. Moravcsik, 'Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τοῦ *De administrando imperio*', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 7 (1930), pp. 138—152.

² See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1888), p. 178.

³ «Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως (ως) Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ῥωμανόν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν καὶ συμβασιλέα ἐθνογραφία καὶ χωρογραφία καὶ ποικίλη τις ἱστορία τεινουσα πρὸς ὀρθὴν διοίκησιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας No. 21.»

⁴ «Codex 1783. Membr. 13. saec. Epistola Pythagorae ad Laidem cum laterculo eiusdem de vita et morbo, victoria et clade aliisque rebus, inventione et amissione, lucro et damno, bona via et mala. Constantini Imperatoris ad Romanum filium Porphyrogenitum Imperatorem. Est liber de administrando imperio, quem edidit Meursius. Ms. 1240.»

⁵ 'Notices sur des fragments d'onomatocancie arithmétique', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. XXXI. 2. partie, (Paris, 1886), pp. 231—260; cf. K. I. Dyobuniotes, 'Ὀνοματομαντεία', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, (Athens, 1935), pp. 491—494.

begins only at fol. 3^r; and *b*) that the beginning of *D. A. I.*, that is to say, the first page (fol. 3^r) of the original codex, is so much worn, and the handwriting so indistinct, as to require its mending in brown ink by a later hand. In any case, the «Letter of Pythagoras» is copied in a different, and in all probability a later, hand. The subsequent history of the codex gives us, as we shall see, some clue as to when the «Letter» became attached to the ms. of *D. A. I.*

The text of *D. A. I.* ends in the middle of fol. 211^r. The rest of this page and its verso, which, as it was the last page of the original codex, is very much the worse for wear, contain a number of notes in different and, in some cases, later hands. Of especial interest as casting light on the origin of the codex is that written on the then blank fol. 211^v by the actual copyist of *D. A. I.*, in the same red ink which he employed for the initial letters and headings of the chapters. Some of the letters in this note are so much worn and so dim as to render them now almost illegible. The text of this metrical epilogue is as follows: ¹Βίβλος καίς[αρ]ος ²Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα ³γραφεῖ(σα) χερσίν ⁴οἰκογενούς οἰκέτου ⁵Μιχα(ή)λ ὀνόματι ⁶τοῦ Ῥοῦζαῖτου †, which makes it quite clear that the ms. at one time belonged to the library of the Caesar John Ducas, and that the copyist was his own confidential secretary, Michael.⁶ Unfortunately there is no date, but the name of the Caesar John Ducas, references to whom in Byzantine sources occur between the years 1059—1081, proves that the ms. was copied towards the end of the XI century. This is confirmed by a dated note in a later hand on the same page, which contains a reference to the year 1098/9.⁷

Concerning the adventures of the codex during the Byzantine age we have no other information, apart from the evidence of marginal notes to be described lower down; it emerges again only towards the beginning of the XVI century, when it was copied in 1509 by Antony Eparchus, very probably in the island of Corfu (see ms. V below). By the middle of the century our ms. was in Italy, whither it had been brought perhaps through the agency of Janus Lascaris.⁸ The first mention of it in Italy is in the catalogue of the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.⁹ On the death of Ridolfi in 1550, it passed,

⁶ See G. Koliaς, «Ὁ καῖσαρ Ἰωάννης Δούκας ἀντιγραφεὺς τοῦ cod. Par. Gr. 2009 τοῦ De administrando imperio», Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 14 (1938), pp. 300—305; Gy. Moravcsik, «La provenance du manuscrit byzantin du «De administrando imperio», *Bulletin de la Société Historique Bulgare*, 16—18 (1940), pp. 333—337; B. Leib, «Jean Doukas, César et moine», *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 163—180. — In the deciphering of the text I was given valuable assistance by Prof. F. Dölger (Munich) and Dir. V. Laurent (Paris), to whom I express my sincere gratitude.

⁷ See Gy. Moravcsik, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 7 (1930), p. 141, but cf. V. Laurent, *Erasmus*, 3 (1950) p. 766.

⁸ See B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme — Janus Lascaris — et la tradition greco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français*, (Uppsala-Paris, 1945), pp. 213, 216.

⁹ «Num. 21. Constantini Romanorum Imperatoris ad Romanum filium descriptio gentium et locorum, ac varia historia ad rectam administrationem tendens.» See B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* II (Parisii, 1739), p. 777.

τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν. καὶ καθέθειναι
ἡμῶν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ἐκεί-
σε ἐκαθέθηθα. πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πλῆ-
σίον τῆς κερσίλειαν μου. καὶ ὅτε θύ-
λω ἀποπέλω καὶ ἐν τῷ χειβυρίσκῳ
ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν
τούρκων μεῖφω μὴ ἐξβύωησαν. ὅτι
ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ πατριμακίτας
βαυτοῦ οὐκ ἀλλομην. οὐ γὰρ δυνά-
μεθα πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ὅτι
καὶ χώρα μεγάλη καὶ λαὸς πολὺς.
καὶ κακὰ παιδία ἔσι. καὶ τοῦ λοι-
ποῦ τῆς λόγου τούτου πρὸς ἡμῶν
μη ἔσῃσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀναπῶμεν αὐτόν·
ὅτι καὶ οἱ πατριμακίται ἐκείθεν τοῦ
δυναῦ πρὸς ποταμοῦ. μετὰ τὸ
ἐαρδιέχωνται. καὶ αἰεὶ ἐκείσε κα-
λοκαρίζοιμι:~

along with others of his books, into the possession of Pietro Strozzi, and later, in 1560, into the collection of Catherine de Medici. At this period some chapters from it were transcribed by Andrea Darmari (see ms. M below). From Catherine's library it passed in 1599 to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, where it was numbered 2661.¹⁰ Now, since the relevant entry in the catalogue of Ridolfi's library is simply a Latin rendering of the Greek note on the recto of the fourth fly-leaf at the beginning of our ms. (see above), and since this entry notes *D. A. I.* only, we conclude that the «Letter of Pythagoras» was attached to our ms. subsequently to its being placed in the Bibliothèque Royale. This conclusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the present sumptuous binding of gilt red morocco bears the cypher of King Henry IV (1589—1610).

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

The text of *D. A. I.* was, as we have seen, copied by a certain Michael Roïzaïtes. Only in two passages (fol. 31^v—32^r = 14₂₂ συμψευδομαρτυροῦντος — 15₆ πολέμους καὶ, and 35^v—36^r = 20₆ καὶ τὴν νῆσον — 21₁₃ γενέσθαι)¹² has another hand relieved him. The text is written in single columns, and the columns vary in dimension between c. 16—17 cm. deep × 11—12 cm. across. The medium is the usual dark brown Byzantine ink, save that initial letters and headings of chapters are in red, a detail which goes back to the original copyist. The script is a mixture of uncial and minuscule; γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, κ, λ, μ, ξ, π are written both ways indifferently; uncial forms of β, φ, ω are uncommon, and very rare are uncial forms of α, ν, σ, ψ. Here and there we find a cursive ϑ, while τ occasionally rises above the height of the other letters. Rough breathing is still angular in shape, but the smooth breathing is always round. The writing is either on the ruled lines or under them, but never above them. Ligature abbreviations are frequent; short-hand abbreviations and

¹⁰ See H. Omont, 'Un premier catalogue des manuscrits grecs du cardinal Ridolfi', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 49 (1888), pp. 309—323; J. Haury, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hist. Classe der bayer. Akademie der Wiss.* 1895. I, pp. 142—143, 147; V. Gardthausen, *Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften*, (Leipzig, 1903), p. 18; F. Dölger, 'Der Titel des sog. Suidaslexikons', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-hist. Abt. 1936. Heft 6., (München, 1936), pp. 36—37.

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

¹² For the principles which have been applied to the transcription of the mss. variants, see below p. 37.

abbreviations by suspension occur rarely, and mostly at the ends of lines. The copyist is fond of special ligatures for ατ, σσ, ττ, of kinds which occur in other contemporary mss.

In the orthography the most notable points are these: iota subscript is never found, iota adscript once only (53₃₈₂ τῶι). As regards peculiarities of accentuation, we may note that proper names ending in -ῖται in many cases carry the paroxytone accent in nom. and gen. plural (e. g. 2₂ Πατζινακίται, 8₁₄ Πατζινακίτων, 53₅₃₅ Χερσωνίται, 53₆₅ Χερσωνίτων); while the genitive plural of paroxytone racial names in -ος is sometimes perispomenon (e. g. 28₄₃ Φραγγῶν, 32₂ Σερβλῶν). The word ἐπεὶ is occasionally accented with double stroke: ἐπεῖ (e. g. 48₂₂, 49₉, 49₁₃). With regard to misspellings due to pronunciation, it is particularly noticeable that the copyist makes the same error consistently through a series of particular words or forms. Characteristic examples of such regularly repeated misspellings are: αι for ε at the end of 2nd person plural verbs (e. g. 8₂₇ ἐκαθέξασθαι, 53₇₀ μάθεται, 53₄₇₇ ὑποδείξεται); ει for η commonly in the words εἷτις = ἥτις (e. g. 13₆, 26₆₄, 29₂₃₄), εἶπερ = ἥπερ (e. g. 38₄₉, 50₁₉₂) and εἷς = ἥς (e. g. 31₁, 35₁, 43₁₈₇); and in the augmented forms of the verb αἰτῶ (e. g. 29₁₅₇ εἰτίσατο = ἥτήσατο, 42₂₉ εἰτήσαντο = ἥτήσαντο, 50₂₀₉ εἰτήσατο = ἥτήσατο); η for ει almost invariably in the infinitive forms -ειν and -εῖν (e. g. 1₈ πηδαλιουχῆν, 47₉ διαπεσῆν), and quite often also in the words ἦ and ἧ = εἶ (e. g. 13₈₇, 29₁₄₈, 41₁₆), δῆ = δεῖ (e. g. 13₁₉, 13₁₄₆), and in the verb ὑπήκω = ὑπεῖκω (e. g. 38₃₈, 50₂₉, 50₈₁). Some confusion is seen in the use of ει and η in the different forms of the verbs λαμβάνω and λείπω (e. g. P₃₁ λείψεται = λήψεται, 25₅₄ συνελείφθη = συνελήφθη, 29₂₀₃ ἀπολείψασθαι = ἀπολήψασθε, 21₂₆ ὑπελήφθησαν = ὑπελείφθησαν, 26₃₀ καταλήφθεις = καταλείφθεις, 46₂₂ κατελήφθη = κατελείφθη). ω is found consistently for ο in the -ονται termination of the 3rd person plur. pres. ind. pass. (e. g. 9₁₁₁ κατέρχονται, 31₂₉ περισώζονται, 37₆₄ εὐρίσκονται); and often also in the termination -ον of nom. neut. partic. act. (e. g. 9₆₇ ἔχων, 13₉₉ κατελθῶν, 37₅₈ ἀποβλέπων). From verbs beginning with ο the temporal augment is usually absent (e. g. 13₅₁ διορίσατο, 26₇₁ μετονομάσθη, 30₄₆ ὄρμισαν). From the point of view of the history of Byzantine pronunciation it is significant that in our codex we frequently meet with υ for οι (e. g. 20₂ στυχήσας = στοιχήσας, 45₄ μυχευθήσης = μοιχευθείσης, 51₁₂₀ ἦνυξαν = ἦνοιξαν), and *vice versa* (e. g. 9₃₅ προίμαν = πρύμαν, 26₅₂ ὀμνοῖοντες = ὀμνύοντες, 53₁₉₁ φροιαττόμενος = φρουαττόμενος). This proves that at the period when the work was copied, the pronunciation of these two sounds was still identical (a modified *u*). An odd feature, which we meet here and elsewhere, is the frequent interchange between the forms ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς (e. g. 27₃₅ 43₁₅ 53₆₉). As regards consonants, we note uncertainty in the writing of double consonants (e. g. P₂₇ ἀντιτάσασθαι, 15₉ φασάτον, 42₂₃ ἐναλλασόμενοι, 9₁₉ ἰουννίου, 28₂₂ νησῶν, 45₃₉ σήμερον); and the substitution of μθ, μπ for νθ, νπ (e. g. 13₁₀₇ συμπεμφεριᾶσαι, 26₉ ἐμ Παλαιστίνη, 27₇₆ ἐμπρώτοις); and of χν for γχν (e. g. 29₉₇ σπλαχνησθεῖς = σπλαγγισθεῖς). These details also throw light on

contemporary pronunciation. There is a curious use of ν for γ before γ , κ , χ (e. g. 27₇₃ Κόνκορδα, 29₃₈ ἐνκρόμματα, 43₁₁₃ διαγονγγύζοντες, 52₁₁ κονχουλευται); moreover, while on the one hand the accusative sing. in α of 3rd declension substantives and the $-\theta\eta$ or $-\eta$ of the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass. indic. add a ν before a word beginning with a vowel (e. g. 13₃₂ βασιλέαν, 26₄₉ ρίαν, 26₆₅ θυγατέραν, 53₃₁₇ νύκταν, 32₃₃ ἐγεννήθη, 43₁₇₇ ἀπεστάλην), on the other hand the ν of the acc. sing. of μέγας (e. g. 9₂₉, 41₆, 46₁₅₁), and of the 1st pers. sing. aor. pass. indic. drops off before words beginning with a consonant (e. g. 27₂₈ ἐνομίσθη, 29₁₆₈ ἐδιώχθη, 53₃₄₇ ἠναγκάσθη).

In the ms. we note several words erased, amended, completed or corrected. A detailed study of the original may identify traces of at least six different hands in the text and, besides, of five other hands which have added marginal notes. There is no doubt that the copyist himself made some erasures and corrections; but from the styles of the handwriting and from other evidence it can be established that many alterations have been made by hands in the XIV and later centuries. In one place a marginal gloss bears a date which proves it to have been written in 1361/2 (16₈). To determine the chronology of certain other alterations we may argue from the fact that in V, which was copied from P, we often find the true text as it was before correction, which proves that at least these alterations in P were done by a hand posterior to the date when V was copied, that is, posterior to 1509 (e. g. P₁₉ ἐθνῶν P V: ἐθῶν P^y || 38₄₄ ὁ Ἀλμούτζης P V: Σαλμούτζης P^y || 38₄₉ Ἀλμούτζη P V: Σαλμούτζη P^y).

In the margins of the ms. are notes, some of which are from the hand of the original copyist, but others, as the style of handwriting demonstrates, from those of later readers, principally of the XIV and XVI centuries. Some of these notes are in Latin. In the marginal notes, too, we may distinguish at least six hands. Those which go back to the hand of the copyist are mainly chapter-headings and citations of the contents, which were added to the text either by collaborators of the imperial author or by later scribes and readers. At least one of these original notes is not contemporary with the work itself, as is proved beyond doubt by its reference to the Abbot John Tornices as holder of the office of Syncellus, an office which, as we know, was conferred on him about the year 979;¹³ this note, therefore, was written about three decades after the treatise was compiled.

A list of these original comments, and the passages to which they refer, is as follows: 1₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν || 2₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν (καὶ) τῶν Ῥῶς || 3₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) Τούρκ(ῶν) || 4₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν γ' ἐθν(ῶν) || 5₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) Βουλγάρων || 6₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Πατζινακιτ(ῶν) (καὶ) Χερσωνιτῶν || 7₁ Πε(ρι) τ(ῶν) ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομ(ένων) βασιλικ(ῶν) ἐν Πατζινακία || 8₁

¹³ N. Adontz, 'Tornik le moine', *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), pp. 148—149.

Πε(ρι) τοῦ ἀποστελλομ(ένου) βασιλικ(οῦ) ἐκ τ(ῆς) πόλ(εως) διὰ τ(ῶν) ποτ(α)μ(ῶν) || 8₂₃ Πε(ρι) τοῦ κληρικ(οῦ) Γαβριήλ || 9₁ Πε(ρι) τοῦ πῶς κατέρχωντ(αι) οἱ Ῥῶς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπό(λει) || 9₂₂ Πε(ρι) τῶν λεγομ(ένων) καταράκτ(ων) || 9₃₉ Πε(ρι) τοῦ β' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₄₃ Πε(ρι) τοῦ γ' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₄₅ Πε(ρι) τοῦ δ' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₅₇ Πε(ρι) τοῦ ε' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₆₁ Πε(ρι) τοῦ ζ' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₆₄ Πε(ρι) τοῦ ζ' φραγμ(οῦ) || 9₇₂ Πε(ρι) τῆς νήσου καὶ τοῦ δρυὸς καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν || 9₁₁₄ Πε(ρι) τ(ῶν) Οὐζ(ω)ν || 10₁ Πε(ρι) τῆς Χαζαρίας || 11₁ Πε(ρι) τῆς Χερσῶνο(ς) καὶ τ(ῆς) Βοοσπόρου || 13₇₃ Πε(ρι) τοῦ λαμπροῦ || 16₁ Τὸ θεμάτιν τῶν Σαρακιν(ῶν) (καὶ) ποῖον χρό(νον) ἐξῆλθ(ον) || 21₁₆ Διέρεσις τῶν Ἀράβων || 21₃₇ ε' ἀρχηγ(ο)ς Ἀράβων || 21₄₉ Οὗτος παρεκάθησε(ν) τὴν Κωνσταντινούπο(λιν) || 22₉ Ῥρη' || 22₄₀ Πε(ρι) τῆς νήσου τῆς Κρήτης || 22₆₁ Ῥσπη' || 31₆ Διὰ τί λέγωνται Χρ(ω)-βάτοι || 33₁₀ Πόθ(εν) λέγω(ν)ται Ζαχλούμοι || 34₁ Πε(ρι) ἐτέρ(ων) ἐθνῶν || 36₁₈ Πε(ρι) τοῦ ἀγίου ἀπο(στόλου) Λουκᾶ καὶ Παύλου || 37₁₅ Ὅτι ἡ ἄρχο(ν)-τες εἰσι(ν) ἐν Πατζιν(α)κία || 37₃₃ Ὅτι (καὶ) εἰς μ' μέρη ἡ Παζινακί(α) || 38₁₀ Ὅτι οἱ Τούρ(κοι) εἰς ζ' διαιροῦνται || 42₁ Πε(ρι) ἡγή(σις) γεωγρα(φικῆ) τῆς σκυθικῆς γῆς || 43₁₃₆ Οὗτο(ς) ἐστὶ(ν) ὁ π(ατ)ῆρ Νικο(λάου) μαγίστρου τοῦ Τορνίκη || 44₁ Πε(ρι) τ(ῶν) κά(στρων) τ(ῆς) Ἀνατολῆς || 45₁ Πε(ρι) τῶν Ἰβήρων || 45₅₆ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστίν) ὁ Τζιμισχ(ῆς) ἐπικληθεῖς || 45₁₀₀ Πε(ρι) τοῦ κά(στρου) τοῦ Ἀβνίκου || 45₁₀₃ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστίν) Ζουρβανέλ(ης) ὁ π(ατ)ῆρ τοῦ Τορνίκη τ(οῦ) ἀβᾶ τοῦ ἀρτ(ίως) συγκέλλου || 46₁ Πόθ(εν) γεγόν(α)σιν οἱ Ἰβηρες || 47₁ Πε(ρι) τ(ῶν) Κυπρίων || 50₂₃₅ Ποίου τιμήματ(ος) ἦν τοῦ (πρωτοσπαθαρίου) ἀξιωμα || 51₁ Πε(ρι) τοῦ δρομωνίου || 53₁₀ Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστίν) ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντ(ίνου) π(ατ)ῆρ.

The marginal notes appended by later hands consist principally of repetitions of words or names occurring in the text; but there are a few which are worth noting from the point of view of their content. These are: 3₁ Πατζινάκαι οἱ Δάκες πρότερον P⁵ (cf. Suidas s. v. Δάκες, ed. Ada Adler, II, p. 2.) || 5₁ Πατζινάκαι οἱ Δάκες, Βουλγάροι οἱ Μυσοί P⁵ || 16₈ νῦν δέ (ἐστίν) Ῥωσ' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ἐ' ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότε(ε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' P³ || 21₆₉ Περὶ τοῦ Ἀλῆμ τοῦ γαμβροῦ τοῦ Μουάμεθ P² || 21₇₄ Πόλεμος Ἀλῆμ καὶ Μαβία P⁸ || 28₂₅ Μαδαμα(ύκον) τὸ νῦν Μαλαμόκ(ον) P⁸ || 29₂₅₈ Τραγούριον P⁷ || 30₁₁₅ Ἀλβούνου P⁷ Ἀλμπόνα P⁸ || 32₁₁ Σέρβλια P⁵ τὰ νῦν Σέρβιοι ἐν τῇ Βεροία P⁸ || 32₁₂ Σέρβλοι διὰ τί δοῦλοι Ῥωμαῖκ(ῶς) P⁵ || 36₂₀ Φάρα νήσος ἡ Λέζενα P⁸ || 36₂₁ Βράτζης νήσος τὰ Πράτζα P⁸ || 40₂₄ Ἐτέλ πο(ταμὸς) καὶ Κουζοῦ P⁸.

Marginal notes and textual emendations are especially frequent in the chapters dealing with the Arabs (14—22), a fact which, like the gloss of the year 1361/2, mentioned above, suggests that this section of the treatise was at some time or another an object of peculiar interest to Byzantine readers.

The original text has not merely been subject to emendations and alterations by later hands, but has also been touched by the hand of time. We have said that the writing on the first and last pages of the originally independent ms. was so much worn and faded that it had to be rewritten. Traces of

to the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg, where it appears in the catalogue compiled by Fr. Sylburg about the year 1584.¹⁸ From Heidelberg it was transferred in 1623, along with other mss., to the Vatican Library in Rome.

In the margins of V, as of P, there is a number of notes in Greek and Latin, which are the additions of later readers. An exceptionally large proportion of these notes is appended to the chapters dealing with Venice (27, 28), which obviously were of particular interest to Italian readers. Some of these are worth our attention: 27₆₉ μαστρομήλης ό καπετάνιος || 27₇₃ Κογκόρδια || 27₈₀ Κόγραδον vide ne Γράδον || 27₈₂ 'Ριβαλένσης || 27₈₃ Λικέντζιά || 27₈₆ Μαδοῦχον || 27₈₇ Βρουνδουλον (*sine acc.*) || 27₈₈ Λαύριτον || 27₉₃ 'Ρίβαλτον || 28₂₂ 'Αεΐβολας || 29₂₅₈ Τράγουρις || 29₂₆₃ Κάτερα.

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

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

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

¹⁸ «126. Constantini Imper. ad Romanum filium suum liber de Notitia utriusque Imperii, orientalis sc. et occidentalis in quo et de rebus Turcicis, aliisque nationibus hodiernis. Citatur in eodem Theopanis Chronographia bis . . .» See Friderici Sylburgii *Catalogus codicum Graecorum M.SS. olim in Bibliotheca Palatina, nunc Vaticana asservatorum . . .*, (Francofurti ad M., 1701), p. 40.

¹⁹ See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire . . . III*, (Paris, 1888), p. 76.

²⁰ *Introduction. Liste des copistes des manuscrits grecs*, (Paris, 1898), p. XXXIII; cf. M. Vogel—V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 371.

²¹ Cod. Paris. gr. 1926, 2937 (Michael Damascene); cod. Paris. gr. 1687, 1823, 1830, 2376 (Valeriano de Forli); cf. H. Omont, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs du XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, (Paris, 1887), II pl. 36., 48.; E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, (London, 1906), p. 178; E. Thompson—Sp. P. Lampros, *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἑλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς παλαιογραφίας*, (Athens, 1903), p. 297.

²² «No. 25. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πρὸς υἱὸν 'Ρωμανόν.» See H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II*, (Paris, 1889), p. 372.

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

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

M = *codex Mutinensis gr. 179 (III F 1)*: codex on paper, of 104 leaves. Leaves measure 32.4 × 22.4 cm. Fol. 2^r to 6^v of the ms. contain text of chh. 15—21 of *D. A. I.* (15₁ Περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Φατεμιτῶν — 21₁₁₈ διὰ ξηρᾶς), copied by Andrea Darmari.²⁶ As to chronology, we know only that the dated mss. of this famous copyist fall between the years 1560—1586.²⁷ I have studied the relevant portion of this ms. by means of photographic reproductions.

2. EDITIONS

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

²³ «No 199. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πρὸς υἱὸν Ῥωμανὸν καὶ Φωτίου περὶ τ' ῥητόρων.» See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

²⁴ «Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νοθεσίαι. Νο 334. Βιβλίον α' μήκους, ἐνδεδυμένον δέρματι λευκῷ, εἰσι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ταῦτα Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νοθεσίαι πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Πορφυρογέννητον, ὅπως δεῖ γινώσκειν παντὸς ἔθνους φύσεις τε καὶ ἤθη καὶ ιδιώματα, καὶ τόπων καὶ χωρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ποῖον ἐξ αὐτῶν δύναται ὠφελεῖσαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ποῖον οὐχί, καὶ ἱστορίας τινὰς νέας. Φωτίου πατριάρχου περὶ δέκα ῥητόρων. Θεμιστίου . . .». See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

²⁵ «No 560. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως νοθεσίαι.» See H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

²⁶ See V. Puntoni, 'Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 4 (1896), p. 495.

²⁷ See Vogel—Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—27.

²⁸ *Constantini Imperatoris Porphyrogeniti, De Administrando Imperio, ad Romanum F. Liber numquam antehac editus*. Ioannes Mevrsivs primus vulgavit, Latinam interpretationem, ac Notas adjecit. Lvgdvni Batavorvm. Ex officinâ typographicâ Ioannis Balduini, impenſis verò Ludovici Elzeviri. CIO.IOC.XI.

worked on it by favour of the then librarian, Janus Gruterus.²⁹ Six years later a new edition came out, but it was simply a literal copy of the first.³⁰ The text, with corrections from Bandur's edition, was also published by John Lami in his complete edition of the works of Meursius.³¹

A century after the first edition, that is, in 1711, the work was republished by Anselm Bandur (= Ba).³² It appears from his introduction that Bandur collated the text of Meursius' edition of 1617 with the original Paris ms. (P), and was thus able to introduce several corrections into his text.³³ Bandur's edition was twice reprinted: an uncorrected reprint appeared in 1729, in the Venetian collection of the Byzantine Historians³⁴, and in 1864 Migne republished Bandur's text with a few corrections.³⁵

The final edition was the work of Emmanuel Bekker (= Be),³⁶ who did not divulge his methods, though it is clear that he did not use any fresh ms. material.

Editions containing excerpted chapters only of *D. A. I.* have generally followed Bekker's text. Such are, e. g., the editions of Fr. Rački,³⁷ H. Marczali,³⁸

²⁹ «Scias autem unde habeam. Descripsi ante quatuor amplius annos ex Codice qui est in Bibliothecâ Palatinâ, et Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii olim fuisse perhibetur . . . Quin accessit huc quoque comitas V. C. Jani Gruteri, eius praefecti, per quem liber mihi quotidie ad eam accessus patuit.» See *ed. cit.*, Notae, p. 2.

³⁰ *Constantini Porphyrogennetae Imperatoris Opera. In quibus Tactica nunc primum prodeunt.* Ioannes Mevrsivs collegit, coniunxit, edidit. Lygdvni Batavorum. Ex Officinâ Elzeviriana. Anno CIOIOCXVII.

³¹ *Ioannis Meursi Operum volumen sextum ex recensione Ioannis Lami, Florentiae, CIO.IO.CC.XLV., cc. 929—1132.*

³² *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae . . . Opera et studio Domni Anselmi Banduri Ragusini, Presbyteri ac Monachi Benedictini à Congregatione Melitensi. Tomus primus. Parisiis. Typis et sumptibus Joannis Baptistae Coignard, Regis et Academiae Gallicae Architypographi. MDCCXI. (Corpus Byzantinae Historiae XXXIII.), pp. 53—157.*

³³ «Imprimis textum Graecum contuli cum Codice MS. membranaceo Bibliothecae Regiae, optimae notae num. 2661. quem annis ab hinc circiter quingentis scriptum fuisse aiunt: innumerabiles mendas, quibus Meursiana editio undique scatebat, sustulimus, loca corrupta ac mutila quae plurima erant in textu Graeco edito ex eodem MS. Regio sarcivimus.» See *op. cit.*, p. IV.

³⁴ *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae . . . opera et studio D. A. Banduri . . . Venetiis 1729. (Corpus Historiae Byzantinae XV.) I., pp. 45—127.*

³⁵ *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Graeca posterior . . . accurante J. P. Migne t. CXIII., Parisiis 1864, c. 158—422.*

³⁶ *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De thematibus et De administrando imperio. Accedit Hieroclis Synecdemus cum Banduri et Wesselingii commentariis.* Recognovit Immanuel Bekkerus, Bonnae MDCCCXL. (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae), pp. 65—270.

³⁷ Fr. Rački, *Documenta historiae Croaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium VII.) (Zagrabiae, 1877), pp. 264—419.

³⁸ Pauler-Szilágyi, *A magyar honfoglalás kútjói*, (Budapest, 1900), pp. 110—136; H. Marczali, *A magyar történet kútjóinak kézikönyve* (Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum), (Budapest, 1902), pp. 27—55.

J. B. Bury,³⁹ St. Stanojević — V. Čorović,⁴⁰ A. Gombos,⁴¹ and G. Cankova-Petkova — P. Tivčev.^{41bis} Only C. G. Cobet, who published a part of ch. 9 dealing with the Russians,⁴² and E. Jakubovich, who published chh. 38—40 dealing with the Hungarians,⁴³ made a fresh collation of P. Certain variants in P are cited by V. Thomsen,⁴⁴ G. Fehér,⁴⁵ F. Šišić⁴⁶, H. Grégoire⁴⁷ and K. O. Falk^{47bis} in their works. A new edition of the chh. on the Southern Slavs prepared by R. Vári was never published, and his ms. is in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum.⁴⁸

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

³⁹ J. B. Bury, *The early History of the Slavonic Settlements in Dalmatia, Croatia, & Serbia, Constantine Porphyrogenetos De administrando imperio*, Chapters 29—36. (Texts for Students No. 18.), (London, 1920).

⁴⁰ St. Stanojević—V. Čorović, *Одабрани извори за српску историју I*, (Beograd, 1921), pp. 58—72.

⁴¹ A. B. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aeo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC I*. T. I, (Budapestini, 1937), pp. 720—727.

^{41 bis} Гръцки извори за българската история V (Sofia, 1964), pp. 198—220.

⁴² C. G. Cobet, 'Locus Constantini Porphyrogeniti ex codice archetypo Parisino descriptus', *Mnemosyne*, 4 (1876), pp. 378—382.

⁴³ E. Jakubovich—D. Pais, *Ó-magyar olvasókönyv* (Tudományos Gyűjtemény 30.), (Pécs, 1929), pp. 6—10.

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

⁴⁵ G. Fehér, 'Ungarns Gebietsgrenzen in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts. Nach dem De administrando imperio des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos', *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 2 (1922), p. 46. = 'Magyarország területe a X. század közepe táján Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos De administrando imperioja alapján', *Századok*, 56 (1921—22), p. 354.

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

⁴⁷ H. Grégoire, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves V. Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, (Bruxelles, 1937), p. 450.

^{47 bis} *Dneprforsarnas namn i Kejsar Konstantin VII Porfyrogenetos' De administrando imperio* (Lund, 1951).

⁴⁸ 12. Quart. Graec. fol. 11—79, 99—105.

⁴⁹ R. Vári, 'Jeléntes Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio czimű munkájának kéziratáról', *Akadémiai Értesítő*, 6 (1895), pp. 710—712.

3. TRANSLATIONS

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

The first Latin rendering, supplied by Meursius, was printed in his edition of 1611 and afterwards reprinted without alteration in the edition of 1617: it appeared side by side with the Greek text. It was reprinted by Lami in his collected works of Meursius, as an appendix.⁵⁰ The translation of Meursius was radically revised and amended by Anselm Bandur in his edition of 1711, and the revised version was published in the Venice edition of 1729. Bandur's rendering was also republished by Lami, side by side with the Greek text, in his collected works of Meursius. The same rendering was introduced, practically without alteration, by Bekker into his edition of 1840 and by Migne into the text of his *Patrologia* (1864).

D. A. I. was translated into Russian by G. Laskin,⁵¹ and into Croat by N. Tomašić.⁵²

Translation of select chapters or sections have been published in many works and in many languages. We may instance the following: several passages in Latin translation are to be found in Stritter's collection;⁵³ N. V. Malickij published a revised Russian translation of chh. 1—14, 38—40, 42—46 and 53, which was found in ms. among the papers of V. V. Latyšev⁵⁴; Russian renderings of other passages are found in the works of E. Kunik, N. Protopopov, A. Zernin, V. Jurgevič, K. Grot, F. I. Uspenskij, S. P. Šestakov, F. Westberg, N. P. Kondakov and others. K. Dieterich turned some chapters into German.⁵⁵ German translations of select passages are found in the works of A. C. Lehrberg, E. Kunik, V. Thomsen and others; French translations in the work of M. Brosset; and English in that of C. A. Macartney. Serb and Croat renderings of select passages have been published in the works of Fr. Rački, A. Pavić, F. Šišić, G. Manojlović, Stanojević—Čorović, B. Ferjančić and others; and

⁵⁰ See *ed. cit.*, c. 1133—1208.

⁵¹ 'Сочиненія Константина Багрянороднаго: „О вѣмахъ" (De thematibus) и „О народахъ" (De administrando imperio)', Чтенія въ Имп. Обществѣ исторіи и древностей россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ 1899, I (188), (Moskva, 1899), pp. 1—262.

⁵² *Vjesnik kr. Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskoga Zemaljskog Arkiva*, 20 (1918), pp. 1—91; *Vjesnik kr. Državnog Arkiva u Zagrebu*, 3 (1928), pp. 1—70.

⁵³ J. G. Stritter, *Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, mare Caspium et inde magis ad septentriones incolentium e scriptoribus historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae* I—IV, Petropoli, 1771—1779.

⁵⁴ (V. V. Latyšev—N. V. Malickij), 'Константина Багрянороднаго Об управленіи государством,' Известія Государственной Академіи исторіи матеріальной культуры 91, Moskva—Leningrad, 1934.

⁵⁵ K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* I—II, (Leipzig, 1912).

Bulgarian in the work of G. Cankova-Petkova—P. Tivčev. A Hungarian version of the chh. dealing with the Hungarians may be found both in the editions of H. Marczali and in the special study of K. Szabó.

4. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

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

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

1. V contains many orthographical errors, which are due to the peculiar and individual forms of letters employed by P, that is to say, they are due to palaeographical causes. Antony Eparchus imitated faithfully in many places the peculiarities and abbreviations in the script of P, but occasionally misread some of the letters and abbreviations, e. g.: 13₁₈₃ περιγίνεσθαι P: περιήνεσθαι V || 29₈₈ Χρωβάτοι P: Χρωμάτοι V || 30₁₁₀ Βράτζα P: Βράτζω V || 42₈₈ Χαράκουλ P: Χωράκουλ V || 43₈₇ ἔγγραφον P: ἀγγραφον V || 43₁₁₁ Κα^ακίου P: Κικίου V || 43_{169—170} α^θ Κρινίτην P: ἀκρινίτην V || 50₁₉₉ προβληθέντας P: προκληθέντας V || 53₄₂₅ ἔσπευσε(ν) P: ἔπεσεν V || 53₄₂₉ λεληθότι P: λεμθότι V.

2. In other passages some letters of P are indistinct and were in consequence omitted by the copyist of V, e. g.: 13₁₃₆ προσετρίψατο P: προετρέψατο V || 14₁₆ συναναστρεφόμενος P: συνανατρεφόμενος V || 25₁₄ μεταπεμφθεις P: μεταπεμφεις V.

3. Further, it is clear that in two places the copyist of V has written a passage twice over, just because the initial words of the duplicated passages happen in P to recur at the beginning of a line. These dittographies are: 50₁₂₆ Μεσοποταμίαν — 50₁₂₈ θέμα *iter.* V. || 51₁₉₈ μαγίστρου — ὄντος *om. et α^θ* — ταξειδεύειν (cf. 51_{194—195}) *iter.* V.

4. Basic corruptions of P recur in V. Common to both versions are: P₁₉ αὐτῶν *om.* P V || 1₄ δεῖν *om.* P V || 9₉₀ καιρός] ταρός P V || 13₇₇ Θεοῦ *om.* P V || 26₇₁ *post* ἔτη *lac. ind.* P V || 29₄₇ Ῥωμάνους] Κομάνους P V || 29₅₀ τὰ Δεκάτερα] τάδε κάστρα P V || 32₂₉ χριστιανῶν] χρόνων P V || 37₂₂ Χαραβόη] Χαβόη P V || 38₃₃ Λεβεδία] χελάνδια P V || 42₂₃ τριακόσιοι] τὰ P V || 42₂₇ ὁ καὶ P V || 53₁₀₁ ἀθροίλους P V.

5. Antony Eparchus incorporated into his version additions and alterations made by later hands in P, among which is the note, already referred to, which bears the date 1361/2, e. g.: 16₈ *post* ρρλ' siglo ·/. *adhibito* νῦν δέ (ἔστιν) ρω' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε', ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' *mg. add.* P³: ρρλ' νῦν δέ ἐστι ρω' (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιε', ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' V || 21₅₅ *post* ἰκανόν *s. v. add.* ἦτι ζ' ἔτη P³: ἰκανόν, ἦτοι ἔτη ζ' V || 22₈₁ *post* Βασιλείου *s. v. add.* τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας P³: Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας V.

6. In two passages of the text of P (22₅₃, 22₅₇: correction of the word Ἀράβων) we recognise unmistakably the handwriting of Antony Eparchus (= P⁴).

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

1. The copyist of V often omits words or phrases, e. g.: 9₁₅ καὶ ἀπέρχονται *om.* V (F Me) || 13₄₉ βασιλέως *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || 21₄₉₋₅₀ τοῦ Μουάμεθ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀράβων, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν *om.* V (F Me) || 25₅₇₋₅₉ ἐν τῷ Βαγδάδ, ἔστιν δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μουάμεθ γενεᾶς, ἦτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ . ὁ δὲ δευτέρος καθέζεται *om.* V (F Me) || 40₅₇ ἐποίησεν υἷὸν τὸν Ἐζέλεχ *om.* V (F Me) || 45₁₁ χρηματισθῆναι *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || 50₉₀₋₉₁ Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ στρατηγίς τοῦρμα ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων στρατηγίδος *om.* V (F Me) || 50₁₅₂ καὶ *om.* V (F Me Ba Be) || 51₇₂₋₇₄ ὁ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἀρσενίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου πατήρ. Οὗτοι δέ, ὃ τε ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ Ποδάρων καὶ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένης *om.* V (F Me) || 53₃₄₃₋₃₄₄ Καὶ λέγει τῇ παιδίσκῃ. «Πῶς εὗρες τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο;» *om.* V (F Me).

2. The copyist of V read or transcribed some words incorrectly, e. g.: 9₆₉ φθάζειν P: φθάνειν V (F Me Ba Be) || 25₅₀ κροτηθέντος P (Ba Be): κρατηθέντος V (F Me) || 27₈₇ Βροῦνδον P (Ba Be): Βροῦδον V (F Me) || 30₄₂ ἀρεσθέντες P: ἐρασθέντες V (F Me Ba Be) || 32₉₄ ἔχοντας P (Be): ἔχοντες V (F Me Ba) || 38₆₄ πρὸ ῥηθέντες P: προειρημένοι V (F Me Ba Be) || 40₇ Κάβαροι P (Ba Be): Βάκαροι V (F Me) || 40₃₄ Σφενδοπλόκος P (Ba Be): Σφενδονοπλόκος V (F Me) || 42₁₀₆ Σπαταλαοῦ P: ποταμοῦ V (F Me Ba Be) || 43₂₆ ἐσκήπτετο P (Be): ἐσκέπτετο V (F Me Ba) || 44₁₉ Ἀπελβάρτ P (Ba Be): Ἀπελκάρτ V (F Me) || 50₁₄₈ Βαασακίου P (Me Ba Be): Καασακίου V (F) || 51₁₁₄ πλοκοὺς P: πλοκάς V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₂₇₁ Γυκίαν P: γυναῖκα V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₄₀₃ βάλεται P: λάβετε V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₅₂₅ πραγματείας P: πράγματος V (F Me Ba Be).

3. The copyist of V sometimes replaced the numerical cyphers of P by the verbal equivalents, or, conversely, rendered the numerals of P by numerical cyphers, e. g.: 9₃₆ α' P: πρῶτον V (F Me Ba Be) || 9₄₅ δ' P: τέταρτον V (F Me Ba Be) || 9₅₃ ἕξ P (Me Ba Be): ζ' V (F) || 16₇ ιβ' P: δωδέκατον V (F M Me Ba Be) || 23₁₆ β' P: δευτέρας V (F Me Ba Be) || 26₂₈ α' P: πρῶτον V (F Me Ba Be) || 29₂₄₈ μιὰς P: α' V (F Me Ba Be) || 30₂₀ α P: χιλίων V (F Me Ba Be) || 46₆ γ' P: τρεῖς V (F Me Ba Be) || 52₆ δύο P (Me Ba Be): β' V F.

4. The copyist of V occasionally changed the word-order, e. g.: P₄₀ αἰώνιος καὶ ἀνώλεθρος P: ἀνώλεθρος καὶ αἰώνιος V (F Me Ba Be) || 7₁₋₂ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος ἀποστελλομένων βασιλικῶν P: περὶ τῶν ἀποστελλομέ-

ων βασιλικῶν ἀπὸ Χερσῶνος V (F Me Ba Be) || 9₁₀₅₋₁₀₆ ἐξέρχονται ἄρχοντες P: ἄρχοντες ἐξέρχονται V (F Me Ba Be) || 13₅₀₋₅₁ διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὁ Θ(εὸς) P: ὁ Θ(εὸς) διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου V (F Me Ba Be) || 17₈ ἐσθίοντα ἀπὸ καμήλου P (M): ἀπὸ καμήλου ἐσθίοντα V (F Me Ba Be) || 29₂₅₈ νησίον ἐστὶν μικρὸ(ν) P: μικρὸν ἐστὶ νησίον V (F Me Ba Be) || 32₉₂ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος P: γενόμενος ἐν τούτῳ V (F Me Ba Be) || 40₄₂ ἐστὶν ὄχυρόν πάνυ P: ὄχυρόν ἐστὶ πάνυ V (F Me Ba Be) || 49₅₀ ναὸν αὐτοῦ P: αὐτοῦ ναὸν V (F Me Ba Be) || 50₂₂₆ τῆς αὐτοῦ P: αὐτοῦ τῆς V (F Me Ba Be).

5. The copyist of V occasionally made stylistic changes, e. g.: 16₄₋₅ καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων διέπω(ν) P (M): καὶ τίς ἦν τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαί(ων) V (F Me Ba Be) || 29₃₇₋₃₈ διαπερασάντων ποτὲ τῶν Ῥωμανῶν, ποιήσαντες οὗτοι ἐνκρύμματα P (Ba Be): διαπεράσαντες ποτὲ οἱ Ῥωμάνοι ἐποίησαν οὗτοι ἔγκρυμα V (F Me) || 38₆₀₋₆₁ παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακῶν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο P: μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακῶν οὐκ ἐποίησαν V (F Me Ba Be) || 46₁₁₀ βαλὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον P: λαβὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον περιέθηκε καὶ V (F Me Ba Be) || 50₆₇ τοῦ τελεῖν αὐτοῦ P: ἵνα τελῶσι τὰ V (F Me Ba Be).

6. The copyist of V occasionally inserted words which are missing in P, e. g.: 9₄₈ *post* ἅπαντα *add.* τὰ μονόξυλα τὰ V (F) || 9₆₁ *ante* δεύτερον *add.* εἰς τὸν V (F Me Ba Be) || 9₁₀₆ *post* Κίαβον *add.* ποταμὸν V (F Me) || 18₁ *post* Ἀράβων *add.* ἀρχηγὸς V (F Me) || 29₂₀₃ *ante* μέλλοντος *add.* τοῦ V (F) || 33₉ *post* βασιλέα *add.* Ῥωμάνων V (F) || 40₃₂ *post* ἐκεῖνο *add.* τὸ V (F Me Ba Be) || 42₆₆ *post* μέχρι *add.* τοῦ V (F Me Ba Be) || 50₂₂₉ *ante* πατρίκιος *add.* ὁ V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₂₅ *post* Χερσωνιτῶν *add.* χώρας V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₃₀₈ *ante* παίδων *add.* τῶν V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₃₉₀ *post* ἔθος *add.* μου V (F Me Ba Be) || 53₄₈₀ *post* πόλεως² *add.* αὐτὴν V (F Me Ba Be).

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

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

It is also beyond question that in his transcription into M of the section relating to the Saracens, Andrea Darmari copied from P. This is proved indisputably by the fact that where P and V disagree, M always agrees with

P, and further that Darmari introduced into his text corrections and additions made by later hands in P. Numerous errors distort his text; and in two places the copyist has incorporated marginal notes from P as though they were chapter-headings.

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

Discrepancies between the text of Meursius and V are:

1. Meursius omitted many words and phrases, e. g.: 2₃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους *om.* Me || 13₁₉₈ καὶ ἐθῶν *om.* Me || 21₉₁₋₉₂ Μαυίου γέρων πρὸς τὸν γέροντα τοῦ *om.* Me || 26₃ τοῦ *om.* Me (Ba) || 26₁₂ ἐστέφθη παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα. Καὶ *om.* Me || 27₇₉ κάστρου *om.* Me (Ba Be) || 29₁₆₋₁₇ καὶ καταμαθεῖν, τίνες κατοικοῦσιν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διαπεράσαντες *om.* Me || 29₂₅₃₋₂₅₄ ὄλον καὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ παλάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ οἰκήματα τοῦ κάστρου *om.* Me || 36₁₁₋₁₂ ἄβάπτιστοι' ἐρμηνεύονται, τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων δὲ διαλέκτῳ *om.* Me || 43₁₇₀₋₁₇₁ αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν *om.* Me || 44₆₆ τὸ κάστρον *om.* Me (Ba Be) || 46₅₃ τὸ *om.* Me (Ba) || 49₆₃₋₆₅ καὶ ἀναστήσονται καὶ ἀπαγγελοῦσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἧν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ πρεσβειῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου *om.* Me || 53₆₅ παρὰ τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν *om.* Me || 53₁₂₉ αὐτοὺς *om.* Me (Ba Be) || 53₁₇₂₋₁₇₃ τόπῳ πολεμήσαντες τὸν Σαυρόματον ἐνίκησαν, ἐν ᾧ *om.* Me || 53₅₀₂ Ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ ἕτερα βρῦσις ἔστιν ἐκεῖσε ἄφθαν ἀναδιδοῦσα *om.* Me.

2. Meursius misread or miscopied several words, and his edition has also typographical errors, e. g.: 1₂₁ θεοφυλάκτω (P) V (F Be): θευφυλάκτη Me (Ba) || 9₁₀ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβινίαι (P) V (F): οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Me (Ba Be) || 17₁₇ ἀποκτεινόμενος (P) V (F): ἀποκτεινόμενος (M) Me (Ba Be) || 27₃₀ Λαγούβαρδοι (P) V (F): Λογουβάρδοι Me (Ba Be) || 37₂₂ Κουρκοῦται (P) V (F): Κουρκοῦταν Me (Ba Be) || 40₅ Κουρτουγερμάτου (P) V (F): Κουρτυγερμάτου Me (Ba Be) || 43₇₀ διατρίψας (P) V (F Be): ἐπιτρίψας Me (Ba) || 43₁₁₀ ἀνεβλάστησεν (P) V (F): ἐβλάστησε Me (Ba Be) || 49₇₃ τὸ τί (P) V (F Ba Be): τότε Me || 50₅ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου (P) V (F): τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένων πάκτων Me (Ba Be) || 53₁₁₃ ἡμεῖς (P) V (F Ba Be): οὐδεὶς Me || 53₃₅₇ ἐκλεξάσθωσαν (P) V (F): ἐκλεξάτωσαν Me (Ba Be) || 53₄₂₈ ἐνεχθῆναι (P) V (F Be): ἠνεχθῆναι Me (Ba).

3. Meursius in most cases replaced the numerical cyphers of V by the verbal equivalents, e. g.: 9₅₇ ε' (P) V (F): πέμπτον Me (Ba Be) || 18₅ γ' (P) V (F M): τρία Me (Ba Be) || 29₉₈ ρ' (P) V (F): ἑκατόν Me (Ba Be) || 29₂₆₅ ιε' (P) V (F): δεκαπέντε Me (Ba Be) || 30₅₀ ,α (P) V (F): χιλίων Me (Ba Be) || 37₃₃ μ' (P) V (F): τεσσαράκοντα Me (Ba Be) || 40₃₈ α' (P) V: πρῶτος (F) Me (Ba Be) || 49₃₉ γ' (P) V (F): τρίτη Me (Ba Be) ||

51₂₁ β' (P) V (F): δεύτερον Me (Ba Be) || 53₂₉₅ ι' ἦ ιβ' (P) V (F): δέκα ἦ δώδεκα Me (Ba Be).

4. Meursius made occasional changes in word-order, e. g.: 27₂₀ ἀποσταλῆναι μοι (P) V (F): μοι ἀποσταλῆναι Me (Ba Be) || 29₂₁₁ σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ (P) V (F): αὐτοῦ σφαγῆς Me (Ba Be) || 29₂₈₈ ἐκεῖσε κλύδωνα (P) V (F): κλύδωνα ἐκεῖσε Me (Ba Be) || 32₁₃₆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς (P) V (F): βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || 40₅₁ κύρια ὀνόματα (P) V (F): ὀνόματα κύρια Me (Ba Be) || 45₁₄₁ γενέσθαι δοῦλος (P) V (F): δοῦλος γενέσθαι Me (Ba Be) || 50₁₃₀₋₁₃₁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν (P) V (F): ἐξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων Me (Ba Be) || 51₁₂₅ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον (P) V (F): δρομώνιον βασιλικὸν Me (Ba Be) || 53₃₆₉ πληροφοροῦσai ἐν ὄρκῳ (P) V (F): ἐν ὄρκῳ πληροφοροῦσai Me (Ba Be).

5. Meursius here and there inserts words missing in V, and hence in P also, e. g.: 9₁ *ante* Ῥωσίας *add.* τῆς Me (Ba Be) || 9₆₃ *post* τούτου *add.* καὶ Me || 22₂₉ *ante* Ἰουστινιανὸν *add.* τὸν Me (Ba Be) || 22₆₄ *ante* τὴν¹ *add.* διὰ Me || 25₃ *post* Βρεττανίαν *add.* ἀλλὰ Me || 25₂₈ *post* ἐσπερίου *add.* Λιβύης Me (Ba Be) || 25₆₃ *post* ὅτι *add.* ἐν τῷ Me (Ba Be) || 27₄₄ *ante* τῶν *add.* διὰ Me (Ba Be) || 40₆₀ *ante* υἱοὶ *add.* οἱ Me (Ba Be) || 43₇₃ *post* εἰς *add.* τὴν Me (Ba Be) || 46₁₅ *ante* Ῥωμανίας *add.* τῆς Me (Ba Be) || 50₄ *post* κάστρου *add.* τοῦ Me (Ba Be) || 50₂₂₉ *ante* βασιλέως *add.* τοῦ Me (Ba Be) || 53₂₈₈ *post* ταῦτα *add.* τὰ Me (Ba Be).

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

The edition of Bandur marks an advance on that of Meursius; Bandur, as he himself records, collated Meursius' text with P, and was thus able to correct, both in his text and in his notes, a large number of errors originating partly in V and partly in Me. But Bandur did not make his collation with the necessary care, with the result that many omissions and blunders escaped his attention. How many errors of Meursius were corrected by Bandur, and how many Bandur transferred to his own edition, may be easily discerned if we look at the examples given above in our examination of the relationship of V and Me, and note the proportion of the number of errors found in V Me and Me only to the number of errors found in V Me Ba or V Me Ba Be, and in Me Ba or Me Ba Be. To the number of inherited blunders Bandur added a fresh crop of his own, e. g.: 6₈ πέπερι Ba (Be) || 29₆₁ ἐξ *om.* Ba || 29₈₂ ἐρμηνεύονται Ba (Be) || 30₉₄ οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβῖνιοι Ba (Be) || 40₁₂ Λιούντινα Ba (Be) || 45₂₁ καί¹ *om.* Ba (Be) || 46₁₁₁ Κωνσταντῖνῳ (*per comp.* P)] Κώνσταντι Ba (Be) || 46₁₄₄ Κωνσταντῖνος (*per comp.* P)] (Be) Κώνστας Ba || 51₇₀ πρωτοσπαθᾶριος *om.* Ba (Be) || 51₂₀₀ Λογουβαρδία Ba (Be) || 53₂₁₈ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατῷ *om.* Ba (Be) || 53₂₅₁ ἀρχομένου Ba (Be) || 53₄₅₅ τῆς¹ τὴν Ba (Be).

Bekker's edition marks no considerable advance. He made no study of mss., and therefore made no use of fresh ms. material. He republished Bandur's text, which he occasionally emended by his own conjectures. Although he recorded in his critical apparatus the variants between the mss. used by Meursius and Bandur, and between their respective editions, yet he merely copied this information out of Bandur's notes, as is seen from the fact that he reproduces Bandur's typographical errors. Bekker's edition therefore repeats numerous errors of earlier editions, as appears in our examination above of the relationship between V Me and Ba; and he added to their number the slips and typographical errors of his own edition, e. g.: 21₄₂ κροβάλλονται || 26₁₆ τὸν] τὴν || 29₂₆ κάστρον² om. || 30₇₈ καὶ μόνον om. || 30₈₈ καὶ om. || 30₁₀₃₋₁₀₅ ordinem versusum permutavit || 37₂ οἱ om. || 37₁₈ Κουλπέργη || 37₄₉ πλησίε-σπερον || 37₅₅ κόντευρα || 45₄₄ τὸν¹ om. || 45₁₀₁ προσφρασιζόμενος || 45₁₄₅ Μασάτον' || 46₆₉ πᾶσας || 47₁₉ ἐν om. || 49₄₂ τᾶλλα || 49₆₀ παραδόττες || 50₇₉ τὴν om. || 50₂₁₃ Νικήτης || 51₁₅₉ νήπιον τυγχάνειν τὸν βασιλέα, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ τὸ om. || 51₁₇₄ τῷ βασιλεῖ || 53₂₆₇ τε¹ om. || 53₅₁₀ τὸ χωρίον om.

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

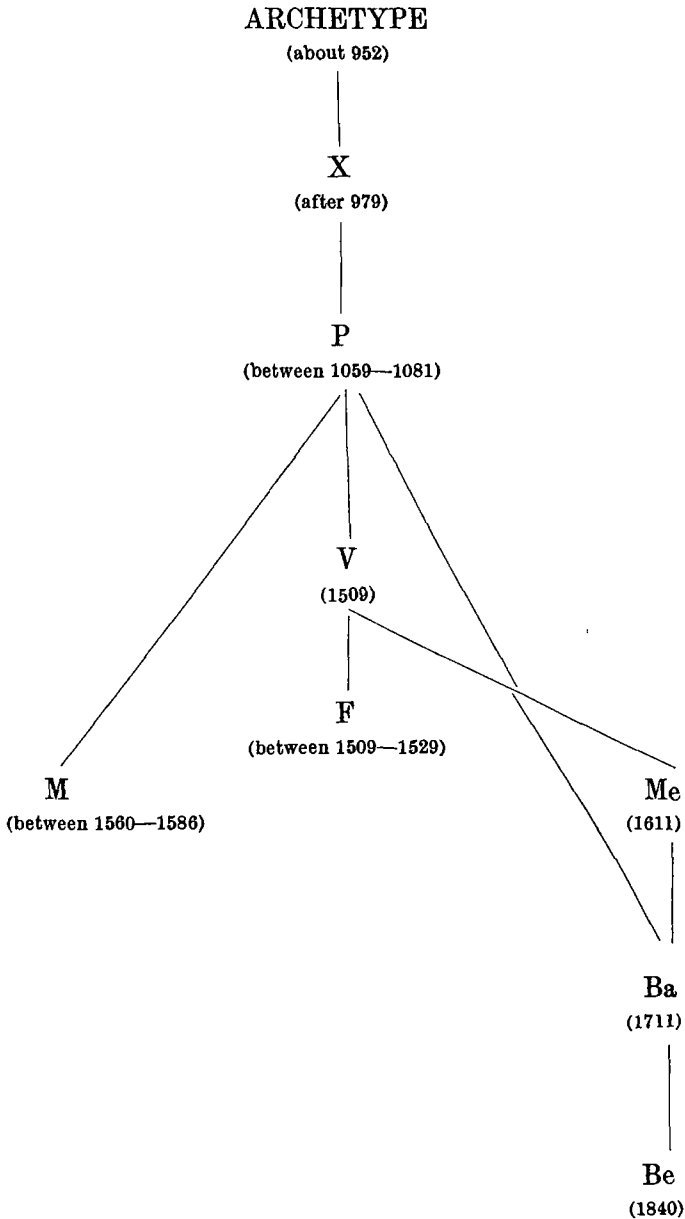
Of *D. A. I.*, as of the *De Cerimoniis*, only one ms. survives from the Byzantine age.^{55bis} In view of the fact that none of the later Byzantine historians or chronographers makes use of the work, we must conclude that *D. A. I.*, which was a confidential, indeed a most secret, document, was never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

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

^{55 bis} But see now C. Mango—I. Ševčenko, 'A New MS of the *De Cerimoniis*', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 247—249.

Caesar reached Italy, but also that, at the beginning of the XVI century, two other complete copies of the work were made there as well. Upon the copy of Antony Eparchus was based the first edition of Meursius, the errors of which Bandur endeavoured to correct by a collation with the Byzantine copy; but even so, many inherited errors were transmitted not only to his own edition but also to the final edition of Bekker, published more than a century ago.

