

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.

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V 22 Ἀριανοῦ P || 24 ὁμοφύλαις (*etiam* Theoph.<sup>d</sup>): ὁμοφύλοις Be Georg. Mon. Theoph. || 25 φύλαρχον Meursius Ba Be Georg. Mon.: φίλαρχον P || Βουβάχαρ: Ἀβουβάχαρ *coni.* Thunmann || 27 ἄγαν καὶ Georg. Mon.<sup>P</sup> || ὑπερούσιος: περιούσιος Georg. Mon. ὑπερπλούσιος *coni.* Stephanus || 28 Αἰθρίβου Be Theoph.<sup>g</sup> 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*) P<sup>2</sup> V edd.: τὸ P || Ἄλλα V: Ἄλλα (*sine acc.*) P || 34/5 ἀντι τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου τιθέασιν V edd.: ἀντι καὶ συνδ<sup>δ</sup> τιθέασιν P *accentum supra ἀντι add. itemque τοῦ et μου s. v. add.* P<sup>2</sup> ἀντι τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου *mg. iter.* P<sup>2</sup>.

15. 1 *incipit cod. Mutin. gr.* 179 [= M] || 3 Φατεμεῖται P || Φατέμη edd.: Φάτεμη P || 5 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> *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. P<sup>3</sup>, quae omnia in textum receperunt V M Me, qua de causa caput hoc insititium esse suspicatus est Meursius || 10/1 προφήτης P<sup>1</sup> V M edd.: προφήτην P || 11 αὐτῶν P<sup>1</sup> 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 P<sup>2</sup> V edd. Theoph.ε: Αἰθρίου P Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 15 δέκα<sup>1</sup> edd.: ι' P || δὲ deest in Theoph. || δέκα<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>ef</sup>): 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.* P<sup>2</sup> || 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.* P<sup>2</sup> || 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.<sup>cod.</sup>): ὑσφαλείας Theoph. || 6 ὥστε — 7 ἀπορδήτους *deest in* Theoph. || 7 ὁ *deest in* Theoph. || 9 ἐστῶς P ἐστῶς Theoph.<sup>cds</sup> || 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 P<sup>2</sup> V M || 6 καὶ τὴν<sup>2</sup> 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.* P<sup>3</sup> V M Me || 10 Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας P<sup>2</sup> V M || 11 Σμύρνην *corr.* Moravcsik: Σμύρνης P M Σμύρναν P<sup>2</sup> V edd. || 12 πέμπτος V edd.: ε' *s. v. add.* P<sup>1</sup> *in textum recepit* M || 13 Οὐθμάν] *litteras rest.* P<sup>2</sup>.

21. 3 Μαυίου P: Μαβίου P<sup>2</sup> V M || 3 *post* Ἀράβων *s. v. add.* πέμπτου P<sup>3</sup> *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 4 οἱ (*habet etiam* Cedr.): *deest in* Theoph. || Μαρδαῖται P || 7 τοῦτο: ταῦτα Theoph. || Μαυίας P Theoph.: Μαβίας P<sup>2</sup> V M || 8 πρέσβεις P<sup>3</sup> 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

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χρυσῷ Theoph. || 16 ω': ν' Theoph. || τούτου Be: τούτω P || 19 Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P<sup>v</sup> mg. P<sup>7</sup> V M || 20 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P<sup>v</sup> M || ἀνθοπλήσατο P || 22 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P<sup>v</sup> M || 23 τῆς om. V edd. || πε' P V M: ο' (*littera π ex dimidia parte, e autem penitus erasa*) P<sup>v</sup> Ba Be || 24 αὐτὸν V edd.: αὐτῶν P || 25 ἐπολέμισαν P || Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || 27 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || 28 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || 29 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || 34 Μαυίου P V: Μαβίου P<sup>v</sup> M || 35 ἡ inser. P<sup>x</sup> in *textum receperunt* V M Ba Be || οὖν ὁ *deest* in Theoph. || Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P<sup>v</sup> M || 36 ἀρχηγός: πρωτοσύμβουλος Theoph. || κς' (*etiam* Theoph.<sup>efm</sup>): κ' Theoph. || 37 Ἀράβων Ἰζίδ: *post* Ἀράβων mg. ἔτη, *post* ιζ s. v. καί, *post* ιδ s. v. ἦως λα' add. P<sup>2</sup> ἔτη ιζ' καὶ ιδ' ἦδς λα' in *textum recepit* M || ζ': γ' Theoph. || 38 τῆς Ba Be: τοῦ P Theoph. || Αἰθρίβου (*etiam* Theoph.<sup>s</sup>): Ἐθρίβου Theoph. || 39 Ἀβδελάν P || τὸν: τινα 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.* P<sup>2</sup> ||