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



5. METHOD FOLLOWED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

It will be clear from our examination of the relationship of mss. and editions that all the known mss. of *D. A. I.* derive from a Byzantine copy of the XI century, P, which is thus the source of the whole textual tradition. On this ms. therefore, a new edition must be based.⁵⁶ However, as we have emphasized, P exhibits additions, erasures and emendations which are partly the work of the copyist or a contemporary, and partly of various later hands. These last are again divisible into two categories: into those which were added to P before V and M were copied, and those which were added after V and M were copied. Insertions of the former class, which go back to the Byzantine age, are of unequal value: we find among them alterations which are mere arbitrary additions of later readers, such as the marginal note of 1361/2; but there are others, especially in the chh. dealing with the Arabs, which do emend errors which have occurred in the copying of P. Additions of the second category, dating from the post-Byzantine period and consisting of arbitrary alterations made by later readers, are of no value whatever; a characteristic specimen of these is the garbling from analogy of the original name 'Almoutzis' (see 38₄₄, 38₄₉). But, apart from the attentions of later hands, P has also, as we saw, sustained material damage; and to restore the occasionally faded or mutilated text we are compelled to have recourse to the copies of P, made when P was in better condition than it is to-day. For these reasons, then, to restore the original text of P, use must be made of its copies, V and M.

But even if the text of the Byzantine version preserved to us be purged of its later alterations and be restored, so far as may be, to its original state, the question remains whether P, thus restored, can be regarded as a faithful replica of the original text of Constantine. Since our new edition rests upon one ms. only, which cannot be checked by comparison with any other, the problem thus raised can be solved only by reference to internal evidence, that is, to the condition of the text as preserved in P and to the linguistic peculiarities of the work. There can be no doubt that copyist's errors have crept even into P. It can be demonstrated that in some passages the copyist has omitted words, as is seen in cases where the text is mutilated or unintelligible (e. g. 1₄, 9₁₉, 13₇₇, 22₆₁, 26₇₁, 46₉₅). It is also certain that, in other passages, we have to deal with more serious corruptions (e. g. 13₁₇₇, 29₅₈, 29₂₂₉, 38₃₃, 42₂₃, 53₁₀₁), which can only be conjecturally emended.

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

⁵⁶ See Gy. Moravcsik, 'L'édition critique du «De administrando imperio»', *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), pp. 353—360.

form of the work.⁵⁷ But since, as we saw above, the orthography of P is extremely faulty, there are many places where it is not easy to determine which linguistic peculiarities are native to Constantine's text and which are to be put down to the copyist. So, for example, we see in P forms which indicate the amalgamation of the participles of $\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha$ and $\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\nu$ (e. g. 45₁₄₀, 49₂₈, 49₃₄, 53₁₉₃, 53₄₁₉, 53₄₂₉), a phenomenon exemplified also in papyri and other demotic texts.⁵⁸ Again, as is well known, in later Greek certain forms of indicative and subjunctive coincide in pronunciation; and since P often confuses the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$ with the vowel η , these forms coincide and amalgamate in its text also. It is well known, too, that in the post-classical age the conjunction $\zeta\nu\alpha$ is followed by indicative as well as subjunctive; and since the orthography of P is not consistent, we sometimes find after $\zeta\nu\alpha$ indicative and subjunctive forms used alternately even in the same sentence (e. g. 13_{81—83}, 53₅₁₆). All these and other confusions in the orthography of P (e. g. absence of the temporal augment) often make it hard to determine when we have, or have not, the right to correct it.

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

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

⁵⁷ See Gy. Moravcsik, *Τὰ συγγράμματα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἀπὸ γλωσσικῆς ἀπόψεως*, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5 (1938), pp. 514—520.

⁵⁸ See S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, (Munich, 1938), p. 91.

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

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

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

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

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

The apparatus criticus falls into two parts, and contains

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

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

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

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

Orthographical irregularities of P are noted in the apparatus only when they occur in uncommon proper names, words of foreign derivation, colloquial words, or where the handwriting of P admits of more than one reading; and lastly where the accent falls on a syllable other than that which generally carries it. Abbreviations of P are noted only where their interpretation is doubtful, or when numerals are denoted by letters.

Variants found in V, an immediate transcript of P, are noted in the apparatus only in cases where the parallel passages of P have suffered from material damage, erasures or alterations by later hands, or where V gives a variant which differs from the variant of P and which may serve to elucidate or emend the text. Variants found in F, a transcript of V, are noted only in exceptional cases, i. e. when F supplies some emendation of substance, or where the parallel passages of both V and P show traces of alteration. Variants found in M, a transcript of P, are noted only when erasure or alteration is found in the parallel passage of P.

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

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

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

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

⁵⁹ *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins. Conseils et recommandations par J. Bidez et A. B. Drachmann. Édition nouvelle par A. Delatte et A. Severyns, (Bruxelles-Paris, 1938).*

Lastly, we have included in the apparatus most of the emendations and conjectures of scholars known to us, though they are not all of equal value.⁶⁰ This course is justified by the fact that the bibliography relating to *D. A. I.* is so rich and extensive that many individual conjectures are extraordinarily difficult to find. The work has in the past attracted so many different scholars, and their studies are published in so many different languages, that it is practically impossible for one who is not a specialist to know them all.⁶¹ We hope that it will be of service to those who use this edition to find collected here all the resources of previous research directed towards critical examination of the text, and that they will be able to build further upon the foundations here laid; for research on *D. A. I.* is by no means exhausted yet, and the present edition aims at providing future research with a sure and reliable substructure.

GY. MORAVCSIK.

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

⁶¹ See the complete bibliography by Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. I, (Budapest, 1942), pp. 215—221 (2nd ed. pp. 367—379). — The studies published since are as follows: M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1941., Philos.-hist. Klasse No. 12., Berlin, 1941); A. Vogt, 'Le protospaithaire de la phiale et la marine byzantine', *Échos d'Orient*, 39 (1941—42), pp. 329—332; M. Laskaris, 'La rivalité bulgaro-byzantine en Serbie et la mission de Léon Rhabdouchos (917), (Constantin Porphyrogénète, De adm. imp. chap. 32)', *Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 20 (1943), pp. 202—207; H. Gégroire, 'L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944—45), pp. 88—118; K. H. Menges, 'Etymological notes on some Păčănăg names', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944—45), pp. 256—279; K. Czeglédy, 'A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései', *Magyar Nyelv*, 41 (1945), pp. 33—55; G. Vernadsky, 'Great Moravia and White Chorvatia', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 65 (1945), pp. 357—359; J. Deér, 'A IX. századi magyar történet időrendjéhez', *Századok*, 79—80 (1945—46), pp. 2—30; J. Harmatta, 'Szines lovú népek', *Magyar Nyelv*, 42 (1946), pp. 26—34; G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie. Państwo Samona*, Poznań, 1949, pp. 194—262. For bibliography since 1949, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (2nd ed.) I, pp. 367—379; *D. A. I.* vol. II, Commentary (London, 1962); *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962) and subsequent volumes.

LIST OF SIGNS

F = Fontes et loci paralleli
V = Variæ lectiones et coniecturæ

MANUSCRIPTS:

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

EDITIONS:

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

SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES:

Georg. Mon. = Georgius Monachus, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiæ, 1904)
 Georg. Mon. ^{BEPV} = codices B E P V a C. de Boor collati
De Them. = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. I. Bekkerus
 (Bonnae, 1840); ed. A. Pertusi (Roma, 1952)
 De Them.^c = cod. Parisinus gr. 854 a me collatus
Theoph. = Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiæ, 1883)
 Theoph. codd. = codices a. C. de Boor collati
 Theoph. bcdetghm = codices b c d f g h m a C. de Boor collati
Theoph. Cont. = Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekkerus (Bonnae, 1838)
 Theoph. Cont.^v = cod. Vaticanus gr. 167 a me collatus

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

CONSTANTINE

IN CHRIST THE ETERNAL EMPEROR EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS
TO HIS SON ROMANUS
THE EMPEROR CROWNED OF GOD AND BORN IN THE PURPLE

Proem.

A wise son maketh glad a father, and an affectionate father taketh delight in a prudent son. For the Lord giveth wit to speak in season, and addeth thereto an ear to hear; with Him is the treasure of wisdom, and from Him cometh every perfect gift; He setteth kings upon the throne and giveth unto them the lordship over all. Now therefore hearken unto me, my son, and being adept in this my teaching thou shalt be wise among the prudent, and be accounted prudent among the wise; the peoples shall bless thee, and the multitudes of the nations shall call thee blessed. Be instructed in what it behoves thee before all else to know, and lay hold skilfully upon the helm of the rule. Study the things that are now, and be instructed concerning the things that are to be, so that thou mayest amass experience with sound judgment, and thou shalt be most competent in thine affairs. Lo, I set a doctrine before thee, so that being sharpened thereby in experience and knowledge, thou shalt not stumble concerning the best counsels and the common good: first, in what each nation has power to advantage the Romans, and in what to hurt, and how and by what other nation each severally may be encountered in arms and subdued; then, concerning their ravenous and insatiate temper and the gifts they demand inordinately; next, concerning also the difference between other nations, *their* origins

V Tit. 1 *post* Κωνσταντίνου *add.* τοῦ *edd.* || 4 πορφυρογέννητον] *litteras* φερ
s. v. add. P¹ || *post* βασιλέα *add.* νοῦθεσῆαι F².

P. 1 Προσίμιον *add.* Moravcsik || 8 εὐλογήσουσί F¹ *edd.*: εὐλογήσωσί
P || 11/12 μεγαλεπήβολος Meursius Ba Be: μεγαλεπίβολος P || 13 συνετισθέντα
Meursius Ba Be: συνετισθέντι P || 14 τῷ *secl.* Be || 16 καὶ ποῖον *secl.*
Be || 19 τε F¹ Meursius Ba Be: δὲ P || αὐτῶν *add.* Moravcsik ||

P

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

43 βασιλευέτω — ἡ δεξιὰ σου: Psalm. 44, 5. 44 κατευθυν-
 δείησαν — 45 τὰ δικαιώματά σου: Psalm. 118, 5; cf. Psalm. 5, 9. 45
 Πρὸ προσώπου — πολέμοι: cf. Psalm. 71, 9; Lev. 26, 8. 45 λείξουσιν —
 46 αὐτοῦ Psalm. 71, 9; Is. 49, 23. 48 διὰ σοῦ — βασιλεῖς Prov. 8, 15.

V 20 καὶ om. V edd. || ἐθῶν (*littera v erasa*) Pγ: ἐθνῶν P V edd. || 22 τινι V
 edd.: τισι P || 24 πάση edd. πάση V: πᾶσι P || κατα τίνας P || 31 καὶ σοῦ
 P || 35 ἀφόρησεν P || 36 αὐτοῦ Migne || τέθηκην P || 37 σκέπην conit. Moravcsik:
 σκέπων P σκοπὴν Meursius Ba Be || 38 δωροφορεῖσθαι V F edd. δωροφορεῖ-
 σθαι P δωροφορεῖσθαι F¹ || 40 ἀνώλεθρος καὶ αἰώνιος V edd. || 43 ὁδηγήσει V
 Me: ὀδιγήσει P ὀδηγήσει Meursius Ba Be

1, 2

1. Of the Pechenegs, and how many advantages accrue from their being at peace with the emperor of the Romans.

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

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

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

2. Of the Pechenegs and the Russians.

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

The Russians also are much concerned to keep the peace with the

V 1. 4 δεῖν *add.* Moravcsik || 6 τῷ V edd.: τὸ P || 11 διηρημένον V διηρημένον Me || ὕψηλοῦ Meursius Ba Be || 12 καθομηλιμένης P || 13 σοι: σε V edd. || 21 ἔψηδας P || 28 κλήματα P.

2. 2 Πατζινακίται P ||

2, 3, 4

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

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

3. Of the Pechenegs and Turks.

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

4. Of the Pechenegs and Russians and Turks.

So long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Russians nor Turks can come upon the Roman dominions by force of arms, nor can they exact from the Romans large and inflated sums in money and goods as the price of peace, for they fear the strength of this nation which the emperor can turn against them while they are campaigning against the Romans. For the Pechenegs, if they are leagued in friendship with the emperor and won over by him through letters and gifts, can easily

3. 5 Πατζινάκται Be Πατζινάκται F¹ Me Ba: Πατζινάκαι P || ἀπ': ὑπ' edd.

4. 4 ol add. Jenkins || 5 Τούρκοι P || 8 post ἰσχυρὸν punctum posuerunt P V Me Ba Migne || post ἐκστρατεύειν punctum posuerunt P V F Be comma posuerunt Ba Migne || 9 γὰρ add. Moravesik: δὲ add. F¹ Be || Πατζινάκται P.

4, 5, 6

come upon the country both of the Russians and of the Turks, and enslave their women and children and ravage their country.

5. Of the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians.

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

6. Of the Pechenegs and Chersonites.

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

V 5. 1 τῶν² om. V edd. || 6 Πατζινακίται P.
 6. 1 Χερσωνίτων P || 4 Χερσωνίτων P || 6 Χερσωνίτων P || 8 χεράρια
 Meursius || σήμεντα edd. || πέπερι Ba Be || 9 *post ἀληθινά et πάριδικα punctum
 posuit* P Πάρδικα *scr.* Moravcsik Παρδικά *coni.* Bekker Šestakov: πάριδικα
 P edd. || 11/2 Πατζινακίται P.

7. Of the dispatch of imperial agents from
Cherson to Patzinacia.

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

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

In the region of Bulgaria also is settled a folk of the Pechenegs, toward the region of the Dnieper and the Dniester and the other rivers of those parts. And when an imperial agent is dispatched from here with ships of war, he may, without going to Cherson, shortly and swiftly find these same Pechenegs here; and when he has found them, the imperial agent sends a message to them by his man, himself remaining on board the ships of war, carrying along with him and guarding in the ships of war the imperial goods. And they come down to him, and when they come down, the imperial agent gives them hostages of his men, and himself takes other hostages of these Pechenegs, and holds them in the ships of war, and then he makes

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

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

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

The 'monoxyla' which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Russia, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad. All these come down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city of Kiev, also called Sambatas. Their Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lenzanenes and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the 'monoxyla' on their mountains in time of winter, and when they have prepared them, as spring approaches, and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighbouring lakes. And since these lakes debouch into the river Dnieper, they enter thence on to this same

6 Μιλινίσκαν: <Σ>μιλινίσκαν *coni.* Rački || Τελιούτζαν: τε Λιούτζαν *coni.* Šafarik Manojlović τε Λιού<β>τζαν *coni.* Rački || Τζερνιγώγαν V edd. Τζερνιγώσαν *coni.* Rački || 8 εις (*etiam* Bandurius): ἐπι edd. || 10 οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι edd. || Σκλαβίνιοι P || 11/2 καταρτήσαντες P edd. || 12 αὐτὰ *corr.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. || 13 ἐκεῖνα edd. || 14 τὸν¹ *om.* edd. ||

river, and come down to Kiev, and draw *the ships* along to be finished and sell them to the Russians. The Russians buy these bottoms only, furnishing them with oars and rowlocks and other tackle from their old 'monoxyla', which they dismantle; *and so* they fit them out. And in the month of June they move off down the river Dnieper and come to Vitichev, which is a tributary city of the Russians, and there they gather during two or three days; and when all the 'monoxyla' are collected together, then they set out, and come down the said Dnieper river. And first they come to the first barrage, called Essoupi, which means in Russian and Slavonic 'Do not sleep!'; the barrage itself is as narrow as the width of the Polo-ground; in the middle of it are rooted high rocks, which stand out like islands. Against these, then, comes the water and wells up and dashes down over the other side, with a mighty and terrific din. Therefore the Russians do not venture to pass between them, but put in to the bank hard by, disembarking the men on to dry land leaving the rest of the goods on board the 'monoxyla'; they then strip and, feeling with their feet to avoid striking on a rock, ***. This they do, some at the prow, some amidships, while others again, in the stern, punt with poles; and with all this careful procedure they pass this first barrage, edging round under the river-bank. When they have passed this barrage, they re-embark the others from the dry land and sail away, and come down to the second barrage, called in Russian Oulvorski, and in Slavonic Ostrovouniprach, which means 'the Island of the Barrage'. This one is like the first, awkward and not to be passed through. Once again they disembark the men and convey the 'monoxyla' past, as on the first occasion. Similarly they pass the third barrage also, called Gelandri, which means in Slavonic 'Noise of the Barrage', and then the fourth barrage, the big one, called in Russian Aefor, and in Slavonic Neasit, because the pelicans nest in the stones of the barrage. At this barrage all put into land prow foremost,

κοιμάσαι Me Ba κοιμάσθαι Be || 27 ριζημαῖαι P Me Ba Cobet: ριζιαῖαι Du Cange Be || 29 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 33 *lac. ind.* διέρχονται *vel* διαβάζουσιν *excidisse coniciens* Moravosik σύρουσιν *coni.* Kyriakides σύρουσιν αὐτά *coni.* Dujčev || 34 Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν: ταῦτα, ὁδοποιοῦσιν *coni.* Jenkins || πλώρα *coni.* Jenkins πλώρα P: πλώραν Ba Be πῶραν Meursius || 35 κοντοβευόμενοι: κοντοβολούμενοι *vel* κοντευόμενοι *coni.* Meursius || 36 πῶτον V edd.: α' P || 40 Οὐλβορσί: Οὐλβορσί *seu* Οὐλμορσί *coni.* Thunmann Οὐλφόρος *coni.* Zeuss || Σκλαβινιστί P || 'Οστροβουνίπραχ edd. 'Οστροβουτὶ πράχ *coni.* Zeuss || 41 ἴμοιως P || 42 χαλεπῶς P || δυσδιέξοδος P¹ V¹ edd.: δισδιέξοδος P || 44 τὸν λεγόμενον <'Ρωσιστὶ μὲν> Γελανδ{ρ}ι, Σκλαβινιστὶ <δὲ. . .>, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται *coni.* Kunik *aliquid excidisse susp.* Thomsen || Γελανδρί: Γελανδί *coni.* Kunik Gedeonov || 44/5 Σκλαβινιστὶ <σβόνετς ὃ ἐστι> ἦχος φραγμοῦ *coni.* Lehrberg || 45 τέταρτον V edd.: δ' P || μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 46 'Αειφόρ (*etiam* V¹ F Cobet): 'Αειφάρ V edd. || Νεασήτ: Νεασήτ *coni.* Thomsen || 48 *post* ἄπαντα *add.* τὰ μονόξυλα τὰ V || ὀρθόπρωρα Meursius || 48/9 ὀρισμενοι (*sine acc.*) P ||

and those who are deputed to keep the watch with them get out, and off they go, these men, and keep vigilant watch for the Pechenegs. The remainder, taking up the goods which they have on board the 'monoxyla', conduct the slaves in their chains past by land, six miles, until they are through the barrage. Then, partly dragging their 'monoxyla', partly portaging them on their shoulders, they convey them to the far side of the barrage; and then, putting them on the river and loading up their baggage, they embark themselves, and again sail off in them. When they come to the fifth barrage, called in Russian Varouforos, and in Slavonic Voulniprach, because it forms a large lake, they again convey their 'monoxyla' through at the edges of the river, as at the first and second barrages, and arrive at the sixth barrage, called in Russian Leanti, and in Slavonic Veroutzi, that is 'the Boiling of the Water', and this too they pass similarly. And thence they sail away to the seventh barrage, called in Russian Stroukoun, and in Slavonic Naprezi, which means 'Little Barrage'. This they pass at the so-called ford of *Vrar*, where the Chersonites cross over from Russia and the Pechenegs to Cherson; which ford is as wide as the Hippodrome, and, measured upstream from the bottom as far as the rocks break surface, a bow-shot in length. It is at this point, therefore, that the Pechenegs come down and attack the Russians. After traversing this place, they reach the island called St. Gregory, on which island they perform their sacrifices because a gigantic oak-tree stands there; and they sacrifice live cocks. Arrows, too, they peg in round about, and others bread and meat, or something of whatever each may have, as is their custom. They also throw lots regarding the cocks, whether to slaughter them, or to eat them as well, or to leave them alive. From this island onwards the Russians do not fear the Pecheneg until they reach the river Selinas. So then they start off thence and sail for four days, until they reach the lake which forms the mouth of the river, on which is the island of St. Aitherios. Arrived at this island, they rest themselves there for two or three days. And they re-equip their 'monoxyla' with such tackle as is needed, sails and masts and rudders, which they bring with them. Since this

V 51 ἀναλαβόμενοι V edd. || 57 πέμπτον edd.: ε' P || 58 Σκλαβινιστί P || 58/9 Βουλνηπράχ: Βολνουτ πράχ *coni.* Zeuss || 59 λίμνην: δίλην *coni.* Lehrberg Zeuss Thomsen Hruševskij || 61 *ante* δεύτερον *add.* εἰς τὸν V edd. || 62 Λεάντι: Λωάντι *seu* Λωάνδι *coni.* Zeuss || Σκλαβινιστί P || 64 ἔβδομον edd.: ζ' P || Στρούκουν (*etiam* Cobet): Στρούβουν V edd. || 65 Σκλαβινιστί P || Ναστρεζή *coni.* Falk || 65/6 διαβαίνοντες Me Be διαβαίνονται Meursius Ba || 66 Κριαρίου *coni.* Vasmer Βραρίου *coni.* Falk || 67 Χερσωνίται P || Πατζινάκιται P || 69 προκύπτουσιν ὑφαλοι *coni.* Jenkins: παρακύπτουσιν οἱ φίλοι P edd. || φίλοι: ὀφθαλμοί Ba || φθάνειν V edd. || 71 Πατζινάκιται P || πολεμοῦσι V edd.: πολεμῶσι P || 77 εἴτε καὶ φαγεῖν εἴτε καὶ σφάξαι αὐτούς V Me Ba || 78 αὐτούς (*add. etiam* Bandurius): *om.* V edd. || 79 οὐ *om.* Me || 82 Ἐθαίριου P || 84 αὐτῶν: ἑαυτῶν V edd. || λίπωνται *scr.* Moravcsik λίπονται P: λείπωνται Be ||

9, 10

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

The Uzes can attack the Pechenegs.

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

The Uzes can attack the Chazars, for they are their neighbours, and so can the ruler of Alania.

Meursius || δ (*coni. etiam* Schlözer Nevolin): 2 edd. || 107 Σκλαβνίας P || 107/8 τε Βερβιάνων: Τεβερβιάνων *coni.* Šafarik τε Δερβιάνων *coni.* Marquart Šachmatov || 108 Σεβερίων V *coni.* Šachmatov Σευερίων P: Σεβέρων *coni.* Rački Σεβίρων *coni.* Marquart Σερβίων edd. || 112 ἀπολαμβάνονται edd.: ἐπιλαμβάνονται P || 114 Οὔζοι P.

10. 2 παρά τινων Be || 3 Οὔζοι P || 4/5 Ἀλανίας: ὅτι Ba Migne

10, 11, 12, 13

Nine regions of Chazaria are adjacent to Alania, and the Alan can, if he be so minded, plunder these and so cause great damage and dearth among the Chazars: for from these nine regions come all the livelihood and plenty of Chazaria.

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

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

12. Of black Bulgaria and Chazaria.

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

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

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

The Pechenegs too can attack the Turks, and plunder and harm them greatly, as has been said above in the chapter on the Pechenegs.

11. 2 Βοσπόρου P || 7 ἀφυλάκτους *coni.* Kyriakides || 8 κλήματα P || ποιήσεται edd. || 10 Χερσῶν P || κλήματα P || 12 κλήμασιν P.

12. 1 τῆς² *om.* V edd.

13. 4/5 Πατζινακίται P || 5 *post* μέρος ἢ *lac. ind.* Jenkins *excidisse suspiciens* Χρωβατία ἦν δέ ποτε ὁ τόπος ἢ *vel hujusmodi aliquid* || 9 Πατζινακίται P ||

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

Should they ever require and demand, whether they be Chazars, or Turks, or again Russians, or any other nation of the northerners and Scythians, as frequently happens, that some of the imperial vesture or diadems or state robes should be sent to them in return for some service or office performed by them, then thus you shall excuse yourself: «These robes of state and the diadems, which you call 'kamelaukia', were not fashioned by men, nor by human arts devised or elaborated, but, as we find it written in secret stories of old history, when God made emperor the former Constantine the great, who was the first Christian emperor, He sent him these robes of state by the hand of His angel, and the diadems which you call 'kamelaukia', and charged him to lay them in the great and holy church of God, which, after the name of that very wisdom which is the property of God, is called St. Sophia; and not to clothe himself in them every day, but *only* when it is a great public festival of the Lord. And so by God's command he laid them up, and they hang above the holy table in the sanctuary of this same church, and are for the ornament of the church. And the rest of the imperial vestments and cloaks lie spread out upon this holy table. And when a festival of our Lord and God Jesus Christ comes round, the patriarch takes up such of these robes of state and diadems as are suitable and appropriated to that occasion, and sends them to the emperor, and he wears them in the procession, and only in it, as the servant and minister of God, and after use returns them again to the church, and they are laid up in it. Moreover, there is a curse of the holy and great emperor Constantine en-

V 21 ἀποκρούεσθαι *corr.* Μοραβνςικ: ἀνακρούεσθαι P edd. || 24 Τούρκοι P || 25 βορειῶν P || 26 ἐσθητῶν P || 28 ἀπολογίσασθαι P edd. || στολαί] *corrumpo pergameno litteras aī s. v. iter.* P³ || 29 ὑμῶν (*etiam* Meursius): ἡμῶν V edd. || 30 ἐξεργάσθησαν Be || 32 βασιλέα Be: βασιλέαν P || 34 ἄπερ ὑμεῖς (*etiam* Meursius): ἀ παρ' ἡμῶν Ba Be || λέγετε V Me: λέγεται P Ba Be || 35 διορίσατω P || 35 τῆς *om.* edd. || 43/4 ἐκ τῶν: τὰ ἐκ Me Ba τε ἐκ Be || 45 ἀποστέλλη P || 47 ἀντιστρέφη P ||

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

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

V 49 βασιλέως *om.* V edd. || 50/1 ὁ Θεός διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου V edd. || 51 διορίσατο P || 54 ἀναθεματίζεται Meursius Ba Be || ἀποκηρύττεται Meursius Ba Be || 65 κακὴν κάκος P || 69 φυλαττομένων edd.: φυλαττομένοις P || 70 τολμήση Ba Be || 73 χρῆσαι P || σιφόνων P || 76 αὐτούς edd.: αὐτοῖς P || ἔχοις V edd. || 77 ἀπὸ τοῦ *om.* edd. || Θεοῦ *add.* Moravosik || 77/8 Χριστιανῶ Meursius Ba Be: Χριστιανῶν P || 82 παραπέμπηται edd.: παραπέμπεται P ||

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

‘But come, now, turn’, and to meet another sort of demand, monstrous and unseemly, seemly and appropriate words discover and seek out. For if any nation of these infidel and dishonourable tribes of the north shall ever demand a marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and either to take his daughter to wife, or to give a daughter of their own to be wife to the emperor or to the emperor’s son, this monstrous demand of theirs also you shall rebut with these words, saying: «Concerning this matter also a dread and authentic charge and ordinance of the great and holy Constantine is engraved upon the sacred table of the universal church of the Christians, St. Sophia, that never shall an emperor of the Romans ally himself in marriage with a nation of customs differing from and alien to those of the Roman order, especially with one that is infidel and unbaptized, unless it be with the Franks alone; for they alone were excepted by that great man, the holy Constantine, because he himself drew his origin from those parts; for there is much relationship and converse between Franks and Romans. And why did he order that with them alone the emperors of the Romans should

ζεται V || 88/9 παραδειγματίζεται V || 89 *ó om.* edd. || 90 παραβαίνειν V edd.: παραβαίνον P || 91 προτρέψατο edd. || 93 τοιούτο Ba Be τοῦτο Meursius || 93/4 ἐχθίστῳ <καὶ> χαλεπῷ *coni.* Moravosik: ἐκτίστῳ χαλεπῷ P ἐκτίστῳ τῷ χαλεπῷ Ba Be εὐθύς τῷ χαλεπῷ Meursius ἐκτίστῳ καὶ χαλεπῷ Bandurius *an* ἐχθίστῳ *vel* οἰκτίστῳ *omissis* τῷ χαλεπῷ? Bekker || 99 κατελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ V Me || ἀνήλωσεν V edd. || 102 *ó om.* edd. || 104 Ἄλλ’ ἄγε Be: ἀλλάγε P || 107 αἰτήσεται edd. || συμπεθεριᾶσαι P || 108 *eis corr.* Kyriakides: ἦ P edd. || 109 χρῆσαι P || 114 συμπεθεριᾶσαι P || 115 ἦθεσι V Me Ba || 120 τί: τοῦτο edd. || προτρέψατο Be || 120/1 συναλλαγία P ||

intermarry? Because of the traditional fame and nobility of those lands and races. But with any other nation whatsoever it was not to be in their power to do this, and he who dared to do it was to be condemned as an alien from the ranks of the Christians and subject to the anathema, as a transgressor of ancestral laws and imperial ordinances. And that emperor Leo aforesaid, who also, as has been described above, unlawfully and rashly, without the consent of him who was then patriarch, took from the church the diadem and put it about his head and was summarily punished in full for his wicked attempt, dared to make light of and to disregard this commandment also of that holy emperor, which, as has already been made clear, is engraved on the holy table; and as he had once put himself outside the fear of God and His commandments, so also he contracted an alliance in marriage with the chagan of Chazaria, and received his daughter to be his wife, and thereby attached great shame to the empire of the Romans and to himself, because he annulled and disregarded the ancestral injunctions; yet he, however, was not even an orthodox Christian, but an heretic and a destroyer of images. And so for these his unlawful impieties he is continually excommunicated and anathematized in the church of God, as a transgressor and perverter of the ordinance of God and of the holy and great emperor Constantine. For how can it be admissible that Christians should form marriage associations and ally themselves by marriage with infidels, when the canon forbids it and the whole church regards it as alien to and outside the Christian order? Or which of the illustrious or noble or wise emperors of the Romans has admitted it?» But if they reply: «How then did the lord Romanus, the emperor, ally himself in marriage with the Bulgarians, and give his grand-daughter to the lord Peter the Bulgarian?», this must be the defence: «The lord Romanus, the emperor, was a common, illiterate fellow, and not from among those who have been bred up in the palace, and have followed the Roman national customs from the beginning; nor was he of imperial and noble stock, and for this reason in most of his actions he was too arrogant and despotic, and in this instance he neither heeded the prohibition of the church, nor followed the commandment and ordinance of the great Constantine, but out of a temper arrogant and self-willed and untaught in virtue and refusing to follow what was

V 121 *post* 'Ρωμαίων *signum interrogationis posuit* Moravcsik: 'Ρωμαίων διὰ Be || 122 τοῦ οἴου δήποτε *edd.*: τοιουδήποτε P || 123 δυναμένους *edd.*: δυναμένου P δύνασθαι *coni.* Kyriakides || 124 παραβάτης *edd.*: παραβάτην P || 128 πατριαρχεύοντος *edd.* || 129 ἐγχειρίσεως P || 138 Χριστιανός ἦν ἐκεῖνος *edd.* || 143 συμπεθεριάζειν P || 144 αὐτὸ Ba Be: αὐτῶ P || 145/6 ἐκκρίτων Meursius Ba || 147 κῦρης P: κύριος *edd.* || 148 συνεπεθερίασεν P || κυρίω *edd.* || 149 κῦρης P: κύριος *edd.* || 151 τετραμιμένων Be: τετραμιμένων P ||

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

170 ὀνειδισθη P || κύρης P || 172 ἀπό: ἐπί edd. || 176/7 κρατύνειν *scr.* Moravcsik κρατοίνην P: κρατεῖν edd. || 177 ἀνάκρασιν *coni.* Jenkins: ἀνάκρισην P ἀνάκρισιν edd. || 183 πέφυκεν PΥ πέφυκε Ba Be: πέφοιμεν P V πεφίληκε Meursius || ἔθη edd.: ἤθη P || 185 φιλεῖ (*littera v erasa*) PΥ Ba Be: φιλεῖν P V φιλῶν Meursius || 186 ἀπεργάζεσθαι (*littera σ inserta et littera τ in θ correctā*) PΥ Ba Be: ἀπεργάζεται P V Me || 187 ἐνόμως Meursius Ba Be: ἐνόμοις P ἐν νόμοις *coni.* Kyriakides || 192 δῆ V δῆ P: δε edd. ||

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

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

14. Of the genealogy of Mahomet.

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

Μούδαρον Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 6 'Ραβελαν P || Μούνδαρος (*etiam* Theoph. ^{cod.}): Μούδαρος Georg. Mon. Theoph. || Κούσαρον (*etiam* Georg. Mon.): Κούρασον Georg. Mon.^P Theoph. || Θεμίμην Georg. Mon. Theoph.: Θυμίμην P edd. || 7 'Ασανδόν Cod. Harl. "Ασαδον Georg. Mon. Theoph. || άνωνόμους Meursius Be Georg. Mon.: όμωνόμους P άγνώστους Theoph. || Μαδιανίτην P || 9 'Ιεκτάν P || 10 'Ομηρείται P || 'Αμανίται (*etiam* Theoph.): 'Αμμανίται Georg. Mon. || 'Αναδείκνυται δέ ούτως *deest in* Georg. Mon. || 11 αύτοϋ τοϋ: τοϋ προειρημένου Georg. Mon.^P Theoph. || Μουχούμεδ Georg. Mon. || μισθοτεύσασθαι P: μισθωτεϋσαι Georg. Mon. μισθοδοτήσασθαι edd. || 12 Χαδιγα Georg. Mon.: Χάδιγα P Χαδιγα edd. Χαδίγαν Theoph. || 13 άλλοφύλων: όμοφύλων Georg. Mon. || 16 συνανατρεφόμενος V Me Ba || 17 λύσεις: έήσεις Georg. Mon. ||

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

15. Of the tribe of the Fatemites.

Fatem was a daughter of Mahomet, and from her are begotten the Fatemites. But these are not from Fatemi, from the country of Libya, but dwell in the district north of Mecca, away behind the tomb of Mahomet. They are an Arab nation, carefully trained to wars and battles; for with the aid of this tribe Mahomet went to war, and took many cities and subdued many countries. For they are brave men and warriors, so that if they be found to the number of a thousand in an army, that army cannot be defeated or worsted. They ride not horses but camels, and in time of war they do not put on corselets or coats of mail but pink-coloured cloaks, and have long spears and shields as tall as a man and enormous wooden bows which few can bend, and that with difficulty.

V 22 Ἀριανοῦ P || 24 ὁμοφύλαις (*etiam* Theoph.^d): ὁμοφύλοις Be Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 25 φύλαρχον Meursius Ba Be Georg. Mon.: φίλαρχον P || Βουβάχαρ: Ἀβουβάχαρ *coni.* Thunmann || 27 ἄγαν καὶ Georg. Mon.^P || ὑπερούσιος: περιούσιος Georg. Mon. ὑπερπλούσιος *coni.* Stephanus || 28 Αἰθρίβου Be Theoph.^g Αἰθρήβου P: Ἐθρίβου Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 31 καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα φλυαρεῖ *deest in* Georg. Mon. Theoph. || φλυαρεῖ Be: φλυαρῆ P || 33 εἰ V edd.: οὐ P || καὶ Meursius Ba Be: ἡ P || 34 Τὸν (*littera v addita*) P² V edd.: τὸ P || Ἄλλα V: Ἄλλα (*sine acc.*) P || 34/5 ἀντι τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου τιθέασιν V edd.: ἀντι καὶ συνδ^δ τιθέασιν P *accentum supra ἀντι add. itemque τοῦ et μου s. v. add.* P² ἀντι τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου *mg. iter.* P².

15. 1 *incipit cod. Mutin. gr.* 179 [= M] || 3 Φατεμεῖται P || Φατέμη edd.: Φάτεμη P || 5 τοῦ¹ *om.* edd. || 9 φοσάτον P || φοσάτον P || 12 ῥοδωτά edd. ῥοδοτά P: ῥυτιδωτά *coni.* Meursius || 14 τεινεσθαι <εἰ μή> *coni.* Kyriakides.

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

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

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

In this year 6139, died Mouameth, chief and false prophet of the Saracens, having appointed in his stead Aboubacharos, or Boupaktor, his kinsman. And the deluded Jews at his first appearance had taken him for the Christ whom they expect, so that some of their leading men approached him and received his religion and forsook that of Moses who beheld God. But when they saw him eating camel's flesh, they realized that he was not what they had thought him. But they taught him to do nefarious crimes against the Christians and continued in his company. These are they who taught him to accept some parts of the Law, both the circumcision and other matters, which the Saracens observe. The first to come after him, then, was Aboubachar, who had proclaimed him to be a prophet and was for that reason left behind to succeed him. And his heresy prevailed in the district of Ethribos, at first in secret ten years, and at last through

V 16. 1 οὐ: δν edd. || 4/5 καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων δέπων: καὶ τίς ἦν τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων V edd. || 7 δωδέκατον V M edd.: ιβ' P τῷ ιβ' ἔτει (sc. Ἡρακλείου) Cedr. τῷ ... δωδεκάτῳ τοῦ Μωάμεθ χρόνῳ Leo Gramm. || 8 post 'σρλ' siglo ./ adhibito νῦν δέ (ἔστιν) 'σω' (ἰνδι-κτιῶνος) ιε', ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τότε) ἕως νῦν χρόνοι ψμ' mg. add. P³, quae omnia in textum receperunt V M Me, qua de causa caput hoc insititium esse suspicatus est Meursius || 10/1 προφήτης P¹ V M edd.: προφήτην P || 11 αὐτῶν P¹ V M edd.: αὐτὸν P || δὲ om. V edd. || 12 ἑνέα edd.: θ' P.

17. 2 ἡγουν 'σρλθ' deest in Theoph. || Μωάμεθ Theoph. || 3 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ deest in Theoph. || 4 τὸν καὶ Βουπάκτωρα deest in Theoph. || Βουτάκτωρα V edd. || 5 τοῦτον: αὐτὸν Theoph. || 7 καταλιπεῖν: ἀφήσαι Theoph. || 8 ἀπὸ καμήλου ἐσθιόντα V edd. || 9 δὲ deest in Theoph. || 10 διδάσκοντες edd. || 14 δὲ deest in Theoph. || Αἰθρίβου P² V edd. Theoph.ε: Αἰθρίου P Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 15 δέκα¹ edd.: ι' P || δὲ deest in Theoph. || δέκα² edd.: ι' P ||

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war another ten years, and openly nine years. And he taught his subjects that he who has slain an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters unhindered into paradise, and said that it is a paradise of carnal eating and drinking and lying with women, and that a river of wine and honey and milk flows down it and the women are incomparable to look upon, not such as we know here but other, and he fabled that intercourse with them is of long duration and the pleasure continuous, and other matters replete with libertinism and folly; and they are to forgive one another and aid one another when wronged.

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

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

19. The third chief of the Arabs, Oumar.

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

Theoph. || 21 ἔφασκεν: εἶναι Theoph. || διαρκῆ τὴν Be Theoph.: διαρκιτικὴν P || 22 ἐμπλεα V edd.: ἐμπλεω P μεστὰ Theoph. || τε: δὲ Theoph.

18. 2 τρία scr. Moravesik: γ' P Ba Be || 3 Ἀβουβάχαρ (*etiam* Theoph.^{ef}): Ἀβουβάχαρος Theoph. || 5 τρία edd.: γ' P δύο ἡμισυ *hic, sed alio loco* γ' Theoph. || 5 Οὔμαρος Theoph. || 6 δώδεκα edd.: ιβ' P.

19. 1 Οὔμαρ] *litteras rest.* P² || 2 Οὔμαρος Theoph. || ἐπεστράτευσε (*etiam* Meursius Migne Theoph.): ἀπεστράτευσε V edd. || τῆς *deest in* Theoph. || 3 ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπολιόρησεν *deest in* Theoph. || τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ: τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Theoph. || 4 καὶ *deest in* Theoph. || αὐτὴν δόλω] *litteras* ἢν δόλω *rest.* P² || δόλω: λόγῳ Theoph. || ἐπίσκοπος: ἀρχιερεὺς Theoph. || 5 θείῳ κινούμενος ζήλῳ καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ διαπρέπων *deest in* Theoph. || 5/6 παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς *deest in* Theoph. || 6 ἀσφαλέστατον (*etiam* Theoph.^{cod.}): ὑσφαλείας Theoph. || 6 ὥστε — 7 ἀπορδήτους *deest in* Theoph. || 7 ὁ *deest in* Theoph. || 9 ἐστὼς P ἐστὼς Theoph.^{cds} || Οὔτος: Οὔμαρος Theoph. || 10 πρὸς τὸ *deest in* Theoph.

20. The fourth chief of the Arabs, Outhman.

He took Africa by war, and arranged imposts with the Africans and returned. His general was Mauias, who pulled down the colossus of Rhodes and took the island of Cyprus and all its cities. He took the island of Arados also and burnt its city, and made the island desolate to this day. When he came to the island of Rhodes, he demolished the colossus in it, one thousand and 360 years after it had been set up, and a Jewish merchant of Edessa bought it and loaded 900 camels with the bronze of it. This Mauias also made an expedition against Constantinople and ravaged Ephesus and Halicarnassus and Smyrna and the rest of the cities of Ionia, and after the death of Outhman was fifth chief of the Arabs for twenty-four years.

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

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

V 20. 1 ἀρχηγός Ἀράβων V edd. || 3 Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας P² V M || 6 καὶ τὴν² bis P || 7 νῆσον *deest in* Theoph. || ἐν αὐτῇ *corr.* Moravcsik: ἐαυτῇ P ἐαυτῆς V M Me Ba αὐτῆς Be ἐν αὐτῇ *deest in* Theoph. || 8 χίλια τέ': ,ατξ' Theoph. || 9 Ἐδεσσιῶς P || γ *corr.* Moravcsik ἑνωκοσίας Ba Be Theoph.: λ P τριακόνα χιλιάδας *s. v. add.* P³ V M Me || 10 Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας P² V M || 11 Σμύρνην *corr.* Moravcsik: Σμύρνης P M Σμύρναν P² V edd. || 12 πέμπτος V edd.: ε' *s. v. add.* P¹ *in textum recepit* M || 13 Οὐθμάν] *litteras rest.* P².

21. 3 Μαυίου P: Μαβίου P² V M || 3 *post* Ἀράβων *s. v. add.* πέμπτου P³ *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 4 οἱ (*habet etiam* Cedr.): *deest in* Theoph. || Μαρδαῖται P || 7 τοῦτο: ταῦτα Theoph. || Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας P² V M || 8 πρέσβεις P³ V M edd.: πρέσβης P || 9/10/Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει *deest in* Theoph. || 10 πέμπεται: ἀπέστειλε Theoph. || 10/1 Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου, υἱοῦ τοῦ Παγωνάτου *deest in* Theoph. || 11 υἱοῦ *omittendum con.* Meursius Bandurius *secl.* Be *post* υἱοῦ *comma posuit* Migne || τοῦ om. V Me || ὁ: τὸ Theoph. || Πιτζικαύδης: Πιτζικαύδην Cedr. Πιτζιγαῦδιν Theoph. ||

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

χρυσῷ Theoph. || 16 ω': ν' Theoph. || τούτου Be: τούτω P || 19 Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P^v mg. P⁷ V M || 20 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^v M || ἀνθοπλήσατο P || 22 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^v M || 23 τῆς om. V edd. || πε' P V M: ο' (*littera π ex dimidia parte, e autem penitus erasa*) P^v Ba Be || 24 αὐτὸν V edd.: αὐτῶν P || 25 ἐπολέμισαν P || Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || 27 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || 28 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || 29 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || 34 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P^v M || 35 ἡ inser. P^x in *textum receperunt* V M Ba Be || οὖν ὁ *deest* in Theoph. || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P^v M || 36 ἀρχηγός: πρωτοσύμβουλος Theoph. || κς' (*etiam* Theoph.^{efm}): κ' Theoph. || 37 Ἀράβων Ἰζίδ: *post* Ἀράβων mg. ἔτη, *post* ιζ s. v. καί, *post* ιδ s. v. ἦως λα' add. P² ἔτη ιζ' καὶ ιδ' ἦδος λα' in *textum recepit* M || ζ': γ' Theoph. || 38 τῆς Ba Be: τοῦ P Theoph. || Αἰθρίβου (*etiam* Theoph.^s): Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 39 Ἀβδελάν P || τὸν: τινὰ Theoph. || 40 Τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες *deest* in Theoph. || 40/1 οἱ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δαμασκὸν κατοικοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί: Οἱ Φοινικεὶς καὶ οἱ Παλαιστίνης ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Theoph. || 41 Οὐσάν: Ἀσάν Theoph. || ἀμηρὰν P || 42 προβάλλονται: δίδουσι χεῖρας δεξιᾶς τῷ Theoph. || 42/3 κρατεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς: ἀμηρεῦει Theoph. || 43 Ἀβιμέλεχ] *litteras rest.* P² ||

he overcame the rebels, and slew Abdelas, son and successor of Zouber. Meanwhile, the emperor Constantine, son of Pogonatus, died, having held rule over the Romans 17 years; and his son Justinian reigned in his stead.

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

The Rhodian colossus, eight times ten

Cubits in height, Laches of Lindos made.

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

V 44 κρατεί ἔτη κβ' καὶ μῆνας ς': ἀμηνεύσας ἔτη κα' ἡμισυ Theoph. || 45 ἀποκτέννει Theoph. ἀποκτενεῖ P: ἀποκτείνει V edd. || 'Αβδελάν P || Ζουβέρ] *litteras* ζου rest. P² || 45/6 διάδοχον (*etiam* Theoph. *ceftam*): Δάδαχον Theoph. || 46 τελευτᾶ: ἀνεπάη Theoph. || 46/7 ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πωγωνάτου *deest in* Theoph. || 47 τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς *deest in* Theoph. τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν edd. || ιζ'] *litteras* rest. P² || 47/8 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ *deest in* Theoph. || 48 'Ιουστινιανὸς V M edd.: 'Ιουστιανὸς P || 49 *post* ἀρχηγός *s. v. add.* Μαβίας P³ *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || ὃς *addendum conit.* Bekker || 50 ἦν *s. v. add.* P³ *in textum receperunt* M Ba Be || 53 καταφράκτων νηῶν: σκάφη Theoph. || 54 ,ασ': ,αψ' Theoph. || 55 *post* ἰκανόν *s. v. add.* ἦτι ζ' ἔτη P³ ἦτοι ἔτη ζ' *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 61 Τὸν ἐν 'Ρόδῳ κολοσσόν: τὸν 'Ηλίου κ. *vel* ὃν εἰσορᾷς κ. (*sic Robert l. c.*) *fuit in statua* Diehl || ὀκτάκις (*etiam* Simonides Ps.-Draco): ἐπτάκις Strabo || 62 Λάχης: Χάρης Simonides Strabo Ps.-Draco || ὀλίγδιος P || 63 αὐτὸν *om.* edd. || *post* ἐν *add.* τῇ edd. || 64 ὄνησατο P || 65 'Εδεσηνός *conit.* Meursius 'Εδεσηνός Theoph. *conit.* Bandurius: 'Εμησηνός P ὁ 'Εμεσηνός Be || ε'π' V ἔνακοσίας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα Ba Be: ,λπ' (*littera ε' partim erasa*) P² V Me τριάκοντα χιλιάδας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα *mg.* P² ἔνακοσίας Theoph. || 66 Οὐθμάν] *litteras* θμάν *in ras. scr.* P² || αὐτὸς *om.* edd. || 67 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P³ M || 69 'Αλήμ: 'Αλή Theoph. || ὃς ἦν] *litteras* ς ἦν *in ras. scr.* P² || *post* θυγατρὶ *add.* τῇ edd. || 70 Αἰθριβου P² V edd.: Αἰθριου P ||

another, disputing over the rule, which of them should be lord of all Syria. They encountered one another by the river Euphrates, and joined in fierce battle one against the other. But when the battle was at its height and many were falling on either side, the multitudes of the Agarenes of both parties cried out: «Why is this, that we slay and are slain, and our tribe perishes from among living men? But let two elders be chosen apart from both the parties, and whomsoever they prefer, let him have the rule.» Alim and Mauias were pleased at this saying of theirs, and, drawing off from their hands their rings, which are a token of rule of the Agarenes, they gave them to the two elders, and placed their authority at the disposal of the two elders, confirming the matter by an oath and settling it so that whomsoever the elders might prefer, he should be lord and chief of all the Saracens. The two elders entered into the middle of the battle array of the two parties, and took their stand face to face in the space between the armies; the elder of Alim was a man devout according to the nation of the Saracens, one such as they call 'cadi', that is, faithful and sanctified; but the elder of Mauias was devout only in appearance, but in all else deceitful and arrogant and surpassing all men in mischief. The elder of Mauias said to the elder of Alim: «Do you speak first what you will, for you are prudent and devout, and far surpassing my years.» And the elder of Alim answered thus: «I cast Alim off from the rule, as I drew his ring from his hand and drew it on to my own finger; now will I cast off the ring of Alim from my finger and therewith cast him off from his rule also.» The elder of Mauias made answer again: «I drew Mauias into the rule, as I drew his ring on to my finger; now will I draw the ring of Mauias on to his finger.» And then they parted one from the other. So Mauias took all the dominion of Syria, since all the emirs had sworn to each other, saying: «Whatever the elders say, we will be obedient to their words.» And so Alim took his army and departed to the region of Ethribos with all his kin, and there ended his life. After

edd. || 81 τοῖς] *litteras* οἱ *in ras. scr.* P² || 87 ἀντιπροσώπων *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀντιπρόσωπον P ἀντιπροσώπου edd. || 92 ὃς εἶ τε *coni.* Moravcsik: ὥστε Ba Be ὡς τε (*litteris* ἔσ *erasis*) P^γ ὡς ἔστε P V Me ὃς ς τε M ὄσει τε Meursius || 93 τοὺς ἔμοῦς χρόνους *coni.* Jenkins: τοῖς ἔμοῖς χρόνοις P edd. || 95 δακτύλιον P² V M edd.: δάκτυλον P || 96 ἐκβάλω V: ἐκβάλλω edd. ἐκβαλὼν M ἐκβαλὼν P || 97 δακτύλου Meursius Ba Be: δακτυλίου P || μου P V edd.: Μαβίου (*litteris* οὐ *in α correctis et litteris* βίου *s. v. additis*) P^γ || 99 αὐτοῦ *s. v. add.* P² *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 100 εἰσαγάγω Meursius Ba Be: εἰσαγαγὼν P εἰσαγαγὼν V Me || 101 ἀπ'] *litteram α in ras. scr.* P² || Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P² V M || 102 πᾶσαν *om.* edd. ||

the death of Alim, his sons, regarding their father's counsel as nonsense, rebelled against Mauias, and joined fierce battle with Mauias, and being worsted fled from before his face, and Mauias sent after and put them all to death. And thereafter the rule over all the Arabs came into the hands of Mauias.

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

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

This is the beginning of his reign; and thereafter he was expelled by Leontius, and then in his turn came back again and expelled Leontius and Apsimaros, and held his triumph over them both in the hippodrome, and put them to death. In this year Abimelech sent to Justinian to ratify the

(*etiam* Theoph.^{edth}): Μασαλμᾶς Theoph. || Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *corr.* Moravosik: Κωνσταντινούπολιν P edd. || 114 μαγίσδιον: μασιγίδιον *coni.* Meursius || 115 Σουλεημᾶν P || *ante* ἀρχηγός *add.* ó V edd. || 116 Σουλεημᾶν P || 117 Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *corr.* Moravosik: Κωνσταντινούπολιν P edd. || Μάσαλμας (*etiam* Theoph.^{dh}): Μασαλμᾶς Theoph. || 118 *desinit* *cod.* Mutin. gr. 179 [= M] || 119 χιλιάδας π': λαὸν ἰκανόν Theoph. || 120 Σουλεημᾶν P || τῶν: τοῦ Ba Be || 121 Μασάλμα *edd.* || 125 τῆς Θεοτόκου *per comp. s. v. add.* P² *in textum receperunt* V *edd.* || ἦς] *litteram* ς *in ras. scr.* P² || 126 ó *add.* V *edd.* || Σουλεημᾶν P || ἡδέσθη] *litteram* ἦ *in ras. scr.* P².

22. 2 τῶν αὐτῶν: τῶν <Μαρδ>αἰτῶν *coni.* Bury || 4 Ἰουστινιανός *coni.* Laskin: Ἰουστίνος P *edd.* || 9 *post* ἔτει *rubro atramento mg. add.* ,ζρη' P¹ τῷ ,ζρη' *mg. iter.* P² *in textum receperunt* V Me ,ζροη' Theoph. ||

peace on these conditions: the emperor to withdraw the Mardaite legion from the Lebanon and check their incursions, and Abimelech to give the Romans daily a thousand nomismata and one thoroughbred horse and one Ethiopian slave, and the taxes of Cyprus and Armenia and Iberia to be held commonly and in equal shares by both parties. The emperor dispatched Paul the imperial agent to Abimelech, to confirm the terms agreed upon, and a confirmation was drawn up in writing and attested. The imperial agent was presented with gifts, and returned. And the emperor sent and took in the Mardaïtes, 12 thousand of them, thereby crippling the Roman power. For all the frontier cities now inhabited by the Arabs from Mopsouestia and as far as Armenia Quarta were defenceless and uninhabited because of the incursion of the Mardaïtes, by whose drawing away Romania has suffered terrible damage at the hands of the Arabs, and suffers it still. And in the same year the emperor went to Armenia and there took in the Mardaïtes of the Lebanon, thus destroying his brazen wall. Moreover, he broke the pledge of peace with the Bulgarians, disturbing the treaty made by his own father.

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

— 36 Ἀγαρηνοί: cf. Theoph. p. 370. 6—7.
cf. Theoph. p. 403, 12—13; 426, 4—5.
Theoph. Cont. p. 73, 13—76, 7; 474, 1—7.

36 Τότε — 39 σήμερον:
40 Τούτων — 48 σήμερον: cf.

V 12 χίλια V edd. Theoph.: ,α P || 12/3 εὐγενῆ ἕνα *deest in* Theoph. || 13 Αἰθίοπα *deest in* Theoph. || ἕνα *deest in* Theoph. || 19 γὰρ αἱ νῦν Theoph. *coni.* Bekker νῦν γὰρ (*omisso αἱ*) Theoph.^{etm} γὰρ νῦν αἱ P edd. || οἰκουμέναι P || τὰ ἄκρα πόλεις Theoph. τὰς ἀκροπόλεις P edd. || 20 ἀοίκητοι] ἀοίκητι (*litteris τι insertis*) P¹ || 22 *post* νῦν *aliquid excidisse susp.* Bury || 23 εἰσελθόν: ἐλθόν Theoph. || 26 ἐνορδίνους Theoph.: ἐνορδίνος P ἐνορδίνως V edd. || 27 Ἔτι: Ὅτι Me || 28 τῆ Ἀφρικῆ: τὴν Ἀφρικὴν Theoph. || ταξάτινα edd. || 29 *ante* Ἰουστινιανόν *add.* τὸν edd. || 34 ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || 38 τῆς Ἰσπανίας edd. ||

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

In this year, that is to say, when the rule over the Romans *** Irene and Constantine, the year from the creation of the world 6288. In the same year Aaron, the chief of the Arabs, died in inner Persia, that is called Chorasana, and Moamed his son succeeded to the rule, a stupid, unbalanced man in every way, against whom his brother Abdelas came in revolt out of that same country of Chorasana together with the powers that had been his father's, and brought about a civil war. And thereafter those who dwelt in Syria and Egypt and Libya were split up under different governments, and destroyed the public weal and one another, in a welter of slaughter and rapine and outrage of every sort against themselves and their Christian subjects. Then it was that the churches in the holy city of Christ our God

Moravesik: τούτω P τούτω edd. || 50 Μάσαλαμας P^x mg. P^s V edd. Theoph.^{cdh}: Μασαλαμάς P Μασαλαμαῖς Theoph. || Σουλετημάν P || 51 Ούμαρ P: Ούμαρος P² mg. P^s V edd. || θαλάττης (etiam Theoph.^{ef}): θαλάσσης Theoph. || 53 'Αράβων] *litteras* ἀράβ in ras. scr. P⁴ || 'Αζήδ P: 'Αζιδ Theoph.^{efm} 'Ιζιδ Theoph. || 55 ἐπι om. V edd. || 56 Μαρούαμ edd. || Μαρούαμ edd. || 'Αβδελάς P || τῆς: τις V Me Ba Migne || 57 'Αράβων] *litteras* ραβ in ras. scr. P || 58 Μαδίς (etiam Theoph.^h): Μαδί Theoph. || 59 ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || τῆς: τις V Me Ba Migne || 61 *ad* χρόνω rubro atramento ,ςσπη' mg. add. P¹ post ἤγουν s. v. τῶ ,ςσπη' iter. P² in textum receperunt V Me || post ἀρχῆς lac. ind. Bury Laskin || 61/2 Εἰρήνης P² V edd.: Εἰρήνη P || 62 Κωνσταντίνου corr. Moravesik: Κώνσταντος P edd. || ἔτος V edd. || 64 Μουάμεδ Theoph. Μοάμεθ edd. || 65 καὶ ἀσυνάρτητος ὑπάρχων *deest* in Theoph. || ἀσυνάρτητος Be: ἀσυνάρτιστος P || 'Αβδελάς P || 71 Ἐνθα (etiam Theoph.^{cod.}): ἔνθεν Me Be Theoph. || κατὰ om. Me Be || τὴν ἁγίαν P Theoph.: τῆς ἁγίας P¹ V edd. ||

were desolated, and the monasteries of the two great Laurai, those of SS. Charito and Cyriac and of St. Sabas, and the other coenobite monasteries of SS. Euthymius and Theodosius. This anarchy, during which they murdered one another and us, lasted five years.

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

23. Of Iberia and Spain.

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

V Me ἡ ῥόδοτος P: Ἡρόδωρος Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || ι': δεκάτη Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || Τῆ: τῶν Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || 6 ἱστορία: ἱστοριῶν *coni.* Meineke ἱστορῶν Jacoby || 7 οἰκέειν Meineke || διάπλου Ba Be Meineke Jacoby:: διαπλοῦ P διαροῦ V Me ὠκεανοῦ *coni.* Bekker || οὐνόμασι *coni.* Meineke || 8 οἰκέοντες Meineke || 9 Κύνιταις P || οὐνομάζονται *coni.* Meineke || 9 ἀπ' — 10 Γλήτες *in parenthesi posuit* Schulten || 9 βορέην Meineke || 10 Γλήτες P || Ἐλευσίνιοι: Ἐλβυσίνιοι Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || Μαστινοί: Μαστιηνοί Ba Be Berkel Meineke Jacoby || 11 Κελκianoί: Καλπιανοί Ba Be Berkel Κέλται *coni.* Bandurius Κελτικοί *coni.* Meineke || ἡδιορόδανος P Me † ηδιοροδανος Jacoby: ἡδη ὁ Ῥοδανός Be Berkel Meineke ἡδη ὁ Ῥόδανος Ba ἡδη ὁ Σαρδόνιος Unger ἡδη ὁ πορθμός Schulten || Ἄρτεμιδωρος] *litteras* τε ἰ rest. P² || 13 Πυρναίων P || Γάδειρα] *litteras* ei *in ras. scr.* P¹ || καὶ ἐνδοτέρω Schubart Meineke || 14 Ἰσπανία (*etiam* Thunmann Meineke): Σπανία edd. || 15 *post ἐπαρχίας lac. ind.* Be Meineke πρώτη μὲν ἐπαρχία *suppl.* Ba Berkel || Πυρναίων P || καὶ *om.* Ba Be Meineke Stiehle *secl.* Moravcsik ||

from the Pyrenees mountains as far as New Carthage and the sources of the Baetis, while the second province *comprehends* the area reaching to Gadara and Lusitania.» *The form 'Iberite' is also found.* Parthenius in 'Leucadiae': «Thou shalt coast along the 'Iberite' shore.» The other Iberia is over toward the Persians. The ethnic term is 'Iberians', like 'Pierians', 'Byzerians'. Dionysius: «Nigh unto the Pillars the nation of great-hearted 'Iberians'.» And Aristophanes, 'Triphales': «Learning that the 'Iberians', who anciently of Aristarchus», and, «The 'Iberians', whom thou lendest me, to run to my aid.» And Artemidorus in part two of 'Geography': «Those of the 'Iberians' who live on the coast use the alphabet of the Italians.» Also, from genitive 'Iberos' *is formed* the feminine 'Iberis'. «A Greek woman, not an 'Iberis'», Menander, 'Aspis'. The form 'Iberic' is also found: «The first sea is the 'Iberic' at the outset.» Iberia used to be divided in two, but now in three, as Marcian says in its 'Circumnavigation': «Now of old Iberia was divided in two by the Romans, but now in three: Baetic Spain and *Lusitanian* Spain and Tarragonese *Spain*.» From genitive 'Iberos' Apollonius *derives* a nominative, as 'phylakos' from genitive 'phylakos'. In 'Paronyma' he says: «Nominatives are derived from genitives of *more than* two syllables which, like the *derivative* nominative, carry the *proparoxytone* accent, whether *these are* in simple or compound form. Simple are: martyr, martyros, nominative *martyros*; Charops, Charopos, nominative Charopos, 'of king Charopos'; Troezen, Troezenos, nominative Troezenos, 'son of Troezenos'; Iber, Iberos, nominative Iberos»; whence in Quadratus, 'Roman Millennium',

Ba Be Epitome Steph. Byz. || 19 ἔθνος: ἔθνηκόν Meineke Epitome Steph. Byz. || "Ἰβηρες] *litteras* ἴβη *rest.* P² || 20 ἔθνος] *litteras rest.* P² || 'Ἰβήρων] *litteras* ἰβή *rest.* P² || 21 Τριφάλιτι P || 23 *post* δευτέρῳ *add.* τῶν *edd.* Meineke || Γραμματικῆ Ba Be Meineke: γραμματικοὶ P || 24 θάλατταν P V *edd.* Meineke: θάλατται (*littera* *v* *ex dimidia parte erasa*) P V || 24 Καὶ — 26/7 ἀρχομένοις *secl.* V || 25 Ἀσπίδη P || 26 *post* Ἰβηρικῶς¹ *add.* Διονύσιος Ba Be Berkel Meineke || 26 Πρῶτος μὲν πρὸς τινος: πόντος μὲν πρώτιστος Ba Be Berkel Meineke Dionysios || 26/7 ἀρχομένοις *secl.* P || 27 ἡ Ἰβηρία Meineke: Ἰβηρία Ba Be ἡ Ἰβηρις P || *post* εἰς¹ *add.* ἐπαρχίας Berkel Meineke || τρεῖς Meineke γ' P: τρία V *edd.* || 28 *post* δύο *add.* ἐπαρχίας Meineke || 28/9 διήρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐπαρχίας δύο Marcianus || 28 διήρητο Meineke || 29 τρεῖς Meineke Marcianus γ' P: τρία *edd.* || 29/30 εἰς Ἰσπανίαν Βαιτικὴν καὶ εἰς Ἰσπανίαν Λουσιτανίαν καὶ Ἰσπανίαν Ταρρακωνησίαν Marcianus || 29 Βαιτικὴν Meineke || Σπανίαν¹ *om.* Be Meineke || καὶ¹ *om.* V Me Be Meineke || Σπανίαν² *om.* V Me Λουσιτανίαν Be Salmasius Meineke || 30 Ἀπὸ — 38 φησί *secl.* V || 30 εὐθεῖα Meineke || *post* εὐθεῖαν *add.* παράγει Ba Berkel || 30/1 ὡς τῆς φύλακος ὁ φύλακος. Ἀπολλώνιος Bastius Meineke || 30 τῆς² (*etiam* Meineke): τοῦ Ba Be || 32 τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ: τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ Meineke Apollonius τὸ μὲν Ἰβηρ Ba Berkel || μὲν *delendum con.* Meineke || 33 παροξυνόμενον: τροπαροξυνόμεναι Meineke Apollonius || ἀπλοῦν Meineke Apollonius || 34 μάρτυρ *add.* Ba Be Meineke || μάρτυρ μάρτυρος ὁ μάρτυρος Apollonius || ὁ μάρτυς: ὁ μάρτυρος *edd.* Meineke || 35 Χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος Ba Be Meineke Apollonius: χαροποίοτης ἀνακτος P || Τρῶζειν Τρῶζηνος ὁ Τρῶζηνος P || 35/6 Τρωζήνιο P ||

23, 24, 25

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

24. Of Spain.

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

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

In this year Valentinian was not merely too weak to recover Britain and Gaul and Spain, but also lost western Libya as well, the so-called land

V 37 ε' *add.* Ba Be Meineke Jacoby || ἔστιν Jacoby: ἐστὶν P edd. Meineke || Καὶ τοὶ Λίγυσι θ' ἕμα Ba Be Meineke Jacoby καὶ τολγίοισι τ' αμα (*sine acc.*) P || 38 Ἀβρῶν P || 39 αὐτός: οὗτος Meineke || 40 Ἀθηναῖος P || δέλωπω σοφιστῶν P || 41 Φίλαρχος P edd. || 41/2 φησὶ δὲ καὶ <ἐν τῇ ζ'> τοὺς Ἰβήρας πάντας ὑδροποτεῖν καὶ τοὶ πλουσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπων ὄντας Athenaeus || 42 κέκτηνται — 43 πλείστον *deest apud Athenaeum in parenthesi posuit Moravcsik* || 43 καὶ¹ *om.* edd. Meineke || 44 τε (*etiam Athenaeus*^{CE}): δὲ Athenaeus.

24. 2/3 καλουμένου: λεγομένου Meineke || 5 ἐπέμφθη edd.: ἐπέμφη P || 7 Ἰσπανίαις <ἡγωνίσαστο> *coni.* Jacoby || 8 Οὐριάθου Meineke Jacoby: Οὐριάθου P edd. || 11 Ἰβήρα Müller Jacoby: Ἰβηρίαν V edd. Ἰβηρία P <Ἰβηρα> Ἰβηρίαν Meineke || 11/2 Ἰβηρίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἀνόμαζον καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν *coni.* Meineke || 12 ὀνομάζεται Müller Jacoby: ὀνομάζονται P Meineke || 13 Πανωνίαν (*etiam Epitome Steph. Byz.*): Πα{νω}λίαν Jacoby Πανλίαν Ba Be Meineke Σπανίαν *coni.* Kyriakides Ἰσπανίαν *coni.* Dujčev.

25. 3 Οὐαλεντιανός P² *mg.* P⁸ edd. Theoph.: Οὐαλεντιανός P || 4

of the Africans; it happened like this. There were two generals, Aëtius and Boniface, whom Theodosius had sent to Rome at the request of Valentinian. Boniface was given the command over western Libya, and Aëtius out of jealousy slanderously accused him of meditating rebellion and working to seize Libya. This he communicated to Placidia, the mother of Valentinian. But he wrote also to Boniface, saying: «If you are sent for, do not come, for you have been slanderously accused, and the emperor and empress are trying to get you into their hands by a trick.» This message Boniface received and, trusting in Aëtius as in a true friend, did not go when he was sent for. Then the emperor and empress accepted Aëtius as a loyal servant. At that time the Goths and many very large nations were settled in the regions of the far north down as far as the Danube. Of these the most notable are the Goths, Visigoths, Gepedes and Vandals, who differ from one another in name only and in nothing else, and speak one and the same tongue; and all are of the misbelief of Arius. These in the time of Arcadius and Honorius crossed the Danube and settled in the territory of the Romans. The Gepedes, from whom were later divided off the Lombards and Avars, lived in the territories about Singidunum and Sirmium. The Visigoths, under Alaric, after taking Rome, went off to the Gallic provinces and possessed themselves of those regions. The Goths first held Pannonia, but afterwards were permitted by Theodosius the younger, in the 19th year of his reign, to dwell in the territories of Thrace, and after remaining 58 years in Thrace they obtained permission of Zeno to possess themselves of the western kingdom, with their leader the patrician and consul Theodoric. The Vandals, joining up with the Alans and Germans, who are now called Franks, crossed the river *Rhine*, and, under the leadership of Gogidiscus, settled in Spain, the first country of Europe from the side of the western Ocean. Now, Boniface, fearing the emperor and empress of the Romans, crossed over from

Theoph.^{cfm} Σερμειῶν Ba Be || 23 Ἑσλιγοτθοὶ P || Ἀλαρίχον P V Me Theoph.: Ἀλαρίχου (*littera v ex dimidia parte erasa accentuque correcto*) P^v Meursius Ba Be || 24 Πανωνίαν P edd.: Πανονίαν Theoph. || 25 ἔχοντες: ἔσχον Theoph. || *post* ἔπειτα *add.* τῷ Theoph.: *om.* Theoph.^{etm} || ἔτη P || 27 διατρίψαντες Meursius Ba Be Theoph.: διατρίψαντος P || 28 αὐτοῖς Ba Be Theoph.: αὐτὰρ P || ἐπιτρέψαντος F Ba Be Theoph.: ἐπιστρέψαντος P || *post* ἑσπερίου *add.* Λιβύης edd.: *deest in* Theoph. || 29 Οὐανδῆλοι P V: Οὐανδῆλοι P^v mg. P^s || 30 Νῖνον (*etiam* Theoph.^{bes}) Νεῖνον Theoph.^{etm} νῖνος mg. P^s: Πῆνον Ba Be Theoph. || 31 Γογίδισκλον (*litteris γί in ras. scriptis*) P^s V edd. Γοδιγίσκλον Theoph. || 33 εἰς (*habet etiam* Theoph.) *s. v. add.* P^s *in textum receperunt* V edd. ||

Libya into Spain and came to the Vandals, and finding that Gogidiscus was dead and that his sons Gottharus and Gezerichus held the rule, he incited them by a promise to divide western Libya in three parts, so that each of them, with himself, should rule over a third part, but should unite to repel any enemy whoever he might be. These terms being agreed upon, the Vandals crossed the strait and settled in Libya, from the Ocean as far as Tripolis by Cyrene. The Visigoths, advancing from Gaul, took possession of Spain also. Now, some Roman senators who were friends to Boniface exposed to Placidia the falsity of Aëtius' accusation, and showed her also the letter of Aëtius to Boniface, which Boniface had sent them. Placidia, much amazed, forbore to injure Aëtius, but dispatched to Boniface a message recalling him to his duty, together with promises on oath. Now, on the death of Gottharius Gezerichus had become sole chief of the Vandals. Boniface, then, on receipt of the message, marched against the Vandals, with a large force which had come to him from Rome and Byzantium under the command of Aspar. Battle was joined with Gezerichus and the army of the Romans was defeated. So Boniface, accompanied by Aspar, came to Rome and dispelled suspicion by exposing the truth. But Africa fell beneath the Vandals. It was then that Marcian, the future emperor, who was a soldier in the service of Aspar, was taken alive by Gezerichus.

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

Originally, when the Saracens made themselves masters over all Syria, the commander of the faithful had his seat at Bagdad. He was absolute ruler over Persia and Africa and Egypt and Arabia Felix. He had beneath him mighty emirates, or military provinces, as follows: first, the emirate of Persia, or Chorasán; second, the emirate of Africa; third, the emirate

Theoph. || 47 Γηζέριχος (*etiam* Theoph.^c): Γιζέριχος Theoph. || δὲ: οὖν
 Theoph. || 50 Γηζέριχον (*etiam* Theoph.^c): Γιζέριχον Theoph. || 52 Ἀφρικῆ
 P^x V *mg.* P^s: Ἀφρικῆ P || 54 Ἀσπαρα: τὸν Ἀσπαρα Theoph.^{beta} Ἀσπαρον
 P τῷ Ἀσπαρι Ba Be Theoph. || Γηζερίχου F *edd.* Theoph.^c: Γιζερίχου
 Theoph. Γεζερίχου P || 56 ἀμερμουμνεῖς Meursius: ἀμερουμνεῖς P *edd.* || 57
 ἐν *add. edd.* || Βαγδάδ (*littera β in ras. scripta*) P^y Ba Be: Γαγδάδ P *mg.*
 P^s || 58 δευτέρος *scr.* Moravcsik: β' P Ba Be || 60 Φατεμίται V: Φατιμίται Be
 Φατουμίται P || 61 τρίτος V *edd.*: γ' P || 63 *post* ὅτι *add.* ἐν τῷ *edd.* || κατα-
 κυριεῦσαι: κυριεῦσαι V *edd.* || 64 Συρίας] *litteras* υρίας *rest.* P² || ἀμερμουμνεῖς
 P: ἀμερουμνῆς Be || εἰς (*litteris restitutis*) P²: ἐν Be || τὸ *scr.* Moravcsik: τῷ
 (*litteris restitutis*) P² τῷ Ba Be || Βαγδάδ] *litteras rest.* P² || 67 Χωρασάν
scr. Moravcsik: Χωρασσάν *mg.* P^s Χωροσάν P Χωροσάν Be || δευτέρην
edd.: β' P ||

of Egypt; fourth, the emirate of Philistiem, or Rambleh; fifth, the emirate of Damascus; sixth, the emirate of Homs, or Emesa; seventh, the emirate of Aleppo; eighth, the emirate of Antioch; ninth, the emirate of Harran; tenth, the emirate of Emet; eleventh, the emirate of Esibe; twelfth, the emirate of Mosul; thirteenth, the emirate of Tikrit. But after Africa was torn away from the dominion of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad and had become self-governing and had proclaimed an emir of its own, then Persia was the first emirate, as it had been before, and Egypt became the second, and the rest thereafter in the order given above. But now, again, owing to the impotence of the commander of the faithful at Bagdad, the emir of Persia, or Chorasán, has become independent; and he has usurped the style of commander of the faithful, wearing the koran on tablets about his neck like a necklace. And he says he is *from* the family of Alim. Moreover the emir of Arabia Felix used always invariably to be beneath the dominion of the emir of Egypt. But he too has become independent, and he too has usurped the style of commander of the faithful; and he too says he is of the family of Alim.

26. The genealogy of the illustrious king Hugh.

The elder Lothair, king of Italy, grandfather of the illustrious king Hugh, was by descent of the family of the elder Charles, a man much celebrated in song and story and author of heroic deeds in war. This Charles was sole ruler over all the kingdoms, and reigned as emperor in great Francia. And in his days none of the other kings dared call himself a king, but all were his vassals; and he sent much money and abundant treasure to Palestine and built a very large number of monasteries. Well, this Lothair took his forces and marched against Rome and assaulted and got possession of it, and was crowned by the pope of that time. And when he was on his way back to his domain, that is, to Papia, he got as far as the city of Piacenza, thirty miles distant from Papia, and there he died; he begat a son called Adalbert, who took to wife the elder Bertha, and begat on her the aforesaid king Hugh. Now, after the death of the elder Lothair, Lewis, kinsman

dum τοῦ *coni.* Bekker || ἀμηράν P || 75/6 ἀναγορευσάσης Meursius Ba Be: ἀναγορεύσασα P || 76 πρώτη edd.: α' P || 77 δευτέρα edd.: β' P || 79 ἀμηράς P || τοῦ Be: τὸ P || Χορασάν edd. || 80 ἀμερμουμνήν P || 81 ἑαυτὸν *coni.* Moravcsik: αὐτὸν F edd. αὐτὸν P || ἐκ *add.* Moravcsik: ἀπὸ *add.* edd. || 82 ἀμηράς P || 83 ἀμηρά P || 84 ἀμερμουμνήν P.

26. 1 ῥηγῶς P || 2 ριξ P || 3 ριγῶς P || Καρούλλου P || 5 ὁ *om.* edd. || Κάρουλλος P || 6 ῥηγατῶν P || 7 ριγῶν P || ῥίγα P || 9 ἐν: ἐμ P || 13 Παπίαν edd. || 16 ῥήγα P || 17 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || Λοδοίκου: Λωθαρίου *coni.* Ohnsorge ||

of Lewis, came from great Francia and took possession of Papia. He was not crowned. And afterwards he came to Verona, a city 120 miles from Papia, and on his arrival there the folk of that same city rose up against him and seized and blinded him. Then the rule was seized by Berengar, grandfather of the present Berengar, and he entered Rome and was crowned. After this, a large body of the folk made a declaration to Rodolf, who was in Burgundy, saying: «Come here, and we will give the kingdom over to you and will kill Berengar.» So he came from Burgundy to the region of Papia, and one half of the folk sided with Berengar, and the rest with Rodolf. They fought and Berengar was victorious in the first battle, and they fought again and Rodolf gained the victory. And the army of Berengar fled, and Berengar, left alone by himself, made as though he were dead, and fell down among the dead and covered himself with his shield, but left his leg protruding. One of Rodolf's soldiers came up and stabbed him in the leg with a spear, but he never stirred a muscle; and when he did not stir, he let him alone, supposing him in truth to be a corpse. And the army of Rodolf did not know that he was Berengar. When the battle was over, Berengar got up and came to his palace alone, and again got possession of his throne and fought with Rodolf and gained the victory over him. Thereafter they came to terms with one another and divided the country in two; and one of them took one part of the country, and the other the other. But Rodolf was subject to the counsel and authority of Berengar. After this, again, three marquises came from Burgundy to Papia with intent to expel its possessors and possess it themselves; they were Hugh Tagliaferro, and Boso, and Boso's brother Hugh, the most noble king aforesaid. And he came with a large army. When Berengar heard of it, he made ready and advanced to meet him in battle, and began to blockade and to reduce them by hunger, and gave orders to his army not to kill any, but if they should take any of them prisoner, to cut off his nose and his two ears and let him go; and so they did. When they saw this, the three chiefs aforesaid took the holy gospels in their hands and came barefoot to Berengar and begged his pardon and swore that they would never more come there so long as he should live; and then he let them depart to their

πολεμισαντες P || 29 'Ροδοῦλφος V edd.: 'Ρουδοῦλφος P || Βεριγγέρι Be || 30 Βεριγγέρις Be || 31 αὐτόν V edd.: αὐτόν P || δόρκας *scr.* Moravcsik: δορκᾶς P δορκᾶς edd. || αὐτοῦ (*etiam* Bandurius): αὐτοῦ edd. || 32 αὐτοῦ edd. || 32/3 'Ροδοῦλφου P V: 'Ροδοῦλφου P V || 34 ἀφίησιν V edd. || 35 'Ροδοῦλφου P V: 'Ροδοῦλφου P V || Βεριγγέρις Be || 36 Βεριγγέρις Be || 37 ἐπολέμισεν P || 41 Βεριγγέρι Be || 42 Βεργῶνια edd. || μαρκέσιοι Meursius || Πατίαν F edd. || 44 Βόζος *mg.* P⁸: Βόζον P Βόζων V edd. || Οὔγων V edd. Οὔγον P || 45 ῥίξ P || Βεριγγέρις Be || 47 ὄρισεν P || τοῦ *om.* edd. || 49 ῥίνα Be: ῥίαν P || ἀπολύωσιν edd.: ἀπολούωσιν P || 51 Βεριγγέριν P ||

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

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

In ancient times the whole domain of Italy, both Naples and Capua and Beneventum, Salerno and Amalfi and Gaëta and all of Lombardy, was in the possession of the Romans, I mean, when Rome was the imperial capital. But after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, all these territories were divided into two governments, and therefore two patricians used to be dispatched by the emperor in Constantinople; one patrician would govern Sicily and Calabria and Naples and Amalfi, and the other, with his seat at Beneventum, would govern Papia and Capua and all the rest. They used to remit annually to the emperor the sums due to the treasury.

Βεργωνίαν edd. || 63 ρίξ P || Βεργωνίαν edd. || 64 Ῥοδούλφου P Ῥοδούλφου P V || ὀνομάζετο P || 65 θυγατέρα edd.: θυγατέραν P || 66 ρίγι P || 68 ἦτοι: ἦτον *coni.* Bekker ἦτο *coni.* Jenkins εἶτουν *coni.* Kukules || 69 ριγὸς P || ὀνομάζετο P || 70 ἤγουν *om.* V edd. || 71 *post* ἔτη *lac.* 4 *litt. ind.* P *lac ind.* edd. αὐτῆς *** ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη <πέντε> *vel* αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη <δέξα> *coni.* Jenkins || μετονομάσθη P || 72 μάμης P.

27. 1 Λογουβαρδίας edd. || 2 πριγκηπάτων P || 4 *ante* Ἰταλίας *add.* τῆς edd. || Κάπυα *scr.* Moravosik: Καπύα P Καπύη V edd. || Σαλερινόν Be: Σαλερήνον P || 5 Γαῖτῆ Ba Be: Γαῖτῆ P Γαῖτῆ *sive* Γαῖτῆ Meursius || Λογουβαρδία edd. || 6 βασιλευομένων Me Ba || 10 Καλαυρίαν P || Ἀμάλφην Be: Ἀμαλφὴν P || 11 Παπίαν edd. ||

All these countries aforesaid used to be inhabited by the Romans. But in the time of the empress Irene the patrician Narses was sent out and was governing Beneventum and Papia; and pope Zacharias, the Athenian, was governing Rome. It happened that fighting had been going on in the region of Papia, and the patrician Narses had expended on the army the tribute collected for the treasury, and the regular revenue was not remitted by him. Narses sent back a reply, saying: «I expect, rather, that money should be sent to me from your side, since I have exhausted all the revenues incoming from here upon the fighting that has broken out; but, on the contrary, it is you who are demanding revenues from here.» When the empress Irene heard this she was angry and sent him a spindle and distaff, and wrote to him: «Take these, your proper instruments; for we have judged it fit that you should spin, rather than that as a man at arms you should defend and guide and do battle for the Romans.» On hearing this the patrician Narses wrote in reply to the empress: «Since I am thus judged by you fit to spin and twist like a woman, I will twist you hanks with spindle and distaff such as the Romans shall never be able to unravel so long as they endure». Now, at that time the Lombards were dwelling in Pannonia, where now the Turks live. And the patrician Narses sent to them fruits of all kinds and made them this declaration: «Come hither and behold a land flowing with honey and milk, as the saying is, which, I think, God has none to surpass; and if it please you, settle in it, that you may call me blessed for the ages of ages.» The Lombards heard and obeyed and took their families and came to Beneventum. The inhabitants of the city of Beneventum did not allow them to come inside the city, and they settled outside the city, near the wall and by the river, where they built a small city, which for that reason is called Civita Nova, that is, New City, and it stands to this day. But they began to come inside the city also and into the church, and having by a stratagem gained the upper hand of the inhabitants of the city of Beneventum, they made away with them all and took possession of the city. For they carried swords inside their staves, and in the church they wheeled round and attacked all together and, as has been said, killed everyone. And thereafter they marched out and sub-

28 ἐνομισθην Be: ἐνομισθη P || 30 ταῦτα P^a V edd.: τοῦτα P || Λογουβάρδοι edd. || 31 κατοίκου edd.: κατοίκου P || Πανωνεῖαν P Πανωνίαν V edd. || Τούρκοι P || 34 ἤς ὡς (*littera ἦ in ras. scripta et o in ω correctā*) P^a V edd.: ἰσος (?) P || 35 ὑμῖν F Ba Be: ἡμῖν P || 35/6 αἰῶνα αἰῶνος V edd. || 36 μακαρίζητέ *coni.* Bekker: μακαρίζεται P μακαρίζετέ F Ba Be || Λογούβαρδοι edd. || 40 οὗ V edd.: ο[ῦ] P || 41 Τζιβιτανόβα: Τζιτανόβα V Τζιτά νόβα F Me || 43 κυριεύσαντες V edd.: κυριεύσαντες P || 44 κατέχον Ba Be: κατέχουν P || *ante τῶν add.* διὰ edd. || 45 ὑπὸ τρόπον P || ποιήσαντες V edd.: πο[ι]ήσαντες P || 46 ἔκτοτε V edd.: ἔκτοτ[ε] P ||

dued all that land, both the province of Lombardy and Calabria and as far as Papia, except for Otranto and Gallipoli and Rossano and Naples and Gaëta and Sorrento and Amalfi. The first city, ancient and mighty, was Capua, the second, Naples, the third, Beneventum, the fourth, Gaëta, the fifth, Amalfi. Salerno was settled in the time of Sicardus, when the Lombards divided the principalities. From the division of Lombardy until to-day, the 7th indiction, the year 6457 from the creation of the world, it is 200 years. There were two brothers, Sicon and Sicardus. Sicon governed Beneventum and the districts of Bari and Sipontum, and Sicardus governed Salerno and Capua and the district of Calabria. Naples was anciently the praetorium of the patricians who came out, and the governor of Naples had Sicily beneath him as well, and when the patrician arrived in Naples, the duke of Naples would go off to Sicily. Capua was a very large city indeed, and was captured by the Vandals, or Africans, who demolished it. When it was lying a deserted city, the Lombards settled in it. When the Africans came against them once more, bishop Landulf built a city at the bridge over the river and called it New Capua, and it still survives. From the foundation of this Capua, it is 73 years. Naples and Amalfi and Sorrento have always been subject to the emperor of the Romans.

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

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

When those who are now called Venetians, but were originally called Enetikoi, crossed over, they began by constructing a strongly fortified city, in which the doge of Venice still has his seat to-day, a city surrounded by some six miles of sea, into which 27 rivers also debouch. There are other islands also to the east of this same city. And upon these same islands also they who are now called Venetians built cities: the city of Cogradon, in

Γαῖτή Ba Be: Γαίτης P || πέμπτον Moravesik: ε' P πέμπτη edd. || 53 Λογούβαρδοι edd. || πριγκιπάτα P || 54 ζ': έβδόμη edd. || 54/5 Λογουβαρδία edd. || 55 σ': ρ' conī. Bury || 61 Κατύη mg. V² || 62 'Αφρίκων P || 63 οί om. edd. || Λογούβαρδοι edd. || 63/4 τῶν 'Αφρικῶν έπερχομένων Meursius Ba Be: τήν 'Αφρικὴν έπερχομένην (*ultima littera η in ras. scripta*) P¹ V || 65 έπονόμασεν P || 65/6 Κάπτουαν νέαν τήν conī. Be: Κάπτουαν νέαν conī. Bandurius Καπαντήν P Καπάντην F mg. V² || 67 'Αμαλφή mg. V² || 69 μαστρομήλης P || 72 'Ενετικοί Meursius Ba Be: Αίτικιοι P || 73 αὐτά: ταῦτα conī. Bekker || Κόνκορδα P Κονκόρδια mg. V² || 76 'Ενετικῶν Meursius Ba Be: Αίτικίων P || έκτισαν Meursius Ba Be: έκτησεν P || έν¹: έμ P || 77 κυκλῶθεν P: κύκλωθεν edd. || 78 εἰς ἦν] *litteras ζ et η in ras. scr.* P¹ || 79 κάστρου om. edd. || 80 Βενετικοί P || Κογράδον (*etiam V*): Γράδον V² mg. V² κ' (= κάστρον) Γράδον conī. Skok || 80/1 μητρόπολις: άρόπολις conī. Meursius ||

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which is a great metropolitan church with many relics of saints laid up in it; the city of Rivalensis, the city of Lulianon, the city of Apsanon, the city of Romatina, the city of Licenzia, the city of Pinetai, which is called Strobilos, the city of Biniola, the city of Boes, in which is a church of the holy apostle Peter, the city of Ilitoualba, the city of Litoumangersis, the city of Bronion, the city of Madaucon, the city of Ebola, the city of Pristinai, the city of Clugia, the city of Brundon, the city of Phosaon, the city of Lauriton.

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

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

There are also trading stations and forts.

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

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

edd. || 87 Βροῦδον V Βρουδουλον (*sine acc.*) *mg.* V² || 88 Λαύριτον *mg.* V² || 89 καὶ εἰσὶν edd. || αὐτῇ *corr.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. || Βενετῖζ *coni.* Kukules || 92 Ἄκουλον *mg.* P⁸ || 93 ἐμπορίον P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Ῥίβαλτον *mg.* V²: Ῥιβαντόν P V Ῥιβαντον Ba Be || 96 ἐμπορία P.

28. 5 Ἄκουηλεγίας P || 6 ἀντικρὺ edd. || Ἀτίλα P || 8 Ἄκουηλεγίας P || 10 ἀοικήτους V edd.: ἀόικους P || 11 Ἀτίλα P || Ἀτίλα P || 14 ἀποσεισάμενοι *litteras ei in ras. scr.* P¹ || 17 Ἀτίλαν P || πάλιν παρεγένετο edd. ||

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

θέλωμεν P || 37 σοῦ Be: σοί P || 38 ῥήγα P || 40 ἠλάττωτο edd. || 41 ῥιγάτον P || Παπιας (*sine acc.*) P || 42 ἀσίμιν P edd. || 43 Φραγγῶν P || 45 ἑαυτοῖς V edd. || 46 ῥίξ P || 47 δουκάτον P || 47/8 Τζιβετᾶ νόββα V Τζιβετᾶ νόβα Ba Be || 49 δουκάτον] *litteras douk in ras. scr.* P¹ || 50 μηρόθεν edd.

29. Of Dalmatia and of the adjacent nations
in it.

The emperor Diocletian was much enamoured of the country of Dalmatia, and so he brought folk with their families from Rome and settled them in this same country of Dalmatia, and they were called 'Romani' from their having been removed from Rome, and this title attaches to them until this day. Now this emperor Diocletian founded the city of Spalato and built therein a palace beyond the power of any tongue or pen to describe, and remains of its ancient luxury are still preserved to-day, though the long lapse of time has played havoc with them. Moreover, the city of Diocleia, now occupied by the Diocletians, was built by the same emperor Diocletian, for which reason those of that country have come to be called by the name of 'Diocletians'. The territory possessed by these Romani used to extend as far as the river Danube, and once on a time, being minded to cross the river and discover who dwelt beyond the river, they crossed it and came upon unarmed Slavonic nations, who were also called Avars. The former had not expected that any dwelt beyond the river, nor the latter that any dwelt on the hither side. And so, finding these Avars unarmed and unprepared for war, the Romani overcame them and took booty and prisoners and returned. And from that time the Romani formed two alternating garrisons, serving from Easter to Easter, and used to change their men about so that on Great and Holy Saturday they who were coming back from the station and they who were going out to that service would meet one another. For near the sea, beneath that same city, lies a city called Salona, which is half as large as Constantinople, and here all the Romani would muster and be equipped and thence start out and come to the frontier pass, which is four miles from this same city, and is called Kleisa to this day, from its closing in those who pass that way. And from there they would advance to the river. This exchange of garrisons went on for a number of years and the Slavs on the far side of the river, who were also called Avars, thought it over among themselves, and said: «These Romani, now that they have crossed over and found booty, will in future not cease coming over against us, and so we will devise a plan against them.» And so, therefore, the Slavs, *or* Avars, took counsel, and on one occasion when the Romani had crossed over, they laid ambushes

F edd.: πλάτεια P παλάτεια P¹ V || 13/4 ἐκείνης χώρας edd. || 17 Σκλαβίνικα P: Σκλαβινικά edd. || 20 Ῥωμάνοι P || *post* ἀπαρασκευάστους *add.* και V edd. || 21 καταπολεμισάντες P || 22 Ῥωμάνοι P || 26 κάστρον² om. Be || 27 Ῥωμάνοι P || 28 καθοπλήζοντο P || 29 κλησοῦραν P || 30 τέσσαρα edd.: δ' P || 32 πολλούς *corr.* Moravcsik πολλός P: πολλοῖς V edd. || χρόνους *corr.* Moravcsik: χρόνους P edd. || γινόμενον χρόνους V edd. || 34 Ῥωμάνοι P || 35 μή om. edd. || 36 μηχανησόμεθα Migne || 37 και *add.* Bury || 37 διαπερασάντων — 38 ἐγκρύμματα:

and attacked and defeated them. The aforesaid Slavs took the *Roman* arms and standards and the rest of their military insignia and crossed the river and came to the frontier pass, and when the Romani who were there saw them and beheld the standards and accoutrements of their own men they thought they were their own men, and so, when the aforesaid Slavs reached the pass, they let them through. Once through, they instantly expelled the Romani and took possession of the aforesaid city of Salona. There they settled and thereafter began gradually to make plundering raids and destroyed the Romani who dwelt in the plains and on the higher ground and took possession of their lands. The remnant of the Romani escaped to the cities of the coast and possess them still, namely, Decatera, Ragusa, Spalato, Tetrangourin, Diadora, Arbe, Vekla and Opsara, the inhabitants of which are called Romani to this day.

Since the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, as will be related in the narrative concerning the Croats and Serbs, the whole of Dalmatia and the nations about it, such as Croats, Serbs, Zachlumi, Terbouniotes, Kanalites, Diocletians and Arentani, who are also called Pagani ***. But when the Roman empire, through the sloth and inexperience of those who then governed it and especially in the time of Michael from Amorion, the Lisper, had declined to the verge of total extinction, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia became independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else, and, what is more, the nations of those parts, the Croats and Serbs and Zachlumites, Terbuniotes and Kanalites and Diocletians and the Pagani, shook off the reins of the empire of the Romans and became self-governing and independent, subject to none. Princes, as they say, these nations had none, but only 'zupans', elders, as is the rule in the other Slavonic regions. Moreover, the majority of these Slavs were not even baptized, and remained unbaptized for long enough. But

οἱ edd. || 'Ρωμαῖοι P || 55 καθ' ὄν — 56 συγγραφῆ *exrunxit* Rački || 55 περι
om. V edd. || 56 *post* συγγραφῆ *inserenda* ὑπήκοα τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο *coni.*
Tomašić || Δαλματία Theoph. Cont. || Κρωβάτοι Theoph. Cont. Χρωβάτων
Cedr. || 57 Ζαχλοῦμοι P Ζαχλουμοί Theoph. Cont. || Καναλεῖται P || Διοκλειτι-
ανοὶ P || 57/8 'Αρεντανοί: 'Ρεντανοί Theoph. Cont. || 58 οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ *coni.*
Bury: καὶ οἱ Παγανοὶ Meursius Ba Be καὶ Ὑπαγανοὶ P || οἱ καὶ Παγανοὶ
προσαγορευόμενοι *deest in* Theoph. Cont. || *post* προσαγορευόμενοι *lac. ind.*
δουλικῶς εἰσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ 'Ρωμαίων *excidisse coniciens* Grot
lac. ind. δουλικῶς ἦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ 'Ρωμαίων ὑποτεταγμένοι *vel talia excidisse*
coniciens Bury || 59 ἀφελείαν P || 60 ἐναποπνευσάσης *coni.* Bury || 61 Δελματείας
P || 63 Κρωβάτοι Theoph. Cont. Χρωβάτων Cedr. || 64 Ζαχλοῦμοι καὶ Be:
Ζαχλουμεῖται P Ζαχλουμοί Theoph. Cont. || τε (*habet etiam* Theoph. Cont.): om.
edd. || Καναλεῖται P || Διοκλειτιανοὶ P || 65 Παγανοὶ Be: Παγάνοι P || ἀφηνιάσαν-
τες (*littera σ erasa, spiritu addito primaque littera ι in η correctā*) P^y mg. P^o
Meursius Ba Be Theoph. Cont.: σαφινιάσαντες P σαφηνιάσαντες V || 66 ἰδιόρ-
ρυθμοὶ καὶ αὐτοκέφαλοι: αὐτόνομοι τε καὶ αὐτοδέσποτοι Theoph. Cont. || 67 ἔχει
edd. εἶχεν *coni.* Gedeonov || 68 Σκλαβίνιαί P: Σκλαβίνιαί edd. || καὶ om. edd. ||

in the time of Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, they sent diplomatic agents, begging and praying him that those of them who were unbaptized might receive baptism and that they might be, as they had originally been, subject to the empire of the Romans; and that glorious emperor, of blessed memory, gave ear to them and sent out an imperial agent and priests with him and baptized all of them that were unbaptized of the aforesaid nations, and after baptizing them he then appointed for them princes whom they themselves approved and chose, from the family which they themselves loved and favoured. And from that day to this their princes come from these same families, and from no other. But the Pagani, who are called Arentani in the Roman tongue, were left unbaptized, in an inaccessible and precipitous part of the country. For 'Pagani' means 'unbaptized' in the Slavonic tongue. But later, they too sent to the same glorious emperor and begged that they too might be baptized, and he sent and baptized them too. And since, as we said above, owing to the sloth and inexperience of those in power things had gone the wrong way for the Romans, the inhabitants of the cities of Dalmatia also had become independent, subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else. But after some time, in the reign of Basil the glorious and ever-memorable emperor, Saracens from Africa, Soldan and Saba and Kalphus, came with 36 ships and reached Dalmatia and took the city of Butova and the city of Rossa and the lower city of Decatera. And they came also to the city of Ragusa and blockaded it fifteen months. Then in their strait the Ragusans made a declaration to Basil, the ever-memorable emperor of the Romans, saying this to him: «Have pity on us and do not allow us to be destroyed by them that deny Christ.» The emperor was moved with compassion and sent the patrician Nicetas, admiral of the fleet, surnamed Ooryphas, with one hundred ships of war. When the Saracens learnt of the arrival of the patrician admiral of the fleet with

κατόπιν *coni*. Kyriakides || 88/9: ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Βασιλείου: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοφίλου De Them. || 89/90 Σαρακενῶν ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς: οἱ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος Ἀγαρηνοὶ Theoph. Cont. || 90 Σολδανού: Σολδανὸν De Them. Σολδάνον Theoph. Cont. || Σάβρα (*littera* μ *partim* *erasa*) P* V edd. Σάβαν Cedr.: Σάμα P Σάμβαν Theoph. Cont. || Καλφούς De Them. Καλφούς Theoph. Cont.: Κλαφούς P Κλαφούς V edd. || 91 καραβίων: κομπαρίων De Them. πλοίων πολεμικῶν Theoph. Cont. || Δελματία: Δαλματίας De Them. Theoph. Cont. || 91/2 τὰ Βούτοβα Βα Βε τὴν Βούτοβαν De Them.: τὰ Βούγοβα P Βούγοβα *mg*. P⁷ ἢ Βούτομα Theoph. Cont. || 92 Ῥῶσαν De Them. Ῥῶσα Theoph. Cont. || 92/3 τὰ Δεκάτερα, τὸ κάτω: τὰ κάτω Δεκάτερα De Them. Theoph. Cont.^v τὰ κάτω Δεκάτορα Theoph. Cont. || 93 κάστρον: μητρόπολιν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || παρεκάθισαν: ἐπολιόρκουν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || 94 δεκαπέντε Be: ἐ' P ἐπὶ χρόνον... ἱκανόν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || Ῥαουσαῖοι P || 97 σπλαγνηθεῖς P || Νικήτα: Νικήταν Theoph. Cont. || 98 τὸ ἐπὶ κλην: κατ' ἐπανομιαν Theoph. Cont. || Ὀορύφας Be Theoph. Cont.: Ὀορύφας P || χελωνδίων: νεῶν Theoph. Cont. || ἑκατόν edd. Theoph. Cont.: ρ' P De Them. || 99 Σαρακηνοί:

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

The Croats and the other chiefs of the Slavs were carried over into Lombardy by the inhabitants of the city of Ragusa in their own vessels. The city of Bari and the country and all the prisoners were taken by the emperor of the Romans, but Soldan and the rest of the Saracens were taken by Lewis, the king of Francia, who carried them off to the city of Capua and the city of Beneventum. And no one saw *Soldan* laughing. And the king said: «If anybody truly reports to me or shows me Soldan laughing, I will give him much money.» Later, someone saw him laughing and reported it to king Lewis. He summoned Soldan and asked him, how he had come to laugh? And he said: «I saw a cart and the wheels on it turning round and therefore I laughed because I too was once at the top and am now lowest of all, but God may raise me up again.» And thereafter Lewis would summon

De Them.): πᾶσαν τὴν Theoph. Cont. || Λογουβαρδίαν edd. Λαγοβαρδίαν Theoph. Cont. Λογγιβαρδίαν De Them. || ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα *deest in* Theoph. Cont. De Them. || τεσσαράκοντα V edd.: σαράκοντα P τέσσαρα *coni.* Kyriakides || 104 Λοδόηχον P Λοδοτχον Theoph. Cont. Λοδοῦχον De Them. Δολοίχον Theoph. Cont.^V || 105 ῥήγα Meursius Ba Be Theoph. Cont. De Them.: δοῦκα P || πάπα (*etiam* De Them.): πάπαν Theoph. Cont. || συνεπαμύνεται Me Ba συνεπαμῦναι De Them. συνεπικουρήσαι Theoph. Cont. || 107 αἰτήσει: ἐντεῦξεί De Them. || ῥίξ P || 108 ἅμα τῷ — 110 κάστρων: τὰς ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν μνημονευθείσας χώρας τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν Theoph. Cont. *deest in* De Them. || 108/9 τοῖς Χρωβάτοις καὶ Σέρβλοις καὶ Ζαχλούμοις *coni.* Bury || 109 καί: τῷ edd. || Τερβουნიῶτες P || Καναλιῖταις P || 110 Ῥαουσαίοις Moravcsik: Ῥαουσιόις P edd. || 111/2 Λογουβαρδίᾳ edd. || 112 παρεκάθισαν *coni.* Bekker παρεκάθησαν P: ἐκάθησαν edd. ἐκάθισαν Migne || Βάρεως: Βάρης De Them. || 114 Ῥαουσιού V edd.: Ῥαουσαίου P || οἰκήτορες V edd.: οἰκηταὶ P || 115 Λογουβαρδίᾳ edd. || 116 τῶν *om.* edd. || 117 Σολδανὸν edd. De Them.: Σολδάνον P Theoph. Cont. || Λοδόιχος Be Λοδοίχος Bury Λοδοῦχος De Them.: Δολοήχος P Δοδοῦχος De Them.^C || ῥίξ P || 119 ῥίξ P || 120 Σολδάνον Theoph. Cont. || 121 αὐτὸν V¹ edd.: αὐτῷ P V || 122 ῥίγι P || Λοδοτχῶ Be: Δολοήχῳ P || 125 ἐγενόμην: ἤμην V edd. || 126 Λοδόιχος Be: Δολοήχος P ||

him to his table and would eat with him. And the nobles of Capua and Beneventum used to go to Soldan and ask him questions about the treatment and care of cattle and other matters, because of his age and experience. And Soldan, who was cunning and crooked, said to them: «I would like to say a thing to you, but I fear to be betrayed by you to the king and I shall lose my life.» But they swore to him, and he took heart and said to them: «The king is minded to banish all of you to great Francia, and if you disbelieve it, wait a little, and I will satisfy you.» And he went off and said to Lewis: «The nobles of this place are evil, and you cannot be master of this country unless you destroy the powerful men who oppose you; but do you bind the first men of the city and send them off to your country, and then the rest will be submissive to you, as you desire.» When he had won him to carrying out his advice, and *the king* had instructed that chains of iron should be made for their banishment, Soldan went off and said to the nobles: «Do you still not believe that the king is sending you into banishment, and that all remembrance of you will vanish from among men? Yet, if you will be perfectly satisfied, go and see what all the smiths are making by order of the king. And if you do not find them making the chains and fetters, know that all I have told you is lies; but if I speak truth, look to your safety and reward me for my valuable and salutary advice to you.» The nobles obeyed the word of Soldan, and when they had seen the chains and fetters, they were completely satisfied, and thereafter began to devise the destruction of king Lewis. The king, in ignorance of all this, went out hunting. But when he came back, his nobles had taken possession of the city and did not allow him to enter. King Lewis, seeing himself thus opposed by the nobles, went back to his own country. The nobles said to Soldan: «What, then, would you have us do for you, in return for the salvation wrought for us by you?» And he requested them to dismiss him to his own country, which they did, and he went off to Africa, to his own country. But, mindful of his ancient malice, he made an expedition and came with a force to Capua and to Beneventum, to lay siege to and subdue them. The rulers of these cities sent envoys to king Lewis in Francia, asking him to come and help them fight against Soldan and the Africans. But king Lewis, when he heard of it, having learnt

132 ῥῆγα Meursius Ba Be: δοῦκα P || 133 δμωσαν P || ῥίξ P || 134 θέλει V edd.: θέλη P || 136 Λοδότχον Be: Δολόηχον P || τόπου om. V Me || τούτου coni. Moravcsik: τού P om. edd. || 139 θέλεις Be: θέλης P || 140 σοι V edd.; σε P || πληρώση edd.: πληρώσει P || 141 ὄρησεν P || 142 Σολδάνος Theoph. Cont. || 143 ῥίξ P || 149 σωτηρία P || 150 Σολδανού V Ba Be: Σουλδανού P || 152 ῥίγος P || Λοδοήχου P || ῥίξ P || 154 ῥίξ P || Λοδόηχος P || 155 ὑπέστρεψεν: ἀνθυπενόστησε Theoph. Cont. || 156 Σολδάνος Theoph. Cont. || θέλεις V edd.: θέλης P || ἡμᾶς V edd.: ὑμῖν P || 158 ἐν Ἀφρικῇ: κατὰ Καρχηδόνα Theoph. Cont. || 162 ῥίγα P || Λοδόηχον P || 163 ῥίξ P ||

how Soldan had acted in persuading the nobles that, «the king purposes to send you in chains to banishment in Francia», declared in answer to them: «I repent my former conduct towards you, when I saved you from your enemies, and you returned me evil for good; and as I was cast out by you, now I rejoice at your destruction.» Then, having failed with king Lewis, they sent envoys to the emperor of the Romans, asking that he should give them aid and deliver them out of this danger. The emperor promised to aid them. But when the diplomatic agent had left Constantinople on his homeward way, bringing back to them who had sent him fair tidings of the alliance with the emperor, he was still short of the city when he was captured by the scouts of Soldan. For Soldan had obtained previous intelligence of the sending of a mission of supplication to the emperor of the Romans and had made efforts to capture their diplomatic agent, which he did. From his captive he learnt of the service he had performed, and that in a few days the succours of the emperor of the Romans would arrive. So Soldan said to this same diplomatic agent: «If you do what I tell you, you shall be awarded freedom and very great gifts; but if not, you shall lose your life and your death shall be cruel.» The man promised to carry out his orders, and Soldan said to him: «I order you to stand close to the wall and to summon those who sent you and say to them: 'For my part, I have carried out the service laid upon me, and have importuned the emperor of the Romans on your behalf; however, know that my journey was vain, and that the emperor has altogether spurned the supplication you made, and do not expect succour from the emperor'» When he had promised to perform this gladly, they conducted him close to the city, where, disregarding all that Soldan had said, neither fearing his threats nor seduced by his promises, but setting the fear of God in his heart, he communed thus with himself: «It is expedient that I alone should die, and not by my word entrap and betray so many souls to their death.» So, when he was near the wall and had summoned the nobles, he thus addressed those who were in authority over that city: «I, my lords, have discharged my office and will announce to you what was declared by the emperor of the Romans; but I adjure you by the Son of God and the salvation of all the city and of your very souls, to reward, instead of me, my children

κρισταριου: τῆς ἀγγελίας διάκονος Theoph. Cont. πρεσβευτῆς Cedr. || 177
 τοῦ τὸν V Me Be: τοῦτον P || 180 βοήθεια V edd.: β[ο]ήθεια P || αὐτῶ
 V edd.: α[ὐ]τὸ P || 181 ποιήσεις F edd.: ποιήσης P || δωρεῶν V edd.:
 δ[ω]ρεῶν P || 182 ἀπολέσεις F edd.: ἀπολ[έ]σης P ἀπολέσης V || 183
 ἐκπληρῶσαι V edd.: ἐκπ[η]ρῶσαι P || εἶπεν V edd.: ε[ἶ]πεν P || 184 ὅτι
 V edd.: ὅτ[ι] P || τεῖχος V edd.: τεῖχ[ους] P || 185 ἀποστειλαντάς V edd.:
 ἀποστ[ε]ιλαντάς P || αὐτούς V edd.: αὐτού[ς] P || 186 ὄφειλον V edd.:
 ὄφειλο[ν] P || 187 ὅτι V edd.: ὅτ[ι] P || κενὸν F Meursius Ba Be: καινὸν P ||
 188 πάμφαυλον Migne: παμφαῦλον P edd. παρὰ φαῦλον *coni.* Bekker ||
 ἔθετο: ἔθηκε edd. || 193 αὐτοῦ edd. || 196/7 ἐξουσιάσαντας edd. || 199 ὡμᾶς
 V edd. Theoph. Cont.: ὡμῖν P ||

and her who is hoping to receive me back, my wife; for as you deal with them, so shall your reward be from God, the just and righteous rewarder, who shall judge the quick and the dead.» When he had so spoken, he fortified them with these words: «For my part I shall be destroyed by Soldan and the threat of death is upon me; but do you stand fast and be not faint-hearted, but endure a little while, and in a few days shall arrive the salvation which has been sent to you by the emperor of the Romans». When he had so spoken, the servants of Soldan who had charge of him, hearing his unexpected message, gnashed with their teeth upon him, and each outran the other to be the author of his murder. But after he was made away by them, Soldan, dreading the powers of the emperor that were coming upon him, withdrew to his own country. And from that time until this day the men of Capua and the men of Beneventum have been under the authority of the Romans in perfect servitude and subjection, for that great benefit which was done to them.

The city of Ragusa is not called Ragusa in the tongue of the Romans but, because it stands on cliffs, it is called in Roman speech 'the cliff, lau'; whence they are called 'Lausaioi', i. e. 'those who have their seat on the cliff'. But vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, has changed the denomination and called them Rausaioi. These same Rausaioi used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached *its present size*, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory, Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius, in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.

206 ὀλίγον Ba Be: ὀλίγων P || 207 φθάσει edd. ἔρχεται Theoph. Cont. || 208 οικεῖοι: ὑπέρηται Theoph. Cont. || 211 αὐτοῦ σφαγῆς edd. || γέγονεν: γένειεν V edd. || 212 κατερχομένην: ἐρχομένην edd. || 217 'Ραούση P || 218 *post* λέγεται *add.* δὲ Be || 219 λαῦ: λαοῦ Migne || δὲ *om.* Be || 222 'Ραουσαῖοι P || 223 Πίταυρα: 'Επίδαιρον *coni.* Bandurius || 226 δὲ *secl.* Jenkins || 229 δ' ἔχειν: δ' ἔχει Me δ' ἔχειν Ba Be <τοῦ> ὄδ' ἔχειν *coni.* Bekker τοῦ ἔχειν <τὸ μέγεθος δ' ἀρτίως ἔχει> *coni.* Bury || 232 Βικτωρῆνος P || Βαλεντῖνος² Bandurius Be: Βανεντῖνος P *mg.* P || 233/4 μετοίκησαν P || 234 τὸ *om.* edd. || φ': τ' *coni.* Mikoczī Šišić χ' *coni.* Labuda || ἰνδικτιῶνος edd. || ζ': ἐβδόμη edd. || 235 τῷ αὐτῷ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ P ||

The city of Spalato, which means 'little palace', was founded by the emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling-place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e. g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St. Domnus, in which lies St. Domnus himself, and which was the resting-place of the same emperor Diocletian. Beneath it are arching vaults, which used to be prisons, in which he cruelly confined the saints whom he tormented. St. Anastasius also lies in this city.

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

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

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

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

246 βισάλων P || 247 ἐγχωρήγου P: ἐγχωρούου *coni.* Kukules || τετραπεδικων: τετραπέδων *coni.* Laskin || 248 ὄργυας P || μιάς: α' V edd. || 249 ὄργυας P || 250 μολιβδω P || ἐγχυλιασμέων edd.: ἐγχυλιασμένα P || *post de add.* και edd. || 251 κοσμίτας P || 252 εἰληματικὰς Meursius Ba Be || 254 εἰλημάτων V edd. || διόροφα P || 255 τριόροφα P || και: μὴ edd. || ὀλίγον edd.: ὀλίγων P || 258 Τετραγγούριν: τε Τραγγουρίον *coni.* Šafarik Τραγούριον *mg.* P¹ Τράγουρις *mg.* V² || μικρόν ἐστι νησίον V edd. || 261 μικρόν: μακρόν *coni.* Jenkins || τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον P || 262 μάρτυρ edd. || 263 Δεκατέρων: Κάτερα *mg.* V³ || 264 πεπνιγμένον *coni.* Jenkins: πεπληγμένον P edd. || 265 ιε': δεκαπέντε edd. || ἢ *addendum* *coni.* Bury || κ': εἴκοσι edd. || 267 κύκλον V edd. || 268 τῷ αὐτῷ V edd.: τὸ αὐτὸ P || 269 ἀκέραιος *corr.* Kukules Kyriakides: ἀκεραίως Meursius Ba Be: ἀκαίρεως P || 271 ἡλιματικῶς P: εἰληματικὸς V edd. || 272 'Ρωμαίων V edd.: ῥῶ' P || 273 ἰὰμ ἔρα V Me ἡμερὰ P: ἰὰμ ἔρατ Meursius Ba Be ||

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

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

30. Story of the province of Dalmatia.

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

They, then, who are inquiring into the taking of Dalmatia also, how it was taken by the nations of the Slavs, may learn of it from what follows; but first of all its geographical position must be told. In olden times, there-

290 ἔχοντα V edd.: ἔχων[τα] P || 291 Καταυτρεβενῶ P Κατανγρεβενῶ seu Καταυγρεβενῶ conī. Skok || Πιζύχ edd. Γιζύχ conī. Rački || Σεβῶ P || Σκιρδάκισσα V edd. Σκιρδὰ Κίσσα conī. Šafarik || 292 Μελετὰ V edd. || Ἐστιουνήζ: Σεστρουνήζ (= Σεστρουνήσιον seu Σεστρου-νησίον?) conī. Rački Grot Ἐστρουνήζ conī. Skok.

30. 3 γινώμεθα (conī. etiam Bekker Bury): γινώμεθα V edd. || 4 φανεράν Be: φανερά P || 5 τινῶν ἀξιολόγων edd. || καὶ om. V edd. || ἐπανακολουθῆ edd. || 7 Σκλαβι{νι}κῶν Migne || 8 ante τοῖνον add. μὲν edd. ||

fore, Dalmatia used to start at the confines of Dyrrachium, or Antibari, and used to extend as far as the mountains of Istria, and spread out as far as the river Danube. All this area was under the rule of the Romans, and this province was the most illustrious of all the provinces of the west; however, it was taken by the nations of the Slavs in the following manner. Near Spalato is a city called Salona, built by the emperor Diocletian; Spalato itself was also built by Diocletian, and his palace was there, but at Salona dwelt his nobles and large numbers of the common folk. This city was the head of all Dalmatia. Now, every year a force of cavalry from the other cities of Dalmatia used to collect at, and be despatched from Salona, to the number of a thousand, and they would keep guard on the river Danube, on account of the Avars. For the Avars had their haunts on the far side of the river Danube, where now are the Turks, and led a nomad life. The men of Dalmatia who went there every year would often see the beasts and men on the far side of the river. On one occasion, therefore, they decided to cross over and investigate who they were that had their abode there. So they crossed, and found only the women and children of the Avars, the men and youths being on a military expedition. Falling suddenly upon them, therefore, they made them prisoner, and returned unmolested, carrying off this booty to Salona. Now when the Avars came back from their military expedition and learnt from their losses what had happened, they were confounded, but know not from what quarter this blow had come upon them. They therefore decided to bide their time and in this way to discover the whole. And so, when according to custom the garrison was once more despatched from Salona, not the same men as before but others, they too decided to do what their predecessors had done. So they crossed over against them, but finding them massed together, not scattered abroad as on the previous occasion, not merely did they achieve nothing but actually suffered the most frightful reverse. For some of them were slain, and the remainder taken alive, and not one escaped the hand of *the enemy*. *The latter* examined them as to who they were and whence they came, and having learnt that it was from them that they had suffered the blow aforesaid, and having moreover found out by enquiry the nature of their homeland and taken a fancy to it as far as they might from hearsay, they held the survivors captive and dressed themselves up in their clothes, just as the others *had worn them*, and then, mounting the horses and *taking*

τὴν Me *add.* τῆς Ba Be || Σαλῶνα V Me || χιλίων V *edd.*: ,α P || 21 Δανουβίου *edd.* || ἔνεκα *edd.* || Ἄβαρεις V Me Ba: Ἀβάρεις Be Migne Ἄβαρης P^x Ἀβάρης P Ἄβαροι *mg.* P^s || 23 Τούρκοι P || 28 ἐπιπέσοντες *edd.* || 30 Ἄβαρες *edd.* Ἀβάρεις Migne || 32/3 αὐτοῖς παραφυλάξαι *edd.* || 35 ταῦτα Be: ταῦτα P || ἐκείνοις *edd.*: ἐκείνοι P || 37 οὐκ *secl.* Be Bury || 38 αὐτῶν V *edd.*: αὐτοῖς P || 40 τε *om.* *edd.* || 42 ἀρᾶσθέντες: ἐρασθέντες V *edd.* ||

in their hands the standards and the rest of the insignia which *the others* had brought with them, they all started off in military array and made for Salona. And since they had learnt by enquiry also the time at which the garrison was wont to return from the Danube (which was the Great and Holy Saturday), they themselves arrived on that same day. When they got near, the bulk of the army was placed in concealment, but up to a thousand of them, those who, to play the trick, had acquired the horses and uniforms of the Dalmatians, rode out in front. Those in the city, recognizing their insignia and dress, and also the day, for upon this day it was customary for them to return, opened the gates and received them with delight. But they, as soon as they were inside, seized the gates and, signalling their exploit to the army, gave it the cue to run in and enter with them. And so they put to the sword all in the city and thereafter made themselves masters of all the country of Dalmatia and settled down in it. Only the townships on the coast held out against them, and continued to be in the hands of the Romans, because they obtained their livelihood from the sea. The Avars, then, seeing this land to be most fair, settled down in it. But the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now. From them split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land. After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject to them. And so from that time this land was possessed by the Croats, and there are still in Croatia some who are of Avar descent and are recognized as Avars. The rest of the Croats stayed over against Francia, and are now called Belocroats, that is, white Croats, and have their own prince; they are subject to Otto, the great king of Francia, or Saxony, and are unbaptized, and intermarry and are friendly with the Turks. From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the prince of Croatia. For a number of years the Croats of Dalmatia also

τὸ φοσσάτο P || 60 Ἄβαρεις V Me Ba: Ἄβαρης P Ἀβάρεις Be Migne || 62 κατοίκου edd.: κατοίκου P || Βαγιβαρείας: Βαβιγαρείας *coni.* Pavić || 63 Βελοχρωβάτοι edd.: Βελαχρωβάτοι P || μιὰ P || 64 πέντε V edd.: ε΄ P || Κλουκάς P || Μουχλῶ P || 65 Χρωβάτος (*coni. etiam* Bury): Χρώβατος edd. || δύο V edd.: β΄ P || Τουγᾶ P: Τοῦγα V edd. || Βοῦγα edd. || 66 Ἄβαρεις Be || 67 ἀλλήλοις V edd. || 68 κατέσφαξαν] *litteras κατ in ras. scr.* P¹ || 70 ἐκ: <τινες> ἐκ *coni.* Bury || τούς *secl.* Migne Bury: τούτων *coni.* Dujčev Kyriakides || 71 Ἄβαρεις Be || 73 *ante* ἴδιον *add.* τὸν edd. || 74 ῥίγι P || τῆς: τε *coni.* Bandurius || 74/5 συμπεμθερίας P || 75 τῶν¹ *om.* V edd. || 77 Παννονίαν Ba Be: Παπωνίαν P *mg.* P⁸ || 78 καὶ μόνον *om.* Be ||

were subject to the Franks, as they had formerly been in their own country; but the Franks treated them with such brutality that they used to murder Croat infants at the breast and cast them to the dogs. The Croats, unable to endure such treatment from the Franks, revolted from them, and slew those of them whom they had for princes. On this, a large army from Francia marched against them, and after they had fought one another for seven years, at last the Croats managed to prevail and destroyed all the Franks with their leader, who was called Kotzilis. From that time they remained independent and autonomous, and they requested the holy baptism from the bishop of Rome, and bishops were sent who baptized them in the time of Porinos their prince. Their country was divided into 11 'zupanias', viz., Chlebiana, Tzenzina, Imota, Pleba, Pesenta, Parathalassia, Breberi, Nona, Tnina, Sidraga, Nina; and their ban possesses Kribasa, Litza and Goutziska. Now, the said Croatia and the rest of the Slavonic regions are situated thus: Diocleia is neighbour to the forts of Dyrrachium, I mean, to Elissus and to Helcynium and Antibari, and comes up as far as Decatera, and on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From the city of Decatera begins the domain of Terbounia and stretches along as far as Ragusa, and on the side of its mountain country it is neighbour to Serbia. From Ragusa begins the domain of the Zachlumi and stretches along as far as the river Orontius; and on the side of the coast it is neighbour to the Pagani, but on the side of the mountain country it is neighbour to the Croats on the north and to Serbia at the front. From the river Orontius begins Pagania and stretches along as far as the river Zentina; it has three 'zupanias', Rhastotza and Mokros and that of Dalen. Two of these 'zupanias', viz., Rhastotza and that of Mokros, lie on the sea, and possess galleys; but that of Dalenos lies distant from the sea, and they live by agriculture. Neighbour to them are four islands, Meleta, Kourkoura, Bratza and Pharos, most fair and fertile, with deserted cities upon them and many olive-yards; on these they dwell and keep their flocks, from which they live. From the river Zentina begins the country of Croatia and stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is, to the city of Alburnum, and on the side of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon

edd. || 93 Νίνα: Σμίνα *coni.* Rački || Κρίβασαν: Κρίβασαν *coni.* Rački Κρίβαβαν *coni.* Šišić Skok || 94 Γουτζησκά (*etiam* Bandurius Bury): Γουτζηκᾶ edd. || 94/5 αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβινίαι *coni.* Bury οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Ba Be || Σκλαβινίαι P || 95 Διόκλινα P Ba Be || 96 Ἐλισσόν Be || τὸ: τὸν edd. || Ἐλκύνιον P || 97 Ἀντιβαριν V edd.: Ἀντιβάριον P || 98 Σερβλεία P || 103 μὲν πλησιάζει — 105 ἔχουσα *ordinem versuum permutavit* Be || 103/4 τῆ Σερβλίᾳ edd.: τὴν Σερβλίαν P || 106 τὸν: τὸ V edd. || τοῦ: τὸ edd. || Δαλέν: Δαλμὲν *coni.* Νοβακονίε Rački || 107 Ῥάστωτζα (*littera α² erasa*) P^v Be: Ῥάστωτζα P V || Μοκροῦ edd.: Μόκρου P || 108 αἵτινες edd.: οἵτινες P || σαγινας P || μηρόθεν Be || 109 ζῶσι] *litteram ζ in ras. scr.* P¹ || 110 τέσσαρες edd.: 8' P || Βράτζα: Βράτζω V Βάρτζω edd. || 111 ἐλαῖῶνας *coni.* Bury: ἐλῶνας P ἐλῶνας edd. ἀμπελῶνας *coni.* Dujšev Kyriakides: || 113 *ante* Χρωβατίας *add.* τῆς V edd. ||

the province of Istria, and at Tzentina and Chlebena becomes neighbour to the country of Serbia. For the country of Serbia is at the front of all the rest of the countries, but on the north is neighbour to Croatia, and on the south to Bulgaria. Now, after the said Slavs had settled down, they took possession of all the surrounding territory of Dalmatia; but the cities of the Romani took to cultivating the islands and living off them; since, however, they were daily enslaved and destroyed by the Pagani, they deserted these islands and resolved to cultivate the mainland. But they were stopped by the Croats; for they were not yet tributary to the Croats, and used to pay to the military governor all that they now pay to the Slavs. Finding it impossible to live, they approached the glorious emperor Basil and told him all the above. And so that glorious emperor Basil ordered that all that was then paid to the military governor they should pay to the Slavs, and live at peace with them, and that some slight payment should be made to the military governor, as a simple token of submission and servitude to the emperors of the Romans and their military governor. And from that time all these cities became tributary to the Slavs, and they pay them fixed sums: the city of Spalato, 200 nomismata; the city of Tetrangourin, 100 nomismata; the city of Diadora, 110 nomismata; the city of Opsara, 100 nomismata; the city of Arbe, 100 nomismata; the city of Vekla, 100 nomismata; so that the total amounts to 710 nomismata, exclusive of wine and various other commodities, which are in excess of the payments in cash. The city of Ragusa is situated between the two countries of the Zachlumi and of Terbounia; they have their vineyards in both countries, and pay to the prince of the Zachlumi 36 nomismata, and to the prince of Terbounia 36 nomismata.

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

The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey and next to Francia, and have for Slav neighbours the unbaptized Serbs. 'Croats' in the Slav tongue means 'those who occupy much territory'. These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius

136 νομισματα¹ add. Moravesik || νομισματα² add. Moravesik || 137 νομισματα Bandurius Be: ,, P || 141 νομισματα Be: ,, P.

31. 3 τῆς om. edd. || 4 τῶν καὶ cont. Marquart Bury: καὶ τῶν P edd. || 8 ante πολλὴν add. τὴν edd. ||

before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius, at that time when the Avars had fought and expelled from those parts the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian had brought from Rome and settled there, and who were therefore called 'Romani' from their having been translated from Rome to those countries, I mean, to those now called Croatia and Serbia. These same Romani having been expelled by the Avars in the days of this same emperor of the Romans Heraclius, their countries were made desolate. And so, by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell. These same Croats had at that time for prince the father of Porgas. The emperor Heraclius sent and brought priests from Rome, and made of them an archbishop and a bishop and elders and deacons, and baptized the Croats; and at that time these Croats had Porgas for their prince.

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

These baptized Croats will not fight foreign countries outside the borders of their own; for they received a kind of oracular response and injunction from the pope of Rome who in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, sent priests and baptized them. For after their baptism the Croats made a covenant, confirmed with their own hands and by oaths sure and binding in the name of St. Peter the apostle, that never would they go upon a foreign country and make war on it, but rather would live at peace with all who were willing to do so; and they received from the same pope of Rome a benediction to this effect, that if any other foreigners should come against the country of these same Croats and bring war upon it, then might God fight for the Croats and protect them, and Peter the disciple of Christ give them victories. And many years after, in the days of prince Terpimer, father of prince Krasimer, there came from Francia that lies between Croatia and Venice a man called Martin, of the utmost piety though clad in the garb of a layman, whom these same Croats

V 9 τοὺς Σέρβλους edd.: τοῖς Σέρβλοις P || 11 Ἀβάρεις Be || πολεμίσαντες P || 13 Ῥωμάνοι P || 15 Ῥωμάνοι P || 18 καταπολεμίσαντες P || 21 Ποργά P: Βοργά seu Βορκά conī. Rađki || 23 ἐπισκόπους conī. Bury || 26 ἡ] in ras. scr. P¹ || 28 τῶν add. edd. || 29 Σαλῶνας P: Σαλῶνος F || 31 Ὅτι οὗτοι — 57 Βενετίας *interpolationem posterioris aetatis esse conī.* Laskin || 31 Χρωβατοί (*sine acc.*) P || 32 ἀλλοτρίαις Me ἀλλοτρίους Ba Be || ὀρισμὸν Ba Be: ὀρισμένον P || 33 ante Ἡρακλείου add. τοῦ edd. || 37/8 πολεμίσωσιν P || 41 τῶν Χρωβάτων ὁ conī. Dujšev Kyriakides: ὁ τῶν Χρωβάτων P edd. || προπολεμεῖ conī. Dujšev Kukules Kyriakides: πρὸς πολεμεῖ P προσπολεμεῖ V edd. || 42 προξενεῖ] *litteras ei in ras. scr. P¹* || 45 εὐλαβῶν: εὐσεβῶν conī. Meursius ||

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

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

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

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

This great power and multitude of men Croatia possessed until the time of prince Krasimer. But when he was dead and his son Miroslav, after ruling four years, was made away with by the ban Pribounias, and quarrels and numerous dissensions broke out in the country, the horse and foot and galleys and cutters of the Croat dominion were diminished. And now it has 30 galleys and *** cutters, large and small, and *** horse and *** foot.

55 ἔμπορειά P || κάστρον¹ (*etiam* Bury): κάστρου edd. || 62 Βορίσης *coni.* Meursius Bandurius Bury: Βορώσης P edd. || πολεμισίας P || 66 ἀλλήλους V edd.: ἀλλήλους P || 68 ἐν τῇ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία *coni.* Bury: ἡ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία P edd. || 69 Νόνα V edd. || Βελόγραδον edd. Βελάγραδον V *mg.* P^s || Βελίτζειν V edd. || 70 Κόρι V edd.: Κόρη P Κόρι-νιον *coni.* Rački || 71 τῶν *om.* V edd. || 72 ξ' χιλιάδων *scr.* Moravesik: ξ ᾱ ᾱ P Ba Be || χιλιάδων² *corr.* Moravesik: χιλιάδας P edd. || σαγῆνας P || 73 κονδοῦρας (*littera τ in δ correcta*) P^v: κοντούρας P V edd. κονδοῦρας *mg.* P^s || 74 κονδοῦραι (*littera τ erasa et s. v. littera δ addita*) P¹ *mg.* P^s V edd.: κοντοῦραι P || 77 τέσσαρα edd.: δ' P || 78 Πριβουνία (*etiam* Bandurius Be): Πριβουνίου V Me Ba || 80 κονδοῦραι V edd.: κονδοῦραι P || 81 κονδοῦρας P || *post* κονδοῦρας *addendum μ' coni.* Bury || *post* μικρὰς *lac. ind.* P *numerus condurarum excidisse coni.* Meursius Bandurius || 82 *post* καθαλαρικὸν *et post* πεζικὸν *numerus equitatus peditatusque excidisse coni.* Meursius Bandurius ||

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

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

The Serbs are descended from the unbaptized Serbs, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey in a place called by them Boiki, where their neighbour is Francia, as is also Great Croatia, the unbaptized, also called 'white'; in this place, then, these Serbs also originally dwelt. But when two brothers succeeded their father in the rule of Serbia, one of them, taking one half of the folk, claimed the protection of Heraclius, the emperor of the Romans, and the same emperor Heraclius received him and gave him a place in the province of Thessalonica to settle in, namely Serbia, which from that time has acquired this denomination. 'Serbs' in the tongue of the Romans is the word for 'slaves', whence the colloquial 'serbula' for menial shoes, and 'tzerboulianoi' for those who wear cheap, shoddy footgear. This name the Serbs acquired from their being slaves of the emperor of the Romans. Now, after some time these same Serbs decided to depart to their own homes, and the emperor sent them off. But when they had crossed the river Danube, they changed their minds and sent a request to the emperor Heraclius, through the military governor then holding Belgrade, that he would grant them other land to settle in. And since what is now Serbia and Paganian and the so-called country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of the Kanalites were under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and since these countries had been made desolate by the Avars (for they had expelled from those parts the Romani who now live in Dalmatia and

32. 2 Σερβλῶν P || 4 Βόικι edd. Βοϊσκι *coni.* Marquart Βοϊοι *coni.* Skok Βόϊμι *coni.* Grégoire || 6 τοῖνον: οῦν V edd. || 12 ἀπειλήφεν: παρείληφε edd. || 13 σέρβουλα edd. || δουλικά *coni.* Bekker: δουλικῶς P edd. δουλικῶς <ἐχοντά> *coni.* Bury || 18 Δάνουβιν edd. || 20 Βελέγραδον *scr.* Moravcsik: Βελάγραδον P Βελόγραδον Be || 21 ὀνομασθεῖσα: ὀνομαζομένη V edd. || 23 ἔρημαι Ba Be || 25 ἀπήλασαν Be || καὶ *omittendum coni.* Bury Kukules ||

Dyrrachium), therefore the emperor settled these same Serbs in these countries, and they were subject to the emperor of the Romans; and the emperor brought elders from Rome and baptized them and taught them fairly to perform the works of piety and expounded to them the faith of the Christians. And since Bulgaria was beneath the dominion of the Romans *** when, therefore, that same Serbian prince died who had claimed the emperor's protection, his son ruled in succession, and thereafter his grandson, and in like manner the succeeding princes from his family. And after some years was begotten of them Boiseslav, and of him Rodoslav, and of him Prosigois, and of him Blastimer; and up to the time of this Blastimer the Bulgarians lived at peace with the Serbs, whose neighbours they were and with whom they had a common frontier, and they were friendly one toward another, and were in servitude and submission to the emperors of the Romans and kindly entreated by them. But, during the rule of this same Blastimer, Presiam, prince of Bulgaria, came with war against the Serbs, with intent to reduce them to submission; but though he fought them three years he not merely achieved nothing but also lost very many of his men. After the death of prince Blastimer his three sons, Muntimer and Stroïmer and Goïnikos, succeeded to the rule of Serbia and divided up the country. In their time came up the prince of Bulgaria, Michael Boris, wishing to avenge the defeat of his father Presiam, and made war, and the Serbs discomfited him to such an extent that they even held prisoner his son Vladimer, together with twelve great boyars. Then, out of grief for his son, Boris perforce made peace with the Serbs. But, being about to return to Bulgaria and afraid lest the Serbs might ambush him on the way, he begged for his escort the sons of prince Muntimer, Borenas and Stephen, who escorted him safely as far as the frontier at Rasi. For this favour Michael Boris gave them handsome presents, and they in return gave him, as presents in the way of friendship, two slaves, two falcons, two dogs and eighty furs, which the Bulgarians describe as tribute. A short while after, the same three brothers, the princes of Serbia, fell out, and one of them, Muntimer, gained the upper hand and, wishing to be sole ruler, seized the other two and handed them over to Bulgaria, keeping by him and caring for only the son

Σέρβλου: τῆς Σερββλας *coni.* Bekker Bury || 32 ἔγγων V edd. ἔγγον P: ἔγγονος P^Υ || 33 ἐγεννήθη edd.: ἐγεννήθη P || 35 Βλαστήμερος edd. || 35/6 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 39 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 41 πολεμίσας P || 42 ἀπόλεσεν P || Βλαστημέρου edd. || 43 Μουντίμηρος Bury || 44 Στροϊμηρος V Στροήμηρος P: Στροήμερος Ba Be || 45/6 διεκδικῆσαι: ἐκδικῆσαι edd. || 46 πολεμίσας P || 47 ἐπτόησαν edd.: ἔπτωσαν P ἑπταισαν *coni.* Kyriakides || Βλαδίμηρον *scr.* Moravcsik: Βλαστίμηρον V Βλαστιμήρων P Βλαστήμερον edd. Βλαδήμερον *coni.* Šafarik Rački Dümmler Grot Zlatarski || 48 βοιλάδων *corr.* Moravcsik: βοιλάδων P edd. || δάδεκα edd.: ἰβ' P || δῆ: δέ edd. || 51 καθ' ὄδον *coni.* Bekker: καθ' ὄδοῦ edd. καθοδοῦ P || 56 γούνας P || ὀγδοήκοντα Moravcsik π' P: ἐνεήκοντα Me ἐννεήκοντα Ba Be || 57 αὐτοὶ *om.* edd. || 58 γενόμενος edd. || 59 Μουντίμηρος edd. ||

of the one brother Goïnikos, Peter by name, who fled and came to Croatia, and of whom we shall speak in a moment. The aforesaid brother Stroïmer, who was in Bulgaria, had a son Klonimer, to whom Boris gave a Bulgarian wife. Of him was begotten Tzeëslav, in Bulgaria. Muntimer, who had expelled his two brothers and taken the rule, begat three sons, Pribeslav and Branos and Stephen, and after he died his eldest son Pribeslav succeeded him. Now, after one year the aforesaid Peter, son of Goinikos, came out of Croatia and expelled from the rule his cousin Pribeslav and his two brothers, and himself succeeded to the rule, and they fled away and entered Croatia. Three years later Branos came to fight Peter and was defeated and captured by him, and blinded. Two years after that, Klonimer, the father of Tzeëslav, escaped from Bulgaria and he too came and with an army entered one of the cities of Serbia, Dostinika, with intent to take over the rule. Peter attacked and slew him, and continued to govern for another 20 years, and his rule began during the reign of Leo, the holy emperor, of most blessed memory, to whom he was in submission and servitude. He also made peace with Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, and even made him god-father to his child. Now, after the time that this lord Leo had reigned, the then military governor at Dyrrachium, the protospatharius Leo Rhabduchos, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister and *office* of foreign minister, arrived in Paganía, which was at that time under the control of the prince of Serbia, in order to advise and confer with this same prince Peter upon some service and affair. Michael, prince of the Zachlumi, his jealousy aroused by this, sent information to Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, that the emperor of the Romans was bribing prince Peter to take the Turks with him and go upon Bulgaria. It was at that time when the battle of Achelo had taken place between the Romans and the Bulgarians. Symeon, mad with rage at this, sent against prince Peter of Serbia Sigrizis Theodore and the late Marmais with an army, and they took with them also the young prince Paul, son of Branos whom Peter, prince of Serbia, had blinded. The Bulgarians proceeded against the prince of Serbia by treachery, and, by binding him with the relationship of god-father and giving a sworn undertaking that he should suffer nothing untoward at their hands, they tricked him into coming out to them, and then on the instant bound him

om. edd. || Τξεσθλάβος P *edd.* || Μουντιμήρος P: Μουντιμηρος *edd.* || δ³
om. edd. || 67 Βράνον] *litteram β in ras. scr.* P¹ *mg. iter.* P⁸ || 68
 Πριβέσθλαβος *mg.* P⁸ V *edd.*: Πριδέσθλαβος P || 73 πολεμείσαι P || 74 ó
om. edd. || 74/5 Βουλγαρίας V *edd.* || 76 τῶν *om.* V *edd.* || κάστρον: κάστρον
 V *edd.* || *ante* Σερβλίας *add.* τῆς V *edd.* || Δοστινίκαν: Δροστινίκαν *coni.*
 Skok || 77 πολεμίσας P || 80 ὥστε: ὅστε *edd.* ὅς γε *an* ὥστε? *coni.* Bek-
 ker || 81 κύρης P || 83 'Ραυδοῦχος P || 86 δουλείας: δουλώσεως *edd.* || 90 *post*
 δὲ *add.* καὶ *edd.* || 92 τούτῳ V *edd.*: τοῦτο P || γενόμενος ἐν τούτῳ V *edd.* ||
ante Συμεῶν *add.* ὁ V *edd.* || 94 φωσάτου P || 98 παρανατὰ Be ||

and carried him off to Bulgaria, and he died in prison. Paul, son of Branos, took his place and governed three years. The emperor, the lord Romanus, who had in Constantinople the young prince Zacharias, son of Pribeslav, prince of Serbia, sent him off to be prince in Serbia, and he went and fought, but was defeated by Paul; who took him prisoner and handed him over to the Bulgarians and he was kept in prison. Then, three years later, when Paul had put himself in opposition to the Bulgarians, *they* sent this Zacharias, who had previously been sent by the lord Romanus the emperor, and he expelled Paul and himself took possession of the rule over the Serbs; and thereupon, being mindful of the benefits of the emperor of the Romans, he broke with the Bulgarians, being not at all wishful to be subjected to them, but rather that the emperor of the Romans should be his master. And so, when Symeon sent against him an army under Marmaim and Sigrizis Theodore, he sent their heads and their armour from the battle to the emperor of the Romans as tokens of his victory (for the war was still going on between the Romans and the Bulgarians); nor did he ever cease, like the princes also that were before him, to send missions to the emperors of the Romans, and to be in subjection and servitude to them. Again, Symeon sent another army against prince Zacharias, under Kninos and Himnikos and Itzboklias, and together with them he sent also Tzeëslav. Then Zacharias took fright and fled to Croatia, and the Bulgarians sent a message to the 'zupans' that they should come to them and should receive Tzeëslav for their prince; and, having tricked them by an oath and brought them out as far as the first village, they instantly bound them, and entered Serbia and took away with them the entire folk, both old and young, and carried them into Bulgaria, though a few escaped away and entered Croatia; and the country was left deserted. Now, at that time these same Bulgarians under Alogobotour entered Croatia to make war, and there they were all slain by the Croats. Seven years afterwards Tzeëslav escaped from the Bulgarians with four others, and entered Serbia from Preslav, and found in the country no more than fifty men only, without wives or children, who supported themselves by hunting. With these he took possession of the country and sent a message to the emperor of the Romans asking for his support and succour, and promising to serve him and be obedient to his command, as had been the princes before him.

edd. || 115 δὲ *per comp. inser.* P¹ *in textum receperunt* V edd.: *omittendum conii.* Kukules || ἀποστέλλων *conii.* Kyriakides: ἀπέστειλλον P edd. || 117 φου-
 σάτων P || 118 Ἡτζβόκλια: Ἡτζβούλια *conii.* Hilferding ἡτζ<ιργου> βουλιὰ *conii.*
 Beševliev || 122 τῷ *om.* edd. *secl.* Moravesik || 123 παραυτὰ Be || 127 Ἀλογο-
 βότουρ: Ἀλοβογότουρ *conii.* Ilonajskij Tomaschek Marquart Fehér || 128
 ἑπτὰ edd.: ζ' P || 129 τεσσάρων edd.: δ' P || 130 Πρεσθλάβου edd. || 131 πεντή-
 κοντα edd.: ν' P ||

And thenceforward the emperor of the Romans continually benefited him, so that *the* Serbs living in Croatia and Bulgaria and the rest of the countries, whom Symeon had scattered, rallied to him when they heard of it. Moreover, many had escaped from Bulgaria and entered Constantinople, and these the emperor of the Romans clad and comforted and sent to Tzeëslav. And from the rich gifts of the emperor of the Romans he organized and populated the country, and is, as before, in servitude and subjection to the emperor of the Romans; and through the co-operation and many benefits of the emperor he has united this country and is confirmed in the rule of it.

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

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

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

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

The family of the proconsul and patrician Michael, son of Bouseboutsis, prince of the Zachlumi, came from the unbaptized who dwell on

coni. Šišić || Μεγυρέτους: Μεγερέτους *mg.* P⁸ Μεγυρέτζυς *coni.* Skok || Δρεσνεϊκ: Δρεσνεή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || Λεσνήκ: Λεσνή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || 151 Βόσωνα V *edd.* Βόσθνα *coni.* Šafarik || τὸ⁸: τὰ *coni.* Bury || Δεσνήκ: Λεσνήκ *coni.* Rački Δεσνή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok.

33. 3 'Ρωμάνων *edd.* || 4 δὴ Moravcsik: δέ P *edd.* || 5 μετώκησεν P || 6 τῷ *om.* *edd.* || 8 ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦντες *edd.* || 8/9 Ζαχλοῦμοι P || 9 *post* βασιλέα *add.* 'Ρωμάνων V *add.* 'Ρωμαίων *edd.* || 10 Ζαχλοῦμοι P || ὀνομάσθησαν P || 12 Ζαχλοῦμοι P ||

33, 34, 35

the river Visla and are called Litziki; and it settled on the river called Zachluma.

In the territory of the Zachlumi are the inhabited cities of Stagnon, Mokriskik, Iosli, Galoumaïnik, Dobriskik.

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

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

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

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

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

The country of Diocleia was also previously possessed by the Romani whom the emperor Diocletian translated from Rome, as has been said in the story about the Croats, and was under the emperor of the Romans.

34. 1 Τερβουνιωτῶν *corr.* Moravesik: Τερβουνιατῶν P edd. || **3** Τερβουνιατῶν edd. || **4/5** οἱ ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦντες κατὰγονται ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα *coni.* Jenkins: οἱ ἐκεῖσε κατὰγονται, οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρχοντος οἰκοῦντες τοῦ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα P edd. || **6/7** Βλαστημέρου edd. || **7** Βλαστήμερος edd. || **8** δὲ *om.* edd. || **9** ὀνόμασεν P || **11** Τζουζήμερης P Τζουτζήμερης edd. || **15** ἕτερα χώρα Meursius Ba Be ἕτερα χωρία P || **17** ἀμαζιά edd. || **20** Ὀρμος Be || Λουκάβετε V edd. Λουκάβε τε *coni.* Šafarik Λουκάβετζ *coni.* Rački.

35. 3 Διοκλήας P Ba Be || **4** μετώκησεν P ||

But this country also was enslaved by the Avars and made desolate, and repopulated in the time of Heraclius the emperor, just as were Croatia and Serbia and the country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of Kanali. Diocleia gets its name from the city in this country that the emperor Diocletian founded, but now it is a deserted city, though still called Diocleia.

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

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

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

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

Λουτοδόκλα: Λόντο, τὸ Δόκλα *coni.* Šafarik Λόντο, τὸ Δεόκλα *coni.* Rački Λουτοδόκλα *coni.* Skok.

36. 1 Ἀρεντανῶν: Ναρεντανῶν *coni.* Šafarik || 3 αὐτῆ *edd.* || 4 Ῥωμάνων *coni.* Jenkins: Ῥωμαίων *P edd.* || 5 μεταικήσας *P* || ἐνώκησεν *P* || 6 εἰς: πρὸς *edd.* || 7 αὐτῆ *Be* || 12 Ἀρέντα *V edd.* || 13 Ἀρεντανοὶ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀρεντάνοι *P edd.* || 15 ἡ Σλαβίνετζα *scr.* Moravcsik εἰσλαβίνετζα *P:* ἡ Λαβίνετζα *V edd.* Λαβίνετζα *mg.* P³ Λαβρίνετζα *coni.* Novaković Λαβίνζανε *seu* Λαβίτζανε *coni.* Skok || 18 Λουκάς *P:* Λούκας *edd.* || 21 ἑτέροι *P* || 22 Χόαρα *V edd.* Χόαζα *coni.* Šafarik Dümmler Rački Šišić.

37. Of the nation of the Pechenegs.

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

The whole of Patzinacia is divided into eight provinces with the same number of great princes. The provinces are these: the name of the first province is Irtim; of the second, Tzour; of the third, Gyla; of the fourth, Koulpēi; of the fifth, Charaboï; of the sixth, Talmat; of the seventh, Chopon; of the eighth, Tzopon. At the time at which the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, their princes were, in the province of Irtim, Baïtzas; in Tzour, Kouel; in Gyla, Kourkoutai; in Koulpēi, Ipaos; in Charaboï, Kaïdoun; in the province of Talmat, Kostas; in Chopon, Giazis; in the province of Tzopon, Batas. After their deaths their cousins succeeded to their rule. For law and ancient principle have prevailed among them, depriving them of authority to transmit their ranks to their sons or their brothers, it being sufficient for those in power to rule for their own life-time only, and when they die, either their cousin or sons of their cousins must be appointed, so that the rank may not run exclusively in one branch of the family, but the collaterals also inherit and succeed to the honour; but no one from a stranger family intrudes and becomes a prince. The eight provinces are divided into forty districts, and *these* have minor princelings over them.

coni. Bayer || 8 Ούζοι P || Πατζινακίται P || 9 ἀναψηλαφῶντες edd. ἀναψηλαφόντες P: ἀναψηλαφούντες V || 10 διακρατουμένην: κρατουμένην V edd. || 12 ἐξεδίωξαν αὐτούς edd. || 13 τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν: τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας V edd. || τὴν²: τῆς V edd. || 14 πενήτην πέντε edd.: νε' P *post* ἔτη *numerus anni excidisse*, *N̄ autem per comp. pro* ἰνδικτιῶν *seu* ἰνδικτιῶνος *scriptum fuisse susp.* Moravesik || 17 πρώτου V edd.: α' P || δευτέρου edd.: β' P || τρίτου edd.: γ' P || 18 τετάρτου edd.: δ' P || πέμπτου edd.: ε' P || Χαραβόη *corr.* Moravesik: Χαραβόη P edd. || ἕκτου edd.: ζ' P || 19 ἑβδόμου edd.: ζ' P || ὄγδοου edd.: η' P || 20 τῆς ἰδίας χώρας (*etiam* Bandurius): τῶν ἰδίων τόπων edd. || Πατζινακίται P || 21 Βαττζαν *coni.* Rásonyi Μάιτζαν V Ματζαν edd. || 22 Κουρκούταν edd. || 22/3 Χαραβόη *corr.* Moravesik: Χαραβόη edd. Χαβόη P || 23 δὲ *add.* Moravesik || 24 Βατάν P || 27 ἀρκεῖσθαι: ἀρκεῖν *coni.* Bekker || 28 αὐτούς edd.: αὐτοῦ P || 30 τῆς *om.* edd. || εἰς *secl.* Moravesik || 30/1 ἐκπλαγίον P: ἐκπλαγίους edd. || 32 ὀκτώ edd.: η' P || 33 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ' P ||

Four clans of the Pechenegs, that is to say, the province of Kouartzitzour and the province of Syroukalpei and the province of Borotalmat and the province of Boulatzopon, lie beyond the Dnieper river towards the eastern and northern parts that face Uzia and Chazaria and Alania and Cherson and the rest of the Regions. The other four clans lie on this side of the Dnieper river, towards the western and northern parts, that is to say that the province of Giazichopon is neighbour to Bulgaria, the province of Kato Gyla is neighbour to Turkey, the province of Charaboï is neighbour to Russia, and the province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to the tributary territories of the country of Russia, to the Oultines and Dervlenines and Lenzenines and the rest of the Slavs. Patzinacia is distant a five days journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six days journey from Alania, a ten days journey from Mordia, one day's journey from Russia, a four days journey from Turkey, half a day's journey from Bulgaria; to Cherson it is very near, and to Bosphorus closer still.

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

On this side of the Dniester river, towards the part that faces Bulgaria, at the crossings of this same river, are deserted cities: the first city is that called by the Pechenegs Aspron, because its stones look very white; the second city is Toungatai; the third city is Kraknakatai; the fourth city is Salmakatai; the fifth city is Sakakatai; the sixth city is Giaioukatai. Among these buildings of the ancient cities are found some distinctive traces of churches, and crosses hewn out of porous stone, whence some preserve a tradition that once on a time Romans had settlements there.

Marquart || κάτω V edd.: *incertum scripseritne* κάτω an κάτω P || 42 τοῦ om. edd. || Χαροβόη edd. || 43 τοῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις χώραις (*prima littera a ex dimidia parte, quinta littera i penitus erasa accentuque correcto*) P^v Ba Be: ταῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις χώραις P ταῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίαις, χώραις V ταῖς ὑποφόροις χώραις Me || 44 τοῖς¹ edd.: τοῦς P || Οὐλίτινοις: Οὐλιτινοῖς coni. Šachmatov || 46 πέντε edd.: ε' P || ὀδὸν² om. V edd. || ξξ edd.: ζ' P || Μορδίας: Μοδίας V Me Μηδίας coni. Meursius || 47 δέκα edd.: ι' P || μίας P || 48 τεσσάρων edd.: δ' P || τὸ om. V edd. || 50 Πατζινακίται P || 54 αὐτοῦς¹ coni. Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P αὐτῶν coni. Kukules || αὐτοῦς edd.: αὐτῶν P || 55 κόντουρα (*corr. etiam Grégoire Psaltes*) κόντευρα Be || 58 Δανάστρεως coni. Westberg Laskin Latyšev Šachmatov: Δανάπρεως P edd. || 60 πρῶτον V edd.: α' P || 61 δεύτερον edd.: β' P || 62 Τουγγᾶται P || τρίτον edd.: γ' P || τέταρτον edd.: δ' P || 63 πέμπτον edd.: ε' P || ἕκτον edd.: ζ' P || τὸ add. Moravcsik || 64 Γιαιουκάται P || 66 πωρίνοῦς coni. Bekker: πορίνοῦς P Ba Be πωρίτας coni. Meursius ||

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

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

The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks at that time, but had the name 'Sabartoi asphaloi', for some reason or other. The Turks were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom first voivode was the aforesaid Lebedias. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and the illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady. Now, the Pechenegs who were previously called 'Kangar' (for this 'Kangar' was a name signifying nobility and valour among them), these, then, stirred up war against the Chazars and, being defeated, were forced to quit their own land and to settle in that of the Turks. And when battle was joined between the Turks and the Pechenegs who were at that time called 'Kangar', the army of the Turks was defeated and split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi

38. 4 ἔσχεν: ἐποιεῖτο V edd. || 6 Λεβεδίας: Λαβαδίας *hic et infra conii.* Pjinskij || προσαγορεύετο edd. || 8 Χιδμάς: Χουμάς *conii.* Cassel Χιλμάς *conii.* Hammer-Purgstall || δ V edd.: δ P || Χιγγιλοῦς P VI: Χιγγυλοῦς V F edd. || 9 Τούρκοι P || 9/10 Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι *scr.* Moravcsik: Σαβαρτοίασφαλοι P V Σαβαρτοίασφαλοι V¹ F edd. Σάβαρ τουτέστι ἄσφαλοι *conii.* Fessler Σάβαρ ἦτοι σφάλει et Σάβαρ ἦτοι ἄσφαλοι *conii.* Dankovszky Hilferding || 10 ἔπονομάζοντο P || Τούρκοι P || 11 ἑπτὰ edd.: ζ' P || 13 Συνώκησαν edd.: συνωκίσας P συνοικήσας *susp.* Moravcsik || 14 τρεῖς: σγ' *conii.* Thunmann Schlözer Büdinger *aliique* τ' *conii.* Dankovszky Marczali Zichy Grégoire *aliique* σ' *conii.* Moravcsik λ' seu λγ' *conii.* Westberg || συμμαχοῦντες: συμμαχῶν τε *susp.* Moravcsik || 19 Χαζάρας *conii.* Moravcsik: Χαζάρου P edd. || 20 Πατζινακίται P || 20 τοῦτο — 21 αὐτοῖς *in parenthesis* *posuit* Be || 25/6 φουσσάτον P || 27 κατώκισεν P || 28 Σαβαρτοίασφαλοι edd. ||

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

coni. Manojlović: χελάνδια P edd. || 34 έναφικόμενος: αφικόμενος edd. || 35 αὐτὸν² *om.* edd. || 36 προσεκαλεσάμεθα edd.: προσεκαλεσώμεθα P || 37 ὑπάρχεις Ba Be: ὑπάρχεις P || 38 προβαλώμεθα V edd.: προβαλλόμεθα (*incertum sitne ω an ο*) P || ὑπείχης edd.: ὑπήκεις P || 41 εὐχαριστίαν] εὐχαριστεῖαν (*prima littera a s. v. addita*) P¹ || 43 Ἀλμούτζης *coni.* Meursius Thunmann Roesler Grot: Σαλμούτζης P edd. || 44 ὁ Ἀλμούτζης P V Me: Σαλμούτζης (*spiritibus erasis et littera ὁ in σ correctā*) P² Ba Be || 45 ἔστιν: ἔσται *coni.* Bekker Marczali || τὸν λόγον (*coni. etiam Bekker*): τοῦ λόγου V edd. || 48 Τούρκοι P || 49 Ἀλμούτζη P V Me: Σαλμούτζη (*spiritu eraso et littera σ addita*) P² Ba Be || ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτοῦ edd. || 52 συγκόσαντες P || 53 Ἀρπαδῆ P || Τούρκοι P || 56 Πατζινκαίται P || 57 Ἀρπαδῆ P || Τούρκοι P || 59 οἰκοῦντας: κατοικοῦντας V edd. || Τούρκοι P || 60 Τούρκοι P || παρά (*etiam Bandurius*): μετὰ V edd. || 61 ἐδέξαντο (*etiam Bandurius*): ἐποίησαν V edd. || 62 *post* πρὸς *add.* τὴν V edd. ||

chants who look them up, and often bring them back official messages from them.

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

39. Of the nation of the Kabaroi.

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

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

The first is this aforesaid clan of the Kabaroi which split off from the Chazars; the second, of Nekis; the third, of Megeris; the fourth, of Kourtoutgermatos; the fifth, of Tarianos; the sixth, Genach; the seventh, Kari; the eighth, Kasi. Having thus combined with one another, the Kabaroi dwelt with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs. After this, at the invitation

39. 2 Κάβαροι edd.: Καβάροι P *ubique sine x scribendum conii*. Meursius Βάκαροι *hic et infra conii*. Grégoire || 3 συμβάν *corr.* Moravesik: συμβάσαν P edd. || 4 καθιστάντος: καταστάντος *conii*. Bekker || 5 ἦλθον edd. || 7 Κάβαροι: βάρβαροι V Me || 8 ὀνομάσθησαν P || 8 γλῶτταν edd. || 11 ἀνδρειότερους edd.: ἡνδρειωτέρους P || 12 ὀκτώ edd.: ἡ' P || 13 τρισὶ edd.: τρεῖς P || τὴν: τῆς V edd.

40. 1 τῶν^s *om.* edd. || 3 ἀποσπασθεῖσα V edd.: ἀποσπαθεῖσα P || 4 δευτέρα edd.: β' P || τρίτη edd.: γ' P || τετάρτη edd.: δ' P || 5 τοῦ *add.* V edd. || Κουρτουγερμάτου edd. || πέμπτη edd.: ε' P || ἕκτη edd.: ς' P || ἑβδόμη edd.: ζ' P || 6 Καρή P || ὀγδόη edd.: ἡ' P || Κασή P || Βάκαροι V F ||

of Leo, the Christ-loving and glorious emperor, they crossed over and fought Symeon and totally defeated him, and drove on and penetrated as far as Preslav, having shut him up in the city called Moundraga; and they went back to their own country. At that time they had Liountikas, son of Arpad, for their prince. But after Symeon was once more at peace with the emperor of the Romans and was free to act, he sent to the Pechenegs and made an agreement with them to attack and destroy the Turks. And when the Turks had gone off on a military expedition, the Pechenegs with Symeon came against the Turks and completely destroyed their families and miserably expelled thence the Turks who were guarding their country. When the Turks came back and found their country thus desolate and utterly ruined, they settled in the land where they live to-day, which is called after the above name of the rivers, as has been said. The place in which the Turks used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now. But the Turks, expelled by the Pechenegs, came and settled in the land which they now dwell in. In this place are various landmarks of the olden days: first, there is the bridge of the emperor Trajan, where Turkey begins; then, a three days journey from this same bridge, there is Belgrade, in which is the tower of the holy and great Constantine, the emperor; then, again, at the running back of the river, is the renowned Sirmium by name, a journey of two days from Belgrade; and beyond lies great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, *but* over which in former days Sphendoplokos used to rule.

Such are the landmarks and names along the Danube river; but the regions above these, which comprehend the whole settlement of Turkey, they now call after the names of the rivers that flow there. The rivers are these: the first river is the Timisis, the second river *the* Toutis, the third river the Morisis, the fourth *river* the Krisos, and again another river, the

V 9 πολεμίσαντες P || 12 Λιούντινα Ba Be || 13 Ἀρπαδὴ P || 14 εἰρηνεῦσαι P V¹ F: εἰρηνεῦθαι V εἰρηνεῦεσθαι edd. || 15 ὁμοφώνησεν P || 16 Τούρκοι P || 17 Πατζινακίται P || *post* μετὰ *add.* τοῦ edd. || 18 φαμηλίας P || 19 Τούρκοι P || 21 τὴν ἐπονομάζομένην — 22 ἐπωνυμίαν *post* κατηφανισμένην (20) *transponenda coni.* Marquart || 23 Τούρκοι P || 24 τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ: τοῖν ἐκεῖσε διερχομένοι ποταμοῖν *coni.* Hammer-Purgstall τῶν ἐκεῖσε διερχομένων ποταμῶν *coni.* Marquart || Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζοῦ: Ἐτέλ καὶ Οὐζοῦ *coni.* Lehrberg καὶ *omittendum coni.* Thunmann Marquart Westberg *post* Ἐτέλ *et post* Κουζοῦ *punctum posuit* P Ἐτέλ ποταμὸς καὶ Κουζοῦ *mg.* P³ || Κουζοῦ edd. || 25 Πατζινακίται P || Τούρκοι P || 29 καὶ ἡ: δὲ καὶ edd. || Βελέγραδα *mg.* P⁶ edd. || γέφυρας P || 31 ἀναδρομὴν *scr.* Moravcsik ἀναδρομεῖν P: ἐκδρομεῖν V ἐκδρομῆν V¹ ἐκδρομὴν F edd. || 32 *post* ἐκεῖνο *add.* τὸ V edd. || Βελεγράδας edd.: Βελέγραδας P Βελέγραδας *mg.* P⁶ || 33/4 Τούρκοι P || 37 ἐπονομάζουσι: ὀνομάζουσι edd. || τοῦ *om.* Bekker *secl.* Moravcsik τούτων Me Ba || 38 πρῶτος edd.: α' P || 39 δεῦτερος edd.: β' P || ὁ *add.* Moravcsik || τρίτος Be: γ' P || 40 ποταμὸς *add.* V || τέταρτος Be: δ' P ||

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

Gylas and karchas are not proper names, but dignities.

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

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

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

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

The karchas Boultzous is the son of the karchas Kalis, and Kalis is a proper name, but karchas is a dignity, like gylas, *which* is superior to karchas.

P || 56 πρώτος edd.: α' P || 'Αρπαδή P || Ταρκατζούς P || 57 δεύτερος edd.: β' P || 58 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 'Ιουτοτζάς P || 59 τέταρτος edd.: δ' P || δ *add.* Moravcsik || Ζαλτάς P || τὸν *om.* edd. || 60 οἱ *add.* edd. || 'Αρπαδή P: 'Αρπαδᾶ edd. || 61 δ² *om.* edd. || Τάξις edd. || 63 δ² *om.* F || 64 Τερματζούς P || 65 καρχά P || 66 Βουλτζούς P || καρχάς P || ἔστιν ὁ υἱός: ἔστιν υἱός V υἱός ἔστι edd. || 67 καρχά P || Καλή P || καρχάς P || 68 γυλάς P || δ *add.* edd. || καρχά P.

41. Of the country of Moravia.

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

V 41. 2 Μωραβίας P || 4 τρία edd.: γ' P || 6 μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 8 και om. F *delendum coni.* Bandurius || 10 ταύτας] *litteram σ inser.* P¹ || δευτέρω Moravcsik β' P: ἐτέρω V edd. || 14 αὐτοῖς V || ὡς om. V edd. || 16 τρεῖς edd.: γ' P || 17 πρώτῳ edd.: α' P || 20 ἑαυτοῖς: αὐτοῖς V edd. || 21 Τούρκοι P || 22 ἐξολώθηρυσαν P || ἑαυτῶν: αὐτῶν edd.

42. Geographical description from Thessalonica to the Danube river and the city of Belgrade; of Turkey and Patzinacia to the Chazar city of Sarkel and Russia and to the Nekropyta, that are in the sea of Pontus, near the Dnieper river; and to Cherson together with Bosphorus, between which are the cities of the Regions; then to the lake of Maeotis, which for its size is also called a sea, and to the city called Tamatarcha; and of Zichia, moreover, and of Papagia and of Kasachia and of Alania and of Abasgia and to the city of Sotirioupolis.

From Thessalonica to the river Danube where stands the city called Belgrade, is a journey of eight days, if one is not travelling in haste but by easy stages. The Turks live beyond the Danube river, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and the Save river. From the lower reaches of the Danube river, opposite to Distra, Patzinacia stretches along, and its inhabitants control the territory as far as Sarkel, the city of the Chazars, in which garrisons of 300 men are posted and annually relieved. Sarkel among them means 'white house', and it was built by the spatharocandidate Petronas, surnamed Camaterus, when the Chazars requested the emperor Theophilus that this city should be built for them. For the then chagan and the pech of Chazaria sent envoys to this same emperor Theophilus and begged that the city of Sarkel might be built for them, and the emperor acceded to their request and sent to them the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas with ships of war of the imperial navy, and *sent* also ships of war of the captain-general of Paphlagonia. This same Petronas arrived at Cherson and left the ships of war at Cherson, and,

Moravcsik τὰ Μάταρχα P: τοῦ Μάταρχα edd. || 12/3 Παπαγίας (*secunda syllaba πα s. v. rubro atramento addita*) P¹ V edd.: Παγίας P || 13 Καζαχίας edd. || 16 Βελέγραδα: Βελάγραδον *mg.* P || 17 δετώ edd.: ἡ' P ιη' *coni.* Marquart || 17/8 πορεύηται Ba Be || 18 Τούρκοι P || 19 Μωραβίας P || εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν *post* ἔνθεν *transponendum coni.* Marquart || 22 κάστρου V edd.: κάστρων P || 23 τριακόσιοι Theoph. Cont. τ' *coni.* Migne Bury: τὰ P edd. || 24 ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον: λευκὸν οἰκημα Theoph. Cont. || 25 Καματεροῦ Theoph. Cont. || 27 καὶ ὁ Theoph. Cont. *coni.* Bayer Lehrberg Marquart Bury: ὁ καὶ P edd. || 28 βασιλέα: αὐτοκράτορα Theoph. Cont. || ἑναποστελλαντες: ἀποστείλαντες edd. || 30 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P || Πετρωνά P: Πετρωνάν Theoph. Cont. || 31 βασιλικῶν πλωτῶων: βασιτικοπλωτῶων Theoph. Cont. || 33 χελάνδια: μακρὰς νῆας Theoph. Cont. || ἔλιπεν *coni.* Moravcsik: εὔρεν P εὔρεν edd. ὤρμισεν *coni.* Bury προσορμίσας... κατέλιπεν Theoph. Cont. || 33/4 εἰς καματερά καράβια: ἐν στοργγύλαις ... ναυσί Theoph. Cont. ||

having embarked his men on ships of burden, went off to that place on the Tanais river where he was to build the city. And since the place had no stones suitable for the building of the city, he made some ovens and baked bricks in them and with these he carried out the building of the city, making mortar out of tiny shells from the river. Now this aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas, after building the city of Sarkel, went to the emperor Theophilus and said to him: «If you wish complete mastery and dominion over the city of Cherson and of the places in Cherson, and not that they should slip out of your hand, appoint your own military governor and do not trust to their primates and nobles.» For up till the time of Theophilus the emperor, there was no military governor sent from here, but all administration was in the hands of the so-called primate, with those who were called the fathers of the city. The emperor Theophilus took counsel in this matter, whether to send as military governor so-and-so or such-an-one, and at last made up his mind that the aforesaid spatharocandidate Petronas should be sent, as one who had acquired local *experience* and was not unskilled in affairs, and so he promoted him to be protospatharius and appointed him military governor and sent him out to Cherson, with orders that the then primate and everyone else were to obey him; and from that time until this day it has been the rule for military governors in Cherson to be appointed from here. So much, then, for the building of the city of Sarkel. From the Danube river to the aforesaid city of Sarkel is a journey of 60 days. In this land between are many rivers: the two biggest of them are the Dniester and the Dnieper. But there are other rivers, that which is called the Syngoul and the Hybyl *and* the Almatai and the Kouphis and the Bogou and many others. On the higher reaches of the Dnieper river live the Russians, and down this river they sail and arrive at the Romans. Patzinacia possesses all the land *as far as* Russia and Bosphorus and as far as Cherson and up to Sarat, Bourat and the 30 places. The distance along the sea-coast from the Danube river to the Dniester river is 120 miles. From the Dniester river to *the* river Dnieper is 80 miles, the so-called 'gold-coast'. After the

ἐμπειραν Theoph. Cont.^V ἐμπειρον V edd. Theoph. Cont. ἐν πείρᾳ *coni.* Kukules Kyriakides || 50 γεγονότα: γενόμενον V edd. || καὶ² *om.* edd. || 51 καὶ *s. v. add.* P¹ *in textum receperunt* V edd. || 52 ὀρίσας: θεσπίσας Theoph. Cont. διατάγματα πέμψας Cedr. || τὸν τότε πρωτεύοντα edd.: τὸν τε πρωτεύοντα Theoph. Cont. τῷ τότε πρωτεύοντι P || 53 τὴν: τῆς V edd. || 54 τοῦ Σάρκελ τοῦ κάστρου: κάστρου Σάρκελ edd. || 55 κτίσις: οἰκοδομὴ Theoph. Cont. || 58 Συγγούλ: Ὑγγούλ *coni.* Thunmann Brun || 59 Ὑβυλ Be || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || Κούφισ P || καὶ ὀ³: ὁ καὶ *coni.* Marquart || 62 μέχρι *addendum coni.* Bayer Lehrberg μεταξὺ *addendum coni.* Makai || 63/4 τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν *coni.* Lehrberg: ἔστιν ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν... *coni.* Šestakov Latyšev || 65 Δανάστρεως *coni.* Westberg Laskin Latyšev: Δανάπτρεως P edd. || 66 τοῦ *add.* V edd. || 67 δὲ *om.* V edd. ||

mouth of the river Dnieper comes Adara, and there is a great gulf, called Nekropylya, where it is utterly impossible for a man to pass through. From the Dnieper river to Cherson is 300 miles, and between are marshes and harbours, in which the Chersonites work the salt. Between Cherson and Bosphorus are the cities of the Regions, and the distance is 300 miles. After Bosphorus comes the mouth of the Maeotic lake, which for its size everybody calls a sea. Into this same Maeotic sea run rivers many and great; on its northern side runs the Dnieper river, from which the Russians come through to Black Bulgaria and Chazaria and Syria. This same gulf of Maeotis comes opposite to, and within about four miles of, the Nekropylya that are near the Dnieper river, and joins them where the ancients dug a ditch and carried the sea through, enclosing within all the land of Cherson and of the Regions and the land of Bosphorus, which cover up to 1,000 miles or even rather more. In the course of many years this same ditch has silted up and become a great forest, and there are in it but two roads, along which the Pechenegs pass through to Cherson and Bosphorus and the Regions. Into the eastern side of the Maeotic lake debouch many rivers, the Tanaïs river that comes down from the city of Sarkel, and the Charakoul, in which they fish for sturgeon, and there are other rivers, the Bal and the Bourlik, the Chadir and other rivers very numerous. From the Maeotic lake debouches a mouth called Bourlik and flows down into the sea of Pontus where Bosphorus is, and opposite to Bosphorus is the city called Tamatarcha; the width of the strait of this mouth is 18 miles. In the middle of these 18 miles is a large, low island, called Atech. After Tamatarcha, some 18 or 20 miles from it, is a river called Oukrouch, which divides Zichia and Tamatarcha, and from the Oukrouch to the Nikopsis river, on which stands a city with the same name as the river, is the country of Zichia; the distance is 300 miles. Beyond Zichia is the country called Papagia, and beyond the country of Papagia is the country called Kasachia, and beyond Kasachia are the Caucasian mountains, and beyond the mountains is the country of Alania. Off the sea-board of Zichia lie islands, the great island and the three islands; and, closer to shore than these, are yet other islands, which have been used for pasturage

V 68 τὰ Ἄδαρά: Τάνδαρα *coni.* Latyšev || και ἐκείσε *edd.* || 69 Νεκρόπυλα V *edd.*: Νεκρόπηλα P || 70 μέσον: μέσῳ V *edd.* || 71 οἷς: αἷς V *edd.* || οἱ *om.* *edd.* || Χερσωνῆται P || 72 Βοσπόρου P || κλημάτων P || 76 μέν *om.* *edd.* || 78 Συρίαν: Ζυχίαν *coni.* Kunik Συανίαν *coni.* Gibbon Μυρίαν seu Μορδιαν *coni.* Tomaschek || 79 Νεκροπόλων V *edd.*: Νεκροπήλων P || 80 σούδα V P || 82 κλημάτων P || τῆς: τὴν Ba Be || ,α: α' *edd.* || 83 πλειόνων Ba Be: πλέον P || σούδα P || 85 Πατζινακίται P || 86 κλήματα P || 88 Χωράκου V *edd.* || βερζήτικον P *edd.* || 89 και ὁ: ὁ και *coni.* Marquart || 92 ἦ: ὁ *edd.* || τῆς: τοῦ Migne || 94 μέσον: μέσῳ *edd.* || 97 Ταματαρχά P || 99 δὲ³ *om.* *edd.* || 102 Ἀλανίας] *litteras* ἀλανί *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 103 Ζηχίας P || νησίν P νησὴν P^x: νησί V νησίον *edd.* || 104 και² *om.* V *edd.* || ἐπινεμηθέντα *coni.* Jenkins: ἐπινοηθέντα P *edd.* ||

and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbaganin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia, as far as the city of Sotirioupolis; it is 300 miles.

43. Of the country of Taron.

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

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

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

43. 1 Ταρων P || 14 ἐμήνηεν: ἀνεμήνηε edd. || 15 ἡμῖν Bandurius Be: ὑμῖν P || ἀμερμουμένην P || 17 τιμῶν: φρονῶν V edd. || 20 εὐσεβοῦς edd.: εὐσεβοῦ P εὐσεβῶς *coni.* Bekker || 20/1 προυτρέψατο edd. || 21 καὶ *om.* Be || 24 τὴν *om.* edd. || 25 τῶν *om.* edd. || 26 ἐσκήπτετο (*etiam* Be): ἐσκέπτετο V Me Ba || 28 Κρικιορκία edd. ||

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

After this the said Constantine spent some time in Chaldia, and was then commissioned by imperial mandate to go to Taron and take Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and come to the imperial city; and this he did. When this same Krikorikios had entered the city protected of God, and had been honoured with the rank of magister and military governor of Taron, he was also given for his residence a house called the house of Barbaros, now the house of Basil the chamberlain. He was, moreover, honoured with an annual stipend of ten pounds in gold and a further ten pounds in miliaresia,

V 33 ἀμερμουνήν P || 46 Κρικορίκιον edd.: Γρικορίκιον P || 49 ἀποδοῦς F
coni. Bekker: ἀποδιδούς P edd. || 51 ὀνομάζετο P || 55 ἐκεῖθεν: ἐκεῖνος edd. ||
post ἀδελφὸν add. τοῦ edd. || 56 Κρικορικίου Ba Be || 57 τοῦ om. edd. ||
68 δέκα edd.: ι' P || μιλιαρσιῶν P ||

making twenty pounds in all. After some sojourn in the imperial city, he was escorted back again to his country by this same protospatharius Constantine.

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

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

Thereupon Tornikis, nephew of the Taronite and son of the late Apoganem, wrote to this same emperor: «The house of Barbaros was presented to my father by the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, but after my father's death, because I was under age and an orphan, my uncle, in virtue of his authority, took possession of his house, always promising me that when I should come of age, I should take over the paternal house; and now, as I have

V 69 δέκα edd.: ι' P || ὡς: ὥστε edd. || 72 ὁ om. edd. || 73 post εις add. τὴν edd. || 84 προχειρισθέντα F: πρὸ χωρισθέντα P προχωρισθέντα V edd. προ-
 χαρισθέντα con. Bekker || 82 Τατζάτου (*etiam* V¹ F Bandurius): Πατζάτου V
 edd. || 93 ἄλλον V edd. || κελύοι edd. || 94 ἔχη edd. || 99 οὔτος: αὐτός
 V edd. || 104 ὁ om. edd. || τοῦτου: τοῦτον Me Ba τοιοῦτον Be ||

learned, my uncle has given this house to your imperial majesty, and has received in exchange for it the suburban estate of Grigoros in Keltzini.»

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

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

V 110 ἀνεβλάστησεν: ἐβλάστησε edd. || 111 Κακικίου (*litteris xi s. v. additis*) P¹ Ba Be: Κικίου V Me || Βασπαρακακά edd. || 113 διαγονγγύζοντες P || 116 ἡμῶν edd.: ὑμῶν P || 118 βασιλεὺς om. V edd. || 120 μακαριωτάτου: μακαρίου V edd. || *post* βασιλέως *excidisse* Λέοντος *sup.* Jenkins || 122 αὐτὸν²: αὐτῶ V edd. || 123 τὸ om. edd. || 126 δέκα edd.: ἴ P || 131 μακάριος: μακαριώτατος edd. || 134 αὐτάρκως *scr.* Moravcsik: αὐταρκῶς P edd. || 135 *ante* Κρικορικίου *add.* τοῦ edd. || 140 τῶ τοῦ V edd.: τοῦ τῶ P || 145 παρεχώρει: προσεχώρει edd. ||

the old Taronite was now dead, resumed the suburban estate but did not give the house in exchange for it, because, as has already been stated above, no golden bull had been issued in respect of any of these transactions.

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

V 153 και³ om. edd. || 155/6 τὸν γάμον P¹ V edd.: τῶν γάμων (?) P || 157 ἔχουσιν (*littera o in ras. scripta*) P¹ ἔχουσι V: ἔχωσι edd. || 158 τὸν om. edd. || 159 Γρηγοῦ edd.: Γρηγορίου P || 160 αὐτῆς: τοιαύτης edd. τ(οι)αύτης Migne || 165 αὐτῶν] *litteram ω in ras. scr.* P¹ || 169/70 πρωτο-σπαθάριον Κρινίτην] *per comp. litteras α κρινίτ in ras. scr.* P¹ || 176 Χαλδίας <οίκον> conit. Kyriakides || 177 τὴν τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονήν: τοῦ Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν V Me Ba Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν Be || ἀπεστάλη V edd.: ἀπεστάλην P || 181 Οὐλνούτην P edd. || 185 Οὐλνούτην P edd. ||

The whole country of Taron was divided in two, one half of it being held by the sons of the magister Krikorikios, the other half by their cousins, *the* sons of the patrician Apoganem.

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

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

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

Apelbart possessed Manzikiert and was beneath the dominion of *Asotios*, the prince of princes, the father of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The same Asotios, prince of princes, gave to *this* same Apelbart also the city of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, held all the countries of the east. On the death of Apelbart his son Abelchamit possessed his domain, and on the death of Abelchamit his eldest son Aposebatas possessed his domain. He, after the murder of Symbatios, prince of princes, by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, took possession, in absolute sovereignty, as an independent potentate, both of the city of Manzikiert and of the rest of the cities and the countries; and he submitted himself to the emperor together with his other two brothers, Apolesphouet and Aposelmis, after their cities and their countries had on various occasions been over-run and ravaged and destroyed by the commander-in-chief, and they paid the emperor of the Romans tribute in respect of their cities and their territories. But from the

44. 1 τοῦ¹: τῆς edd. || 2 Μαντζικιέρτ V edd. || Περκρή P || 3 Χλιάτ: Χαλιάτ Me *coni.* Laskin || 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P edd. || 4 Τιβή P || 7 τοῦ² edd.: καὶ P || 8 ἀμηνὰς P || 'Αποσάτας F edd. || 11 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P "Αρσες edd. || 14 Καρς (*sine acc.*) P || 15 Περκρή P || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || "Αρζες edd. || Τιβή P || 16 Σαλαμιάς P || 17 'Απελκάρτ edd. || Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 18 'Ασωτίου *add.* Jenkins || 19 τῶ *add.* Moravcsik || 20 Χλιάτ: Χαλιάτ *coni.* Laskin || 21 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 25 πρῶτος edd.: α' P || 26 ὁ *om.* edd. || 'Αποσεβατάς P || 27 'Αποσάτα edd. || ἀμηνὰ P || 29 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 30 τε *om.* edd. || 33 παρέχοντες: παρέχοντος Be ||

time of the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios and grandfather of the second Asotios and of the magister Apasakios, until the lifetime of the second Asotios, prince of princes, these three cities were under the dominion of the prince of princes, and the prince of princes received tribute from them. Moreover, the city of Manzikiert with the country of Apachounis and Kori and Charka was under the dominion and control of the same prince of princes, up till the time when Aposebatas, emir of Manzikiert, and his two brothers Apolesphouet and Aposelmis submitted themselves to the emperor and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories; *and* since the prince of princes is the servant of the emperor of the Romans, being appointed by him and receiving this rank from him, it is obvious that the cities and townships and territories of which he is lord also belong to the emperor of the Romans.

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

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

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

On the death of Aposebatas, Abderacheim, son of Aposebatas, possessed the city of Manzikiert with its territories and all its domain, and on the death of Abderacheim, Apolesphouet, second brother of Aposebatas and uncle of Abderacheim, possessed the city of Manzikiert and all the

scr. Moravcsik: Χαρκά P edd. || 42 'Αποσεβατάς P || ἀμηράς P || 43 Μανζικιερτ V Me: Μαντζικιερτ P Ba Be || 45 δὲ *add.* Moravcsik γὰρ *addendum conii.* Bekker || 51 'Αποσάτα Ba Be || ἀμηρά P || 52 'Αποσεβατάς P || 53 Μανζικιερτ Ba Be || 54 Περκρή P || 'Αρζες edd. || 55 'Αποσεβατά P || 'Απολεσφούετ edd.: 'Απολεσφούτ P || 56 'Αχμέτ edd. || 57 'Αρζες edd. || 'Αλτζικέ *scr.* Moravcsik: 'Αλτζικε P edd. 'Αρτζικέ *coni.* V. Laurent || 59 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravcsik: α' P om. V edd. || δ² V: α' P om. edd. || 59/60 'Αποσεβατάς P || 61 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 'Αποσεβατά P || 62 τὸ²: τοῦ V edd. || 64 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravcsik: α' P om. V edd. || 'Αποσεβατάς P || δεύτερος Be: β' P || 66 'Αποσεβατά P || τὸ κάστρον om. edd. || 67 Μαντζικιερτ Ba Be || 68 'Αβδηραχειμ edd. || 'Αποσεβατά P || 68/9 'Αβδηραχειμ edd. || 69 'Αποσεβατά P || 70 'Αβδηραχειμ Ba Be || Μανζικιερτ Me: Μαντζικιερτ P Μαντζικιερτ Ba Be ||

countries aforesaid, and on his death the third brother, that is, the brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, possessed Manzikiert and all the countries aforesaid.

Aposebatas had a son Abderacheim, and *another*, Apelmouze.

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

Aposelmis had a son Apelbart, who now possesses Manzikiert.

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

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

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

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

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

This Achmet too was servant of the emperor, as has been said above,

V 71 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 72 'Αποσεβατά P || 73 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 74 'Αποσεβατάς P || υἱόν: υἱός *coni.* Bekker || 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || 80 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 81 'Αποσεβατά P || 'Αβδηραχείμ V Me: 'Αβδηραχή P 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || 82 ἀμηράν P || 'Απελμουζέ: 'Απελμουζέ *coni.* Marquart || 85 'Αποσεβατάς P || πρώτος edd.: α' P || 86 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 89 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || 92 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || 94 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 95 'Αποσεβατά P || προλεχθεις: προρρηθεις edd. || 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || 98 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 99 'Αποσεβατά P || 99/100 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 100 'Αχάμετ edd. 'Αχαμτ P || 102 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravcsik: 'Αρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 104 'Αχάμετ edd.: 'Αχαμτ P || 107 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 108 'Αχάμετ edd. || τρία edd.: γ' P || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || 109 'Αρζές Ba Be || 'Αλτζικέ *scr.* Moravcsik: 'Αλτζικε P edd. || 110 'Αχάμετ edd. ||

and paid tribute on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle Apolesphouet. But Apelbart by guile and deceit slew him and took these three cities, the city of Chliat *and* the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike; and these the emperor should get back, as they are his property.

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

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

45. Of the Iberians.

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

114 καὶ *add.* *edd.* || "Αρζες Ba Be || 'Αλτζικε *edd.* 'Αρτζικέ *coni.* V. Laurent || 116 αὶ *s. v.* *add.* P¹ *in textum receperunt* V *edd.* || 119 τοῦ² *om.* V *edd.* || 121 τριῶν *edd.*: γ' P || 'Αποσεβατὰ P || 124 τῶν *om.* *edd.* || 125 τρία *edd.*: γ' P || 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravosik: "Αρζες P *edd.* || 126 Περκρή P || φοσσάτον P || 128 ἀπληχτα P.

45. 1 Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων (π̅ rubro atramento) *mg.* *add.* P¹, *unde in textum receperunt* V *edd.* || 8 μεγιστάνες P || 11 χρηματισθῆναι *om.* V *edd.* ||

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

The Christ-loving and glorious emperor Leo, born in the purple, hearing that the Saracens had arrived in the place called Phasiane and had made the churches there into fortresses, sent the patrician Lalakon, military governor of the Armeniakoi, together with the military governor of Koloneia and the military governor of Mesopotamia and the military governor of Chaldia, and they destroyed these fortresses and liberated the churches and ravaged all Phasiane, at that time in the possession of the Saracens. And again afterwards he sent the magister Katakalon, the commander-in-chief, who arrived at the city of Theodosiupolis and ravaged the territory all about it, and gave up the country of Phasiane and the cities around it to the

V 17 σιεπάσματος: περισεπάσματος V edd. || 19 νενίκηκέ] *litteras ké in ras. scr.* P¹ || τε *om.* edd. || 19/20 ένοίκησεν P || 20 δυσκολίας: δυσχωρίας *coni.* Bekker || 21 και¹ *om.* Ba Be || ηύξήθησαν *scr.* Moravcsik: ηύξήθησαν P ηύξανθησαν edd. || 29 έξ: έξ τής Ba Be || 30 έχουσιν (*etiam* Ba): έχειν V Me Be || 31 ή *om.* V edd. *secl.* Moravcsik || 39 εισιν a P¹ *false post* ι' (40) *insertum huc transp.* Moravcsik || 40 έτος: έτη V edd. || 44 τόν¹ *om.* Be || 46 ό δεινα *per comp.* P: *om.* edd. *secl.* Moravcsik || 'Αρμενιακών edd. || 51 Κατακαλόν P ||

like destruction, and returned after inflicting thereby a great blow upon the Saracens. And in the reign of the lord Romanus, the emperor, the magister John Kourkouas, marching against the city of Tibi, utterly devastated in his passage the whole country of Phasiane, since it was in the possession of the Saracens. Moreover, the patrician Theophilus also, brother of the aforesaid magister John, when he was for the first time military governor of Chaldia, plundered this country of Phasiane, because then too it was controlled by the Saracens. For by the time that terms had been agreed with the Theodosiopolitans, no village had been left standing in the country of Phasiane, or about the city of Abnikon either. And the Iberians always maintained loving and friendly relations with the men of Theodosiupolis and Abnikon and Manzikiert and with all Persia, but in Phasiane they never acquired any territories.

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

V 55 τοῦ¹ *om.* edd. || τοῦ² *om.* edd. || 65 Μαντζικιερτῶν Ba Be || 67 κύρη¹ P || κύρη² P || 75 κύρην P || εἰ] *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 76 ποιήσομεν edd. || 77 εἰς τὸν *secl.* Jenkins || 81 τὸ *add.* edd. || ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || 82 ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || καθέζεται edd.: καθέζεται P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Κετζέου edd.: Κετζέος P || 83 ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || θεωρῆ Be: θεωρεῖ P || 85 δέκα edd.: ἴ' P || δῶδεκα edd.: ἰβ' P || 86 ἀπλήκτον P || ὑμῶν: ὑμῖν edd. || λάβη edd.: λάβει P ||

revictualled, for this reason they did not obey and give up the city of Ketzeon, although they received a sworn promise in writing that after the capture of Theodosiupolis this city should revert to them.

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

Whereas regarding the territories of Phasiane the *curopalate* persists in his demand for all Phasiane and the city of Abnikon, and alleges that he has golden bulls of the emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, and of our imperial majesty, copies of which he sent us by the hand of Zourbanelis the protospatharius, his 'azat', we examined these and found that they gave him no help. For, first, the golden bull of our father-in-law embodies a promise of this same *curopalate*, as he assured him on his oath and inscribed it with his own hand, that he will abide in loyalty to our imperial majesty, and fight against our foes and protect our friends, and subdue the east to our imperial majesty, and reduce cities and do great works for our comfort; and on the part of our father-in-law a promise was made to him that, if he continues in this loyal servitude and gratitude, he shall remain unshaken, both he and those of his family, in his rule and dominion; and *the emperor* will not move the boundaries of his territories, but will be content with the agreements made by former emperors and will not push beyond them; nor will he stop *the curopalate* from destroying Theodosiupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, whether he lays siege to them with his own unaided strength or with the assistance of this our army. Such are the main points contained in the golden bulls, and from them the *curopalate* gets no help: for that of our father-in-law lays it down that we will not disturb him from the ancient boundaries of his country, and that, if he can, whether by himself or with our army, he shall lay siege to and destroy Theodosiupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, but not so as to hold them in absolute sovereignty and lordship; while that of our own imperial majesty includes a provision that all the places of the Agarenes which both he and his nephew, the magister Adranase, may be able by their own power to reduce, or shall in future reduce, he shall hold as sovereign lord. And since by his own power he subdued neither Theodosiupolis nor

P || 108 τοὺς δὲ φίλους *corr.* Moravcsik: τοῖς δὲ φίλοις P edd. || 111 αὐτῶ *corr.* Tomašić: αὐτοῖς P edd. || πεμθεροῦ P || πιστὴν: πίστιν edd. || 113 μεταστήσῃ F || 115 στέρξει Be: στέρξῃ P στέρξῃ Me Ba || οὐχὶ *om.* edd. || *post* πραιτέρω *add.* μὴ edd. || ὑπερβήσῃται F || 116 τὴν *dis* P || 117 δι' αὐτοῦ: διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Me Ba τοῦ *secl.* Be || 119 πεμθεροῦ P || 120 παρασαλεύομεν V edd. || 122 καταστρέψει V edd.: καταστρέψῃ P || 126 Ἀδρανασὲ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀδρανασαί P Ἀδρανασή edd. || 127 κατέχη edd. ||

Abnikion nor Mastaton, he has no right to hold them, lying as they do on this side of the Erax or Phasis river; because the city of Abnikion, on the one hand, has hitherto been independent and self-governing, under its own emir, and several times the army of our imperial majesty has raided it, yes, and the protospatharius John Arrhabonitis, the military governor, and the patrician Theophilus, who is now military governor of Theodosiupolis, and the rest of the military governors have taken great plunder and many prisoners in it, and burnt its villages, while the curopalate has never raided it at all. And when these villages had been utterly devastated by our imperial majesty, the Iberians crept in and took possession of them, and tried thereafter to possess themselves of the city. But the emir, after being several times warned by the patrician and military governor Theophilus, and seeing that he had no hope of survival from any quarter, submitted himself and consented to become the servant of our imperial majesty, and gave his son as a hostage. Mastaton, on the other hand, belonged to the Theodosiupolitans; and when the magister John had besieged Theodosiupolis seven months, because he was unable to take it he sent some men and took this same city of Mastaton and introduced into it the protospatharius Petronas Boilas, who was then captain-general of Nicopolis. And the magister Pankratios, who had joined the campaign of this same magister at Theodosiupolis, when *the latter* was about to retire, begged him to give him this city, and made him an oath in writing that he would retain it and never give it up to the Saracens. He, as the said Pankratios was a Christian and servant of our imperial majesty, trusted to his oath and gave it him, and he gave it back again to the Theodosiupolitans. And when Theodosiupolis was taken, the Iberians crept in and took possession of *Mastaton*; for these reasons they have no authority to demand either this city of Mastaton or that of Abnikion. But since the curopalate is our faithful and upright servant and friend, at his request let the frontier of Phasiane be the river Erax or Phasis, and let the Iberians possess the parts on the left hand side towards Illyria, and all the parts on the right towards Theodosiupolis, whether cities or villages, be beneath our imperial majesty, the river, that is to say, forming the frontier between the two, just as in his lifetime John Kourkouas, of blessed memory, when asked about this, declared that it was best for the river to be the frontier. Strict justice does not allow the curopalate any authority to exercise control either on this side of the river or on the other, since all these villages of the Theodosiupolitans were enslaved and

139 ἀμῆρας P || 140 ἰδὼν edd.: ἰδῶς P || 141 οὐδαμῶθεν: οὐδαμῶς edd. || δούλος γενέσθαι edd. || 143 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P || 149 δῶση edd.: δώσει P || 152/3 τὸν εἰρημένον Παγκράτιον: τῷ εἰρημένῳ Παγκρατεῖω edd. || 155 τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον: τοῦ τοιοῦτου κάστρου τοῦ Μαστάτου edd. || 159 Ἰβηρίαν: Ἰβηρίαν *coni.* Brosset Laskin || κατέχωσιν edd. κατέχουσιν P || 162 ὀ² *om.* edd. || 163 Κουρκουᾶς P || 166 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P ||

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burnt by the armies of our imperial majesty, and never without our army did the Iberians come out and raid Theodosioupolis, but always maintained friendship with them and traded with them; and while they said they wished Theodosioupolis to be taken, in their hearts they by no means desired its capture. However, our imperial majesty, for our love of the curopalate, as has been said, has consented that the river Erax, or Phasis, shall be the frontier between the two, and they must be content with retaining this much, and demand nothing more.

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

Pankratios and David the Mampalis, which means 'all-holy', were sons of the elder Symbatios the Iberian. Ardanoutzi fell to the inheritance of Pankratios, and other country fell to David. Pankratios had three sons, Adranaser, Kourkenios and the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and he divided his country among them, and Ardanoutzi fell to his son Kourkenios, who, dying childless, left it to his brother Asotios, called Kiskasis. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, married his daughter to the late magister Kourkenis, who, having grown great, revolted, and deprived his father-in-law Asotios of Ardanoutzi, and gave him in exchange Tyrokastron and the river region of Atzaras, which forms the frontier of Romania at Kolorin. Now, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had to wife the sister of the magister George, ruler of Abasgia. And when the magister Kourkenios and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, fell out with one another, the patrician Asotios took the side of the ruler of Abasgia, and for that reason Kourkenios, gaining the upper hand, deprived him even of what he had given him in exchange for Ardanoutzi, and expelled him, and he departed to Abasgia. On the death of the magister Kourkenios, Ardanoutzi was left to his wife, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, as her father's heiress. Now when Asotios the curopalate and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, and the magister Pankratios, brother of the aforesaid curopalate, were dividing up the country of the magister Kourkenios by

46. 2 'Αδρανουτζίου edd. || 3 *post* Δαυίδ *add.* καὶ edd. *omittendum coni.* Brosset || *post* δ³ *addendum* καὶ *coni.* Marquart || 5 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη edd. || 6 τρεῖς V edd.: γ' P || 8 αὐτοῖς V edd. || 'Αρδανούτζη Moravesik: 'Αδρανούτζη P edd. || 12 πεμθεροῦ P || 13 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη Ba Be || 15 *ante* 'Ρωμανίας *add.* τῆς edd. || Κόλωρην P || 20 ἀφείλετο V edd.: ἀφείλατο P || 21 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravesik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P edd. || 23 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη edd. || 24 καὶ *add.* Moravesik ||

force of arms, they came to an accommodation and each took what was next to him. And Ardanoutzi lay next to Symbatios, son of the aforesaid David. Then all of them seized on the widow of the magister Kourkenios, that is, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and said to her: «You, as a woman, cannot possess the city.» Then Symbatios gave the woman territories in exchange for the city, and took the city of Ardanoutzin.

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

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

The emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, sent the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at that time protospatharius and licitor, with a tunic of the magistracy in order to make Kourkenios the Iberian a magister. When the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, had reached Nicomedeia, the monk Agapios of Kyminas came on the scene, who had at that time been visiting the holy city to fulfil a vow. In his passage through Iberia he had come to the city of Ardanoutzin. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, had spoken thus to the monk Agapios: «I adjure you, by God and by the power of the honourable and life-giving Cross, to go to Constantinople and tell the emperor to send and take over my city, and have it beneath his dominion.» The monk Agapios came to Constantinople and related to the emperor all that the patrician

seu <Συμβατίου τοῦ υἱοῦ> τοῦ Δαβὶδ *coni.* Brosset Laskin || 'Αδρανασὴ edd. || 40 'Αδρανασὴ edd. || 42 'Αδρανούτζιν Ba Be || ὄχυρόν ἐστι πάνυ V edd. || 43 βραπάτην P || μέγαν V edd.: μέγαν P || χωρόπολιν: χωρόπουλον *sive* χωριόπουλον *coni.* Meursius || 44 τῆς² *om.* V edd. || πάσας τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἀρμενικὰς: πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀρμενίας edd. || 46/7 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P 'Αδρανουτζίου edd. || 47 'Αρζήν edd. || 48 κλειδὴν P || Μισχιῶν: Μοσχιῶν *coni.* Meursius Bandurius Laskin || 49 κύρης P || 50 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 51 πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου τυγχάνοντος: πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ μαγγλαβίτῃ τυγχάνοντι *coni.* Brosset || 52 μαγιστράτου edd.: μαγιστράτον P || 53 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 55 Κυμηνά P || καιρῶ: χρόνῳ edd. || 57 'Αδρανούτζιν edd. || 62 ἐχη edd.: ἔχει P ||

the patrician Constantine said to him: «Although the mandate contains nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, none the less the monk Agapios came to the emperor and reported to him all that you had bidden him about the city of Ardanoutzin, and therefore *the emperor* has sent me, to take over the city and introduce into it the men I bring along with me.» And since, as has been said above, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, was at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, he had made up his mind the rather to give his city to the emperor. The patrician Constantine had with him standards and he gave *one* to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis. He put it upon a pike and gave it to the patrician Constantine, saying: «Set it up on top of the wall, that all may know that from this day this city belongs to the emperor.» The patrician Constantine did so and set the standard on top of the wall and made the customary salutations of the emperors of the Romans, so that it became known to all that the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had made a present of the city of Ardanoutzin to the emperor. Now, the elder David made no offer of his country to the emperor, notwithstanding it marched with the county of Akampsis and with Mourgouli. So then the patrician Constantine reported to the emperor in two dispatches, the one containing the news of how he had honoured Kourkenios with the rank of magister, and of how Kourkenios had accepted the magistracy and saluted the emperor; and the other containing news about the city of Ardanoutzin, and of how he had taken it over from the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and that the patrician Asotios and his son-in-law the magister Kourkenios had a great quarrel and feud with one another, and that the emperor should send succour for the garrisoning of this city, and that, should it be possible, the commander-in-chief should also come. When the Iberians, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of the curopalate Asotios, saw what was done, they wrote to the emperor: «If your imperial majesty approves this and enters our country, then we put off our servitude to your imperial majesty and make common cause with the Saracens, since we shall have fighting and hostilities with the Romans and shall, perforce, move an army against the city of Ardanoutzin and its country, and against Romania itself.» *The emperor*, having learnt

φλάμουλα P || 110 βαλόν: λαβών V edd. || *post* κοντάριον *add.* περιέθηκε και V edd. || 111 Κωνσταντίνω *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνσταντι Ba Be || 113/4 Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 114 φλάμουλλον P || 116 Ἀδρανουτζιν edd. || 118 τούρμαν P || 119 Ἀκαμφῆ P || Μουργούλη Be: Μούργουλη P || Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 121 Κουρκένιον edd. || 122 μαγιστράτον P || 123 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 124 και Κισκάση V edd.: Κεκισκάση P || 126 τοῦ² *om.* edd. || 129 *post* Δαυίδ *add.* και edd. || 134 φοσσάτον P || Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 135 αὐτοῦ *coni.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. ||

of these things through the letters of the aforesaid princes and having heard them from their envoys, and being terrified lest perchance they might make common cause with the Saracens and lead out the armies of Persia against Romania, denied it, saying: «I did not write to the protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, about this city and its country, telling him to take it over, but out of his own folly, so to say, he has done this.» So spoke the emperor in his desire to give them all satisfaction; and this same protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, received a mandate couched in terms of insult and menace: «Who instructed you to do this? Come you, the rather, out of the city and take Asotios, son of the late Adranase the curopalate, and conduct him hither, so that we may honour him with his father's rank of curopalate.» On receipt of these orders, the patrician Constantine abandoned the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, in his city of Ardanoutzin, and himself took leave and departed to the elder David and gave him the mandate which he had for him, and returned and entered Iberia and found, met together in one place, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of Asotios the curopalate. And they began to quarrel with and to heap abuse upon the patrician Constantine, saying: «You are a sly and evil fellow in not revealing to us, concerning the city of Ardanoutzin, that you were about to take possession of it», and, «It is not the emperor's policy to possess himself of it, for we ourselves reported to the emperor on this affair and have received a reply that the emperor knows nothing whatsoever about this affair, but that you have done this out of love of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis.» The patrician Constantine made a reasonable defence to these charges, and took Asotios, son of Adranase the curopalate, and conducted him to Constantinople, and he was honoured by the emperor with the dignity of curopalate.

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

P || 146 τετελευτηκότος edd. || 149 Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 150 και Κισκάσην V¹ edd.: Κεμισκάσην P V || 'Αρδανούτζιν Moravosik: 'Αδρανούτζιν P edd. || 151 ἀπήει edd.: ἀπειη P || μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 152 ἤνπερ εἶχεν: ἦν περιείχε edd. || 155/6 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P Me: Κώνσταντα Ba Be || 156 τυγχάνεις Ba Be: τυγχάνης P || 157 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravosik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P edd. || μέλλεις Be: μέλλης P || 158 Οὐ *om.* edd. || 162 και Κισκάση V edd.: Κεμισκάση P || Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 163 προσαπολογισάμενος P || 164 'Αδρανασή edd. || 166 Τί: "Ισθι Be Migne || 167 τὴν περι: περι τὴν Be.

47, 48

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

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

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

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

Whereas our brother and fellow-minister John, president of the isle of the Cypriots, because of the barbarian assaults and to the end that they

Ba Be: τθ' P || 15 ἐπτὰ edd.: ζ' P || οικίσαι Be: οικεῖσαι P οικῆσαι V Me Ba || 16 ἀμερμουμνὴν P || 19 ἀμερμουμνή P || ἐν om. Be || 20 ἀπολύση Be: ἀπολύσει P || 21 πάσας τὰς Συρίας: πάσης τῆς Συρίας Be πάσας τῆς Συρίας Me Ba || 25 Κιβυρραιωτῶν edd.: Κιβυρρωτῶν P || Θρακησίωv corr. Moravcsik: Θρακήσιν P Θρακησίω edd. || ἐνοικίσθη P.

48. 2 Τρουλλῶ P || γεγωνίας: γενομένης V edd. || 3 Κυπρίων Mansi Ralles-Potles: Κυπρίου P Κύπρου Be Ralles-Potles in *apparatu* || 4 Ἑλλησπόντιον Meursius Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: Ἑλλισπονδον P || 5 τὰς βαρβαρικὰς

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

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

In the time of Constantine, son of Constantine, called Pogonatus, one Callinicus fled from Helioupolis to the Romans and manufactured the liquid fire which is projected through the tubes, by the aid of which the Romans gutted the fleet of the Saracens at Cyzicus, and gained the victory.

V Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ P || ἐθνικῆς edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: ἐθνηκούς P || 6 τοῖς σκήπτροις edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: τοῖς Κύπροις P || 7 μεταναστάντος edd.: μεταστάντος P Mansi Ralles-Potles *in apparatu* || 11 παρασχεθέντα προνόμια edd. Mansi Ralles-Potles: πραχθέντα προνοία P || 12 Κωνσταντινέων πύλεως: Κωνσταντινουπέλεως Me Mansi Ralles-Potles || 13 τῶν *add.* Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles || 14 Ἑλλησποντίων Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: Ἑλισπόντων P || 15 τὰ γὰρ — 16 διεγνώκασιν *in parenthesi posuit* Be || 15 ἔθνη Ba Be Mansi Ralles-Potles: ἔθνη P || 19 ἀφ': ὑφ' Mansi Ralles-Potles || 24 πάσης τῆς V edd.: πᾶσι τῇ P || ἀρχῆς V edd.: ἀρχῇ P || 28 Κωνσταντίνου⁹ F: Κωνσταντίου P V F¹ edd. || 30 σιφόνων P || πῦρ ὑγρόν: πῦρ θαλάσσιον Theoph.

49. He who enquires how the Slavs were put in servitude and subjection to the church of Patras, let him learn from the present passage.

Nicephorus was holding the sceptre of the Romans, and these *Slavs* who were in the province of Peloponnesus decided to revolt, and first proceeded to sack the dwellings of their neighbours, the Greeks, and gave them up to rapine, and next they moved against the inhabitants of the city of Patras and ravaged the plains before its wall and laid siege to itself, having with them African Saracens also. And when a considerable time had gone by and there began to be dearth of necessaries, both water and foodstuffs, among those within the wall, they took counsel among themselves to come to terms of composition and to obtain promises of immunity and then to surrender the city to their yoke. And so, as the then military governor was at the extremity of the province in the city of Corinth, and it had been expected that he would come and defeat the nation of the Slavenes, since he had received early intelligence of their assault from the nobles, the inhabitants of the city resolved that a scout should first be sent to the eastern side of the mountains and spy out and discover if the military governor were in fact coming, and they instructed and gave a signal to their envoy, that if he were to see the military governor coming, he should on his way back dip the standard, so they might know of the coming of the military governor, but if not, to hold the standard erect, so they might for the future not expect the military governor to come. So the scout went off and found that the military governor was not coming, and began to come back, holding the standard erect. But, as it pleased God through the intercession of the holy apostle Andrew, the horse slipped and the rider fell off and dipped the standard, and the inhabitants of the city, seeing the signal given and believing that the military governor was coming undoubtedly, opened the gates of the city and sallied forth bravely against the Slavenes; and they saw the first-called apostle, revealed to their eyes, mounted upon a horse and charging upon the barbarians, yea, and he totally routed them and scattered them and drave them far off from the city and made them to flee. And the barbarians saw and were amazed and confounded at the violent assault upon them of the invincible and unconquerable warrior and captain and marshal, the triumphant and victorious first-called apostle Andrew,

V 49. 2 Σκλαβοὶ edd. || 5 τὰς V edd.: τοῦ P || 8 κατέστρεφόν τε: κατεστρέφοντο V edd. || 9 *ante* Σαρακηνούς *add.* καὶ edd. || 13 αὐτοῖς V edd. || 15 Σκλαβηγῶν Be Σκλαβινῶν Me Ba || 18 σκοπὸν edd.: σκοποὺς P || 20 ἀπεσταλμένῳ edd. || 21 κλίη Ba Be; κλήνει P || φλάμουλον P || 22 φλάμουλον P || 23 τοῦ *add.* Μορανεσικ || 25 φλάμουλον P || 27 φλάμουλον P || 28 ἰδόντες edd.: ἰδότες P || 30 Σκλαβηγῶν edd. || 34 ἰδόντες V edd.: εἰδότες P || *kai*² *om.* edd. ||

and were thrown into disorder and shaken, and trembling gat hold upon them and they fled for refuge in his most sacred temple.

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

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

V 39 τρίτη edd.: γ' P || 41 Σκλαβηνῶν edd. || 45 τὸ om. edd. || 47 ὀράθη P || 48 ὡς: ὥστε edd. || αἰθεσθαι V edd.: αἶθεσθαι P αἰδεσθαι con. Jenkins || 50 αὐτοῦ νόον V edd. || 53 ἐκστρατιῶν P || 55 φαμηλιας P || 59 σιγίλλον Be || αὐτῆ] *litteram ἦ in ras. scr.* P¹ || 63 ἀναστήσονται F Ba Be: ἀναστήσονται P || 64 ὄν: ἄς V || 65 Σκλαβηνοὶ edd. || 70 Σκλαβηνοὶ edd. || 72 σοφώτατος: αἰόδιμος edd.

account of what these same persons who are ascribed to the metropolitan are liable to provide, and forbidding him to exploit them or in any other way to hurt them unjustly at his whim.

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

The Slavs of the province of Peloponnesus revolted in the days of the emperor Theophilus and his son Michael, and became independent, and plundered and enslaved and pillaged and burnt and stole. And in the reign of Michael, the son of Theophilus, the protospatharius Theoctistus, surnamed Bryennius, was sent as military governor to the province of Peloponnesus with a great power and force, viz., of Thracians and Macedonians and the rest of the western provinces, to war upon and subdue them. He subdued and mastered all the Slavs and other insubordinates of the province of Peloponnesus, and only the Ezeritai and the Milingoi were left, towards Lacedaemonia and Helos. And since there is there a great and very high mountain called Pentadaktylos, which runs like a neck a long distance out into the sea, and because the place is difficult, they settled upon the flanks of this same mountain, the Milingoi in one part, and in the other part the Ezeritai. The aforesaid protospatharius Theoctistus, the military governor of Peloponnesus, having succeeded in reducing these too, fixed a *tribute* of 60 nomismata for the Milingoi, and of 300 nomismata for the Ezeritai, and this they used to pay while he was military governor, as this report of it is preserved to this day by the local inhabitants. But in the reign of the lord Romanus the emperor, the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor in this same province, reported to the same lord Romanus concerning both Milingoi and Ezeritai, that they had rebelled and neither obeyed the military governor nor regarded the imperial mandate, but were practically independent and self-governing, and neither accepted a head man at the hand of the military governor, nor heeded orders for military service under him, nor would pay other dues to the treasury. While his

κάστρου *add.* τοῦ *edd.* || *Ματῆς scr.* Moravcsik: Μαινῆς P Μαινῆς *edd.* || 5 τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου: τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένων πάκτων *edd.* || 11 Βροεινίων P || 15 Ἐζερεῖται P || Μιληγγοί P *edd.* || 16 Ἔλος P || 19 δὲ *om.* Be || 20 Μιληγγοί P *edd.* || 20 μέρεσι² *om.* *edd.* || 22 ἐξέθετο (*etiam* Bandurius): ἐπέθετο *edd.* || 23 Μιληγγοῖς P Ba Be Μιλιγγοί *mg.* P⁸ || 27 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Be || 28 κῦρην P || Μηλιγγων P Μιληγγῶν Ba Be ||

report was on its way, it happened that the protospatharius Krinitis Arotas was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and when the report of the protospatharius John Proteuon, military governor of Peloponnesus, arrived and was read in the presence of the emperor, the lord Romanus, and was found to contain news of the revolt of the aforesaid Slavs and of their reluctant obedience, or, more properly, their disobedience to the imperial commands, this same protospatharius Krinitis was instructed, since they had gone so far in revolt and disobedience, to march against them and defeat and subdue and exterminate them. And so, beginning his war upon them in the month of March and burning down their crops and plundering all their land, he kept them to defence and resistance until the month of November, and then, seeing that they were being exterminated, they begged to negotiate for their submission and pardon for their past misdoings. And so the aforesaid protospatharius Krinitis, the military governor, fixed upon them tributes greater than they had been paying: upon the Milingoi 540 nomismata on top of the 60 nomismata which they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, and upon the Ezeritai another 300 nomismata on top of the 300 nomismata they had paid before, so that their total tribute was 600 nomismata, which this same protospatharius Krinitis exacted and conveyed to the *Treasury of the Bedchamber* guarded of God. But when the protospatharius Krinitis was transferred to the province of Hellas and the protospatharius Bardas Platypodis was appointed military governor in Peloponnesus, and disorder and strife were aroused by this same protospatharius Bardas Platypodis and by protospatharii and nobles who took his part, and they expelled the protospatharius Leo Agelastos from the province, and straight away the Slavians made an attack upon this same province, then these same Slavs, both Milingoi and Ezeritai, sent to the lord Romanus, the emperor, requesting and praying that the increments to their tribute should be forgiven them, and that they should pay what they had paid before. And since, as has been said above, the Slavians had entered the province of Peloponnesus, the emperor, fearing lest they might join forces with the Slavs and bring about the total destruction of this same province, issued for the latter a golden bull providing that they should pay as before, the Milingoi 60 nomismata, and the Ezeritai 300 nomismata. Such, then, is the cause of the increase of the tribute of the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of its remission.

V 38 τὴν om. edd. || 41 καταπολεμήση Ba Be: καταπολεμήσει P καταπολεμήσει V || ὑποτάξη Ba Be: ὑποτάξει P || ἐξολοθρεύσει V || 42 αὐτοὺς: αὐτὸς Me || 45 καὶ om. V edd. || 46 αὐτοὺς scr. Moravesik: αὐτοῖς P(?) V edd.: αὐτ'ς (inter τ et ε duabus litteris erasis) PΥ || 48 Μιληγγοῖς Ba Be || 55 Πλατοπόδη P || 56 γενομένης edd. || 59 Σκλαβισιάνων P: Σκλαβησιανῶν edd. || 61 Μιληγγοὶ edd. || κύρην P || 64 Ἐπει δέ: Ἐπειδὴ Migne || Σκλαβισιάνοι P: Σκλαβησιανοὶ edd. || 66 Σκλάβοις edd. || 67 τοῦ τελεῖν αὐτοὺς: ἵνα τελῶσι τὰ V edd. || 68 Μιληγγοὺς edd. || νομίσματα² add. edd. || 70 τε om. edd. || Μιληγγοῶν edd. || Ἐξερῖτων P ||

The inhabitants of the city of Maïna are not of the race of the aforesaid Slavs, but of the ancient Romans, and even to this day they are called 'Hellenes' by the local inhabitants, because in the very ancient times they were idolaters and worshippers of images after the fashion of the ancient Hellenes; and they were baptized and became Christians in the reign of the glorious Basil. The place where they live is waterless and inaccessible, but bears the olive, whence their comfort is. This place is situated on the tip of Malea, that is, beyond Ezeron towards the coast. Seeing that they are perfectly submissive and accept a head man from the military governor, and heed and obey the commands of the military governor, they have paid from very ancient times a tribute of 400 nomismata.

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

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

The province of Calabria was of old a duchy of the province of Sicily.

The province of Charsianon was of old a county of the province of the Armeniakoi.

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

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following hundreds were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of Charsianon, viz., the garrison of Myriokephalon, the garrison of Timios Stauros and the garrison of Berinoupolis, and they became the county now called Saniana. And from the province of the Armeniakoi to the province of Charsianon were transferred the following hundreds, viz., the garrison of Komodromos, the garrison of Tabia, and were added to the said county of Charsianon. From the province of the Cappadocians to the province of Charsianon the following hundreds were transferred, viz., the county of Kasi in toto and the garrison of Nyssa with Caesareia.

V 79 τὴν *om.* Be || 82 ἐκ παλαιάτου *edd.*: ἔκπαλαι τὰ τοῦ P || 83 *post ἡ add.* τῆς *edd.* || 86 Λογουβαρδίας Ba Be || 88 Καλαβρίας V *edd.*: Καλαβρία P || δουκάτον P || 90 τούρμα P || 91 Ἀρμενικῶν Be || 94 Βαλβαδῶνας P: Βαλβαδῶνος V *edd.* || 85 Ἀκαρκοῦς P || 98 ἐπτὰ *edd.*: ζ' P || 99 τέσσαρα *edd.*: δ' P || τρία *edd.*: γ' P || 100 τούρμα P || 105 Σανιάνα *edd.* || Ἀρμενικῶν *edd.* || 106/7 Κομοδρόμου P || 107 Ταβίας V *edd.* || τούρμαν P || 109 τούρμα P || 110 Νύσης P ||

In past times the province of Choazanon was beneath the Saracens and in like manner the province of Asmosaton also was beneath the Saracens. Chanzit and Romanopolis were frontier passes of the Melitenians. And from the mountain of Phatilanon all beyond belonged to the Saracens; Tekis belonged to Manuel. Kamacha was the extreme county of Kolonia, and the county of Keltzini was under Chaldia. Mesopotamia was not a province at that time. But Leo, the Christ-loving and ever-memorable emperor, brought the late Manuel out of Tekis upon a promise of *immunity*, and brought him to Constantinople and made him protospatharius. This same Manuel has four sons, Pankratoukas, Iachnoukas, Moudaphar and John. Pankratoukas the emperor made commander of the Hicanati and thereafter military governor of the Boukellarioi, and Iachnoukas he made military governor of Nicopolis, and to Moudaphar and John he gave crown land at Trapezus, and he honoured them all with dignities and conferred on them many benefits. And he made Mesopotamia a province and appointed the late Orestes, the Charsianite, to be military governor of it, and then gave the county of Kamacha to be under the province of Mesopotamia, and thereafter put the county of Keltzini also beneath the province of Mesopotamia. All these being now beneath the dominion of the Romans, in the time of the sovereign Romanus Romanopolis and Chanzit were added to the province of Mesopotamia.

In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Larissa was a county of Sebasteia, and Kymbalaios was a county of Charsianon, and Symposion was a desert adjacent to the region of Lykandos. And in the reign of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, Eustathius Argyrus was recalled from banishment and appointed military governor of Charsianon, while Melias was still a refugee at Melitene, as was Baasakios with his two brothers Krikorikios and Pazounis, and also the late Ismael the Armenian; these wrote to *the emperor* and to the aforesaid Argyrus, asking that they might receive a promise of *immunity* in form of a golden bull and might come out, and that Baasakios and his brothers might have their seat at Larissa and Baasakios be named frontier warden of Larissa, which was done; and that Ismael should be frontier warden of Symposion, which was done; and that Melias should be made lieutenant-general of Euphrateia, of the Trypia, and of the Desert, and that was done. But since the Melitenians came out and did away

V 113 κλησοῦραι P: κλεισοῦρα edd. || 114 Μελιτινιατῶν] *litteras* νατ *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 115 ὑπῆρχεν edd. || 116 τούρμα P || Κελτζινῆς P || τούρμα P || 118 ἀείμνηστος: ἀοίδιμος edd. || 120 Ἔχει: εἶχε *coni.* Jenkins || 121 Ἰαχνοῦκαν P || 122 ἱκανάτον P || 123 Ἰαχνοῦκαν P || 128 τούρμαν P || 129 Κελτζινῆς P || τούρμαν P || *post* αὐτὴν *add.* τῆς edd. || 130/1 ἐξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων edd. || 134 Κυμβαλαίος P Κυμβαλαίος edd. || 135 Λικανδοῦ P || 138 προεχειρίσθη *coni.* Moravcsik: παρεχωρίσθη P ἐχωρίσθη edd. || 143 τὸν μὲν Be || 144 κλησουριάρχην P || 145 Εὐφράτιαν P || 147 Μελιτινιατῶν P ||

with that Ismael, Symposion remained deserted. And when Baasakios was accused of plotting treachery and exiled, Larissa became once more a county under Sebasteia, and Leo Argyrus, son of Eustathius, was appointed military governor there, he who afterwards became magister and commander-in-chief. But Melias had his seat at Euphrateia, and when Constantine Dux had been appointed in Charsianon, this Melias aforesaid came down and took possession of the ancient city of Lykandos and built it up and fortified it and took his seat there, and it was named a frontier pass by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor. After this he crossed from Lykandos to the mountain of Tzamandos and there built the city which is there now, and similarly this too was designated a frontier pass. And he took possession of Symposion also and made it into a county. And in the first reign of Constantine the Christ-loving sovereign, when his mother Zoë was associated with him, Lykandos became a province, and the first military governor to be nominated was the patrician Melias, who was, of course, at that time frontier warden of Lykandos. And this same Melias, both for the loyalty that was in him toward the emperor of the Romans and for his many and infinite feats of daring against the Saracens, was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister.

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

By old-established rule the captain-general of the Mardaites of Attalia was appointed of course by the emperor; and therefore by Leo, the emperor, of most blessed memory, Stauracius, surnamed Platys, was appointed captain-general, who gave splendid service for several years, but disposed things ill at his ending. For when the protospatharius Eustathius, of the imperial chancellery, was sent as deputy *military governor* to the province of the Kibyrrhaiotai, certain jealousies and broils arose between them: and sometimes Stauracius Platys, who relied upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister, as one who had been his intermediary with the emperor, would fall foul of the deputy Eustathius and indeed flatly oppose him in matters where he saw him acting or giving orders beyond his competence; and sometimes, on the other hand, the deputy Eustathius would be at odds with Stauracius and would devise many assaults and artful accusations against him. For this reason the aforesaid Eustathius reported unfavourably on Stauracius, saying: 'The province of the Kibyrrhaiotai cannot have two military governors, me, that is, and Stauracius, captain-general of the

τοῦτο edd. τὸ *coni.* Bekker || 161 Λικανδὸς P || 162 Λικανδοῦ P || ὀνομάσθη P || Μελίας P V edd.: Μελείας (*littera e rubro atramento addita*) P^s mg. P^s || 163 κλεισουριάρχου Ba Be || Λικανδῶ P || 164 Μελίας P V edd.: Μελείας (*littera e rubro atramento addita*) P^s mg. P^s || 172 διέπρεψεν: διέτριψεν Be || ἱκανούς V edd.: ἱκανῶς P || 174 ἀσηκρίτης P || 178 ἐκ προσώπου Ba Be: ἐκπροσώπου P ἐκπροσώπω P^x V || 183 Κιβυρραιωτῶν edd.: Κιβυρρωτῶν P || 184 *post καὶ add.* τὸν edd. ||

Mardaïtes; for while I give one set of orders and try to administer them, the captain-general of the Mardaïtes will do something different, and being his own master acts wildly as he sees fit.» He reported other false charges besides, and concocted many artful accusations against him, composing some that had an air of probability and inventing others that were calumnious and wild. These things he wrote down, relying of course upon the patrician Himerius, the foreign minister. And at that time the patrician Himerius was more friendly with Eustathius than with Stauracius, though afterwards the two fell out and became full of enmity and replete with fury. The emperor, then, received this report of Eustathius and, acceding to the request of the patrician Himerius, gave the authority of this captain-general to the protospatharius Eustathius, the deputy. But when the emperor, of blessed memory, exchanged the things below for the things above, Alexander his brother took the position of senior emperor, and as he superseded all who had been appointed to any commands by the emperor his brother, of blessed memory, being thereto persuaded by malicious and foolish men, so he superseded the aforesaid Eustathius also, and made another in his stead. For the late Chase, who sprang from the race of the Saracens and continued a true Saracen in thought and manners and religion, the slave of the patrician Damian, this protospatharius Chase had at that time great freedom of intercourse with the lord Alexander the emperor, as had also the protospatharius Niketas, the brother of Chase, who was made military governor of the Kibyrhatoi by this lord Alexander the emperor; this Niketas, then, brother of the aforesaid Chase, made a request to the emperor, saying: «As I am your old friend, it is fitting you should do me a favour; and I have a thing to request of your imperial majesty, and it is right that you should grant it to me.» The emperor being taken by surprise and asking in his turn what this request might be and promising to grant it whatever it was, the aforesaid Niketas made his request, saying: «I request that your imperial majesty should make my son captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia»; and the emperor, acceding to his request, on the occasion of a procession introduced into the Chrysotriclinus the son of the protospatharius Niketas, the spatharocandidate Abercius, and appointed him captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia, just as Leo the emperor, of blessed memory, had previously appointed Stauracius, surnamed Platys. It is the old rule, established from the beginning, as was said at the start, that the captain-general of the Mardaïtes is appointed by the emperor.

192 ἐχθρανθέντες Be: ἐχθραν θέντες P || 193 Εὐσταθίου] *litteras* σταθ *in ras.* scr. Pⁱ || 196 καὶ: τῷ edd. || ἐκ προσώπου Ba Be: ἐκπροσώπω P || Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου βασιλέως Be: τῷ δὲ μακαρίῳ βασιλεῖ P || 198 ὡς Meursius Be: ὅς P || 205 κῦριν P || 207 τοῦ αὐτοῦ V edd. || 208 *ante* βασιλέως *add.* τοῦ edd. || 213 ποιήση Ba Be ποιήση V Me: ποιήσει P || 216 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P ||

In the time of the emperor Theophilus, Scholasticus the door-keeper was chamberlain, and in the time of Michael, son of Theophilus, the patrician Damian was chamberlain and after him, in the same reign, Basil, the Christ-loving emperor, was chamberlain. In the time of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, there was no chamberlain during all his reign. In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Samonas was chamberlain, and after him, in the time of the same emperor, the patrician Constantine. In the time of Alexander the emperor, the patrician Barbatus was chamberlain; and in the time of Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign, the patrician Constantine, mentioned before in the time of the sovereign Leo, was *chamberlain* again; and in the time of the sovereign Romanus, the patrician Theophanes; and in the second reign of Constantine, the patrician Basil.

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

τοῦ edd. || 233 πάλιν om. edd. || δεύτερον edd.: β' P || 243 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: σαράκοντα P || 244 τοῦτο Meursius Ba Be: τοῦτον P || 247 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ' P || 248 δέκα edd.: ι' P || τραπέζιου P V Ba Be: τραπέζιον P^y || ἀσίμην P || ἐνζῶδον Be: ἐνζοδον (*littera ζ in ras. scripta*) P¹ Ba ἐνδοξον V || 249 δέκα edd.: ι' P || 251 τεσσαράκοντα edd.: μ' P || 252 ἀσίμην P || 253 λίτρας V edd.: λίτραι P || ἐξήκοντα edd.: ξ' P || 256 δύο^α edd.: β' P.

51. Why the imperial galley came to be made, and of the steersmen of this same galley, and all about the protospatharius of the basin.

Until the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, there was no imperial galley for the emperor to embark in, but he used to embark in a scarlet barge; except that, in the time of the Christ-loving sovereign Basil, when this same emperor visited the hot baths of Prousa, and again when he went to inspect the bridge of Rhegion that was, of course, being built by his mandate and providence, he embarked in a galley, and another galley followed behind. And the rowers who embarked in it were taken from the imperial barge and from the sailors of the Stenon. For of old the Stenon too had up to ten ships of war of the imperial navy. But since the emperor, of blessed memory, on most of his progresses always went to Pegai because of the palace he had built there, and in like manner to Hebdomon and to Hiereia and to Bryas, he used to embark in a barge, according to the old rule. But when he was going on a longer progress, to the hot baths of Prousa, for example, and to inspect the bridge of Rhegion, he would embark, as was said above, in a galley, and another galley would follow, so that more nobles could embark with the emperor, and the rest in the second galley. But the glorious and most wise Leo, the emperor, who was rather more hospitably inclined towards magisters and patricians and familiars of senatorial rank, and who always wished them to share his pleasure in this, reckoned that the barge was inadequate for the reception of a larger number of nobles, and constructed a galley, and would invariably embark in it wherever he desired to go. And there would go with him whomsoever he might desire of the nobles, both of magisters and patricians. For in the barge it used to be the rule that none other embarked with the emperor except the colonel of the watch and the lord admiral and the foreign minister and the commander of the company and the private secretary and the secretary of the pleas and, when he was present in Constantinople, the commander-in-chief also, and the chamberlain and the master of the wardrobe and of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber whomsoever the emperor commanded. For this reason, then, Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, constructed the galley, and, some while after, he constructed another galley as well, which was known as the 'second' and christened 'Attaché'. For this emperor, of blessed memory, would go on distant

ι' P || 14/5 μετασασήματα P || 16 Ἱερλίαν Moravcsik: Ἱερλίαν Ba Be Εἰρλίαν P Me Ἱηρία Meursius || 16 τὸν: τὴν edd. || 17 Βρολίαν P || post εἰς¹ add. τὸ edd. || 19 γέφυρας P || 20 διὰ τὸ conī. Bekker: διότι P edd. || 21 δεύτερον edd.: β' P || 24 τούτοις conī. Jenkins; τοῦτο P edd. || 31 παρῆν] παρεῖν (*littera ei in ras. scripta*) P¹ || 33 κοιτωνίτων P edd. || 36 δεύτερον edd.: β' P || ἀκολούθως V edd. || ὀνομάσθη P ||

progresses, to Nicomedeia, for instance, to Olympus, to Pythia, and therefore he had the two galleys specially made for the service and recreation of himself and his nobles. For when he went out on a short progress, he used often to leave one of the complements behind in the hippodrome to guard the palace; because the brigade of the Arithmos, according to the old rule which has grown into force, goes out on active service under the commander-in-chief and they, *this complement*, stay behind in the hippodrome and do *not* go out on progress with the emperors in the ordinary way.

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

V 42 τδ² *om.* edd. || 42/3 κατὰ τὸν ἐπικρατήσαντα παλαιὸν τύπον: κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον ἐπεκράτησαν V || 43 ἐναπομένοντες (*etiam* V¹): ἐναπομένοντος V Me || 44 οὐ *add.* Moravcsik || 56 δειλὴν V edd.: δήλης P || 58 ἐλάτων P || 60 ἢ <μῆ> ἐργαζόμενον *coni.* Kyriakides || 61/2 μαγλαβίων P || 62 ἐπεξήρχετο F Be: ὑπεξήρχετο P || καθ' ὃν edd.: καθά P || 63 τε *om.* edd. || 64 ἐφορίαν P: θεωρίαν edd. || 66 χεῖρα F edd.: χεῖραν P || ἐφορίαν P || 68 ἀγούσταν P || 70 πρωτοσπαθάριος *om.* edd. || 73 ὁ³ *om.* Ba Be || 74 πρωτοσπαθάριος *om.* Ba Be ||

promoted from the navy and became chief oarsmen of the barge of the emperor; and in the reign of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, when he constructed the galleys, he made them steersmen for their bravery and seamanship. And when a crisis arose, the emperor seconded the oarsmen of the two galleys, together with the two steersmen of the first galley, to ships of war of the navy, giving them much needful equipment, such as shields, leather targes, very fine coats of mail and everything else that naval personnel require to take with them; and the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, took them with the imperial fleet and went off against the enemy. All this the emperor did because the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, was intending to engage the enemy. And in their stead the imperial galley was steered by Michael the elder and the late *Michael* the clever, who were at that time chief oarsmen. And pending the return of the imperial oarsmen, those who rowed the galleys were Stenites from the complements of the Stenon. But when they returned from the campaign, they resumed the same employment that they had been in before. Then the emperor, to reward, as it were, the protospatharius Podaron because of the bravery he had shown and because he had approved himself above all others in the battle and had received a personal testimonial from the patrician Eustathius, the lord admiral, that there was in the navy none other like him for bravery and energy and the other virtues, and particularly for affection and upright loyalty toward the emperor, gave to him the authority of the protospatharius of the basin. But because he was illiterate, by order of the emperor a judge from the hippodrome used to go down and take his seat with him in the basin and judge the oarsmen. But the barges of the Augusta, as has been said before, were in the control of the master of the Augusta's table. After this, the emperor appointed Podaron and Leo Armenius to be vice-admirals of the imperial navy, and as steersmen of his galley he appointed the late Michael the elder, who was at that time chief oarsmen of the galley, and had been second oarsman of the barge of Basil, the Christ-loving sovereign, and the other Michael, surnamed Barkalas, who had previously served in the navy as chief oarsmen of the lord admiral, the patrician Eustathius, when he carried the Turks across and defeated Symeon, prince of Bulgaria. Now this Symeon, prince of Bulgaria, on learning that the navy had arrived in the river, and that the navy was about to carry over the Turks against him, constructed mantlets or wicker fencing, very strong and tough, so that the Turks might not be able to cross over, and by this device the Turks were

V 88 τῶν P¹ V edd.: τὸν P || 89 *post* καὶ alterum Μιχαὴλ addendum coniecit Moravcsik || δ² om. V edd. || αὐτῶν: αὐτῶ V Me || 90 πρωτελάτων P || 91 ἐλάτων P || Στενεῖται P || 97 πλώϊμον] *litteras* πλω *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 98 *post* τῆ *add.* τὸν P *del.* P¹ || 100 δὲ: τε edd. || 101 ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ *coni.* Zachariä v. Lingenthal || 102 ἀγουστιακά V edd. || 106 δρομωνίου] *litteras* μων *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 107 τοῦ om. edd. || 109 ὁ om. edd. || 111 κατεπολέμισεν P || 114 πλοκάς V edd. || || ἰσχυράς Ba Be || 115 ἀντιπερᾶν V edd. ||

at first prevented from crossing. So the aforesaid Michael Barkalas and two other sailors took up their shields and swords, and leaping down from the warship with a brave and powerful rush, cut down the mantlets or wicker fences and opened the passage for the Turks. The Turks, who watched this Barkalas and exceedingly admired his bravery because he, by himself, advancing in front of the two sailors, was first to cut down the fencing, said in their admiration that this man ought to be named patrician and be head of the navy. So the emperor, on hearing of the bravery of Barkalas, made him second oarsman in the imperial galley. Thereafter, when Podaron and Leo became vice-admirals, Michael the elder and this Barkalas were appointed steersmen of the galley.

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

When Podaron became vice-admiral, the protospatharius Theophylact Bimbilidis was appointed protospatharius of the basin, who was nephew of the protospatharius John, surnamed Thalasson, and he lasted during a few years of the first reign of Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, the Christ-loving sovereign. On his death, since Michael the elder aforesaid was grown very old indeed and had given many long years of service as steersman, he was honoured with the rank of protospatharius and was also appointed protospatharius of the basin. And when the emperor embarked on the galley in the basin and set out either upon a progress or somewhere else, that good old man, ever memorable for his seamanship, would take his stand amidships of the galley, inspiring and urging the oarsmen of the galley to pull and row more bravely and manfully, and at the same time instructing the steersmen of the day how to manage the rudders and steer the imperial vessel when the winds were blowing distemperately. Well, he died; and, owing to the infancy of the emperor and the indiscretion of the patrician and chamberlain Constantine, the late Theodotus, at that time chief oarsmen, was made steersman, and was at sundry times honoured with the ranks of candidate, strator, spatharius, spatharocandidate, and afterwards protospatharius and protospatharius of the basin; he was son-in-law of the aforesaid Michael the elder. For by ancient rule a steersman of the emperor had never been made, or honoured with the

V 116 Τούρκοι P || 120 τοὺς om. edd. || Τούρκοις V edd. || 121 Τούρκοι P || 123 καὶ εἶναι edd.: εἶναι . καὶ P || 125 δρομώνιον βασιλικὸν edd.: δρομώνιον <τὸ> βασιλικὸν conit. Bekker || 139 ἐν: εἰς edd. || περιόδους Moravcsik: περιόδους P edd. || 144 ἐμπειρίαν] *litteras ei in ras. scr.* P¹ || 145 ἀνδρειαύτερον (*litteris ei in ras. scriptis*) P¹: ἀνδρειότερον edd. || 147 ναῦν V edd.: ναῦ P || 151 κανδιδάτος P || 152 σπαθαροκανδιδάτος P ||

rank of protospatharius, or even of spatharocandidate, but was either a candidate or a strator, or at the most, a spatharius. And in the time of Leo, the glorious and most wise emperor, this Michael alone was honoured with the rank of spatharius and subsequently of spatharocandidate. But owing, as has been said, to the infancy of the emperor and to the indiscretion of the patrician Constantine, the chamberlain, steersmen became spatharocandidates, and this Michael a protospatharius. But when the emperor lord Romanus ascended into the palace and, somehow or other, possessed himself of the throne, he superseded Theodotus because of his affection for Constantine, the Christ-loving sovereign and emperor, and not only that but he punished him with flogging and tonsuring and dismissed him to perpetual banishment, in which he came to the end of his life; but his colleague in the steersmanship, the late Constantine Loricatus, *the emperor lord Romanus* let be, because *Loricatus* was affectionately disposed towards him through fear and had renounced, by an oath written in his own hand, his affection and love toward the emperor Constantine; him *the emperor lord Romanus* first honoured with the rank of spatharocandidate, and, after making him first steersman and appointing him protospatharius of the basin, honoured him shortly afterwards with the rank of protospatharius. Now, this man, by means of a memorial to the cleric John, whom God had allowed to become rector, put before the emperor, of blessed memory, the lord Romanus, this suggestion: «The protospatharius Theophylact, master of the Augusta's table, since he is an appointment and a support of the mother of the emperor and of the emperor himself, must necessarily be in sympathy with his own masters and benefactors. Besides, what need is there for the men of the barges of the basin to be divided between two authorities? For the master of the Augusta's table, governed by his affection towards the emperor and the Augusta, may mislead the sailors of the barges of the Augusta, who are under his control, and perhaps even the oarsmen of the galleys, and they will plan a rising against your imperial majesty.» With these words he won over that evil and crooked rector, and through him the emperor. For it is easy for a light head and indiscreet heart to be seduced and fall towards every malicious word and hint. He spoke and won them over, and, having won them over, was given the authority over the barges of the Augusta also. And since then it has become the rule for the steersman of the imperial galley to have charge of and exercise authority

edd. || 169 ἐξαρνησάμενον edd.: ἐξαρνησαμένου P || 170 σπαθαροκανδιδάτον P || 174 ῥέκτωρος scr. Moravcsik: ῥαίκτωρος (*litteris ai in ras. scriptis*) P¹ V edd. || βασιλεῖ, τῷ: τῷ βασιλεῖ Be || 180 τὴν αὐγοῦσταν Moravcsik: τὴν αὐγοῦστην edd. τῇ αὐγοῦστη P || 182 μελετήσουσιν *coni.* Moravcsik: μελετήσωσιν P μελετήσωσί edd. || 184 ῥέκτωρα scr. Moravcsik: ῥαίκτωρα P edd. || 188 τὸν πρωτοκάραβον Meursius Ba Be: τὼν πρωτοκαράβων P ||

51, 52

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

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

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

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

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

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

A demand was made for five nomismata per head from the whole military force of Peloponnesus in respect of this military service, and from those absolutely without means of five nomismata from every two, and from this was made up the aforesaid one hundred pounds in coined money.

52. 4 τέσσαρα edd.: δ' P || 5 τέσσαρα edd.: δ' P || 6 τρία edd.: γ' P || σπαθαροκανιδάτοι P || 7 στρατορες P || 8/9 ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀρχιεπισκόπων P edd. || 9 ἐπισκόπων edd. || 10 σὺν δύο P || 11 κογχυλευται P || 13 πέντε *scr.* Moravcsik: ε' P edd. || σὺν δύο P || 14 πέντε *scr.* Moravcsik: ε' P edd.

53. Story of the city of Cherson.

When Diocletian was emperor in Rome, and Themistus, son of Themistus, was chief magistrate and primate in the country of the Chersonites, Sauromatus the Bosporian, son of Criscoronus, gathered together the Sarmatians who dwelt on the Maeotic lake and marched against the Romans, and, having occupied *the* country of the Lazi and defeated those who were there, arrived as far as the Halys river. The emperor Diocletian, learning this, that the country of the Lazi and the Pontic land were being laid waste, sent thither an army with intent to oppose the Sarmatians. The commander of the army was Constans the tribune, and Constans, having reached the Halys with the army, sat down there and prevented the Sarmatians from crossing the Halys. And being unable himself to oppose them, Constans resolved in his own mind that in no other way could he expel the Sarmatians except perhaps if some of the neighbours of the Bosporians and of the Maeotic lake were sent out to make war upon them and plunder their families, in order that Sauromatus might hear of it and retire from the war; and to communicate this in a message to the emperor, so that *the emperor* should send to the Chersonites and rouse them against the Sarmatians, their neighbours, and to attack their families, so that Sauromatus, when he heard of it, might speedily retire from the war. Hearing this, the emperor Diocletian at once sent to the Chersonites bidding them to join him in the war and to go and plunder the country of the Bosporians and Sarmatians and take their families captive. The chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was at that time Chrestus, son of Papias, and the Chersonites willingly obeyed the words of the emperor and therefore set about devising in what manner they might be able to capture the city of Sauromatus, Bosporus, and the forts of the Maeotis. They gathered together the men of the neighbouring forts and constructed military waggons and placed in them the so-called arbalests, and they arrived at the city of the Bosporians and, after laying an ambush while it was night, a handful of them joined battle at the city; and having fought at the wall from dawn till the third hour, they made a show of flight, not

Moravcsik: Σαυρομάτος P Σαυρομάτας edd. || ύποστρέψη Ba Be: ύποστρέ-
 (ψη?) *per comp.* P ύποστρέψη V Me || μηνύσαι *coni.* Jenkins: μηνύση
 edd. μηνύσει P έμνήωσε *coni.* Bekker || 18 άποστειλαι *coni.* Bekker: άπέστειλε
 P edd. || και τούτους διήγειρεν *dis* P || διεγειραι *coni.* Bekker: διήγειρεν P
 διήγειρε edd. || 19 Σαρματών Migne: Σαρμάτων P edd. || 20 φαμηλιάς P ||
 Σαυρομάταν edd. || 23 άπελθόντας Be: άπελθόντες P || Σαρματών Migne:
 Σαρμάτων P edd. || 24 φαμηλιάς P || αιχμαλωτίσαι] *litteras αιχμα in ras. scr.*
 P¹ || 25 *post* Χερσωνιτών *add.* χώρας V edd. || Χρίστου P || 32 όλίγιστοι Be ||
 33 προδειξαντες *corr.* Moravcsik: προσδειξαντες P *coni.* Bekker: προσ-
 δέξαντες edd. ||

having exposed the arbalests they had made, that were in their waggons. Those in Bosphorus of course supposed that the Chersonites had been beaten owing to their small numbers and were in flight, and, with complete confidence in themselves, they sallied forth to pursue them. But the Chersonites, as it appears, retiring gradually, destroyed the pursuing Bosphorians with the arbalests, and the Chersonites besides who lay in ambush started up and surrounded the Bosphorians and put them all to the sword, and, returning, captured Bosphorus and in like manner also the forts on the Maeotic lake and all the families of *the* Sarmatians; and they took up their quarters in Bosphorus, putting none to the sword thereafter save those who had fought, and they held on to Bosphorus and guarded it. After some days interval, Chrestus, son of Papias, said to the women of the Sarmatians: «We ourselves had no need to make war upon you, but since Sauromatus has gone off to ravage the country of the Romans, we, being for this reason bidden by the emperor of the Romans, whose subjects we are, have made war on you. So now, if you would live in your city, come, let us send envoys to your lord Sauromatus, so that he may conclude peace with the Romans in sight of our envoys and withdraw from those parts, and we will leave you and go off to our city; but only when Sauromatus so escorts our envoys hither and sends us with his own men the news of the peace, then so will we leave you and withdraw; but if Sauromatus so much as tries to proceed by any trickery, believing he may cut us off here and attack us, and we get to know of it through our scouts, we will put all of you, both small and great, to the sword and so withdraw hence. And what good will Sauromatus get of it hereafter, if all his family and the city are destroyed?» Hearing this, the women of Sauromatus made preparations to carry it out with alacrity. And with the Bosphorians the Chersonites sent to Sauromatus five envoys of their own, to inform him of what had been done and said. Well, when the envoys reached Sauromatus, in the region of the Halys river, they reported to him all that had been done against the Bosphorians by the Chersonites. He was in great perturbation, and, pretending to desire, as it appears, that the envoys of the Chersonites should take rest after their journey, said to them: «Since you are fatigued, I desire you to rest yourselves a few days and then I will do all that you have said; *** go

edd. || 49 ἀποστείλωμεν Μοραβςικ ἀποστείλωμεν P: ἀποστέλλωμεν edd. || 51 ἐπ' ὄψεσιν edd.: ἐφ' ὄψει P || 52 ἀφίωμεν scr. Μοραβςικ: ἀφίωμεν P ἀφίωμεν Be ἀφίωμεν Me Ba || 53 Σαυρομάτου coni. Bekker: Σαυρόματος P edd. || 54 μηνύοντος coni. Μοραβςικ: μηνύων P edd. || ἀφίωμεν scr. Μοραβςικ: ἀφίωμεν P edd. || 57 σκουλατόρων edd. || 59 φαμηλιάς P || 60 Σαυρωμάτου P || 62 πέντε edd.: ε' P || Σαυρώματος P || 64 Σαυρώματος P || 65 Χερσωνίτων P || 67 Χερσωνίτων P || 68 κοπομένοι P: κοπόμενοι edd. || 69 ὑμῶν V edd.: ἡμῶν P || post ποιήσω lac. coni. Jenkins || ἀπέλθετε edd. ||

hence to the men of Rome and learn of them and be persuaded that my words to you are truth and that I do not lie.» The Chersonites went off to Constans together with envoys of Sauromatus, and learnt what had gone on between them, and reported to Constans all that had been done by them in the country of the Bosporians and at the Maeotic lake, and how they had captured the families of Sauromatus, and that Sauromatus had through this necessity been brought to make peace. On hearing this, Constans was quite cast down, and said to the Chersonites: «And what good, then, is your alliance to me, now that I have made agreements to give them so much gold?» The Chersonites said to him: «Be not cast down, my lord: if you wish, we will dissolve the agreement for your payment.» Constans said to them: «How is it possible?» The Chersonites said to him: «Do you, for your part, thus declare to Sauromatus: ‘The agreements already made between us hold good; and now, since on your account I too have incurred expenses and great losses on my way hither from Rome with the army, do you, for your part, pay me these, and I will give you back all your families and your city’.» Constans was overjoyed and sent this message to Sauromatus. Sauromatus, when he heard it, was exceedingly downcast, and sent to Constans a message saying: «I will neither pay nor take anything at all; do you but send me the Chersonites, that I may withdraw hence.» The Chersonites said to Constans: «Do not dismiss us until you get back all the prisoners.» Then Constans sent a message to Sauromatus saying: «Send me all whom you hold prisoners, and I will dismiss the Chersonites.» Sauromatus, when he heard it, unwillingly and against his desire dismissed all the prisoners whom he held, to the last one of them. So then Constans, having got back all those who had been taken in the forays, kept with him two envoys of the Chersonites and sent the others to Sauromatus, and Sauromatus received them and sent them on ahead out of the country of the Lazi, together with some of his own men, to whom might be handed over Bosphorus and their families. Sauromatus himself put his march with his nation in train, so that the Chersonites might *honestly* hand over the families and withdraw. The Chersonites, having received their own envoys in Bosphorus and having learnt all that had been done by Constans and Sauromatus, handed over to Sauromatus’ agent both Bosphorus and the forts of the Maeotis and all the families, unharmed, and came in peace to the country

P || 84 τῶν *om.* edd. || 85 φαμηλιας P || 86/7 Σαυρωμάτω P || 87 Σαυρώματος P || 91 Σαυρωμάτω P || 92 *post* οὗς *add.* ἂν V edd. || 93 Χερσωνίτας] *litteras* χερσωνίτα *in ras. scr.* P¹ || Σαυρωμάτος P || 94 *post* οὗς *add.* ἂν edd. || 95 Χερσωνίων P || 96/7 Σαυρώματων P || 97 Σαυρώματος P || 99 αὐτοῖς edd. || φαμηλιας P || ὁ *add.* Moravcsik || 99/100 Σαυρώματος P 101 ἀθροίλους *intra cruces posuit inter* ἄθροι *et* λους *aliquid excidisse coniciens* Moravcsik: ἀδύτως *coni.* Jenkins ἀθρούους ἔλους *vel* ἀθρούως ἔλας *coni.* Kyriakides ἀθρούως ἔλας *coni.* Дуїден ἀθорубους *coni.* Trypanis || φαμηλιας P || 103 γενόμενα edd.: γινόμενα P || 104 Σαυρωμάτου P || Σαυρωμάτου P || ἄνθρωπον *per comp.* P: ἄνθρώπων Ba Be || 105 φαμηλιας P ||

of the Chersonites, Constans, too, on the withdrawel of Sauromatus from the Roman territories, himself set out for Rome, and reported to the emperor all that had been done by the Chersonites; and he brought their two envoys also, whom the emperor saw and bounteously entertained and thanked most gratefully, and then said to them: «What will you that I should grant to you and your city in return for this affection and alliance?» They said to the emperor: «We, my lord, wish for nothing else, but request this one thing only, that your majesty should grant us pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute.» The emperor gladly acceded to their request and ungrudgingly granted them these pledges of freedom and of immunity from tribute, and sent them to the country of the Chersonites with very many gifts besides, as true subjects of the empire of the Romans. Constans too was grandly entertained by the emperor Diocletian for his brave support in the war of the Sarmatians, and became noble and illustrious and after a short while was proclaimed emperor of the Romans, when Diocletian had retired to Nicomedeia.

On the death of Constans, his son Constantine became emperor at Rome, and when he came to Byzantium, and certain of those in Scythia revolted against him, he called to mind what had been said by his father Constans concerning the affection of the Chersonites and their alliance, and he sent envoys to the country of the Chersonites, with instructions that they should go to the country of the Scythians and fight those who had revolted against him. The chief magistrate and primate of the Chersonites was at that time Diogenes, son of Diogenes, and the Chersonites gladly obeyed the imperial mandate and with all zeal constructed the military waggons and the arbalests and arrived at the Ister river and, having crossed it, arrayed themselves against the rebels and routed them. The emperor, learning of the victory won by them, bade them go back to their country, but their primates he invited to the city of Byzantium and, after thanking them most gratefully, he said to them: «Since now too you have laboured loyally on our behalf, as in the time of the pious forbears of our divine majesty, see, we too do ratify the pledges of freedom and immunity from tribute already granted to you in the city of the Romans by our imperial government; and for our part we give you besides a golden statue with imperial cloak and clasp and a golden crown, for the beautifying of your city, and thereto our charter of freedom and immunity from tribute for you and for your sailors; and, for the purity of your affection, we give you also golden

V 107 Σαυρωμάτου P || 116 τε *om. edd.* || 121 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματών Migne || 122 ἀνεδέχθη (*coni. etiam Bekker*): ἀνεδέχθη *edd.* || 127 λεχθὲν V *edd.*: λεχθήσει (*littera θ in ras. scripta*) P¹ || 129 αὐτοῦς *om. edd.* || 130 τῆς *edd.*: τῆ P || 134 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο Migne || 142 ἀνδρίαντα P ||

rings expressing the likenesses of our pious selves, wherewith you are to seal reports and petitions which shall from time to time be sent from you to us, and thus make your envoys known to us; and besides, in addition to these, we grant you annually cord and hemp, iron and oil, for the manufacture of your bows, and we give you for your sustenance a thousand military rations, so that you may be bowmen (*as they are called*): so that all these provisions and regular grants we shall send you every year from here to the country of the Chersonites.» The Chersonites, receiving these rations, divided them out among themselves and their sons and so made up the brigade, and that is why, even to this day, their sons are «enrolled in the brigade», to fill up the number of their parents' levy. Diogenes and those with him were then honoured with a multitude of supplies and gifts by Constantine, the emperor beloved of God, and came to the country of the Chersonites, bringing back the gifts conferred by his divine majesty.

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

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

157 συμπληρωσιν P || 159 τε edd.: τότε P || 169 ἀποκομισαντες edd. || 162 Σαυρώματος P || 163 Σαυρωμάτου P || πολεμισαντος P || 167 Μεμαθηκότες: μαθόντες V edd. || Χερσωνίται P || 169 Σαυρωμάτω P || 170 Καφά P || πολεμισαντες P || 171 Σαυρώματων P || 172 πολεμήσαντες] *litteras* λεμη *in ras. scr.* P¹ || 173 Σαυρώματων P || ᾧ edd.: οἷς P || Σαυρώματος P || 174 αὐτούς Meursius Ba Be: αὐτοῖς P || 177 ὁ add. edd. || Σαυρώματος P || Χερσωνίται P || 180 Σαυρώματος P || 181 παρετάξατο edd. || Χερσωνίτων P || 182 τῷ V edd.: τῇ P || Καφά P ||

none of the Bosphorians should ever attempt to pass beyond them for purposes of war, this Sauromatus passed beyond them, as desiring to avenge and recover the land forcibly taken from him. In those times the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Pharnacus, son of Pharnacus, and the Chersonites on their side arrayed themselves against Sauromatus, and they met one another in the region of the aforesaid Kapha, and each side took up position on the mountains. Sauromatus, being of huge stature, had confidence in himself and boasted insolently over the Chersonites, confiding also at the same time in the infinite multitude that was with him. But Pharnacus was of small stature compared to Sauromatus, and, seeing the multitude of Sauromatus, resolved with his own army that he should fight in single combat with Sauromatus, to avoid the destruction of an infinite multitude. This resolution having been made, Pharnacus made a declaration to the multitude of Sauromatus, saying: «What need is there of the destruction of so great a throng? For you have not resorted to war of your own choice, but Sauromatus has bidden you to it. Do you, then, urge him to fight in single combat with me, and if by God's aid I overpower him, do you withdraw unharmed to your own homes, and he and his city shall have fallen beneath me; but if he overpowers me, in this case also you withdraw to your own homes, and he shall have become master over mine.» The throng of the Sarmatians accepted this with joy, and told Sauromatus to fight in single combat with Pharnacus. So Sauromatus, learning that Pharnacus was quite small in stature, while he himself was gigantic, was delighted at this, for he trusted in his own strength and in his armour, by which he was completely protected. This being so resolved upon, Pharnacus said to his army: «When I go down with God's aid to the single combat, and you see that Sauromatus has his back towards you and his face towards his own men, while I have my face towards you and my back towards the enemy, do you all raise one shout, saying simply 'Ah! Ah!', and after the shout, do not repeat it.» And so, when both had gone down to the plain for the single combat, and were manoeuvring about one another, and Pharnacus had taken the ground of Sauromatus and Sauromatus that of Pharnacus, the army of Pharnacus gave one shout, 'Ah! Ah!'. Sauromatus, hearing this shout, turned about in the action to see what cry was raised in the army of

edd. || τὸ πλήθος: τῷ πλήθει V edd. || τοῦ om. edd. || Σαυρωμάτου P || 198 Σαυρώματος P || 199 ἀναγκάσαι: παρακαλέσαι V edd. || 201 με V edd.: μοι P || 203 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματῶν edd. || 204 Σαυρώματος P || 205 Σαυρώματος P || Φάρνακον edd. || 208 Φάρνακος edd. || 209 ἴδητε Be: ἴδεται P || Σαυρώματος P || ἔχει (*etiam* Migne) εἶχε edd. || 211 βάλλετε F edd. || 212 δευτερώσητε V edd.: δευτερώσεται P || 215 Σαυρωμάτου P Σαυρωμάτου V || τοῦ om. edd. || Σαυρωμάτου P || Φαρνάκου] *litteram* u s. v. add. P¹ || 216 Σαυρώματος P ||

Pharnacus. And as Sauromatus turned his face to the rear, the plating of his helmet opened a crack, and at once Pharnacus charged upon him and smote Sauromatus with his lance and slew him. When Sauromatus had fallen, Pharnacus got down from his horse and cut off his head, and, having won the battle, dismissed the multitude of the Maeotis, but took prisoner them of Bosporus and took away their land and set up boundary-stones in Kybernikon, beyond the country of the Chersonites, leaving to the Bosporians land up to forty miles only, and these boundary-stones remain to this day, and the said first boundary-stones in Kapha are laid aside. Pharnacus, keeping by him some few of the Bosporians to do agricultural work, in pity dismissed all the rest, to go to *the country* of the Bosporians, and they, dismissed by Pharnacus, erected a column to him in Bosporus for the beneficence and mercy which he had shown towards them. From that time, then, the rule of the Sauromati in Bosporus was ended.

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

μόνων P || 226 ἕως: μέχρι V edd. || 227 ὁροθεσ[αι] *litteras* ὁθ *in ras. scr.*
P¹ || Καφά P || 228 Φάρνακος edd. || γεωργῶν: γεωργιῶν *coni.* Bekker ||
232 Σαυρωμάτων P Σαυροματῶν Migne || 234 Τούτων] *litteram T rubro atra-*
mento scriptam eras. et novam litteram T in ras. scr. P¹ || 235 Χερσωνίτων
P || 244 ἐπιγαμβρεύσωμεν V: ἐπιγαμβρεύσομεν P edd. || 247 βασιλέως ὄντος
(*coni. etiam* Bekker): βασιλεύοντος edd. || 251 ἐρχομένου: ἀρχομένου Ba Be ||

father, and if he shall resolve to do this, surely he dies that hour.» The envoys were dismissed and reached the country of the Bosporians and reported this, and Asander once more sent envoys, saying to the Chersonites: «If you speak truly, and assure me that Lamachus consents to yoke his daughter with my eldest son, that same son will I send there to you, to be joined in marriage.» Lamachus in these days, as it appears, prided himself upon much wealth, in gold and silver, male and female slaves, and cattle of various kinds and many estates, and his mansion occupied ground far and wide in four wards, as far as to below the so-called Sosae, in which it had its own gate in the wall and four main gate-ways for ingress and egress, together with other small side-entrances, so that when his cattle entered the city, each herd of beasts, stallions and mares, cows and heifers, sheep and asses, came in through its own gate, and went to its own stabling. The Chersonites, therefore, begged Lamachus that this son of Asander might be his son-in-law. Lamachus granted their request, and the son of Asander came to Cherson and married Gykia. And after the space of about two years, Lamachus died; the mother of Gykia had died before him. So, after the lapse of a year, when the anniversary of her father's burial was near, Gykia, wishing to keep bright the memory of her father, begged the leading men of the city, the chief magistrate and primate of Cherson being Zethus, son of Zethon, that they would kindly consent, together with all the populace, to receive from her wine and loaves of bread and oil, flesh and game and fish, and anything else needed to make merry, to the end that upon this day of the commemoration of Lamachus all the citizens, with their wives and children and all their families, should feast and rejoice, each in his own ward, and dance in the streets and completely abstain from any work; and she promised the citizens upon oath that each year of her life she would in the same way give them the means of merry-making at this same commemoration of Lamachus. This being so arranged *and* confirmed by her upon oath, her husband, the son of Asander, who was plotting in secret and looking for an occasion of treachery, when he heard what Gykia had said and confirmed on oath, admired and congratulated Gykia upon the sworn covenant, as one showing a truly filial spirit towards her parents, and consented himself also, as it appears, to rejoice and pour

πυλεῶνας: πυλαιῶσι V || μεγάλους: μεγάλους V Me || 265 σύν PY Ba Be: και P V Me || 267 τε¹ om. Be || πύλας edd. || 269 ἐπιγαμβρεύσεσθαι edd. || 271 Γυκίαν: γυναῖκα V edd. || 276 τῆς Χερσῶνος edd.: τὴν Χερσῶνα P || 277 ἄνευ ὕβρεως: ἐνιαυσιαίως conī. Jenkins || ἀνεχθῆναι conī. Kukules: ἀναχθῆναι P edd. συναχθῆναι conī. Bekker || 281 φαμηλία PV || 283 συνταξαμένη edd.: συνταξαμένης P || 286 και add. Be || 288 τὰ add. edd. || 289 μὲν om. edd. ||

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

V edd. || *ante παίδων add. τῶν* V edd. || 309 *ante Βοσποριανῶν add. τῶν* edd. || μόνον V edd. || πιστικῶν: πιστῶν V edd. || 311 Λειμῶνι Migne || 312 Λειμῶνος Migne || Σῶσαις P || 313 ἀπέτρεφεν edd. || 315 ἐνιασίαν edd. || 317 νόκτα V edd.: νόκταν P || 319 διακοσίαν Be: σ' P || 321 κουβικουλαρέαν Moravcsik: κουβικουλαρίαν *coni.* Bekker κουβουκλαρέαν P edd. κουβουκλαρίαν Migne || οὔσαν V edd.: οὔση P || προσφιλεστάτην *corr.* Moravcsik: προσφιλέστατον P edd. || 324 ἐπιτρεφόμενοι *corr.* Moravcsik: ἀποτρεφόμενοι P edd. || 325 αὐτῆς *om.* V edd. || ἐκπεσεῖν: πεσεῖν V edd. || κυλισθέν edd.: κυλισθέντα P ||

spindle and rolled and dropped into a very deep crevice by the wall. Getting up to recover it, she saw it lying in a very deep crevice, and, being unable owing to the depth to pluck it out, she was forced to pluck up a brick from the floor by the wall in order to recover it, and she saw through the crevice down below in the basement room the multitude of men who were there. When she had seen, she deftly put the brick back again in its place in order not to reveal herself to those below, and sent in secret one of the servants and invited her mistress to come to her, for there was something needful for her to hear and see. Gykia, pricked on by God, went to the slave girl, and when she entered the room alone and closed the door, the girl slave fell at her feet and said: «Lady, yours is the power *over* your unworthy slave: but I would show to my mistress a matter strange and unlooked-for.» Gykia said to her: «Fear not: speak and show what this is.» The girl slave led her to the wall and, deftly raising the brick, said to her: «Do you see, lady, through the crevice the throng of Bosporians in hiding below?» Gykia looked and was astonished at the affair, and said: «This is a serious plot!» And she said to the girl slave: «How did you find out this matter?» The girl slave said: «Surely, lady, by the will of God, the weight fell off my spindle and rolled and dropped into this crevice, and as I was unable to recover it I was forced to pluck up the brick, and then I saw them.» She bade the girl slave put the brick back deftly in its place, and then she caught her in her arms and embraced her and kissed her in earnest, and said to her: «Fear nothing, child; your fault is forgiven you, for God willed you to err, so that He might reveal the plot to us; see, now, that you do all you can to keep the matter close, and do not venture to entrust it to anybody at all.» And for the future she kept her wholly with herself as her confidante, even more than at first. Then Gykia summoned two of her relations, who were very much in her confidence, and said to them in private: «Go and collect together on their own in secret the primates and nobles of the city, and let them choose out three men in whom they confide, men who can keep a secret and do a deed, and let them all upon oath assure these men that they will satisfy me in what I am about to ask of them, and let them send them to me in secret, and I will confide to them a thing necessary and advantageous for the city; only do with speed what I tell you.» Her relations went off and told this in secret to the

V 328 τοῦ² om. edd. || 329 βίσαλον P || 331 βίσαλον P || 333 ὀφείλουσάν edd.: ὀφείλουσά P || 337 εἰς *addendum conii*. Bekker || 339 καὶ δεῖξον: δεῖξον καὶ edd. || 340/1 βίσαλον P || 345 σφοντύλην P || 346/7 αὐτὸ ἐπᾶραι: ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸ Be || 347 ἡναγκάσθην F edd.: ἡναγκάσθη P || βίσαλον P || 348 βίσαλον P || 352 τολμήσης Ba Be: τολμήσεις P || 353 πλέον edd.: πλὴν P || 354 πιστικὴν: πιστὴν V edd. || αὐτὴν: αὐτῇ *conii*. Bekker || 355 πιστικούς: πιστοὺς V edd. || 356 συναγάγετε: συνάγετε edd. || 357 ἐκλεξάτωσαν edd. || 358 πιστικούς: πιστοὺς V edd. ||

primates, and they immediately chose out three men, in whom they knew they could confide, and all on their oaths assured them that, if they should covenant with Gykia to do or to give anything, they would not go back on their words, but would carry out to the end what they promised to her. These men went in secret to Gykia, who received them and said to them: «Are you able to satisfy me on oath concerning these things that I am about to ask of you, that you will do them?» They said to her: «Yes, lady, we will readily satisfy you concerning what you are about to require of us, that your words shall be carried out to the end.» Then Gykia said to them: «Satisfy me that if I die, you will bury me in the middle of the city, and I will tell you my secret; see, I do not require anything at all burdensome of you.» The men, on hearing this, with all readiness satisfied her upon oath, saying: «If you die, we will bury you in the middle of the city and will not carry you outside the walls.» Gykia believed their oaths, and said to them: «In view of the satisfaction you have given me, I on my part will now discover my secret to you; see now, I would have you know that my husband, who has the congenital vice of his city, that of plotting and envy against us, has introduced secretly into my mansion a throng of Bosporian, a few at a time, as many as two hundred souls, armed, and maintains them, I being in ignorance of the affair; but now God has found an occasion to reveal it to me. This, then, is his plan, that, so it appears, when at the commemoration of my father I provide the merry-making to the city and you have made merry and are gone to sleep, he will start up in the night with the Bosporian that are with him, and with his own slaves, and will set fire to your houses and put you all to the sword. See, now, my father's commemoration approaches, and I must, in accordance with my oath, give you as usual the means of merry-making, for I have all ready therefor. Do you, then, all run up joyfully and ask for and take everything eagerly, so that he may not yet realise that we have got to know of the affair, and a civil war suddenly break out. Resolve, therefore, to make merry publicly as usual, though moderately, and to dance in the squares, but let each of you make ready in his house timber and faggots and dry torches, so that when you break off the merry-makings and dances you may appear to go off to take your rest, and I for my part will break them off rather early and order my doors to be made fast, and then you, very quietly, with your male and female slaves and all your households, must at once bring along the timber and faggots and torches and pile them

382 διακοσίων Be: σ' P || 384 έχει edd.: έχειν P || 385 πόλει V edd.: πόλεως P || 386 και om. V edd. || 390 post ἔθρος add. μου V edd. || 392 μήπω V edd.; μήπως P || 396 μισοποιούντων: hic et infra cum σ duplicato scribendum censuit Kukules || ὑμῶν Be: ἡμῶν P || τὰς edd.: τῆς P V || τοὺς χοροὺς edd.: τῶν χωρῶν P || δόξασθαι edd.: δόξεται P || 397 δέ: δὴ Migne || 399 παισὶ Ba Be: παιδὲς P || παρενεγκόντες Be || 400 αὐτὰ: ταῦτα edd. ||

up in my doorways and side-gates and all round the house, pouring oil also upon the timbers so that they may catch the sooner, and when I come out and give you the word, set fire to them at once, and yourselves stand by armed around the house, so that where you see any jumping out of the house through a window, you may put them to the sword. Go now, and tell this secret, and make ready all that I have told you.» When they heard these things from the three men, the citizens hastily did all in accordance with the word of Gykia. When the commemoration day was upon them, Gykia, with an appearance of enjoyment, sent for the men of the city and told them to take the means of merry-making. And her husband, too, helped in this and begged that more wine should be given them for the merry-making. The citizens gladly took everything and began to make merry, as they had been ordered, and danced all the day; but when evening had come the citizens began to break off, and to go off to their houses to take their rest. And they made merry with all their households. Gykia in her house urged all her people to drink freely in order that they might get drunk and sleep the sooner, only enjoining upon her chamber-maids to be sober, and she herself abstained from wine. For she had found a purple goblet and gave it to her chamber-maid, who was in the secret, and instructed her to pour water into it for her. Her husband, seeing the purple goblet, did not suspect that she was drinking water out of it. When evening had come, and the citizens, as I have already said, had broken off the merry-making, Gykia said to her husband: «We have made merry; come, now let us too take our rest.» Hearing this, her husband was only too glad, and hastened to go to sleep; for he could not have said this himself, in case he might give his wife a hint of the plot he was hatching. So Gykia ordered the gates to be made fast and all the windows, and the keys to be brought to her as usual. When this was done, she said aside to her confidential chamber-maid, the one who knew of the plot: «You, with the rest of the chamber-maids, are deftly to remove all my jewelry and gold, and anything else of use that you can carry in your bosoms, and make yourselves ready, so that when I give you the word, you may follow me.» They did as she bade them, and were ready. Her husband was of course lying down in order to take a hasty nap *and* to get up again in a short while for his treachery against the city; but Gykia avoided going to sleep until all their house-

Be εὐφραίνεται P || 416 αὐτῆς Migne || 417 κουβικουλαρέαις *coni.* Jenkins || αὐτῆς edd. || 418 ἑαυτὴν *coni.* Bekker: ἑαυτῇ P ἑαυτῇ edd. || Εὐρηκίαι: εὐροῦσα V edd. || 419 κουβικουλαρίαι Migne || 421 ὑπενόει V edd.: ὑπενόειν P || 424 Ὁ δὲ: δ δὴ ὁ edd. || 425 ἔσπευσεν: ἔπεσε edd. || 429 κουβικουλαρίαι Migne || 430 κουβικουλαρέαις (*litteris* βι *in ras. scriptis*) P V Ba Be: κουβικουλαρίας Migne || 431 ἐγκολπίσασθαι Meursius Ba Be: ἐγκαλωπήσασθαι P || 432 ἀκολουθήσητέ *coni.* Bekker: ἀκολουθήσατε P edd. || 434 συντόμου edd.: σύντομον P || 434 καὶ *add.* Jenkins Kukules ||

hold was sleeping, and her husband was soundly off after his deep potations. Gykia, seeing him asleep, deftly made fast the bed-chamber with the key, shutting her husband in, came down from the house with her chambermaids, went quietly out of the side-gates and locked them, and at once gave the word to them of the city to light the fire quickly all round the house. The fire was lit and the house caught, and if any of those within managed to jump or throw himself out, he was slain by the citizens. The whole house, with those in it, was gutted to the foundation, and God preserved the city of the Chersonites from the treacherous Bosporian. When the citizens wished to dig into her gutted house and to clear the site for building, Gykia would not allow it, but rather bade all the city bring, each one of them, and empty out on that spot all their ordures, so that her whole dwelling might be buried deep in them, inasmuch as it had served for treachery against the city; and so unto this day the place has been called the Spy-tower of Lamachus.

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

And after some years, when the chief magistrate and primate of the country of the Chersonites was Stratophilus, son of Philomusus, Gykia, who had most excellent wit, desired to put the Chersonites to the proof

V 436 φαμηλία P || 439 κουβικουλαρίας Migne || 441 τοὺς: τοῖς edd. || βληθῆναι: ἐμβληθῆναι V edd. || 442 ἔσωθεν P || 443 ἠδυνήθη ἐκπηδῆσαι: ἐκπηδῆσαι ἐδυνήθη edd. || 448 πάση V edd.: πᾶσιν P || τῇ om. edd. || πόλει V edd.: πόλῃ P || ἐκχύνειν scr. Moravesik ἐκχύνην P: ἐκχέειν edd. || 452 οὕτως om. V edd. || 454 αὐτῆς Migne || 455 τῆς¹: τὴν Ba Be || 456 χαλκούς P || 459 οὖσα] *litteram* α in *ras.* scr. P¹ || 461 κεκαλλωπισμένην F Be: καὶ καλωπισμένην P || 464 ἀνδριάντος P || 467 ἀποσμήχει edd.: ἀποσμήχην P || γενομένων: γεγραμμένων *coni.* Bekker || 471 τῆς: τῶν V edd. ||

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

Outside the city of Tamatarcha are many wells yielding naphtha.

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

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

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

In the province of Derzene, near the village of Sapikion and the village called Episkopion, is a well yielding naphtha.

edd.: αὐτήν P || 478 Χερσωνίται P || 480 *post πόλεως*² *add.* αὐτήν V edd. || 481 θάψαι: ταψῆναι V edd. || κραβάτου P || 483 ἄβαλαι P^Υ: ἄβαλα P ἄβάλα V edd. || 486 παραβάσεως V edd. || 491 ἀνδριαντα P || χαλκοῦν (*coni. etiam Bekker*): χαλκὸν edd. || 494 ἄφθαν: νάφθαν *coni.* Latyšev || 495 Ζηχία P || εἰς: πρὸς edd. || 496 Ζηχοὶ P || 497 ὀμοχροοῦσι Meursius Ba Be: ὀμοχροοῦσιν P || ἔννεα edd.: θ' P || 499 Ζηχία P || 500/1 κονιορτός V edd.: κορμιτός P || 507 τοῦ *coni.* Jenkins: τὰ P edd. || 508 Ἐπισκοπίου P edd. ||

In the province of Tziliapert, below the village of Srechiabarax, there is a well yielding naphtha.

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

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

If grain does not pass across from Aminosos and from Paphlagonia and the Boukellarioi and the flanks of the Armeniakoi, the Chersonites cannot live.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

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

Abbreviation: *Byzantinoturcica* = Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II. *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest, 1943 (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958).

- Ἄαρών, chief of the Arabs 22/59, 63.
 Ἀβάρα (ή), county and frontier pass in the province of Sebasteia 50/167.
 Ἀβαρεις cf. Ἀβαροι.
 Ἀβαροι, Avars 29/17, 20, 33, 37, 31/18; Ἀβαρεις 25/22, 30/21, 30, 60, 66, 71, 31/11; Ἀβάρων (gen.) 28/7, 30/21, 27, 68, 70, 31/15, 19, 32/24, 33/7, 35/6, 36/7; cf. Σκλάβοι. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 59—61 (2nd ed. pp. 51—3).
 Ἀβασγία, Abasgia 42/13, 109, 45/77, 46/17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 44, 48.
 Ἀβδελαῖς, 1. chief of the Arabs 21/39, 45.
 2. chief of the Arabs 22/56.
 3. leader of the Arabs 22/65.
 Ἀβδεραχείμ, emir of the city of Manzikert 44/68, 68, 70, 74, 81, 89, 92, 95.
 Ἀβελχαμίτ, ruler of the city of Manzikert 44/24, 25.
 Ἀβέρκιος, spatharocandidate and captain-general of the Mardaïtes of Attalia 50/217.
 Ἀβιμέλεχ, chief of the Arabs 21/43, 22/9, 11, 15, 27, 33.
 Ἀβνίκιον (τό), city in Armenia 45/97, 129; Ἀβνίκου (gen.) 45/63, 100, 131, 156. Ἀβνικιώται (οἱ) 45/65.
 Ἀβνικιώται cf. Ἀβνίκιον.
 Ἀβουβάχαρ, chief of the Arabs 17/12, 18/1, 3, 4; Βουβάχαρ 14/25; Ἀβουβάχαρον, τὸν καὶ Βουπάκταρα 17/3—4.
 Ἀβραάμ, Abraham 14/4.
 Ἀβρων, grammarian 23/38.
 Ἀγαπητός cf. Ἄγιος Ἀγαπητός.
 Ἀγάπιος, monk 46/54, 59, 62, 72, 102.
 Ἀγαρηνοί, Agarenes 21/15, 41, 75, 82, 22/36, 39, 41, 44, 43/93, 45/126.
 Ἀγέλαστος, protospatharius: Λέων ὁ Ἀγέλαστος 50/58.
 Ἄγία Σοφία, church in Constantinople 13/36, 113.
 Ἄγία Τριάς, church in Diadora 29/282.
 Ἄγιος Ἀγαπητός, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία τοῦ Ἄγιου Ἀγαπητοῦ 50/98.
 Ἄγιος Αἰθέριος, island at the mouth of the river Dnieper 9/82, 88.
 Ἄγιος Γρηγόριος, island in the river Dnieper 9/72.
 Ἄγρός: ἡ μονὴ τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, monastery 22/78.
 Ἄδαρά (τά), place near the mouth of the river Dnieper 42/68.
 Ἀδέλβερος, son of king Lothair I and father of king Hugh 26/15, 70.
 Ἀδέλεσα, wife of king Lothair II 26/65.
 Ἀδρανασέ, 1. curopalate, son of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 4.): Ἀδρανασέ (acc.) 46/83; Ἀδρανασέ (gen.) 46/36, 85, 89, 147, 164; Ἀδρανασήρ 43/39, 47, 111; Ἀδρανασή (acc.) 45/35.

2. magister, son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.): Ἰδρανασέρ 46/6.
3. magister, nephew of Adranase (cf. Ἰδρανασέ 1.): Ἰδρανασέ 45/126; Ἰδρανασή 46/41; Ἰδρανασή (gen.) 46/40.
- Ἰδρανασέρ, Ἰδρανασή, Ἰδρανασήρ cf. Ἰδρανασέ.
- Ἰδρανούτζι cf. Ἀρδανούτζι.
- Ἰειβόλας, place near Venice: εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον — 28/22.
- Ἰειμάνας, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.
- Ἰειφόρ, barrage of the river Dnieper: τὸν τέταρτον φραγμόν, τὸν μέγαν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσισι μὲν Ἰειφόρ, Σκλαβημισι δὲ Νεασήτ, διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκάνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ 9/45—47.
- Ἰέτιος, Roman general 25/6, 8, 13, 15, 42, 43, 45.
- Ἰζίδ, 1. chief of the Arabs: Ἰζίδ 21/37.
2. chief of the Arabs: Ἀζίδ 22/53.
- Ἰθήναιος, author 23/40.
- Ἰθηναῖος, Athenian 27/16.
- Ἰγυπτos (ή), Egypt 14/13, 21/18, 68, 22/68, 25/65, 68, 77, 83.
- Ἰιθέριος cf. Ἰγιος Ἰιθέριος.
- Ἰιθίοψ, Ethiopian 22/13.
- Ἰιθριβος (ή), district of Arabia 14/28, 17/14, 21/17, 19, 22, 38, 70, 105.
- Ἰκυλον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.
- Ἰιτικιοι cf. Βενέτικοι.
- Ἰκαμψή(ς), county in the province of Chaldia: τοῦρμα τοῦ Ἰκαμψή 46/119.
- Ἰκαρκοῦς, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Ἰκαρκοῦς 50/95.
- Ἰκουίλεγ(α) (ή), city in Italy 28/5, 8.
- Ἰλανία, Alania 10/4, 5, 11/3, 37/38, 46, 42/13, 102.
- Ἰλανοί, Alans 11/11, 25/29, 42/107; Ἰλανός (ό) 10/6.
- Ἰλάριχος chief of the Goths 25/23.
- Ἰλβουνο(ν), city on the frontier of Croatia: τοῦ κάστρου Ἰλβούνο 30/115.
- Ἰλέξανδρος, emperor 50/197, 205, 207, 229.
- Ἰλή, chief of the Arabs 21/18, 20, 22; Ἰλήμ 21/69, 72, 79, 87, 92, 94, 94, 97, 104, 106, 25/59, 82, 85.
- Ἰλήμ, cf. Ἰλή.
- Ἰλικαρνασσός (ή), Halicarnassus 20/11.
- Ἰλλά, god of the Saracens: ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως: «Ἰλλά οὐά Κουβάρ», ὅ ἐστιν Ἰθεδός καὶ Ἰφροδίτη. Τὸν γάρ θεὸν Ἰλλά' προσονομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ οὐά' ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰκαί' συνδέσμου τιθέασιν, καὶ τὸ Ἰκουβάρ' καλοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον, καὶ λέγουσιν οὕτως: «Ἰλλά οὐά Κουβάρ.» 14/32—36. — Cf. W. Eichner, *Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern*, (Glückstadt, 1936), pp. 196, 200—205.
- Ἰλματαί (ό), river between the river Danube and the city of Sarkel 42/59.
- Ἰλμουτζης, voivode of the Turks (= Magyars) 38/43 [Σαλμουτζης P], 38/44; Ἰλμουτζη (acc.) 38/49. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 69 (2nd ed. p. 63).
- Ἰλογοβότουρ, general of the Bulgarians 32/127. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 69 (2nd ed. p. 64).
- Ἰλτζικέ (τό), city in Armenia 44/57, 109, 114.
- Ἰλυσ (ό), river in Asia Minor 53/7, 11, 12, 64.
- Ἰλωήπ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Ἰμάληη (ή), city in Italy 27/5, 10, 50, 52, 67.
- Ἰμανῖται cf. Ὀμηρῖται.
- Ἰμινσός, city in Asia Minor: ἀπὸ Ἰμινσοῦ 53/533.
- Ἰμόριον, city in Asia Minor: ἐξ Ἰμορίου 29/61.
- Ἰναστασία, Saint 29/276, 279.
- Ἰναστάσιος, Saint 29/245.
- Ἰνατολικοί, provincial soldiers, province: θέμα τῶν Ἰνατολικῶν 50/96; ἡ τῶν Ἰνατολικῶν στρατηγίς 50/84; τῶν Ἰνατολικῶν 50/99.
- Ἰνδρέας, Saint, apostle 49/26, 37.
- Ἰντίβαρις (ή), city on the frontier of Dalmatia 30/9, 97.
- Ἰντιόχεια (ή), Antioch, emirate 21/68; 25/71.

- Ἄπασάκιος, magister, son of Sym-
batiος (cf. Συμβάτιος I.) 44/9, 36.
- Ἄπαχουνῆς (τό), district in Arme-
nia 44/1, 40, 87.
- Ἄπελβάρτ, I. ruler of the city
of Manzikiert 44/17, 19, 23.
2. ruler of the city of Manzikiert,
son of Aposelmis 44/79, 107, 112.
- Ἄπελμουζέ, son of Aposebatas
44/74, 82, 91, 93, 96.
- Ἄπογάνεμ, protospatharius, patri-
cian, brother of Krikorikios 43/55, 72,
101, 136, 178, 184, 188.
- Ἄπολεσφούετ, ruler of the city
of Manzikiert, brother of Aposebatas
44/30, 43, 55, 61, 65, 69, 72, 76, 95, 98,
101, 102, 103, 112, 122.
- Ἄπολλόδωρος, author 23/3.
- Ἄπολλώνιος, grammarian 23/30.
- Ἄποσάται, emir of Persia 44/8, 27,
51.
- Ἄποσεβατᾶς, emir of the city of
Manzikiert 44/26, 42, 52, 55, 59, 61,
64, 66, 68, 69, 72, 74, 81, 85, 95, 99,
121.
- Ἄποσέλμης, ruler of the city of
Manzikiert, brother of Aposebatas
44/62, 72, 79, 99; Ἄποσέλμη (gen.)
44/30, 44, 106, 122.
- Ἄπρίλιος, April 9/110.
- Ἄραβες, Arabs 16/10, 10, 11, 18/1, 5,
19/1, 20/1, 12, 21/3, 17, 37, 38, 49,
50, 52, 66, 110, 115, 120, 22/19, 22,
27, 33, 53, 57, 58, 59, 63, 77, 25/57;
Ἄραβικός 15/5.
- Ἄραβία, Arabia: ἡ εὐδαίμων Ἄραβία
25/65, 82; ἡ τραχεῖα Ἄραβία 21/70.
- Ἄραδος (ἡ), island 20/5.
- Ἄρβη (ἡ), city in Dalmatia 29/51,
288, 30/136.
- Ἄργυρός, I. military governor
50/141; Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοῦ Ἄργυροῦ
50/136; Εὐστάθιος 50/151.
2. military governor, magister
and commander-in-chief: Ἄργυρός
λέων 50/150.
- Ἄρδανούτζι (τό), city in Armenia
46/5, 8, 13, 23; Ἄρδανούτζιν 46/29,
34, 42, 57, 71, 74, 98, 116, 150;
Ἄρδανουτζίου (gen.) 46/2, 21, 46,
99, 102, 104, 123, 134, 157 [Ἄδρ-
variants in P].
- Ἄρειανός, Arian 14/22.
- Ἄρειος, presbyter of Alexandria
25/19.
- Ἄρεντα cf. Παγανοί.
- Ἄρεντανοί, Arentani 29/57, 80, 36/1,
13; cf. Παγανοί.
- Ἄρζές (τό), city in Armenia 44/3,
11, 15, 21, 54, 57, 102, 109, 114,
125.
- Ἄρζύν (τό), territory of the city of
Ardanoutzi 46/47.
- Ἄρισταρχος, Athenian general 23/21.
- Ἄριστοφάνης, dramatist 23/20.
- Ἄρκάδιος, emperor 25/20.
- Ἄρκάτικας, uncle of Krikorikios,
prince of Taron: Ἄρκάτικα (gen.)
43/28, 33, 57.
- Ἄρμένης, protospatharius, vice-
admiral: Λέων ὁ Ἄρμένης 51/72,
74, 104, 129; Λέων 51/126.
- Ἄρμενία, Armenia 22/14, 23, 44/128;
ἡ μεγάλη Ἄρμενία 44/13, 51; τετάρτη
Ἄρμενία 22/20.
- Ἄρμενιάκοι, provincial soldiers,
province: θέμα τῶν Ἄρμενιάκων
50/105, 53/518; ἡ τῶν Ἄρμενιάκων
στρατηγίς 50/91; τῶν Ἄρμενιάκων
45/46, 53/534.
- Ἄρμένιοι, Armenians 43/42, 45/78;
Ἄρμενικός 46/44.
- Ἄρμένιος, frontier warden: Ἰσμαῆλ
ὁ Ἀρμένιος 50/140; Ἰσμαῆλ 50/144,
147.
- Ἄροτρᾶς cf. Κρινίτης 2.
- Ἄρπαδῆς, prince of the Turks (=
Magyars) 38/44, 45, 40/53; Ἄρπαδῆ
(acc.) 38/49; Ἄρπαδῆ (gen.) 38/53, 57,
40/13, 48, 56, 60. — Cf. *Byzantino-
turcica* pp. 74—75 (2nd ed. pp. 71—2).
- Ἄρραβωνίτης, protospatharius and
military governor: Ἰωάννης ὁ
Ἄρραβωνίτης 45/133.
- Ἄρσάφιος, Ragusan 29/231.
- Ἄρσένιος, protospatharius and licitor
51/72, 130.
- Ἄρτεμίδωρος, author 23/11, 22.
- Ἄσανδος, son of Moundaros 14/7.
- Ἄσανδρος, king of the Bosphorians
53/235, 240, 245, 249, 251, 256, 269,
270, 287, 302.
- Ἄσμοσάτο(ν), province: τὸ τοῦ Ἄσ-
μοσάτου θέμα 50/112.

- Ἀσπάλαθος (ἡ), city in Dalmatia 30/15, 133; Ἀσπάλαθον (τό) 29/8, 51; Ἀσπαλάθου (gen.) 30/14, 31/30; τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον, ὕπερ παλάτιον μικρόν' ἐρμηνεύεται 29/237.
- Ἀσπαρ, Roman general 25/50, 51, 54.
- Ἀσπίς, comedy of Menander 23/25.
- Ἀσπωνα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Ἀσπονάς 50/95.
- Ἀσπρον (τό), deserted city upon the Dnieper river: κάστρον πρώτων τὸ ὀνομασθὲν παρὰ τῶν Πατζινακιδῶν Ἀσπρον διὰ τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι καταλευκούς 37/60—61. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 78 (2nd ed. p. 76).
- Ἀσπρος, river between the river Dniester and the mouth of the Danube: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ἀσπρον 9/91.
- Ἀσωτικός cf. Ἀσώτιος 2.
- Ἀσώτιος, 1. prince of princes of Armenia (I) 44/7, 18, 20, 21, 35.
2. prince of princes of Armenia (II), son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 1.) 44/9, 36, 37; Ἀσωτικός 43/112.
3. protospatharius, patrician, bastard son of the Taronite Krikorikios 43/29, 51, 132, 164.
4. son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 2.) 45/34, 35.
5. curopalate, brother of David (cf. Δαυίδ 3.) 46/25, 37, 80, 130, 146, 154, 163.
6. patrician, son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.) 46/13, 19, 125; Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης 46/7, 10, 10, 16, 57, 64, 70, 106, 109, 117, 150; Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση (gen.) 46/23, 31, 98, 124, 162.
- Ἀτελκούζου, district inhabited by the Turks (= Magyars) and the Pechenegs: εἰς τόπους τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους — 38/30; Ὁ δὲ τόπος... ὀνομάζεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζοῦ 40/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 79 (2nd ed. p. 77).
- Ἀτέχ, island near Tamatarcha: νησίον... τὸ λεγόμενον — 42/95.
- Ἀτζαρά(ς), river region in Iberia: ποταμὶα τοῦ Ἀτζαρά 46/14.
- Ἀτήλ, river in the country of the Pechenegs: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν — 37/2. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 80 (2nd ed. p. 78).
- Ἀττάλεια (ἡ), city in Asia Minor 50/170, 214, 217.
- Ἀττίλας, king of the Avars (= Huns) 28/6, 11, 11, 17. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 81 (2nd ed. p. 79).
- Ἀφραζεία, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Ἀφραζείας 50/98.
- Ἀφρική (ἡ), Africa 20/2, 21/28, 22/28, 36, 25/52, 59, 65, 68, 74, 29/90, 158.
- Ἀφρικοί, Africans 27/63, 29/163; τῶν Οὐρανδῆλων, ἦτοι τῶν Ἀφρικῶν 27/62; Ἀφρικούς Σαρακηνούς 49/9; cf. Ἀφροί.
- Ἀφροδίτη, Aphrodite 14/32, 34; cf. Ἀλλά.
- Ἀφροί, Africans 20/3, 25/5; cf. Ἀφρικολί.
- Ἀχαΐα (ἡ), Achaea 49/43.
- Ἀχάμετ, Ἀχάμτ cf. Ἀχμετ.
- Ἀχελῷ, river in Thrace: εἰς Ἀχελῶν 32/91.
- Ἀχμετ, nephew and step-son of Apolesphouet and ruler of his cities 44/56, 108, 110; Ἀχάμετ 44/76, 77, 100, 104 [Ἀχάμτ variant in P].
- Ἀψανον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/82.
- Ἀψίμαρος cf. Τιβέριος.
- Βασσάκιος, frontier warden 50/139, 142, 134, 148.
- Βαγδάδ (τό), Bagdad 25/57, 64, 75, 78, 47/16.
- Βαγιβαρεία (ἡ), Bavaria 30/62.
- Βάιτζας, prince of the Pechenegs: Βάιτζαν (acc.) 37/21. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 84 (2nd ed. p. 84).
- Βαιτική (ἡ), part of Iberia 23/29.
- Βαίτις (ὁ), river in Iberia 23/16.
- Βάλ (ὁ), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake 42/89.
- Βαλβαδῶνα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Βαλβαδῶνας 50/94.
- Βαλεντίνος, 1. Ragusan archdeacon 29/232.
2. Ragusan, father of Stephen protospatharius 29/232 [Βαυεντίνος P].

- Βάρβαρος, owner of a mansion in Constantinople 43/67, 76, 91, 97, 102, 141.
- Βαρβᾶτος, patrician and chamberlain 50/230.
- Βάρδας cf. Πλατυπόδης.
- Βαρέτα, garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία Βαρέτας 50/94.
- Βάρις (ή), city in Italy: Βάρεως (gen.) 27/56, 29/101, 112, 115.
- Βαρκαλᾶς, chief oarsman, steersman of the imperial galley 51/120, 127; Βαρκαλοῦ (gen.) 51/124; Μιχαήλ ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς 51/117; Μιχαήλ, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ Βαρκαλᾶς 51/109.
- Βάρνα (ή), city in Bulgaria: Βάρνας (gen.) 9/100, 100.
- Βαρουφόρος, barrage of the river Dnieper: εἰς τὸν πέμπτον φραγμὸν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ῥωισσιτὶ μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβηνησιτὶ δὲ Βουλνηπράχ, διότι μεγάλην λίμνην ἀποτελεῖ 9/57—59.
- Βαρούχ (ὀ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs 38/68.
- Βασίλειος, 1. emperor (I) 22/81, 29/70, 88, 94, 30/126, 128, 50/76, 225, 225, 51/7, 75, 108.
2. patrician and chamberlain 43/67, 50/233.
- Βασπαρακά, district in Armenia: Βασπαρακά (gen.) 43/111; Βασπαρακανίτης (ὀ) 45/77.
- Βασπαρακανίτης cf. Βασπαρακά.
- Βατᾶς, prince of the Pechenegs: Βατᾶν (acc.) 37/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 86 (2nd ed. p. 87).
- Βέκλα (ή), city in Dalmatia 29/52, 287, 30/136.
- Βελάης, zupan of Terbounia: Βελάη (gen.) 34/8.
- Βελέγραδα, 1. city on the river Danube: ἡ Βελέγραδα 40/29, 32, 42/2, 16; τὸ Βελέγραδον 32/20 [Βελέγραδον P].
2. city in Croatia: τὸ Βελέγραδον 31/69.
- Βελέγραδον cf. Βελέγραδα.
- Βελίτζιν (τό), city in Croatia 31/69.
- Βελοχρωβάτοι cf. Χρωβάτοι.
- Βενεβενδός (ή), city in Italy 27/4, 11, 15, 37, 38, 43, 51, 56, 29/119, 128, 160, 214, 285.
- Βενετία (ή), Venice 27/77, 89, 94, 28/2, 3, 6, 10, 13, 14, 22, 44, 31/45, 57.
- Βενετικοί, Venetians 27/80, 91, 28/4, 20, 22, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41, 43; τῶν νῦν καλουμένων Βενετῶν, πρῶτον δὲ Ἐνετικῶν [Αἰτικῶν P] 27/75—76; τοὺς Βενετικούς... ἐκαλοῦντο Ἐνετικοί [Αἰτικιοι P] 27/71—72.
- Βερβιάνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Βερβιάνων (gen.) 9/107.
- Βεργώνια (ή), Burgundy 26/24, 26, 42, 57, 61, 63.
- Βεριγγέρης cf. Βεριγγέριος.
- Βεριγγέριος, 1. Berengar, king of Italy (I): Βεριγγέριος 26/22, 25; Βεριγγέρης 26/28, 30, 35, 36, 45, 51; Βεριγγέρη (gen.) 26/27, 29, 41, 54.
2. Berengar, king of Italy (II): Βεριγγέρη (gen.) 26/22.
- Βερινούπολις, garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Βερινουπόλεως 50/104.
- Βερούλλια (τό), city in Pagania 36/14.
- Βερούτζη cf. Λεάντι.
- Βέρτα, 1. wife of Adalbert, king of Italy: ἡ μεγάλη Βέρτα 26/16, 70.
2. wife of Hugh, king of Italy 26/64.
3. daughter of Hugh, king of Italy 26/69: μετωνομάσθη δὲ Εὐδοκία 26/71.
- Βερῶνα (ή), city in Italy 26/19, 54.
- Βικτωρῖνος, Ragusan 29/232.
- Βιμβιλίδης, protospatharius of the basin: Θεοφύλακτος ὁ Βιμβιλίδης 51/134.
- Βινίσλα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/84.
- Βίσλα (ή) river: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας 33/18.
- Βιτάλιος, Ragusan 29/232.
- Βιτετζέβη (τό), tributary city of the Russians 9/20.
- Βλαδίμηρος, son of Michael, prince of the Bulgarians 32/47 [Βλαστιμήρων P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 89 (2nd ed. p. 90).

- Βλαστίμηρος, prince of the Serbs
32/35, 35, 39, 42, 34/6, 7.
- Βογοῦ (ὅ), river between the Danube
and the city of Sarkel 42/59.
- Βόες, city of the Venetians: κάστρον
— 27/84.
- Βόζος, Burgundian marquis 26/44, 44.
- Βοϊκι, place inhabited by the Serbs:
εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς Βοϊκι τόπον ἐπονο-
μαζόμενον 32/4.
- Βόιλας, protospatharius and captain-
general of Nicopolis: Πετρωνᾶς ὁ
Βόιλας 45/146. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica*
pp. 91—92 (2nd ed. pp. 93—4).
- Βοϊσέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs
32/34.
- Βόνα, 1. city in the country of the
Zachlumi: Βόνα (τό) 34/14.
2. river in the country of the
Zachlumi: ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα,
ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται 'καλόν' 34/15.
- Βονιφάτιος, Roman general 25/6, 7,
11, 13, 32, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51.
- Βόρενα (ς), son of Muntimer, prince of
the Serbs: Βόρενα (acc.) 32/52.
- Βορῖσης, prince of the Bulgarians:
32/49, 64; Μιχαήλ ὁ Βορῖσης 31/62,
32/45, 54. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica*
p. 93 (2nd ed. p. 96).
- Βοροταλάτ, province of the
Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — 37/35; cf.
Ταλάτ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94
(2nd ed. p. 97).
- Βόσσονα, territory in Serbia: εἰς τὸ
χωρίον — 32/151.
- Βοσποριανοί, Bosphorians 53/4, 15,
23, 31, 38, 39, 62, 65, 74, 183, 223,
229, 235, 236, 253, 255, 300, 309,
311, 317, 319, 323, 342, 381, 387,
445, 468.
- Βόσπορος (ή), city on the Maeotic
lake 11/2, 37/49, 42/8, 62, 72, 73,
82, 85, 92, 92, 53/27, 35, 40, 42, 43,
99, 102, 104, 177, 223, 232, 233, 292.
- Βουβάχαρ cf. Ἀβουβάχαρ.
- Βουγά (ή), chieftainess of the Croats
30/65. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94
(2nd ed. p. 97).
- Βουκελλάριοι, provincial soldiers,
province: θέμα τῶν Βουκελλαρίων
50/93, 102, 53/519; τῶν Βουκελλα-
ρίων 50/99, 53/533; εἰς τοὺς Βουκελλα-
ρίους 50/123; Βουκελλαρικὸς 53/524.
- Βουλατζοπόν, province of the
Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — 37/36; cf.
Τζοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94
(2nd ed. p. 98).
- Βουλγάρα cf. Βούλγαροι.
- Βουλγαρία, Bulgaria 5/8, 8/5, 9/97,
101, 30/119, 31/60, 62, 32/29, 40,
45, 50, 60, 63, 65, 74, 80, 90, 99,
124, 137, 139, 148, 37/41, 48, 59,
51/112, 112; ἡ μαύρη Βουλγαρία 12/1,
42/77; ἡ μαύρη λεγομένη Βουλγαρία
12/3. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp.
95—96 (2nd ed. pp. 98—100).
- Βούλγαροι, Bulgarians 5/2, 3, 6,
10, 8/20, 13/147, 161, 22/25, 31/65,
32/36, 56, 88, 91, 95, 104, 105, 109,
114, 120, 126, 129, 40/41, 41/24;
Βούλγαρος (ὁ) 13/149, 31/61; Βουλ-
γάρα (ή) 32/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica*
pp. 96—101 (2nd ed. pp. 100—106).
- Βουλνηπράχ cf. Βαρουφόρος.
- Βουλτζοῦς, prince and karchas of
the Turks (= Magyars) 40/64, 66. —
Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 102 (2nd ed.
p. 107).
- Βουπάκτωρ cf. Ἀβουβάχαρ.
- Βουράτ (τό), place on the frontier of
Patzinacia 42/63.
- Βουρλίχ, 1. (ὁ) river on the eastern
side of the Maeotic lake 42/89.
2. (τό) mouth of the Maeotic lake
42/91.
- Βουσεβούτζης, prince of the Zach-
lumi: Βουσεβούτζη (gen.) 33, 17.
- Βουσεγραδέ, city in Russia: τοῦ
Βουσεγραδέ 9/7.
- Βούτοβα (τά), city in Dalmatia
29/92 [Βούγοβα P].
- Βράνος, son of Muntimer, prince of
the Serbs 32/67, 72, 94, 100.
- Βράτζα (ή), island off Dalmatia:
30/110; ὁ Βράτζης 36/21.
- Βράτζης cf. Βράτζα.
- Βρεβέρη (ή), zupania of Croatia
30/92.
- Βρεττανία, Britain 25/3.
- Βρόνιον, city of the Venetians:
κάστρον — 27/86.
- Βροῦνδον, city of the Venetians:
κάστρον — 27/87.

- Βροῦτος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs 38/70.
- Βρύας (ὁ), imperial palace near Constantinople 51/17.
- Βρυέννιοι cf. Θεόκτιστος.
- Βυζάντιον (τό), Byzantium 21/56, 25/49, 53/125, 137.
- Βύζηρες, Byzzerians 23/19.
- Βύσκος, primate of the Chersonites 53/168.
- Γαβριήλ, 1. archangel 14/21.
2. cleric and envoy 8/23.
- Γάδειρα (τά), city in Spain 23/13, 17.
- Γάζα (ή), city in Palestine 18/3.
- Γαϊτή (ή), city in Italy 27/5, 49, 51.
- Γαλλία, Gaul 25/3, 24, 41.
- Γαλουμαήνικ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi 33/21.
- Γεζέριχος cf. Γηζέριχος.
- Γεήχ, river in the country of the Pechenegs: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν — 37/3.
— Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 104 (2nd ed. p. 109).
- Γελανδρί, barrage of the river Dnieper: τὸν τρίτον φραγμὸν, τὸν λεγόμενον Γελανδρί, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Σκλαβηνιστὶ 'ἦχος φραγμοῦ' 9/43—45.
- Γενάχ, clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ἔκτη — 40/5. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 104 (2nd ed. p. 109).
- Γερμανοί, Germans: Γερμανούς, τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους Φράγγους 25/29.
- Γεωγραφούμενα, work of Artemidorus 23/12, 23.
- Γεώργιος, magister, ruler of Abasgia 46/16, 18, 26.
- Γηζέριχος, chief of the Vandals 25/35, 47, 50, 54 [Γεζέριχου P].
- Γήπαιδες, Gepedes 25/17, 21.
- Γιαζής, prince of the Pechenegs: Γιαζή (acc.) 37/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).
- Γιαζιχοπόν, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — 37/41; cf. Χοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).
- Γιαιουκάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester 37/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 113).
- Γληῆτες, Iberian tribe 23/10.
- Γογίδισκλος, chief of the Vandals 25/31, 34 [recte: Γοδίγισκλος].
- Γοδίγισκλος cf. Γογίδισκλος.
- Γοτνικός, prince of the Serbs 32/44, 61, 69.
- Γονθάριος, Γόνθαρις, Γοτθάρριος cf. Γότθαρος.
- Γότθαρος, prince of the Vandals 25/35; Γοτθαρίου (gen.) 25/46 [recte: Γόνθαρις, Γονθάριος].
- Γότθοι, Goths 21/32, 25/15, 17, 24.
- Γουτζησκά (ή), district of Croatia 30/94.
- Γράδεται (τό), city in Diocleia 35/13.
- Γραικοί, Greeks 49/6.
- Γρηγοράς, possessor of a suburban estate in Keltzini 43/98, 108, 159 [Γρηγορίου P].
- Γρηγόριος, 1. Ragusan 29/231.
2. cf. Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος, Γρηγοράς, Κρικορίκιος 1.
- Γρικορίκιος cf. Κρικορίκιος 1.
- Γυκία, daughter of Lamachus, primate of the Chersonites 53/239, 271, 272, 273, 288, 289, 314, 319, 321, 334, 339, 342, 354, 366, 368, 372, 377, 408, 409, 415, 423, 427, 435, 437, 446, 453, 472, 478, 482.
- Γύλα (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/18, 22; τοῦ κάτω Γύλα 37/41; cf. Χαβουζιγγυλά. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 279 (2nd ed. p. 332).
- Δαλέν, zupania of Pagania: τοῦ Δαλέν 30/106; τοῦ Δαλενοῦ 30/108.
- Δαλματινοί cf. Δελματινοί.
- Δαμασκός (ή), Damascus 21/18, 40, 68, 25/70.
- Δαμιανός, 1. patrician and chamberlain 50/224.
2. patrician 50/204.
- Δάναπρις (ὁ), Dnieper 8/34, 9/8, 14, 20, 23, 111, 37/36, 39, 42/7, 58, 60, 66, 68, 70, 76, 79; Δάναπρι (gen.) 8/3, 6.
- Δάναστρις (ὁ), Dniester 9/89 [Δάναπριν P], 37/58 [Δανάπρεως P], 42/57, 65 [Δανάπρεως P], 66; Δάναστρι (gen.) 8/3, 6.
- Δανιήλ, prophet 19/9.
- Δανούβιος (ὁ), Danube 8/3, 9/93, 98, 98, 25/16, 30/11, 22, 47; Δανούβιν (acc.) 25/20, 30/21, 32/18; Δανούβεως (gen.) 29/15, 42/2, 15, 18, 19, 20,

- 55, 64; ὁ Ἴστρος, ὁ καὶ Δανούβιος λεγόμενος ποταμός 40/42.
- Δαυίδ, 1. king 45/4, 5, 6, 7.
2. ancestor of the Iberians 45/14, 33, 37.
3. magister, brother of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 5.) 46/79, 95, 96, 129, 154; Δαυίδ ὁ μέγας 46/117, 151.
4. son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 2.) 46/5, 29, 36, 38, 41; Δαυίδ ὁ Μάμπαλις, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἑπανάγιος 46/3.
- Δειπνοσοφισταί, work of Atheneaeus 23/40.
- Δεκάτερα (τά), city in Dalmatia 29/50 [τάδε κάστρα P], 92, 30/97, 98; τὸ κάστρον τῶν Δεκατέρων ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἑστενωμένον καὶ πεπνυγμένον [πεπληγμένον P] 29/263—264.
- Δελματία, Dalmatia 29/1, 3, 5, 56, 61, 86, 91, 110, 285, 30/1, 6, 8, 18, 19, 23, 57, 66, 76, 79, 120, 31/3, 56, 32/24, 36/5.
- Δελματινοί, Dalmatians 30/51 [Δαλματινῶν P].
- Δερβλενίνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Δερβλενίοις (dat.) 37/44.
- Δερζηνή, province: θέμα Δερζηνῆς 53/507.
- Δεσνήκ (τό), city in Serbia 32/151.
- Δεστινίκον (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.
- Διάδωρα (τά), city in Dalmatia 29/51, 275, 30/135; τὸ κάστρον τῶν Διαδώρων καλεῖται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἰὰμ ἔρα, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀπάρτι ἦτον 29/272—273.
- Διογένης, 1. father of Diogenes, primate of the Chersonites 53/131.
2. primate of the Chersonites 53/131, 159.
- Διόκλεια (ή), 1. city 29/11, 35/11 [Διόκληα P].
2. district 30/95, 35/3, 9, 12 [Διόκληα everywhere P.]
- Διόκληα cf. Διόκλεια.
- Διοκλητιανοί, Diocletians 29/57, 64, 35/1; Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια, τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ὠκοδόμησεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἑΔιοκλητιανοί καλεῖσθαι οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἐπανειλήφασιν 29/11—14.
- Διοκλητιανός, emperor 29/3, 8, 12, 238, 242, 252, 30/15, 16, 31/12, 28, 33/4, 35/4, 10, 36/4, 53/2, 8, 21, 120, 122, 166.
- Διονύσιος, author 23/20.
- Δίστρα (ή), city on the river Danube: Δίστρας (gen.) 42/21.
- Διτζίκη cf. Διτζικη.
- Διτζίνα (ή), river in Bulgaria 9/101, 101.
- Δοβρισκίκ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi 33/21.
- Δολόηχος cf. Λοδόηκος 1.
- Δόμνος, Saint 29/241, 242.
- Δοστινίκα (ή), city in Serbia 32/76.
- Δούξ, military governor: Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Δούξ 50/153.
- Δρεσνεήκ (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.
- Δρουγουβίται, tributaries of the Russians: Δρουγουβιτῶν (gen.) 9/108.
- Δυρράχιον (τό), Dyrrachium 30/9, 96, 32/25, 82.
- Ἐβδομον (τό), suburb of Constantinople 51/16.
- Ἐβραῖοι, Jews 17/4; Ἐβραῖος (ὁ) 21/64.
- Ἐδεσσα, Edessa: Ἐδεσσηνός (ὁ) 20/9, 21/65 [Ἐμησινός P].
- Ἐζέλεχ, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/57. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 114 ((2nd ed. p. 121).
- Ἐζερίται, Ezeritai 50/2, 15, 21, 23, 28, 50, 61, 68, 70.
- Ἐζερόν (τό), district of Peloponnesus: τοῦ Ἐζεροῦ 50/79.
- Εἰρήνη, 1. empress 27/14, 23.
2. empress, mother of Constantine VI 22/61.
- Ἐλαδᾶς, magister, patrician: Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλαδᾶς 51/198.
- Ἐλβυσίνιοι cf. Ἐλευσίνιοι.
- Ἐλευσίνιοι, Iberian tribe 23/10 [recte: Ἐλβουσίνιοι].
- Ἐλισσός (ὁ), fort of Dyrrachium 30/96.
- Ἐλκύνιον (τό), fort of Dyrrachium 30/96.
- Ἐλλάς (ή), province: θέμα Ἐλλάδος 50/54.

- Ἑλληνες, Greeks 24/9, 50/73, 75;
Ἑλληνίς (ή) 23/25.
- Ἑλληνικά, work of Charax 24/9.
- Ἑλληνίς cf. Ἑλληνες.
- Ἑλλησπόντιοι cf. Ἑλλήσποντος.
- Ἑλλήσποντος, Hellespont: Ἑλλησπόντιοι (οἱ) 48/14; Ἑλλησπόντιος (ὁ) 48/4.
- Ἑλος (τό), district of Peloponnesus 50/16.
- Ἑμεσα cf. Ἐδεσσα, Χέμψ.
- Ἑμετ (τό), emirate 25/72.
- Ἑνετικοί cf. Βενέτικοι.
- Ἐπισκοπεῖο (ν), village in the province of Derzene: τοῦ χωρίου, τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Ἐπισκοπεῖου 53/508.
- Ἐραξ cf. Φᾶσις.
- Ἐσιβή (ή), emirate: τὴν Ἐσιβή 25/73.
- Ἐσσουπῆ, barrage of the Dnieper river: εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμόν, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ἐσσουπῆ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ῥωσιστί καὶ Σκλαβησιτί 'μὴ κοιμᾶσαι' 9/24—26.
- Ἐστιουνήζ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/292.
- Ἐτέλ cf. Ἀτελκούζου.
- Εὐδοκία cf. Βέρτα 3.
- Εὐδοκιάς (ή), garrison in the province of Cappadocia: τοποτηρησία τῆς Εὐδοκιάδος 50/97.
- Εὐφύμιος, Saint 22/74.
- Εὐρώπη, Europe 25/32.
- Εὐστάθιος, 1. king (?) 29/277.
2. protospatharius, of the imperial chancellery 50/173, 178, 180, 182, 191, 193, 196, 201.
3. patrician and lord admiral 51/85, 87, 96, 110.
4. cf. Ἀργυρός 1.
- Εὐφράτεια (ή), district 50/145, 152.
- Εὐφράτης (ὁ), Euphrates 21/21, 73.
- Ἐφεσος (ή), Ephesus 20/11, 48/9.
- Ζαλατᾶς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/55, 59. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 119 (2nd ed. p. 129).
- Ζαχαρίας, 1. pope 27/15.
2. son of Pribeslav, prince of Serbia 32/101, 106, 118, 119.
- Ζαχλοῦμα, river in the country of the Zachlumi: εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Ζαχλοῦμα 33/19.
- Ζαχλοῦμοι, Zachlumi 29/57, 64, 30/101, 139, 141, 32/21, 87, 33/1, 3, 6, 8, 17, 20, 35/8; Ζαχλοῦμος (ὁ) 29/109; Ζαχλοῦμοι δὲ ὀνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ ὄρους οὕτω καλουμένου Χλοῦμου, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ παρὰ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνεύεται τὸ Ζαχλοῦμοι ἦγουν ὀπίσω τοῦ βουνοῦ' 33/10—12.
- Ζέντινα (ή), river on the frontier of Croatia: τῆς Ζεντίνας 30/105, 113; Τζέντινα (ή) 30/116.
- Ζετλήβη (τό), city in Terbonnia 34/20.
- Ζῆθος, primate of the Chersonites 53/276.
- Ζήθων, father of Zethus, primate of Cherson 53/276.
- Ζήνων, emperor 25/28.
- Ζιναρός, descendant of Ishmael 14/4 [recte: Νίζαρως].
- Ζιχία, Zichia 6/5, 42/12, 97, 99, 99, 103, 109, 53/495, 499.
- Ζιχοί, Zichians 42/105, 107, 53/496.
- Ζουβέρ, father of Abdelas, chief of the Arabs 21/39, 45.
- Ζουρβανέλης, protospatharius: Ζουρβανέλη (gen.) 45/103.
- Ζωή, empress, mother of Constantine VII 50/161.
- Ἡβόλα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/86.
- Ἡλιούπολις (ή), city in Syria 48/29.
- Ἡλιτούαλβα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/85.
- Ἡμέριος, patrician and foreign minister 50/176, 190, 191, 194.
- Ἡμνήκος, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Ἡμνήκου (gen.) 32/118. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 122 (2nd ed. p. 132).
- Ἡμότα (τά), zupania of Croatia 30/91.
- Ἡράκλειος, emperor 16/7, 29/54, 31/9, 10, 16, 17, 19, 21, 33, 59, 32/9, 10, 19, 146, 33/10, 34/5, 35/7, 36/7, 8, 45/22, 24, 26.
- Ἡρακλῆς: Ἡ καθ' Ἡρακλέα ἱστορία, work of Herodotus (= Herodorus) 23/6; Ἡράκλειαι στήλαι 23/2.
- Ἡρόδοτος, author 23/5 [recte: Ἡρόδωρος].
- Ἡρόδωρος cf. Ἡρόδοτος.

- Ἡρτήμ, province of Patzinacia: τὸ θέμα — 37/17, 21; cf. Ἰαβδιερτίμ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 124 (2nd ed. p. 133).
- Ἡτζβόκλια(ς), general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Ἡτζβόκλια (gen.) 32/118. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 122 (2nd ed. p. 133).
- Θαλάσσων, protospatharius of the basin: Ἰωάννης, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην Θαλάσσων 51/70, 136.
- Θεμίμη, son of Moundaros 14/6,
- Θεμιστό, 1. father of Themistus, primate of the Chersonites 53/3.
2. primate of the Chersonites 53/3.
- Θεοδόσιος, 1. Saint 22/74.
2. emperor (II) 25/6; Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος 25/25.
- Θεοδοσιούπολις (ή), city in Armenia 45/52, 70, 71, 74, 87, 89, 89, 91, 94, 96, 116, 122, 128, 134, 144, 148, 154, 160, 169, 170; Θεοδοσιουπολίται (οἱ) 45/62, 64, 73, 143, 153, 166.
- Θεοδοσιουπολίται cf. Θεοδοσιούπολις.
- Θεόδοτος, chief oarsman, steersman, protospatharius of the basin 51/150, 164.
- Θεόδωρος, 1. Armenian interpreter 43/41.
2. cf. Σιγρίτζης.
- Θεόκτιστος, protospatharius and military governor 50/21; Θεόκτιστος, οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην ὁ τῶν Βρυεννίων 50/10.
- Θεός, God P/39, 13/32, 35, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59, 77, 84, 91, 97, 98, 139, 140, 21/119, 22/51, 72, 27/34, 29/126, 192, 199, 203, 31/41, 45/15, 46/59, 47/15, 48/8, 49/25, 64, 51/174, 53/170, 200, 208, 334, 345, 351, 383, 445, 453, 460, 465; cf. Κύριος, Παντοκράτωρ, Χριστός.
- Θεοτόκος, the Mother of God 21/125, 45/7.
- Θεοφάνης, 1. historian 17/1, 21/1, 35, 22/1; ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Θεοφάνης 22/78; ὁ δσσιος Θεοφάνης τῆς Σιγριανῆς 25/1.
2. patrician and chamberlain 50/232.
- Θεόφιλος, 1. emperor 42/26, 28, 40, 44, 47, 50/7, 10, 222, 223.
2. patrician and military governor 45/59, 134, 140.
- Θεοφύλακτος, 1. magister 43/155.
2. protospatharius and master of the Augusta's table 51/175.
3. cf. Βυμβιλίδης.
- Θεσσαλονίκη (ή), Thessalonica, province 32/11, 42/1, 15.
- Θευδέριχος, patrician and consul, chief of the Goths: Θευδερίχου (gen.) 25/27.
- Θραῖκες, Thracians 50/12.
- Θράκη (ή), Thrace 21/118; 25/26, 27.
- Θρακῆσιοι, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ Θρακησίων 47/25.
- Θωμάς, rebel 22/42.
- Ἰαβδιερτίμ, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — 37/43; τοῦ Ἰαβδιερτί 37/69; cf. Ἡρτήμ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 124 (2nd ed. p. 134).
- Ἰαχνούκας, military governor 50/121, 123.
- Ἰβηρ (ὁ), river 23/2, 4, 24/11.
- Ἰβηρες, Iberians 23/19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 40, 41, 45/1, 2, 8, 20, 28, 64, 73, 79, 91, 95, 138, 154, 159, 168, 46/1, 35, 128; Ἰβηρ (ὁ) 23/24, 30, 36, 36, 46/4, 52, 67; Ἰβηροὶ (οἱ) 23/37, 38; Ἰβηρος (ὁ) 23/36, 39; Ἰβηρίς (ή) 23/25, 25; Ἰβηρίτης (ὁ) 23/17, 18; Ἰβηρικὸς 23/6, 26, 26.
- Ἰβηρία, Iberia 22/14, 23/1, 2, 14, 19, 27, 28, 24/9, 10, 43/39, 48, 112, 46/44, 48, 56, 79, 153.
- Ἰβηρίς, Ἰβηρίτης, Ἰβηροὶ cf. Ἰβηρες.
- Ἰγγωρ, prince of Russia 9/5.
- Ἰεκτάν, ancestor of the Homerites 14/9.
- Ἰέλεχ, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/54, 57. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 125 (2nd ed. p. 136).
- Ἰερεία (ή), place near Constantinople with imperial palace 51/16.
- Ἰεροσόλυμα cf. Ἰερουσαλήμ.
- Ἰερουσαλήμ (ή), Jerusalem 19/3, 45/10, 13, 29, 38; Ἰερουσόλυμων (gen.) 19/4.
- Ἰζίδ, cf. Ἀζίδ 1.

- Ἰης, island off Dalmatia: νῆσος — 36/22.
- Ἰησοῦς cf. Χριστός.
- Ἰλλυρία, Illyria 45/159.
- Ἰλλυρικόν (τό), Illyricum 30/76.
- Ἰοσλή (τό), city in the territory of the Zaclumi 33/21.
- Ἰουδαῖοι, Jews 14/16, 19/10; Ἰουδαῖος (ὁ) 20/8.
- Ἰούνιος, June 9/19.
- Ἰουστινιάνα, city of the Venetians. κάστρον — 27/73.
- Ἰουστινιανός, emperor (II) 21/48 [Ἰουστιανός P], 22/9, 29, 34, 47/6, 10; Ἰουστινιανός ὁ Ἐπιόμητος 21/30, 22/4 [Ἰουστῖνος P].
- Ἰουστινιανούπολις (ή), city in the province of Hellespont 48/18; ἡ νέα Ἰουστινιανούπολις 48/11.
- Ἰουτοτζᾶς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/55, 58. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 128 (2nd ed. p. 140).
- Ἰπαός, prince of the Pechenegs: Ἰπαόν (acc.) 37/22. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 128 (2nd ed. p. 140).
- Ἰσάμ, chief of the Arabs 22/54.
- Ἰσίγοτθοι, Visigoths 25/17, 23, 40.
- Ἰσμαήλ, 1. son of Abraham 14/3, 4.
2. cf. Ἀρμένιος.
- Ἰσπανία, Spain 21/29, 33, 22/3, 37, 38, 39, 44, 23/1, 14, 24/1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 25/4, 31, 33, 41, 61; cf. Σπανία.
- Ἰσπανος, giant 24/2.
- Ἰστρία, Istria 30/10, 114, 116.
- Ἰστρος (ὁ), Ister 40/35, 42, 53/133; cf. Δανούβιος.
- Ἰταλία, Italy 24/3, 26/2, 66, 27, 4, 90; τὸ ῥηγάτον Ἰταλίας, ἦτοι Παπίας 28/41.
- Ἰταλοί, Italians 23/24.
- Ἰωάννης, 1. archbishop 47/4, 48/3, 19.
2. son of Manuel protospatharius 50/121, 124.
3. cleric and rector 51/173.
4. cf. Ἀρραβωνίτης, Ἐλαδᾶς, Θελάσσων, Κουρκούας, Πιτζηκαύδης, Πρωτεύων.
- Ἰωνία, Ionia 20/12.
- Κάβαροι, Kabaroi, clan of the Turks (= Magyars) 39/1, 2, 7, 13, 40/1, 4, 7. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 132 (2nd ed. p. 144).
- Καβερτζέντζης, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/95.
- Κάγγαρ, name of the Pechenegs: καὶ Κάγγαρ ὀνομάζονται οἱ Πατζινακίται 37/68; ὡς ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ ἡ τοῦ Κάγγαρ προσηγορία 37/70—71; Πατζινακίται, οἱ πρότερον Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζόμενοι (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ Κάγγαρ ὄνομα ἐπ' εὐγενεία καὶ ἀνδρεία ἐλέγγοτο παρ' αὐτοῖς) 38/20—21; Πατζινακίτων, τῶν τηνικαῦτα Κάγγαρ ἐπονομαζομένων 38/25. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 132 (2nd ed. p. 145).
- Καῖδοῦμ, prince of the Pechenegs 37/23. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 133 (2nd ed. p. 146).
- Καινὴ cf. Καρχηδών.
- Καισαρεία (ή), city in Cappadocia 50/110.
- Κάϊσος, son of Moundaros 14/6.
- Κακίχιος, prince of Basparaka 43/111, 130.
- Καλαβρία, Calabria, province 27/10, 48, 58, 28/12, 50/88.
- Καλῆς, father of the karchas Boultzous: Καλῆ (gen.) 40/66, 67. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 134 (2nd ed. p. 147).
- Καλλίνικος, manufacturer of liquid fire 48/29.
- Καλλιπολις (ή) city in Italy 27/48.
- Καλπιανοί cf. Κελχιανοί.
- Καλφοῦς, Saracen general: Καλφοῦς (gen.) 29/90 [Κλαφοῦς P].
- Καματηρός, spatharocandidate: Πετρωνᾶς ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος Καματηρός 42/5; Πετρωνᾶς 42/32, 39, 49; Πετρωνᾶ (acc.) 42/30.
- Κάμαχα (ή), county in the province of Mesopotamia 50/116, 128.
- Καναλή, district of Terbounia: 34/16; τὸ Καναλή 34/19, 35/9; Τὸ δὲ Καναλή ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἄμαξια 34/16—17.
- Καναλίται, Kanalites 29/57, 64, 109, 32/22, 34/1, 3.
- Καππαδοκία, Cappadocia, province 50/83.
- Καππαδοκοί, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ Καππαδοκῶν θέμα 50/93, 96; τὸ Καππαδοκῶν 50/108.

- Κάπρε, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/91.
- Κάπυα (ή), city in Italy 27/4 [Καπύη Ρ], 11, 50, 57, 61, 66; Καπύη 29/118, 127, 160, 214; Κάπυαν νέαν (acc.) 27/65 [Καπαντήν Ρ].
- Καρή(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ἐβδόμη Καρή 40/6. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 139 (2nd ed. p. 154).
- Κάρουλος, Charlemagne, emperor of great Francia 26/5; ὁ μέγας Κάρουλος 26/3.
- Κάρς (τό), city in great Armenia 44/14.
- Καρηθδών (ή), city in Spain: Καινή Καρηθδών 23/16.
- Κασαχία, Kasachia 42/13, 101, 101.
- Κασή, county in the province of Charsianon: τοῦρμα Κασής 50/110.
- Κασή(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): ὀγδόη Κασή 40/6. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 139 (2nd ed. p. 155).
- Κατακαλών, magister and commander-in-chief: Κατακαλών (acc.) 45/51.
- Καταυτρεβενώ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Κάτερα (τό), city in Serbia 32/151.
- Καυκάσια (τά), Caucasian mountains 42/102.
- Καφᾶς (ός), frontier-town of the Chersonites and Bosporianes 53/170, 172, 182, 189, 227.
- Κελκιανοί, Iberian tribe 23/11 [recte: Καλπιανοί seu Κελτικοί?].
- Κελτζηνή (ή), city and county in the province of Chaldia 43/92, 98, 108, 142, 50/116, 129.
- Κελτικοί cf. Κελκιανοί.
- Κετζέον (τό), city near Theodosiopolis 45/68, 82, 93.
- Κεφαλληνία (ή), province 50/85.
- Κίαβος, city of the Russians: τὸν Κίαβον 9/106, 111; τὸν Κίοβα 9/15; τὸ Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαμβατάς 9/8—9.
- Κιβυρραιῶται, provincial soldiers, province: τὸ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέμα 50/174, 183; τὸ θέμα τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν 51/132; τὸ Κιβυρραιωτῶν 47/25; τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν 50/207.
- Κίκερ cf. Κούκρα.
- Κιοάβα, Κίοβα cf. Κίαβος.
- Κισκάσης cf. Ἀσώτιος 6.
- Κλαβόκα (τό), city in Croatia 31/70.
- Κλαφούς cf. Καλφούς.
- Κλεῖσα, frontier pass in Dalmatia: καλεῖται Κλεῖσα διὰ τὸ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐκεῖθεν 29/30.
- Κλονίμηρος, son of Stroiher, prince of the Serbs 32/63, 74.
- Κλουγία, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/87.
- Κλουκᾶς, chief of the Croats 30/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 144 (2nd ed. p. 161).
- Κνηνος, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Κνήνου (gen.) 32/117. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 144 (2nd ed. p. 161).
- Κόγκορδα, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/73.
- Κογράδον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/80.
- Κολώνεια (ή), city and province 45/47, 50/116.
- Κόμματα (τά), county in the province of Cappadocia 50/100.
- Κορή (τό), district of Armenia 44/41, 87.
- Κόρι (τό), city in Croatia 31/70.
- Κόρινθος, Corinth: Κορίνθου (gen.) 49/14, 52/4.
- Κοσέντζης, chief of the Croats 30/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 146 (2nd ed. p. 164).
- Κοτζίλις, leader of the Franks: Κοτζιλιν (acc.) 30/87.
- Κουαδράτος, author 23/36.
- Κουαρτζιτζούρ, province of the Pechenegs: τὸ θέμα — 37/35; τοῦ — 37/69; cf. Τζούρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 165).
- Κουβάρ, the star Venus 14/32, 33, 35, 36; cf. Ἀλλά.
- Κουβοῦ (ός), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs 38/69.
- Κούελ, prince of the Pechenegs 37/21. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 166).
- Κουζοῦ cf. Ἀτελκούζου.
- Κουλπέη (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/18, 22; cf. Συρουκάπη. —

- Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 294).
- Κουρκένιος, 1. son of Pankratios (cf. Παγκράτιος 4.) 46/7, 9.
2. magister, son-in-law of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 6.) 46/18, 20, 22, 25, 30, 52, 84, 87, 90, 92, 94, 121, 126, 129, 154; Κουρκένην (acc.) 46/11, 121; Κουρκένη (gen.) 46/58, 66, 107.
- Κουρκούας, magister: Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουρκούας 45/56, 162; Ἰωάννης 45/59, 143.
- Κούρκουρα cf. Κούρκρα.
- Κουρκοῦται, prince of the Pechenegs: 37/22. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 149 (2nd ed. p. 168).
- Κούρκρα (ή), island off Dalmatia: ἡ Κούρκρα, ἦτοι τὸ Κίκερ 36/16; τὰ Κούρκουρα 30/110.
- Κουρτουγέρματο(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): τετάρτη <τοῦ> Κουρτουγερμάτου 40/5. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 150 (2nd ed. p. 169).
- Κούσαρος, son of Moundaros 14/6.
- Κοῦφικ (ὅ), river between the river Danube and the city of Sarkel 42/59.
- Κρατνας, son of Belaes, zupan of Terbounia 34/8.
- Κρακνακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester 37/62. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 153 (2nd ed. p. 173).
- Κράριον, ford of the river Dnieper: πέραμα τοῦ Κραρίου 9/66.
- Κρασημέρης, prince of the Croats: τοῦ Κρασημέρη 31/44, 76.
- Κρατίνος, dramatist 23/39.
- Κρήτη (ή), Crete 22/40, 46.
- Κρίβασα (ή), district of Croatia 30/93.
- Κριβηταιηνοί cf. Κριβιτζοί.
- Κριβιτζοί, tributaries of the Russians: Κριβιτζῶν (gen.) 9/108; Κριβηταιηνοί 9/9.
- Κριχορίκιος, 1. magister, patrician and military governor, prince of Taron 43/7, 46 [Γκριχορίκιον P], 50, 63, 64, 80, 91, 135, 151, 164, 187; Κριχορίκιου (gen.) 43/28, 56; Γρηγόριος 43/35; cf. Παρωνίτης.
2. brother of Baasakios: Κριχορίχη (gen.) 50/139.
- Κρινίτης, 1. protospatharius and interpreter 43/137, 170, 172, 177.
2. protospatharius 50/39, 47, 52, 53; Κρινίτης ὁ Ἀροτρᾶς 50/34.
- Κρισκόρονος, chief of the Sarmatians: Κρισκορόνου (gen.) 53/4 [Κρισκων. Ὄρου P], 163.
- Κρίσος (ὅ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/40.
- Κτενᾶς, cleric, precentor, protospatharius 50/236, 238, 246, 253, 255.
- Κυβερνικόν, place near Bosphorus: ἐν Κυβερνικῷ 53/224.
- Κυζικηνοί cf. Κύζικος.
- Κύζικος (ή), Cyzicus 47/6, 13, 24, 48/31; Κυζικηνοί 48/17, 20.
- Κύντος, Roman general 24/6, 6.
- Κυκλάδες (αἱ), Cyclades 22/46.
- Κυμβαλαῖος (τό), county in the province of Charsianon 50/134.
- Κυμινᾶς: τοῦ Κυμινᾶ, monastery 46/55.
- Κύνητες, Iberian tribe 23/9.
- Κύπριοι cf. Κύπρος.
- Κύπρος (ή), Cyprus 20/4, 22/14, 47/9, 12, 16, 20; Κύπριοι (οἱ) 47/1, 11, 17, 22, 48/3; Κύπριος (ὅ) 47/10.
- Κυρήνη (ή), Cyrene 25/40.
- Κυριακός, Saint 22/73.
- Κύριος, The Lord P/3, 39, 13/43, 45/30.
- Κώλωρι(ν), district on the Byzantine frontier: εἰς — 46/15.
- Κωμόδρομος garrison in the province of Charsianon: ἡ τοῦ Κωμόδρομου τοποτηρησία 50/106.
- Κωνοπάς (ὅ), river near the Danube 9/99, 99.
- Κωνσταντία (ή) city on the coast of the Black Sea 9/99.
- Κωνσταντινέων πόλις, Constantia, city in Cyprus 48/12.
- Κωνσταντῖνος, 1. emperor (I) 13/49, 141, 169, 53/124, 159; ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος 13/155; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας 13/32; ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος 13/78; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἅγιος 13/117; ὁ μέγας καὶ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος 13/112; ὁ ἅγιος καὶ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος 40/30.
2. emperor (= Constans II Pogonatus): Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ καὶ Πωγωνᾶτος καλούμενος 48/28; ὁ Πωγωνᾶτος 21/11, 39, 46.
3. emperor (IV): 21/9, 10, 46, 48/28.
4. emperor (VI) 22/62 [Κώνσταντος P].

5. emperor (VII) Tit.,/1, 22/80, 26/67, 72, 45/40, 50/159, 230, 233, 51/137, 164, 169.
6. protospatharius, patrician, commander of the great company 43/55, 59, 61, 70, 74; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τοῦ Λιβός 43/43.
7. patrician and chamberlain 50/229, 231, 51/149, 160.
8. protospatharius, patrician and lord admiral 46/50, 53, 65, 77, 91, 93, 96, 101, 108, 111, 113, 119, 140, 144, 149, 155, 162.
9. cf. Δούξ, Λωρικᾶτος.
- Κωνσταντινούπολις (ἡ), Constantinople 9/2, 3, 20/10, 21/55, 112, 117, 26/66, 27/7, 8, 29/27.
- Κώνστας, 1. tribune and emperor (?) 53/10, 11, 13, 76, 80, 86, 91, 95, 106, 119; Κώνσταν (acc.) 53/71; Κώνσταντος (gen.) 53/103; Κώνστα (gen.) 53/124, 127; Κώνστα (dat.) 53/73, 88, 90.
2. cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 4.
- Κώστας, prince of the Pechenegs: Κώσταν (acc.) 37/23. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 156 (2nd ed. p. 176).
- Λαγουβαρδία, Lombardy, province 27/1, 47, 54, 29/101, 103, 111, 115, 50/86, 51/200.
- Λαγούβαρδοι, Lombards 27/30, 36, 53, 63; Λογγίβαρδοι 25/22.
- Λαζική (ἡ), Lazike 53/163.
- Λαζοί, Lazi 53/6, 8, 98.
- Λακεδαιμονία, Lacedaemonia 50/16.
- Λαλάκων, patrician and military governor: Λαλάκωνα (acc.) 45/47.
- Λάμαχος, primate of the Chersonites 53/234, 245, 257, 259, 268, 270, 272, 280, 285, 313, 315, 320.
- Λαμάχου Σκοπή (ἡ), site in the city of Cherson 53/451.
- Λάμψακος (ἡ), city in Asia Minor: ἐν Λαμψάκῳ 21/118.
- Λανδοῦλφος, bishop 27/64.
- Λάρισσα (ἡ), county in the province of Sebasteia 50/133, 143, 144, 149.
- Λάστοβον(τό), island off Dalmatia 36/23.
- Λαυρέντιος, Saint 29/262.
- Λαυριτῶν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/88.
- Λαυσαῖοι cf. Παούσιον.
- Λαυσαϊκός (ὁ), hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople 50/241.
- Λάχης, sculptor: Λάχης ὁ Λίνδιος 21/62 [recte: Χάρης].
- Λεάντι, barrage of the Dnieper river: τὸν ἔκτον φραγμὸν, λεγόμενον μὲν Ῥωσιστὶ Λεάντι, Σκλαβητιστὶ δὲ Βερούτζη, ὃ ἐστὶν Ῥάσμα νεροῦ' 9/61—62.
- Λεβεδία (ἡ), place inhabited by the Turks (= Magyars) 38/4, 8. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 177).
- Λεβεδίας, voivode of the Turks (= Magyars) 38/6, 13, 16, 18, 30, 34; Λεβεδία (acc.) 38/33 [χελάνδια P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 177).
- Λενζανῆνοι, tributaries of the Russians 9/10; Λενζενίνοις (dat.) 37/44.
- Λενζενίνοι cf. Λενζανῆνοι.
- Λεόντιος, emperor 22/7, 7, 29, 31.
- Λεσνῆκ (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.
- Λευκαδία, work of Parthenius 23/18.
- Λέων, 1. emperor (IV) 13/61, 126.
2. emperor (VI) 32/78, 81, 40/8, 43/19, 36, 97, 102, 129, 44/119, 45/36, 44, 67, 50/86, 92, 101, 118, 133, 136, 156, 171, 218, 227, 232, 235, 51/192, 197; Λέων, ὁ σοφώτατος βασιλεὺς 22/80, 49/72, 51/5, 34, 51, 69, 77, 157; ὁ σοφώτατος Λέων 51/22.
3. cf. Ἀγέλαστος, Ἀργυρός 2., Ἀρμένης, Παβδοῦχος, Τζικάνης.
- Λίβανος (ὁ), Lebanon 21/4, 5, 22/11, 24.
- Λιβύη (ἡ), Libya 15/4, 22/68, 25/4, 8, 9, 33, 36, 39.
- Λίγυες, Ligurians 23/37.
- Λικέντζια, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/83.
- Λιμών (ὁ), place near the city of Cherson 53/306, 311, 312.
- Λίνδιος cf. Λάχης.
- Λιούντικας(ς), son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars): Λιούντικα (acc.) 40/12. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 178).
- Λιτζα (ἡ), district in Croatia 30/93.

- Λιτζίκη, unbaptized people dwelling on the river Visla: ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἀβαπτίστων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας, τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Λιτζίκη 33/17—19 [Διτζίκη P]; cf. Λενζανῆνοι.
- Λιτουμαγκέρσης, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/85.
- Λίψ cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 6.
- Λόβελος, chief of the Croats 30/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 157 (2nd ed. p. 178).
- Λογγίβαρδοι cf. Λαγούβαρδοι.
- Λοδόϊκος, 1. Lewis, king of Francia (II): Λοδοϊκου (gen.) 26/17; Λοδόϊχος 29/104, 117 [Δολοήχος P], 122 [Δολοήχω P], 126 [Δολοήχος P], 136 [Δολοήχων P], 152, 154, 162, 164, 169.
2. Lewis, king of Italy (III): Λοδόϊκος 26/17.
- Λοδόϊχος cf. Λοδόϊκος 1.
- Λοντοδόκλα (τό), city in Diocleia 35/13.
- Λουκάβεται (τό) city in Terbouina 34/20.
- Λουκᾶς, Saint, evangelist 36/18.
- Λουλιανόν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/82.
- Λουμβρικάτον (τό), city in Dalmatia 29/289.
- Λουσιτανία cf. Λουσιτανία.
- Λουσιτανοί, Lusitanians 24/5.
- Λυκανδός (ή), city, county and province 50/135, 154, 157, 161, 162, 163.
- Λουσιτανία, Lusitania 23/17 [recte: Λουσιτανία].
- Λωθάριος, 1. king of Italy (I) 26/10; ὁ μέγας Λωθάριος 26/2, 17.
2. king of Italy (II) 26/65.
- Λωρικᾶτος, steersman and protospatharius of the basin: Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Λωρικᾶτος 51/168.
- Μαδαμαῦκο(ν), island near Venice: τοῦ Μαδαμαῦκου 28/25.
- Μαδαῦκον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/86.
- Μαδιανῖτις, desert: τὴν Μαδιανῖτιν ἔρημον 14/7.
- Μαδίς, chief of the Arabs 22/58.
- Μάζαροι cf. Χάζαροι.
- Μαῖνη (ή), city in Peloponnesus: τοῦ κάστρου Μαῖνης 50/4, 71.
- Μαιῶτις (ή), Maeotic lake 42/9, 73, 75, 78, 86, 90, 53/5, 15, 28, 41, 74, 105, 164, 180, 223.
- Μακεδόνες, Macedonians 50/12.
- Μαλέας (ὁ), promontory in Peloponnesus: τοῦ Μαλέα 50/79.
- Μαλθακοί, comedy of Cratinus 23/39.
- Μαλοζεάται cf. Μέλετα.
- Μάμπαλις cf. Δαυίδ 4.
- Μανζικιέρτ (τό), city in Armenia 44/2, 17, 29, 40, 43, 53, 67, 70, 73, 80, 86, 94, 99, 107, 45/97; Μανζικιέρται (οἱ) 45/65.
- Μανζικιέρται cf. Μανζικιέρτ.
- Μανουήλ, protospatharius 50/115, 118, 120.
- Μαρδαῖται, Mardaïtes 21/4, 22/10, 18, 21, 24, 50/169, 184, 185, 214, 217, 220.
- Μαρία, the Mother of God 21/124.
- Μαρκιανός, 1. author 23/27.
2. emperor 25/53.
- Μαρμαήν, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Μαρμαήν (acc.) 32/93; Μαρμαήμ (gen.) 32/112. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 161 (2nd ed. p. 182).
- Μαρουάμ, 1. chief of the Arabs 21/26, 42.
2. chief of the Arabs 22/56, 56.
- Μαρτῖνος, missionary 31/45.
- Μάρτιος, March 50/42.
- Μάσαλμας, general of the Arabs 21/112, 116, 117, 22/50; Μάσαλαμ (gen.) 21/121.
- Μαστάτον (τό), city in Armenia 45/129, 142, 145, 155.
- Μαστιηνοί cf. Μαστινοί.
- Μαστινοί, Iberian tribe 23/10 [recte: Μαστιηνοί].
- Μαυίας (-ου gen.), chief of the Arabs 20/3, 10, 21/3, 7, 12, 19, 20, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 67, 72, 79, 89, 91, 98, 98, 100, 101, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 22/2, 36, 25/62; Μαυιάται (οἱ) 22/39.
- Μαυιάται cf. Μαυίας.
- Μαῦρον, mountain in Lebanon: τοῦ Μάβρου ὄρους 21/4.
- Μαυροφόροι, Black-robed (= Abbasida) 21/24, 27.
- Μεγέρη(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): τρίτη τοῦ Μεγέρη 40/4. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 164 (2nd ed. p. 186).

- Μεγυρέτους (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.
- Μέκκε, Mecca: τοῦ Μέκκε 15/4.
- Μελεταῖ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/292.
- Μέλετα (τά), island off Dalmatia 30/110; νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα, ἦτοι τὸ Μαλοζέαται, ἦν . . . ὁ ἅγιος Λουκάς μέμνηται, Μελιτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων 36/16—18.
- Μελίας, patrician and magister 50/138, 145, 152, 154, 162, 164.
- Μελίτη cf. Μέλετα.
- Μελιτηνή (ή), city in Asia Minor 50/138; Μελιτηνῖται (οἱ) 50/114, 147.
- Μελιτηνῖται cf. Μελιτηνή.
- Μένανδρος, dramatist 23/25.
- Μεσημβρία (ή), Mesembria 9/102.
- Μεσοποταμία, province 45/47, 50/117, 126, 128, 129, 131.
- Μηλιγγοί, Milingoi 50/2, 15, 20, 23, 28, 48, 61, 68, 70 [Μιληγγοί variant in P].
- Μιληγγοί cf. Μηλιγγοί.
- Μιλινίσκα (ή), city in Russia: τὴν Μιλινίσκαν 9/6.
- Μιροσθλαβος, prince of the Croats: Μιροσθλάβου (gen.) 31/77.
- Μισχοί, Mischians 46/48.
- Μιχαήλ, 1. emperor (II): Μιχαήλ ὁ Τραυλός 22/41, 29/61.
2. emperor (III) 50/7, 9, 223.
3. prince of the Zachlumi 32/87, 33/16.
4. protospatharius and collector 43/176.
5. chief oarsman, spatharocandidate, protospatharius of the basin 51/89, 106, 127, 138, 154, 158, 161.
6. cf. Βαρκαλάς, Βορίσης.
- Μοάμεδ cf. Μουάμεθ 2.
- Μοκρισίικ (τό), city in the territory of the Zachlumi 33/21.
- Μοκρός (ό), zupania of Paganía 30/106, 107.
- Μόκρον (τό), city in Paganía 36/14.
- Μομφουεστία (ή), city in Asia Minor 22/20.
- Μοραβία, Moravia 41/1, 2, 42/19; ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία 13/5, 38/58; ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος 40/33.
- Μορδία, Mordia 37/46.
- Μορήσης (ό), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/39.
- Μουάμεθ, 1. prophet 17/2, 21/50, 51, 69; Μουχούμετ 14/1, 2, 11, 15/2, 5, 7; Μουάμεθ, ὃν οἱ Ἄραβες καλοῦσι Μουχούμετ 16/10; Μουάμεθ, ἦτοι τοῦ Μουχούμετ 25/58, 60.
2. chief of the Arabs: Μοάμεδ 22/64.
- Μουδάφαρ, son of Manuel protospatharius 50/121, 124.
- Μοῦνδαρος, son of Zinaros (= Nizaros) 14/5, 6.
- Μουνδράγα, city in Bulgaria: κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον — 40/11.
- Μουντιμῆρος, prince of the Serbs 32/43, 52, 59, 65.
- Μουράν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/93.
- Μουργούλη (ή), county in the province of Chaldia: τῇ Μουργούλῃ 46/119.
- Μούσελ (τό), emirate 25/73.
- Μουχλώ, chief of the Croats 30/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 177 (2nd ed. p. 203).
- Μουχούμετ cf. Μουάμεθ 1.
- Μυριοκέφαλον (τό), garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Μυριοκεφάλου 50/103.
- Μωσῆς, Moses 17/8.
- Ναπρεζή cf. Στρούκουν.
- Ναρσεῖς, patrician 27/15, 17, 19, 27, 32.
- Νάσαρ, patrician and lord admiral 51/75.
- Νέα Ἐκκλησία (ή), church in the imperial palace at Constantinople 50/237.
- Νεάπολις (ή), Naples 27/4, 10, 49, 51, 58, 59, 60, 60, 67.
- Νεασήτ cf. Ἀειφόρ.
- Νέκη(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): δευτέρα τοῦ Νέκη 40/4. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 182 (2nd ed. p. 210).
- Νεκρόπηλα cf. Νεκρόπυλα.
- Νεκρόπυλα (τά), gulf near the Dnieper river 42/5, 69, 79 [Νεκρόπηλα everywhere P].
- Νεμογαρδάς, city in Russia: τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς 9/4.
- Νεόκαστρον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.

- Νίζαρος cf. Ζιναρός.
- Νικήτας, 1. protospatharius and military governor 50/206, 208, 213, 216.
2. cf. Ὀρόφας.
- Νικηφόρος, emperor (I) 49/4, 41.
- Νικομήδεια (ή), Nicomedeia 46/54, 65, 51/37, 53/123.
- Νικόπολις (ή), city in Asia Minor 45/147, 50/123.
- Νίκοψις 1. (ό) river on the frontier of Zichia and Abasgia 42/97, 109.
2. city on the frontier of Zichia and Abasgia 42/98.
- Νίνα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/93.
- Νίνος (ό), river Rhine 25/30 [recte: Ῥήνος].
- Νοέμβριος, November 9/105, 50/44.
- Νόνα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/92.
- Νουγράδε (τό), city in Diocleia 35/13.
- Νοῦνο(ν), city of the Venetians: κάστρον τοῦ Νοῦνου 27/74.
- Νύσσα (ή), garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Νύσσης 50/110.
- Νῶνα (ή), city in Croatia 31/69.
- ἌΟλυμπος (ό), mountain in Bithynia 51/38.
- ἌΟμηρῖται, Homerites: οἱ λεγόμενοι ἌΟμηρῖται, τουτέστιν ἌΟμανῖται 14/10.
- ἌΟνώριος, emperor 25/20.
- ἌΟρέστης cf. Χαρσιανίτης.
- ἌΟρμός (τό), city in Terbounia 34/20.
- ἌΟρόντιος (ό), river on the frontier of the Zachlumi and Pagani 30/101, 104.
- ἌΟστροβουνιπράχ cf. Οὐλβορσί.
- ἌΟστρωκ (τό), city in Paganía 36/15.
- Οὐάλεντιανός cf. Οὐάλεντινιανός.
- Οὐάλεντινιανός, emperor (III) 25/3, 7, 10 [Οὐάλεντιανός everywhere P].
- Οὐάλίδ, chief of the Arabs 22/33, 49.
- Οὐάνδηλοι, Vandals 25/17, 29, 34, 39, 47, 48, 53, 27/62; cf. ἌΟφρικοί.
- Οὐγών, 1. Hugh, king of Italy 26/1, 3, 16, 44, 57, 63, 69.
2. Burgundian marquis 26/43.
- Οὐζία, Uzia 37/38, 45. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 197 (2nd ed. p. 228).
- Οὐζοι, Uzes 9/114, 10/3, 37/4, 5, 8, 52.
— Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 197 (2nd ed. p. 228).
- Οὐθμάν, chief of the Arabs 20/1, 13, 21/52, 66.
- Οὐιρίαθος, chief of the Lusitanians 24/8 [Οὐριάθου P].
- Οὐκρούχ (ό), river on the frontier of Zichia 42/96, 97.
- Οὐλβορσί, barrage of the Dnieper river: εἰς τὸν ἕτερον φραγμὸν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον ἌΟρωσιτί μὲν Οὐλβορσί, Σκλαβημιστί δὲ ἌΟστροβουνιπράχ, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται ἄΟ τὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦ 9/39—41.
- Οὐλνούτιν (τό), city in Armenia 43/181, 185.
- Οὐλτῖνοι, tributaries of the Russians: Οὐλτῖνοις (dat.) 37/44.
- Οὐμαρ 1. chief of the Arabs 18/5, 19/1, 2.
2. chief of the Arabs 22/51, 52, 53.
- Οὐρίαθος cf. Οὐιρίαθος.
- Οὐρίας, Uriah the Hittite: Οὐρίου (gen.) 45/3.
- Οὐσάν, emir of Palestine: Οὐσάν (acc.) 21/41.
- ἌΟψαρα (τά), city in Dalmatia 29/52, 288, 30/135.
- Παγανία, Paganía 30/104, 31/56, 32/21, 84, 36/14.
- Παγανοί, Pagani 29/65, 30/102, 122, 36/3, 5, 22; ἌΟρεντανοί, οἱ καὶ Παγανοί προσαγορευόμενοι 29/57—58; Οἱ δὲ Παγανοί, οἱ καὶ τῇ ἌΟρωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἌΟρεντανοί καλούμενοι 29/79—80; Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοί κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκλάβων γλῶσσαν ἄΟβάπτιστοι ἐρμηνεύεται 29/81—82; Περὶ τῶν Παγανῶν, τῶν καὶ ἌΟρεντανῶν καλουμένων 36/1—2; Παγανοί δὲ καλοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέξασθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τότε καιρῷ βαπτισθῆναι, ἕτε καὶ πάντες οἱ Σέρβλοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοί τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἄΟβάπτιστοι ἐρμηνεύονται, τῇ τῶν ἌΟρωμαίων δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἢ χώρα αὐτῶν ἌΟρεντα καλεῖται, ἐξ οὗ κακεῖνοι παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἌΟρωμαίων ἌΟρεντανοί καλοῦνται 36/9—13.
- Πάγη (ή), place in Zichia: πρὸς τὸν τόπον τῆς Πάγης 53/495.

- Παγκράτιος, 1. Saint 29/235.
 2. son of David, ancestor of the Iberians (cf. Δαυίδ 2.) 45/34, 34.
 3. patrician and military governor, son of Krikorikios, prince of Taron (cf. Κρικορίκιος 1.) 43/150, 164.
 4. magister, son of Symbatios (cf. Συμβάτιος 2.) 46/3, 5, 6.
 5. brother of Asotios (cf. Ἀσώτιος 5.) 45/147, 153, 46/27, 39.
- Παγκρατούκας, military governor 50/121, 122.
- Παζουνῆς, brother of Baasakios: Παζουνῆ (gen.) 50/140,
- Παλαιστίνη (ἡ), Palestine 14/14, 16, 19/2, 6, 21/18, 40, 41, 67, 26/9.
- Πανία cf. Πανωνία.
- Παννονία, Pannonia 25/24, 27/31, 30/77.
- Παντοκράτωρ, The Almighty P/31.
- Πανωνία, Panonia 24/13 [recte: Πανία].
- Πάπαγι, place in Zichia: ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ — 53/499.
- Παπαγία, Papagia 42/12, 100, 100, 53/496.
- Πάπια, Papia 26/13, 14, 18, 20, 26, 42, 27/11, 15, 17, 48, 28/18, 41; cf. Ἰταλία.
- Παπίας, father of Chrestus, primate of the Chersonites: Παπίου (gen.) 53/25, 44.
- Παραθαλασσία (ἡ), zupania of Croatia 30/92.
- Παρθένιος, author 23/18.
- Πάρθοι, Parthians: Πάρθικος 6/9 [πάρδικα P].
- Παρώνυμα, 1. work of Apollonius 23/31.
 2. work of Habro 23/38.
- Πατζινάκκαι cf. Πατζινακίται.
- Πατζινακία, Patzinacia 7/2, 4, 7, 8/4, 37/15, 45, 42/3, 21, 62. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 212 (2nd ed. p. 247.)
- Πατζινακίται, Pechenegs 1/1, 17, 25, 2/1, 2, 6, 9, 17, 22, 3/1, 3, 5 [Πατζινάκκαι P], 4/1, 3, 9, 5/1, 5, 6, 11, 6/1, 2, 11, 7/8, 8/5, 9, 14, 16, 26, 30, 34, 9/50, 67, 71, 94, 96, 114, 13/4, 9, 11, 31/87, 37/1, 2, 6, 8, 20, 34, 50, 60, 68, 38/20, 24, 31, 56, 61, 66, 39/6, 40/7, 15, 17, 25, 25, 43, 42/85, 53/531; Πατζινακίτης (ὁ) 6/10, 9/78; cf. Κάγγαρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 213—214 (2nd ed. pp. 247—249).
- Πάτραι (αἱ), city in Peloponnesus 49/1, 7, 57, 52/5.
- Παῦλος, 1. Saint, apostle 36/19, 20.
 2. imperial agent 22/15.
 3. grandson of Muntimer, prince of the Serbs 32/94, 99, 103, 105, 107.
- Παφλαγονία, Paphlagonia, province 42/32, 53/518, 533; Παφλαγονικός 53/523.
- Πελοπόννησος, Peloponnesus, province: θέμα Πελοποννήσου 49/5, 50/1, 6, 11, 14, 65, 52/2; Πελοποννήσου (gen.) 50/22, 35, 52/12; ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ 50/34, 55, 51/201.
 Πελοποννησῶται (οἱ) 51/200, 202.
- Πενταδάκτυλος, mountain in Lacedaemonia: ὄρος ... καλούμενον — 50/17.
- Περὶ γῆς, work of Apollodorus 23/3.
- Περίπλους, work of Marcianus 23/28.
- Περκρί (τό), city in Armenia 44/2, 11, 15, 21, 54, 102, 126.
- Πέρσαι, Persians 23/19, 45/18, 25, 26, 28; Περσικός 44/126.
- Περσθλάβος cf. Πρεσθλάβος.
- Περσία, Persia 25/65, 67, 76, 79, 46/138; Περσία (ἡ) 21/24, 22/63, 38/27, 62, 44/8, 11, 27, 51, 117, 45/12, 22, 66.
- Περσίς cf. Περσία.
- Πεσέντα (ἡ), zupania of Croatia 30/92.
- Πέτρος, 1. Saint, apostle 27/85, 31/36, 42.
 2. prince of the Bulgarians 13/148.
 3. prince of the Serbs 32/61, 69, 73, 77, 86, 89, 92, 95.
- Πετρωνᾶς cf. Βόϊλας, Καματηρός.
- Πηγαί (αἱ), place near Constantinople with imperial palace 51/15.
- Πίερες, Pierians 23/19.
- Πιζούχ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Πίνεται, city of the Venetians: κάστρον Πίνεται, ὅπερ λέγεται Στρόβιλος 27/83.

- Πιπῖνος, king 28/17, 18, 20, 23, 27, 31, 33, 39, 47.
- Πίταυρα, city of the Ragusai: κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον — 29/223.
- Πιτζηκαύδης, imperial envoy: Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίκλην Πιτζηκαύδης 21/11.
- Πλαζέντα, city in Italy; τὸ κάστρον — 26/13.
- Πλακιδία, mother of the emperor Valentinian III 25/10, 43, 44.
- Πλατυπόδης, protospatharius: Βάρδα τοῦ Πλατυπόδη (gen.) 50/54, 57.
- Πλατύς, captain-general of the Mardaites of Attalia: Σταυράκιος ὁ Πλατύς 50/171, 176, 218; Σταυράκιος 50/180, 182, 184, 192.
- Πλέβα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/91.
- Ποδάρων, protospatharius of the basin, vice-admiral and military governor 51/71, 73, 94, 104, 126, 131, 133.
- Ποντική (ή), northern coastal district of Asia Minor 53/9.
- Πόντος (ὁ), Pontus 42/6, 91, 53/524.
- Ποργᾶς, prince of the Croats: Ποργᾶ (gen.) 31/21; Ποργᾶ (acc.) 31/25.
- Πόρινος, prince of the Croats: Πορίνου (gen.) 30/90.
- Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, Acts of the Apostles 36/17.
- Πρεσθλάβος (ή), city in Bulgaria: Πρεσθλάβου (gen.) 40/10; Περσθλάβου (gen.) 32/130.
- Πρεσιάμ, prince of the Bulgarians 32/39, 46. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 220 (2nd ed. p. 257).
- Πριβέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs 32/66, 68, 70, 101.
- Πριβουνίας, ban of the Croats: Πριβουνία (gen.) 31/78.
- Πριστήναι, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/86.
- Προσηγόρης, prince of the Serbs 32/34.
- Προῦσα (ή), city in Asia Minor 51/8, 18.
- Πρωτεύων, protospatharius and military governor: Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρωτεύων 50/27, 35, 51/201.
- Πτελεαί (αί), place in Zichia 42/107.
- Πύθια (τά), city in Asia Minor 51/38.
- Πυρρηναῖα (τά), Pyrenees mountains 23/13, 15.
- Πυρήνη (ή), Pyrenees mountains 23/4.
- Πυρότιμα, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Πωγωνᾶτος cf. Κωνσταντῖνος 2.
- Ῥαβδοῦχος, magister and foreign minister: Λέων ὁ Ῥαβδοῦχος 32/83.
- Ῥαβίας, son of Zinaros (= Nizaros) 14/6.
- Ῥάμβλε cf. Φιλιστήμη.
- Ῥαουσαῖοι cf. Ῥαούσιον.
- Ῥαούσιον (τό), city in Dalmatia 29/231, 234, 30/133; Ῥαούσι 29/217; Ῥαούσιν 29/51; Ῥαουσίου (gen.) 29/93, 100, 114, 217, 30/99, 100. Ῥαουσαῖοι (οἱ) 29/94, 110, 222; "Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἴσταιται, λέγεται Ῥωμαῖστί 'ὁ κρημνὸς λαῦ'· ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἐκ τούτου Λαουσαῖοι, ἤγουν 'οἱ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸν κρημνόν'. Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια . . . Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν 29/217—222.
- Ῥάση (ή), place on the frontier of Serbia 32/53.
- Ῥάστωτζα (ή), zupania of Pagania 30/106, 107.
- Ῥήγιον (τό), place near Constantinople: τοῦ Ῥηγίου 51/9, 19.
- Ῥήνος cf. Νῆνος.
- Ῥιβαλενοῆς, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/32.
- Ῥίβαλτον, city of the Venetians: κάστρον Ῥίβαλτον, δ ἑρμηνεύεται 'τόπος ὑψηλότατος' 27/93 [Ῥιβαντόν P],
- Ῥιβαντόν cf. Ῥίβαλτον.
- Ῥινότμητος cf. Ἰουστινιανός.
- Ῥισενα (τά), city in Terbounia 34/20.
- Ῥοδανός, river Rhone?: † ἡ διορδανός † 23/11.
- Ῥοδόλφος cf. Ῥοδοῦλφος.
- Ῥόδος (ή), Rhodes 20/4, 7, 21/54, 57, 61.

- Ῥοδόσθαβος, prince of the Serbs 32/34.
- Ῥοδοῦλφος, king of Italy 26/23, 27 [Ῥοδῶλφου P], 29 [Ρουδοῦλφος P], 32, 35, 38, 40, 56, 60, 64.
- Ῥουδοῦλφος cf. Ῥοδοῦλφος.
- Ῥουσιάνο(ν), city in Italy: τοῦ Ῥουσιάνου 27/49.
- Ῥωμαϊκὴ χιλιάς, work of Quadratus 23/36.
- Ῥωμαῖοι, Romans Tit./2, P/15, 22, 24, 1/2, 16, 2/16, 4/3, 4, 6, 8, 5/4, 7, 11/5, 13/107, 114, 119, 121, 136, 146, 175, 16/5, 21/14, 47, 53, 22/4, 12, 30, 32, 41, 61, 82, 23/14, 29, 24/5, 7, 25/20, 33, 42, 51, 27/5, 14, 26, 30, 68, 69, 28/36, 29/54, 58, 62, 65, 73, 79, 86, 87, 95, 116, 170, 177, 180, 186, 198, 207, 214, 217, 263, 272, 30/12, 59, 131, 31/9, 16, 27, 34, 60, 32/9, 12, 16, 23, 27, 30, 38, 88, 91, 109, 110, 113, 114, 116, 133, 136, 140, 141, 143, 147, 33/3, 6, 35/6, 36/12, 13, 37/66, 40/14, 42/61, 43/5, 8, 13, 13, 16, 86, 90, 116, 174, 44/33, 46, 48, 58, 63, 88, 124, 45/24, 36, 42, 46/115, 133, 166, 48/24, 29, 31, 49/4, 50/72, 131, 164, 53/6, 46, 47, 50, 118, 122, 141; Ῥωμαϊκός 13/115, 151, 21/33, 22/18, 53/107; Ῥωμαῖσι 29/218.
- Ῥωμανία, Romania 9/113, 22/22, 44/126, 127, 46/15, 135, 139, 47/24, 53/530.
- Ῥωμᾶνοι, Romani 29/14, 20, 22, 27, 34, 37, 41, 45, 47, 49, 52, 30/121, 31/11, 13, 15, 32/24, 33/4, 35/3, 36/4 [Ῥωμαίων P]; Ῥωμᾶνοι προσγορεύθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετοικισθῆναι 29/5—6.
- Ῥωμανόπολις (ῆ), frontier pass in the province of Mesopotamia 50/113, 132.
- Ῥωμανός, 1. emperor (I) 13/147, 149, 170, 192, 32/100, 106, 43/89, 118, 131, 45/41, 55, 67, 75, 102, 46/49, 50/26, 28, 37, 61, 131, 168, 232, 51/162, 175, 199, 52/2.
2. emperor (II) Tit./3, 26/67.
- Ῥωματινά, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/83.
- Ῥώμη, Rome 25/7, 23, 49, 51, 26/11, 22, 27/6, 16, 28/12, 29/4, 6, 103, 105, 273, 30/89, 31/12, 13, 22, 33, 39, 32/27, 33/4, 35/4, 36/4, 53/2, 70, 84, 108, 124; ἡ μεγάλη Ῥώμη 21/32.
- Ῥῶς (οἱ), Russians 2/1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 17, 19, 4/1, 4, 11, 8/20, 9/1, 16, 16, 21, 30, 71, 79, 104, 106, 109, 13/25, 42/61, 77; Ῥωσιτί 9/25, 40, 46, 58, 62, 64.
- Ῥωσία, Russia 2/4, 8, 6/5, 9/1, 5, 67, 37/42, 43, 47, 42/4, 62; ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία 9/3.
- Ῥῶσσα (ῆ), city in Dalmatia 29/92.
- Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι, ancient name of the Turks (= Magyars) 38/9, 28. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 223—224 (2nd ed. pp. 261—262).
- Σάβας, Saint 22/74.
- Σάβας, Saracen general: τοῦ Σάβα 29/90.
- Σάβας (ὄ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars): Σάβα (gen.) 42/20.
- Σακακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester 37/63. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 225 (2nd ed. p. 264).
- Σαλαμαῦς (τό), city in Armenia 44/4, 16.
- Σαλερινόν (τό), city in Italy 27/4, 52, 57.
- Σαληνές (τό), city in Serbia 32/151.
- Σαλμακάται (τό), deserted city on the river Dniester 37/63. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 226 (2nd ed. p. 264).
- Σαλμουτζης cf. Ἀλμουτζης.
- Σαλῶνα (ῆ), city in Dalmatia 29/26, 30/14; Σαλῶνα (acc.) 29/45, 233, 30/17, 30; Σαλῶνας (gen.) 31/29; Σαλῶνος (gen.) 30/20, 34, 46.
- Σαμβατάς cf. Κίαβος.
- Σαμωνᾶς, patrician and chamberlain 50/228, 239, 246, 250.
- Σανίανα, county in the province of Charsianon: τοῦρμα ἡ νῦν Σανίανα λεγομένη 50/105.
- Σαξία cf. Φραγία.
- Σαπαξί, village in Zichia: χωρίον ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαπαξί, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται 'κονιορτός' 53/500.

- Σαπίκιο(ν), village in the province of Derzene: τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ [τὰ P] Σαπικίου 53/507.
- Σαρακηνοί, Saracens 14/3, 16/2, 6, 8, 17/2, 12, 21/36, 85, 88, 113, 115, 25/63, 29/89, 99, 117, 43/10, 14, 17, 25, 45/28, 45, 50, 55, 58, 61, 150, 46/132, 138, 47/3, 22, 48/31, 49/9, 50/112, 113, 115, 165, 202; Σαρακηνός (ὁ) 50/202; cf. Ἀφρικοί.
- Σαράτ (τό), place on the frontier of Patzinacia 42/63.
- Σάρκελ (τό), city on the river Tanais 11/8, 42/4, 22, 29, 40, 54, 56, 88; Ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ Σάρκελ ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον 42/24. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 229 (2nd ed. pp. 268—269).
- Σαρμάται, Sarmatians 53/5, 9, 12, 14, 19, 23; Σαυρόματοι 53/42, 45, 121, 203, 232; Σαυρόματος (ὁ) 53/3, 17, 20, 27, 46, 50, 53, 55, 59, 60, 62, 64, 72, 75, 76, 82, 86, 87, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 104, 104, 107, 162, 163, 169, 171, 173, 173, 177, 180, 183, 184, 188, 190, 193, 193, 194, 196, 198, 204, 205, 209, 215, 215, 216, 218, 221, 221.
- Σαυρόματοι, Σαυρόματος cf. Σαρμάται.
- Σεβάστεια (ή), city and province 50/134, 149, 167.
- Σεβέριοι, tributaries of the Russians: Σεβερίων (gen.) 9/108.
- Σελβώ, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Σελινός (ὁ), river, branch of the Danube 9/79, 92, 94, 97.
- Σεπτέμβριος, September 16/6, 8.
- Σερβλία, Serbia 30/98, 100, 104, 117, 117, 31/15, 32/7, 21, 43, 58, 76, 85, 92, 95, 96, 102, 102, 123, 130, 146, 34/6, 12, 35/8; ἡ βαπτισμένη Σερβλία 32/149; ἡ ἀβάπτιστος Σερβλία 34/6.
- Σέρβλια (τά), place in the province of Thessalonica 32/11.
- Σέρβλοι, Serbs 29/55, 57, 63, 31/9, 84, 32/1, 2, 6, 15, 17, 26, 36, 40, 47, 49, 51, 108, 137, 33/9, 36/10; Σέρβλος (ὁ) 29/109, 32/31; ἀβά-
- πτιστοὶ Σέρβλοι 31/6, 34/4, 36/6; ἀβάπτιστοὶ Σέρβλοι, οἱ καὶ ἄσπροι ἐπονομαζόμενοι 32/2; Σέρβλοι δὲ τῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἄδουλου προσαγορεύονται 32/12—13.
- Σέρετος (ὁ), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs 38/71.
- Σέρμιον (τό), Sirmium 25/22, 40/31.
- Σθλάβοι cf. Σκλάβοι.
- Σιγγιδών, Singidunum: Σιγγιδώνα (acc.) 25/22.
- Σιγριανή cf. Θεοφάνης 1.
- Σιγρίτζης, general of Symeon, prince of the Bulgarians: Σιγρίτζη Θεόδωρον (acc.) 32/93; Σιγρίτζη Θεοδώρου (gen.) 32/112. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 234 (2nd ed. p. 275).
- Σίδραγα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/92.
- Σίκαρδος, prince of the Lombards 27/52, 55, 57.
- Σικελία (ή) Sicily, province 22/45, 27/9, 59, 61, 50/89.
- Σίκων, prince of the Lombards 27/55, 56.
- Σινούτης, eunuch, chief clerk to the foreign ministry, envoy 43/36, 41, 47.
- Σιπενδός (ή), city in Italy 27/57.
- Σικερδά, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Σκηρδάκισσα, deserted city in Dalmatia: — 29/291.
- Σκλαβάρχοντες cf. Σκλάβοι.
- Σκλαβηναί(αι), Slavonic regions 9/10, 107, 28/19, 29/68, 30/94.
- Σκλαβήνοι, Slavones 49/15, 30, 41, 65, 70; Σκλαβήνικος 29/17; Σκλαβηνιστί 9/25, 40, 44, 46, 58, 62, 65.
- Σκλαβησιάνοι, Slavisiāns 50/59, 64.
- Σκλάβοι, Slavs 9/9, 109, 29/40, 43, 69, 82, 224, 294, 30/120, 125, 129, 133, 31/6, 7, 33/11, 34/12, 16, 36/11, 37/45, 49/2, 50/1, 6, 14, 38, 60, 72; Σκλάβοι, οἱ καὶ Ἄβαροι καλούμενοι 29/33; Σκλάβοι, οἱ <καὶ> Ἄβαροι 29/37; Σθλάβοι 50/66; Σκλαβικός 30/7, 13; Σκλαβάρχοντες 29/113.
- Σκόρδονα (τό), city in Croatia 31/69.

- Σκύθαι, Scythians **43/2**, **53/129**;
Σκυθικός **13/25**. — Cf. *Byzantinotur-*
cica p. 236 (2nd ed. p. 279).
- Σκυθία, Scythia **53/126**.
- Σλαβίνετζα (ή), city in Pagania
36/15.
- Σμύρνη (ή), Smyrna **20/11**.
- Σολδανός, Saracen general **29/90**,
102, **117**, **120**, **122**, **128**, **130** [Σουλ-
δανός P], **142**, **150** [Σουλδανοῦ P],
156, **163**, **164**, **175**, **176**, **180**, **183**,
191, **205**, **209**, **212**.
- Σολομών, Solomon **19/10**.
- Σουλδανός cf. Σολδανός.
- Σουλεϊμάν, chief of the Arabs
21/115, **116**, **120**, **126**, **22/49**, **50**, **52**.
- Σουπόλιχος, father of Byscus, primate
of the Chersonites: Σουπολίχου (gen.)
53/168.
- Σοῦσαι cf. Σῶσαι.
- Σοφία cf. Ἀγία Σοφία.
- Σοφιάμ, progenitor of Mauias, chief
of the Arabs **21/111**.
- Σπανδιάτης, ancestor of the Ibe-
rians **45/14**, **14**, **33**, **37**.
- Σπανία, part of Iberia **23/29**, **29**
[recte: Ἰσπανία].
- Σπαταλό (ν), harbour in Zichia: εἰς
τὸν τοῦ Σπαταλοῦ λιμένα **42/106**.
- Σρεχιαβαράξ (τό), village in the
province of Tziliapert **53/511**.
- Σταγνόν (τό), city in the territory
of the Zachlumi **33/21**.
- Σταυράκιος cf. Πλατύς.
- Σταυρός cf. Τίμιος Σταυρός.
- Στενίται, sailors of the Stenon
51/12, **91**.
- Στενόν (τό), the Bosphorus **51/13**, **92**.
- Στέφανος, 1. Saint **29/236**.
2. astrologer **16/1**.
3. protospatharius, son of Valen-
tine (cf. Βαλεντίνος 2.) **29/233**.
4. son of Muntimer, prince of
the Serbs **32/52**, **67**.
- Στόλπον (τό), city in Croatia **31/69**.
- Στρατόφιλος, primate of the Cher-
sonites **53/471**.
- Στρόβιλος cf. Πίνεται.
- Στρούμηρος, prince of the Serbs **32/44**,
63.
- Στρούκουν, barrage of the Dnieper
river: πρὸς τὸν ἑβδομον φραγμόν,
τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ἑρωιστὶ μὲν Στρού-
κουν, Σκλαβημιστὶ δὲ Ναπρεζή, ὃ
ἐρμηνεύεται ἄμικρὸς φραγμός' **9/64**—
65.
- Συγγούλ (ό), river between the Danube
and the city of Sarkel **42/58**.
- Συμβάτιος, 1. prince of princes of
Armenia **43/30**, **34**, **35**, **44/7**, **18**, **22**,
26, **35**, **50**, **119**.
2. Iberian ruler of the city of
Ardanoutzi: ὁ μέγας Συμβάτιος **46/4**.
3. son of David (cf. Δαυίδ 4.)
46/29, **33**, **38**, **41**.
- Σύμβολο(ν), port near the city of
Cherson: ἐν Συμβόλω **53/296**, **309**;
τοῦ Συμβόλου **53/302**.
- Συμεών, 1. prince of the Bulgarians
32/80, **87**, **92**, **111**, **117**, **138**, **40/9**, **13**,
17, **51/111**, **112**. — Cf. *Byzantinotur-*
cica p. 248 (2nd ed. p. 293).
2. patrician and chief of the
imperial chancellery **46/68**.
- Συμπόσιον (τό), frontier pass, desert
adjacent to the region of Lykandos
50/135, **145**, **148**, **159**.
- Συρεντός (ή), city in Italy **27/49**, **67**.
- Συρία, Syria **21/12**, **23**, **63**, **73**, **102**,
22/68, **25/56**, **64**, **42/78**, **43/11**, **14**,
46/45, **47/19**, **21**.
- Συρουκάλη, province of the Pechen-
egs: τὸ θέμα — **37/35**; cf. Κουλλήη.
— Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 248 (2nd ed.
p. 294).
- Σφενδοπλόκος, prince of Moravia
13/6, **40/34**, **41/2**, **4**, **19**.
- Σφενδοσθλάβος, son of Igor, prince
of Russia **9/4**.
- Σχολαστικός, door-keeper and cham-
berlain **50/223**.
- Σῶσαι (αί), place near the city of
Cherson **53/263** [Σουσῶν P], **306**,
312.
- Σωτηριούπολις, city on the frontier
of Abasgia: κάστρον Σωτηριουπόλεως
42/14, **110**.
- Σωφρόνιος, bishop of Jerusalem **19/4**, **8**.
- Τάβια, garrison in the province of
Charsianon: τοποτηρησία Τάβιας
50/107.

- Ταλιαφέρνος, Burgundian marquis: Ταλιαφέρνου (gen.) 26/43; cf. Ούγων 2.
- Ταλμάτ (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/18, 23; cf. Βοροταλμάτ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 97).
- Ταμάταρχα (τό), city opposite to Bosphorus 42/11 [τὰ Μάταρχα P], 92, 95, 97, 53/493. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 251 (2nd ed. p. 297).
- Τάναϊς (ό), river Tanaïs 42/34, 87.
- Ταξίς, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/59, 61. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 252 (2nd ed. p. 298).
- Ταριάνο(ς), clan of the Turks (= Magyars): πέμπτη τοῦ Ταριάνου 40/5. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 299).
- Ταρκατζοῦς, son of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/54, 56. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 300).
- Ταρρακωνησία (ή), part of Iberia 23/29.
- Ταρτήσιοι, Iberian tribe 23/10.
- Ταρών (τό), Armenian principality 43/1, 7, 27, 38, 46, 47, 49, 56, 62, 63, 66, 110, 153, 186; Ταρωνίτης (ό) [= Κριχορίκιος] 43/32, 51, 97, 101, 113, 119, 122, 146, 151, 180.
- Ταρωνίτης cf. Ταρών,
- Τασής, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/61. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 253 (2nd ed. p. 300).
- Τατζάτης, possessor of a suburban estate in Keltzini: Τατζάτου (gen.) 43/92.
- Τεβέλης, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/63; Τεβέλη (acc.) 40/57. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 256 (2nd ed. p. 303).
- Τεκής (τό), district in the province of Mesopotamia 50/115, 119.
- Τελιούτζα (ή), city in Russia: ἀπὸ Τελιούτζαν 9/6.
- Τενήν (τό), city in Croatia 31/70.
- Τερβουνία, 1. Terbounia 30/99, 139, 142, 32/22, 34/8, 11, 15, 19, 35/9; Τερβουνία δὲ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνεύεται 'ἰσχυρὸς τόπος' 34/12.
2. city in Terbounia 34/20.
- Τερβουνιώται, Terbouniotes 29/57, 64, 109, 34/1, 3.
- Τερματζοῦς, great grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/64. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 258 (2nd ed. p. 306).
- Τερπημέρης, prince of the Croats: Τερπημέρη (gen.) 31/43.
- Τετραγγούριν (τό), island and city off Dalmatia 29/51, 258, 30/134; Τετραγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μικρὸν δίκην ἀγγορίου 29/260—261.
- Τζαμανδός (ή), mountain and county in the province of Lykandos: ὄρος τῆς Τζαμανδοῦ 50/157.
- Τζαρβαγάνιν (τό), island off Zichia 42/105.
- Τζεέσθλαβος, prince of the Serbs 32/65, 75, 119, 121, 129, 140.
- Τζένζηνα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/91.
- Τζέντινα cf. Ζέντινα.
- Τζερματζοῦ (τό), city in Armenia 44/5, 62.
- Τζερναβουσκέη (τό), city in Serbia 32/150.
- Τζερνιγῶγα, city in Russia: ἀπὸ Τζερνιγῶγαν 9/6.
- Τζιβιτανόβα, city in Lombardy: ὀνομάζεται Τζιβιτανόβα, τουτέστιν νεόκαστρον 27/41.
- Τζιβιτάνουβα, Venetian island: εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Τζιβιτάνουβα, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται 'νεόκαστρον' 28/47—48.
- Τζικάνης, protospatharius and military governor: Λέοντος Τζικάνη (gen.) 51/194.
- Τζιλιάπερτ, province: θέμα τοῦ — 53/510.
- Τζοπόν (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/19, 24; cf. Βουλατζοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 94 (2nd ed. p. 98).
- Τζουζήμερις, prince of Terbounia 34/11.
- Τζούρ (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/17, 21; cf. Κουαρτζιτζούρ. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 147 (2nd ed. p. 165).
- Τιβέριος, emperor (III): 'Αψίμαρον 22/7; 'Αψιμάρου ... τοῦ Τιβερίου 22/31.

- Τιβί (τό), city in Armenia 44/15; Τιβί (gen.) 44/4; Τιβλου (gen.) 45/57.
- Τικρίτ (τό), emirate 25/74.
- Τιμήσης (ό), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/39.
- Τίμιος Σταυρός, garrison in the province of Charsianon: τοποτηρησία τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ 50/104.
- Τιτζα (ή), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/40.
- Τνήνα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/92.
- Τορνίκης cf. Τορνίκιος.
- Τορνίκιος, patrician, son of Apoganem 43/136, 139, 139, 166, 179; Τορνίκης 43/100.
- Τορτζελών (τό), city and trading station of the Venetians 27/93.
- Τουγά (ή), chieftainess of the Croats 30/65. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 267 (2nd ed. p. 317).
- Τουγγάται (τό), deserted city on the Dniester river 37/62. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 267 (2nd ed. p. 317).
- Τουργανήρχ (τό), island off Zichia 42/105.
- Τουρκία, Turkey (= country of the Magyars) 31/5, 32/3, 37/42, 47, 38/55, 40/23, 36, 53, 65, 42/3. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 269 (2nd ed. p. 320).
- Τοῦρκοι, Turks (= Magyars) 3/1, 2, 5, 4/2, 5, 11, 8/21, 24, 29, 13/2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 24, 27/31, 30/23, 75, 31/87, 32/89, 37/11, 38/1, 3, 9, 10, 16, 23, 24, 25, 28, 32, 38, 47, 48, 48, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 39/6, 8, 10, 40/2, 6, 16, 16, 17, 19, 19, 23, 25, 33, 41, 45, 41/21, 25, 42/18, 51/111, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 270 (2nd ed. pp. 321—322).
- Τούτης (ό), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) 40/39.
- Τραϊανός, emperor 40/28.
- Τραπεζοῦς (ή), Trapezus 46/43, 50/124.
- Τραυλός cf. Μιχαήλ I.
- Τριάς cf. Ἁγία Τριάς.
- Τρίπολις (ή), city in Africa 25/40.
- Τριφάλης, comedy of Aristophanes 23/21.
- Τροίζην (ό), Troezen 23/35, 35; Τροίζηνος (ό) 23/35; Τροίζήνιο (gen.) 23/35.
- Τροῦλλος (ό), Domed Hall in the imperial palace 48/2.
- Τροῦλλος (ό), river in the country of the Turks (= Magyars) and Pechenegs 38/70.
- Τρυπία (τά), desert on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire 50/146.
- Τρύφων, Saint 29/269.
- Τυρόκαστρον (τό), city in Iberia 46/14.
- Υβύλ (ό), river between the Danube and the city of Sarkel 42/59.
- Υδρεντός (ή), city in Italy 27/48.
- Φαγγουμείς (οί), illustrious Cypriots 47/18.
- Φαλεμβέρτος, murderer of king Berengar 26/55.
- Φαλῆς, grandson of Arpad, prince of the Turks (= Magyars): Φαλῆς 40/61; Φαλίτζιν (acc.) 40/58. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 278 (2nd ed. p. 331).
- Φαλιμέρης, prince of Terbounia 34/10.
- Φαλίτζις cf. Φαλῆς.
- Φάρα (τό), island off Dalmatia 36/20; Φάρος (ό) 30/110.
- Φαρνάκος, I. father of Pharnacus, primate of the Chersonites 53/187.
2. primate of the Chersonites 53/187, 192, 196, 204, 205, 208, 214, 215, 216, 218, 220, 222, 228, 230.
- Φάρος cf. Φάρα.
- Φασιανή (ή), district of Armenia 45/44, 50, 53, 58, 61, 63, 66, 100, 100, 158.
- Φᾶσις (ό), river in Armenia: ὁ Ἐραξ, ἦτοι ὁ Φᾶσις 45/130, 158, 173.
- Φατέμ cf. Φατιμέ.
- Φατέμη, district of Libya: τοῦ Φατέμη 15/3.
- Φατεμίται, Fatemites 15/1, 3, 25/60 [Φατουμίται P].
- Φατιλάνο (ν), mountain on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire: τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Φατιλάνου 50/114.
- Φατιμέ, daughter of Mahomet, the prophet 21/70, 25/59; Φατέμ 15/2.
- Φατουμίται cf. Φατεμίται.
- Φιλιστήμη (ή), emirate: τὴν Φιλιστήμη, ἦτοι τὸ Ἰάμβλε 25/69.

- Φιλόμουσος, father of Stratophilus, primate of the Chersonites 53/471.
- Φινές, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/92.
- Φοινίκη (ή), Phoenicia 21/40.
- Φοσαῶν, city of the Venetians: κάστρον — 27/87.
- Φραγγία, Francia 13/4, 28/5, 9, 29/105, 118, 162, 165, 30/72, 85, 31/5, 44, 32/5; ή μεγάλη Φραγγία 26/6, 18, 29/134; Φραγγίας, τῆς καὶ Σαξίας 30/74; Φραγγίαι (αἱ) 28/7, 19.
- Φράγγοι, Franks 13/116, 119, 25/30, 28/4, 8, 43, 30/79, 81, 83, 87, 31/87, 40/44; cf. Γερμανοί.
- Φύλαρχος, author 23/41.
- Χαβουξιγγυλά, province of the Pechenegs: τοῦ — 37/70; cf. Γύλα. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 279 (2nd ed. p. 332).
- Χαδῆρ (ὁ), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake 42/89.
- Χαδιγά, wife of Mahomet 14/12.
- Χαζάρα cf. Χάζαροι.
- Χαζαρία, Chazaria 6/5, 10/1, 5, 8, 12/2, 13/61, 134, 37/38, 45, 38/3, 15, 32, 34, 42/27, 77. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 280 (2nd ed. p. 334).
- Χάζαροι, Chazars 10/3, 7, 11/3, 5, 11, 12/3, 13/24, 37/4 [Μαζάρους P], 5, 38/13, 14, 22, 52, 39/2, 8, 40/3, 42/22, 27; Χαζάρα (ή) 38/17, 19 [Χαζάρου P]; Χαζαρικός 42/4. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* pp. 281—282 (2nd ed. pp. 335—336).
- Χαλδία, province 43/61, 176, 45/48, 60, 46/74, 77, 50/117.
- Χάλεπ (τό), emirate 25/71.
- Χαλιάτ cf. Χλιάτ.
- Χαλκοπρατεία: Χαλκοπρατειῶν ναός, church in Constantinople 29/279.
- Χαμούχ, 1. village in Zichia 53/503, 505.
2. founder of the village called Chamuch 53/503.
- Χανζίτ (τό), frontier pass in the province of Mesopotamia 50/113, 132.
- Χαραβόη (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/18, 22, 42. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 285 (2nd ed. p. 340).
- Χαράκουλ (τό), river on the eastern side of the Maeotic lake 42/88. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 285 (2nd ed. p. 340).
- Χαράν (τό), emirate 25/72.
- Χάραξ, author 24/4.
- Χάρης cf. Λάχης.
- Χαρίτων, Saint 22/73.
- Χάρκα (τό), district of Armenia 44/41, 87.
- Χάροψ (ὁ), Charops 23/34, 34; Χάροπος (ὁ) 23/34; Χαρόποιο (gen.) 23/35.
- Χαρσιανίτης, military governor: Ὁρέστης ὁ Χαρσιανίτης 50/127.
- Χαρσιανόν (τό), province 50/90, 102, 106, 108, 109, 134, 137, 153.
- Χασέ, protospatharius 50/202, 205, 206, 208.
- Χέμψ (τό), emirate: τὸ Χέμψ, ἦτοι τὸ Ἔμεσα 25/70.
- Χερσών (ή), Cherson, city 1/26, 27, 27, 6/3, 7/1, 3, 6, 16, 8/8, 9/67, 11/1, 8, 10, 12, 22/30, 37/38, 49, 42/7, 32, 33, 41, 51, 53, 63, 70, 72, 81, 85, 53/1, 168, 271, 276, 294, 512, 525, 527, 528.
- Χερσωνῖται, Chersonites 6/1, 4, 6, 9/67, 42/71, 53/2, 18, 22, 25, 25, 35, 37, 38, 61, 65, 67, 71, 77, 79, 81, 89, 90, 93, 95, 101, 102, 106, 108, 118, 127, 128, 130, 131, 154, 154, 160, 164, 167, 170, 177, 181, 187, 188, 191, 225, 235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 248, 257, 268, 445, 452, 471, 472, 478, 484, 515, 530, 535; Χερσωνίτης (ὁ) 6/10, 53/484; Χερσωνίτικος 53/514, 520.
- Χέρτ (τό), city in Armenia 44/4, 16.
- Χιγγιλοῦς cf. Χιδμάς.
- Χιδμάς (ὁ), river in Lebedia: Χιδμάς, ὁ καὶ Χιγγιλοῦς ἐπονομαζόμενος 38/8.
- Χλεβένα (τό), city in Croatia 31/69.
- Χλεβένα (ή), zupania of Croatia 30/116; Χλεβιάνα (ή) 30/91.
- Χλεβιάνα cf. Χλέβενα.
- Χλιάτ (τό), city in Armenia 44/3, 20, 57, 102, 108, 114, 125; Χαλιάτ 44/3, 11, 15, 53.
- Χλοῦμ (τό), city in the country of the Zachlumi 33/14.
- Χλοῦμος, mountain in the country of the Zachlumi 33/11; cf. Ζαχλοῦμοι.
- Χόζανον, province: τὸ τοῦ Χοζάνου θέμα 50/111.

- Χοπόν (τό), province of the Pechenegs 37/19, 24; cf. Γιαζιχοπόν. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 107 (2nd ed. p. 112).
- Χρῆστος, primate of the Chersonites 53/25, 44.
- Χριστιανοί, Christians 13/33, 77, 81, 86, 113, 125, 138, 142, 159, 160, 14/16, 17/10, 22/71, 32/29, 45/32, 151, 50/76; Χριστιανικός 13/145, 22/79, 48/6.
- Χριστός, Jesus Christ Tit./2, 17/6, 22/72, 29/96, 31/42, 49/58; Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 13/43, 45/31.
- Χρονικά, work of Charax 24/4.
- Χρονικόν, work of Theophanes 17/1, 21/1; Χρονογράφος 22/1.
- Χρονογράφος cf. Χρονικόν.
- Χρυσόγονος, Saint 29/278.
- Χρυσοτρίκλινος (ὅ), hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople 50/215.
- Χρωβατία, Croatia 30/70, 78, 94, 113, 118, 31/14, 44, 58, 76, 32/62, 69, 72, 120, 125, 127, 136, 35/8; ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη ἐπονομαζομένη 31/83; ἡ μεγάλη Χρωβατία, ἡ ἀβάπτιστος, ἡ καὶ ἄσπρη προσαγορευομένη 32/5—6; ἡ βαπτισμένη Χρωβατία 31/68, 71, 86.
- Χρωβάτοι, Croats 13/7, 29/55, 56, 63, 113, 30/61, 68, 70, 71, 75, 79, 81, 82, 86, 103, 124, 31/1, 3, 8, 18, 20, 24, 24, 26, 29, 35, 40, 41, 46, 50, 52, 55, 61, 64, 64, 65, 80, 32/128, 33/5, 35/5, 40/44, 41/25; Χρωβάτος (ὅ) 29/109; οἱ ἀβάπτιστοι Χρωβάτοι, οἱ καὶ ἄσπροι ἐπονομαζόμενοι 31/4; Βελοχρωβάτοι 30/63; Βελοχρωβάτοι, ἡγουν ἄσπροι Χρωβάτοι 30/72—73; οἱ βαπτισμένοι Χρωβάτοι 31/31; Τὸ δὲ Χρωβάτοι τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἐρμηνεύεται, τουτέστιν 'οἱ πολλὴν χώραν κατέχοντες' 31/6—8.
- Χρωβάτος, chief of the Croats 30/65.
- Χώρα (τά), island off Dalmatia 36/22.
- Χωρασάν (τό), emirate 22/64, 66, 25/67, 79.
- Ψωμαθεύς: ἡ τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονή, monastery 43/177.
- ἽΩκεανός (ὅ), Ocean 25/40; ὁ ἐσπέριος ἽΩκεανός 25/32.
- ἽΩορύφας, patrician and admiral of the fleet: τὸν... Νικήτα, ... οὗ τὸ ἐπικλῆν ἽΩορύφας 29/97—98.
- ἽΩτ(ος), king of Francia, or Saxony: ἽΩτω (dat.) 30/73.

GLOSSARY

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

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

Abbreviation: *Byzantinoturcica* = Gy. Moravesik, *Byzantinoturcica II. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest, 1943 (2nd ed. Berlin 1958).

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- ἀμνηραῖος (~ Arabic *amīr*) 21/102. — Cf. Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. 335₁₃ etc.
- ἀμνηρᾶς (~ Arabic *amīr*) 21/41, 25/75, 79, 82, 83, 44/8, 27, 42, 51, 82, 45/132, 139; ἀμνηράδων (pl. gen.) 44/121. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 71—72 (2nd ed. 66—69).
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- βάνδον (~ Latin *bandum*) 50/94, 97, 99, 103, 106, 109.
- βαπτίζω 29/69, 72, 74, 76, 83, 84, 30/89, 31/24, 31, 34, 35, 68, 71, 86, 32/28, 149, 36/10, 10, 50/76; cf. Grammatical Notes.
- βάπτισμα 30/88.
- βάρβαρος 43/18, 49/32, 34, 48; cf. Index of Proper Names.
- βαρβαρικός 48/5.
- βασανίζω 29/244.
- βασίλεια 1. (rule, reign, kingdom, empire, throne) P/9, 36, 40, 22/6, 30, 32, 35, 82, 25/25, 28, 26/37, 29/54, 59, 65, 72, 88, 31/58, 32/78, 146, 43/90, 45/40, 55, 50/9, 25, 75, 136, 227, 51/5, 51, 77, 163, 53/119, 122, 233.
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- βερζιτικον (~ Bulgarian?) 42/88. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 88 (2nd ed. p. 89).
- βήσσαλον (Latin *bessalis*) 29/246, 42/36, 53/329, 331, 340, 347, 348, [βήσαλον everywhere P].
- βίγλα (~ Latin *vigilia*) 9/49, 50, 29/175, 51/29; cf. δρουγγάριος.
- βλαττίον (~ Latin *blatta*) 6/8.
- *βοάνος (~ Turkish *ban*?) 30/93; βοεάνου (gen.) 31/78. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 178 (2nd ed. p. 204).
- *βοεάνος cf. βοάνος.
- *βοέβδος (~ Slavic *vojevoda*) 33/5, 5, 7, 12, 12, 16, 29, 34, 43. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 91 (2nd ed. p. 93).

- βοιλάς (~ Bulgarian *boila*): βοιλάδων (pl. gen.) 32/48 [βολιάδων P]. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 91 (2nd ed. p. 93).
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- γλώσσα 29/82, 265, 39/8, 10.
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- γούνα (~ Slavic *guna*) 32/56. — Cf. De cerimoniis, ed. Bonn. p. 381₁₁, 18.
- γράμματα (τά) 4/10, 29/221, 43/15, 21, 31, 50, 80, 46/136.
- γραφικός 14/17.
- *γυλάς (~ Hungarian *gyla* ~ *g'ila*) 40/49, 51, 68. — Cf. *Byzantinoturcica* p. 109. (2nd ed, p. 115).
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- δεσποτικός 13/38, 63.
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- δηλοποιῶ 8/25, 26/23, 27/33, 29/94, 43/16, 122, 46/72.
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- διαδέχομαι (= supersede) 50/200, 201, 51/165.
- διαίρω: διηρμένον 1/11.
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- διακρατῶ 22/48, 32/85, 37/10.
- διάλεκτος 25/18, 27/69, 29/80, 218, 264, 272, 31/7, 32/12, 33/11, 34/12, 17, 36/11, 12, 39/9.
- διαμερίζομαι 27/7.
- διαμεριμῶ 1/7. — Cf. Genesius, ed. Bonn. p. 64₁₆; Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Narratio de imagine Edessena, cap. VIII., ed. Migne, P. G. 113. c. 129_D = E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, (Leipzig, 1899), Beilage II. B, p. 49**.
- διαπρέπω 50/172.
- διασκορπίζω 32/138, 41/23, 49/33.
- διάσωσις 32/51. — Cf. De cerimoniis, ed. Bonn. p. 683₁₃.
- διασώστης 7/5, 7.
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- διδάσχω cf. Grammatical Notes.
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- διεγείρω 21/39, 71, 53/18.
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- *ἐμβλήσκομαι 9/56. — Cf. ἐκβλήσκεσθαι Theophanes, ed. de Boor p. 184₁₀; ἐμβλήσαν Phrantzes, ed. Papadopoulos p. 141₃₆.
- ἐμπορευτικός 31/88.
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- ἐναποδέχομαι 38/41. — Cf. Ioannes Chrysostomus, Homilia in Genesim XLIV., ed. Migne, P. G. 54. c. 406 [= 447E].
- ἐναποδιώκω 31/11. — Cf. Μηναῖα τοῦ δλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, Σεπτέμβριος ΙΓ', Θεοτοκίον, vol I. (ἐν 'Ρώμῃ, 1888), p. 150.
- ἐναποκλείω 29/244, 53/516, 521.
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 27 (1905), p. 232; S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*,
 (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 36—37.
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 Вѣстникъ, 20 (1847), No. 8., pp.
 1—10 (= Сборникъ сочиненій,
 S. Peterburg, 1870, pp. 521—527);
 N. Lavrovskij, Журналъ Минис-
 терства Народнаго Просвѣщенія,
 166 (1873), Мартъ, pp. 113—121;
 S. Gedeonov, Варяги и Русь II.
 (S. Peterburg, 1876), pp. 546—547;
 P. Jurčenko, Чтенія въ Имп. Об-
 ществѣ Истории и Древностей
 російскихъ при Московскомъ
 Университетѣ, 1877, II., pp. 1—14;
 S. Vvedenskij, Извѣстія Общества
 археологій, исторіи и этнографіи
 при Казанскомъ Университетѣ, 22
 (1906), pp. 149—163; L. Niederle,
 Slavia, 7 (1928—29), pp. 979—980;
 N. Popov, Byzantinoslavica, 3 (1931),
 pp. 92—96; D. A. I. Commentary,
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 p. 577₁₋₃ (πρωτοελάτης).
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 E. Honigmann, *Byzantion*, 10 (1935),
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 1301, ed. F. Dölger, *Sechs byzanti-*
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 für das Athoskloster Iberon, (Mün-
 chen, 1949), p. 52₄₃₃; *Narratio de*
 Sancta Sophia, ed. N. Bănescu,
 Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν
 Σπουδῶν, 3 (1926), p. 150₁₉.
 ῥιπτάριον 28/32. — Cf. Leo, *Tactica*
 V. 3., ed. Migne, P. G. 107. c. 711c
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 gr. 244. f. 201_r, ed. A. Delatte, *Mis-*
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 1946), p. 496; Liddell-Scott, *Greek-*
 English Lexicon s. v.
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 *σέρβυλα: 'σέρβυλα' ἢ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικὰ φησιν ὑποδήματα 32/13; cf. τζερβουλιανός.
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 ed. M. I. Gedeon, *Byzantinische Zeit-
 schrift*, 5 (1896), p. 115.
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 P. G. 46. c. 1097c.
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Nicephori, ed. Kulakovskij, p. 1₂₀
 = cod. Monac. gr. 452. fol. 109^v
 (τζερβούλια); S. B. Psaltes, *Gram-
 matik der byzantinischen Chroniken*,
 (Göttingen, 1913), p. 74; Ph. Ku-
 kules 'Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς
 Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστη-
 μίου Ἀθηνῶν 1935—1936, p. 124.
 τζυχανιστήριον (~ Persian *čougān*) 9/27.
 — Cf. Ph. Kukules, 'Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐται-
 ρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 13 (1937),
 p. 114; C. Diem, *Asiatische Reiter-
 spiele*, (Berlin, 1942²), pp. 111, 260;
 A. Pagliaro, *Un gioco persiano alla
 corte di Bizanzio, Studi Bizantini e
 Neellenici*, 5 (1939), pp. 521—524.
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χαϊρέκακος 50/200.

χαίρω 29/169, 53/291, 391; χαίρομαι 53/206, 409, 424.

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χαρέριον (Arabic *harīr*) 6/8. — Cf. Eparchicon Biblion IX. 6., ed. Zepos p. 382.

χαρίζομαι 13/53.

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*χειροβολίστρα 53/30, 34, 37, 133. — Cf. De cerimoniis, ed. Bonn. p. 670₁ (χειροτοξοβολίστρων).

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χριστιανικός, χριστιανός cf. Index of Proper Names.

χρονικόν 17/1, 21/1.

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χρυσοβούλλιον (~ Latin *bullā*) 43/76, 96, 99, 148, 45/101, 105, 118, 50/67.

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χρυσός cf. Grammatical Notes.

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χωρίον (= village) 32/122, 45/63, 136, 137, 161, 166, 53/500, 503, 504, 504, 507, 508, 510. — Cf. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, (München, 1927), p. 126.

χωρόπολις 46/43. — Cf. Michael Attaliota, ed. Bonn. p. 148_g.

ψευδοκατηγορία 25/42.

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ὠρισμένος cf. ὀρίζω.

ὠτίον 26/49.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

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

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

Orthography:

νδ ~ ντ: κονδοῦρα, σφοντύλιν.

Cf. Critical Introduction, pp. 18—19, 36, 37.

Accentuation:

ἀντίπερα, ἀπάρτι, αὐθεντῶς, θέρμα, κύρις, λάβε 27/24, μήκοθεν, πάραυτα, ἼΑβαρεις, ἸΑρκάικα (gen.) ἸΑρμενιάκοι, ἸΑσπονας (gen.), Δανούβιν (acc.), Μάσαλμα (gen.), Πάρθικος, Πελοποννησῖοι, Ῥαούσι(ν), Τάβιας (gen.), Τετραγγούριν, Χερσωνίτικος; cf. below, Substantives ending in -ιν.

Cf. Critical Introduction, p. 18.

Substantives:

nom. -ας (-ᾶς); acc. -α (-ᾶ): Βόρενα, Λεβεδία, Λιούντικα, Νικήτα, Πετρωνᾶ, Ποργᾶ;

nom. -ᾶς; plur. gen. -ᾶδων: ἀμηράδων, βοιλᾶδων;

nom. -ης (-ῆς, -ῆς); acc. -η (-ῆ -ῆ), gen. -η (-ῆ): ἀμερμουμνῆ, ἸΑδρανασῆ, ἸΑδρανασῆ, ἸΑλμούτζη, ἸΑποσέλμη, ἸΑρπαδῆ, ἸΑρπαδῆ, Βεριγγέρη, Βουσεβούτζη, Γιαζῆ, Ζουρβανέλη, Καλῆ, Καρῆ, Κασῆ, Κισκάση, Κορκένη, Κρασημέρη, Κρικορική, Μεγέρη, Νέκη, Παζουνῆ, Πλατυπόδη, Σιγρίτζη, Τεβέλη, Τερπημέρη;

nom. -ός (< -ιος): κυρός;

nom. -ις (< -ιος): κύρις, Δανούβιν (acc.);

nom. -ίν, -ιν (< -ιον, -ιον): ἀσήμιν, θεμάτιν, κλειδίν, κουροπαλατίν, νησίν, ραπάτιν, σφοντύλιν, ἸΑρδανούτζι(ν), Οὐλνούτιν, Ῥαούσι(ν), Τετραγγούριν, Τζαρβαγάνιν;

nom. -ί; gen. -ί: Τιβί;

nom. -ιμον; plur. nom. -ιματα: μεταστασίματα;

nom. -ις; gen. -ι: Δάναπρι, Δάναστρι.

Adjectives:

nom. -ος, -η, -ον (~ -ος, -ον): ἔτοιμαι (plur. nom.) 53/433, ὁμοφύλαις (plur. dat.) 14/24;

nom. -ος (< -ῆς): ἄσφαλοι (? plur. nom.) 38/10, 28;

nom. -ός (< -οῦς): ἀπλός 23/33, χρυσός 42/67;

comparative: βραδέστερον 53/304, μειζοτέρῳ 53/258, μελανώτερα 53/498, πλησιέστερον 37/49, ταχέστερον 53/397, τάχιον 53/402, 416;

congruence: εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ φιλοτιμιῶν, τῶν ἐπαξιῶν πάντων 1/23, γυναικῶν . . . παρόντων 17/20.

Numerals:

ἕνας (< εἶς) ἕνα βήσσαλον 53/329.

Pronouns:

αὐτός (= this) passim, e. g.: 2/11, 5/5, 9/63, 13/75, 14/11, 27/73, 28/11, 29/245, 32/81, 40/27, 44/19;

ὁ αὐτός (= the same, the said, the aforementioned) passim, e. g.: 8/9, 9/104, 16/8, 18/4, 31/8, 32/10, 38/19, 41/3, 42/32, 43/27, 44/20, 49/59, 50/39, 51/8, 53/173;

τό (= αὐτό): διὰ τὸ 45/30, 53/156;

ὁ τοιοῦτος (= this, the said) passim, e. g.: 1/25, 2/22, 4/7, 6/7, 8/14, 9/36, 11/9, 13/6, 118, 15/6, 29/32, 68, 246, 30/18, 132, 31/24, 47, 32/23, 144, 33/14, 34/13, 35/9, 38/51, 42/93, 43/88, 157, 44/38, 45/48, 155, 46/35, 140, 50/78, 195, 51/54, 53/216, 505, 523:

οἰοσθήποτε: τὸ οἰονδήποτε 13/82, τοῦ οἰουδήποτε 13/122, τὸν οἰονδήποτε 25/38;

οἰοσοῦν: ὁ οἰοσοῦν 13/89, 102;

ὁ δεῖνα: τὸν ὁ δεῖνα 42/48, 48;

τίς: τί δουλείαν 46/81.

Prepositions:

ἀνά + gen.: 29/248, 248, 31/73, 74, 74, 41/5, 52/7;

ἀπό + acc.: 9/5, 6, 96, 106, 26/25, 42, 31/55, 32/74, 42/67, 87, 95, 46/44;

εἰς + acc. (= in, into, on, at, by, among, about) passim, e. g.: 6/4, 7/6, 9/10, 60, 13/174, 15/9, 16/9, 21/17, 22/63, 25/80, 26/24, 27/39, 28/22, 29/288, 30/16, 103, 31/29, 32/82, 33/5, 35/5, 37/21, 59, 38/30, 39/10, 40/46, 42/86, 44/14, 45/57, 165, 46/55, 50/78, 137, 51/92, 131, 53/214, 264;

ἐν + dat. (= to, into, at, upon) passim, e. g.: 1/21, 7/2, 8/4, 9/3, 13/98, 21/56, 22/37, 26/9, 27/7, 28/14, 29/118, 157, 30/76, 32/50, 120, 139, 42/34, 43/62, 171, 45/89, 46/60, 79, 50/53, 174, 51/26, 142, 53/52, 266, 311, 387, 414, 525;

[ἐν + acc. in P: 29/235, 245, 261, 268, 275, 32/92, 51/139; cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, (München, 1938), pp. 111—112];

ἕως + acc.: 21/55, 22/48, 42/63;

μετά + acc. (= with): 25/23, 29/4, 30/75, 45/62, 65;

μέχρι + acc.: 37/13, 39/13, 42/53;

πρὸς ἐπί: πρὸς ἐπί τούτοις 53/149; cf. D. Tabachovitz, *Museum Helveticum*, 3 (1945), pp. 160—161.

Prepositional adverbs:

with gen.: ἀναμέσον, ἀναμεταξύ, ἀντίπερα, ἐκεῖθεν, ἐνθεν, ἐνώπιον, ἐπάνω, κύκλω, λόγῳ, μέσον, μήκοθεν, νόμῳ, πέραθεν, ὑποκάτωθεν.

Verbs:

-άω ~ -έω: ἀπεμπολοῦσιν 9/16, ἔζουν 30/121;

-ῶ ~ -νῶ: ἀντιπερνᾶν 51/115;

augment: ἀνάλωσεν 13/99, ἀντεπαρατάξαντο 53/134, 187, ἀπέλασαν 32/25, ἐδιόκει 51/60 [cf. P: P/35, 18/35, 51, 170, 21/20, 64, 25/5, 26/47, 64, 71, 27/13, 17, 31, 65, 29/28, 141, 233, 30/17, 46, 62, 32/42, 33/10, 34/9, 38/10, 39/7, 40/15, 41/22, 43/51, 45/19, 46/145, 47/11, 25, 49/47, 50/155, 162, 51/36];

reduplication: ἀποσταλμένῳ 49/20, βαπτισμένους 81/31, 68, 71, 86, 32/149, κατασκευασμένας 53/34, κοπωμένοι 53/68, μεταμέλημα 29/167, τελευτηκότος 46/146, χαλινωμένα 51/203 [cf. P: 1/12];

aorist: ἀλώθεισας 47/3, ἀναπαῖναι 53/68, 414, ἀνεχθῆναι 53/277, ἀπέλασθε 53/69, ἐπίπεσαντες 30/28, εἶχαμεν 53/45, ἤλαθον 39/5, καθευδῆσαι 53/436, συμπαθηθῆναι 50/62, συνεπαρεῖν 32/89, ὑπέπεσαν 53/201;

εἰσαγάγω 21/100 [εἰσαγαγόν P], ἐκβάλλω 21/96 [ἐκβαλῶν P]; cf. S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, (Göttingen, 1913), p. 244; N. Bănescu, *Die Entwicklung des griechischen Futurums von der frühbyzantinischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, (Bukarest, 1915), pp. 72—74; L. Radermacher, *Koine* [Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte, 224. Bd. 5. Abh.], (Wien, 1947), p. 64;

imperative: μὴ κοιμᾶσαι 9/25;

ἄς: ἄς ἀποστείλη 45/81, ἄς καθέζεται 45/82 [καθέζεται P], ἄς θεωρῆ 45/83 [θεωρεῖ P];

γίνομαι: γενόμενος 32/58, 50/56;

διδάσκω + dat.: 1/13, 39/8;

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

εἰμί: ἦτον 29/273;

εἰμι: συνεξιοῦσι 51/44;

ἔχω: ἔχης εἰδέναι P/26, ἔχεις ἀποκρούεσθαι 13/76, κλῶσαι ἔχω 27/29, ἀποπέλλειν ἔχει 43/94, ἔχομεν γενέσθαι 45/76, εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν 45/78, ἔχει εἰσελθεῖν 45/85, καθέξεσθαι ἔχει 45/86, ἔχειν ἔχομεν 46/133, κινήσαι ἔχομεν 46/134;

ἦτῶ 5/9, 40/10;

ἦμι: ἀφίομεν 53/52, 54, ἀφίησεν 26/34;

ἰστῶ (< ἰστημι): ἀποκαθιστῶντος 53/313, ἰστῶσιν 21/42, καθιστᾶ P/5, παραστήκετε 53/403, συνιστᾶν 13/120;

οἴγω (< οἴγνυμι): ἀνοιγομένου 9/12;

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

πηγνύω (< πῆγνυμι): πηγνύουσι 9/74.

Use of the oases:

acc. instead of dat.: 26/60, 28/45, 29/140, 30/124, 31/84, 32/17, 43/122, 44/33, 45/75, 152, 46/8, 61, 63, 72, 104, 108, 117, 118, 139, 157, 49/13, 50/124, 51/120, 53/13, 99, 104, 188, 196, 220, 411, 441;

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

Negation:

μηδὲν θαυμάσης 1/10, οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν 30/37, οὐ θέλω δοῦναι τίποτ' οὖν 53/88, μηδὲν πτοηθῆς 53/350, βαρὺ ὑμῖν τίποτε οὐκ ἐπιζητῶ 53/374.

Use of the tenses:

ἴνα + pres. ind.: 13/54, 86, 87, 30/130, 31/41, 42, 43/94, 119, 157, 45/127 [cf. P: 13/82, 45/159, 46/62, 53/516]; cf. Critical Introduction, p. 35.

ἴνα + pres. opt.: 13/125, 46/169;

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

Genitivus absolutus:

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

Nominativus absolutus:

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