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': ἀμηρεύσας ἔτη κα' ἡμῖσι Theoph. || 45 ἀποκτέννει Theoph. ἀποκτενεῖ P: ἀποκτείνει V edd. || 'Αβδελάν P || Ζουβέρ] *litteras* ζου rest. P<sup>2</sup> || 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. P<sup>2</sup> || 47/8 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ *deest in* Theoph. || 48 'Ιουστινιανὸς V M edd.: 'Ιουστιανὸς P || 49 *post* ἀρχηγός *s. v. add.* Μαβίας P<sup>3</sup> *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || ὃς *addendum conit.* Bekker || 50 ἦν *s. v. add.* P<sup>3</sup> *in textum receperunt* M Ba Be || 53 καταφράκτων νηῶν: σκάφη Theoph. || 54 ,ασ': ,αψ' Theoph. || 55 *post* ἰκανόν *s. v. add.* ἦτι ζ' ἔτη P<sup>3</sup> 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*) P<sup>2</sup> V Me τριάκοντα χιλιάδας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα *mg.* P<sup>2</sup> ἔνακοσίας Theoph. || 66 Οὐθμάν] *litteras* θμάν *in ras. scr.* P<sup>2</sup> || αὐτὸς *om.* edd. || 67 Μαυίας P V: Μαβίας P<sup>3</sup> M || 69 'Αλήμ: 'Αλή Theoph. || ὃς ἦν] *litteras* ς ἦν *in ras. scr.* P<sup>2</sup> || *post* θυγατρὶ *add.* τῇ edd. || 70 Αἰθριβου P<sup>2</sup> 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.* P<sup>2</sup> || 87 ἀντιπροσώπων *coni.* Moravcsik: ἀντιπρόσωπον P ἀντιπροσώπου edd. || 92 ὃς εἶ τε *coni.* Moravcsik: ὡστε Ba Be ὡς τε (*litteris* ἔσ *erasis*) P<sup>γ</sup> ὡς ἔστε P V Me ὃς ς τε M ὡσεὶ τε Meursius || 93 τοὺς ἔμοῦς χρόνους *coni.* Jenkins: τοῖς ἔμοῖς χρόνοις P edd. || 95 δακτύλιον P<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>γ</sup> || 99 αὐτοῦ *s. v. add.* P<sup>2</sup> *in textum receperunt* V M edd. || 100 εἰσαγάγω Meursius Ba Be: εἰσαγαγὼν P εἰσαγαγὼν V Me || 101 ἀπ'] *litteram α in ras. scr.* P<sup>2</sup> || Μαυίας P: Μαβίας P<sup>2</sup> 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

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(*etiam* Theoph.<sup>edth</sup>): 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.<sup>dh</sup>): 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.* P<sup>2</sup> *in textum receperunt* V *edd.* || ἧς] *litteram* ς *in ras. scr.* P<sup>2</sup> || 126 ó *add.* V *edd.* || Σουλεημᾶν P || ἡδέσθη] *litteram* ἦ *in ras. scr.* P<sup>2</sup>.

22. 2 τῶν αὐτῶν: τῶν <Μαρδ>αῖτων *coni.* Bury || 4 Ἰουστινιανός *coni.* Laskin: Ἰουστίνος P *edd.* || 9 *post* ἔτει *rubro atramento mg. add.* ,ζρη' P<sup>1</sup> τῷ ,ζρη' *mg. iter.* P<sup>2</sup> *in textum receperunt* V Me ,ζροη' Theoph. ||



peace on these conditions: the emperor to withdraw the Mardaïte 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.<sup>etm</sup> γὰρ νῦν αἱ P edd. || οἰκουμέναι P || τὰ ἄκρα πόλεις Theoph. τὰς ἀκροπόλεις P edd. || 20 ἀοίκητοι] ἀοίκητι (*litteris τι insertis*) P<sup>1</sup> || 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<sup>x</sup> mg. P<sup>s</sup> V edd. Theoph.<sup>cdh</sup>: Μασαλαμάς P Μασαλαμαῖς Theoph. || Σουλετημάν P || 51 Ούμαρ P: Ούμαρος P<sup>2</sup> mg. P<sup>s</sup> V edd. || θαλάττης (etiam Theoph.<sup>ef</sup>): θαλάσσης Theoph. || 53 'Αράβων] *litteras* ἀράβ in ras. scr. P<sup>4</sup> || 'Αζήδ P: 'Αζιδ Theoph.<sup>efm</sup> '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 Μαδὶς (etiam Theoph.<sup>h</sup>): Μαδί Theoph. || 59 ἐννέα edd.: θ' P || τῆς: τις V Me Ba Migne || 61 *ad* χρόνω rubro atramento ,ςσπη' mg. add. P<sup>1</sup> post ἤγουν s. v. τῶ ,ςσπη' iter. P<sup>2</sup> in textum receperunt V Me || post ἀρχῆς lac. ind. Bury Laskin || 61/2 Εἰρήνης P<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>cod.</sup>): ἐνθεν Me Be Theoph. || κατὰ om. Me Be || τὴν ἁγίαν P Theoph.: τῆς ἁγίας P<sup>1</sup> 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 *Herodorus* 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 ΚελκIANOΙ: 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. P<sup>2</sup> || 13 Πυρναίων P || Γάδειρα] *litteras* ei *in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || και ἔνδοτέρω Schubart Meineke || 14 Ἰσπανία (*etiam* Thunmann Meineke): Σπανία edd. || 15 *post ἐπαρχίας lac. ind.* Be Meineke πρώτη μὲν ἐπαρχία *suppl.* Ba Berkel || Πυρναίων P || και *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: ἔθνικόν Meineke Epitome Steph. Byz. || "Ἰβηρες] *litteras* ἴβη *rest.* P<sup>2</sup> || 20 ἔθνος] *litteras rest.* P<sup>2</sup> || 'Ἰβήρων] *litteras* ἰβή *rest.* P<sup>2</sup> || 21 Τριφάλιτι P || 23 *post* δευτέρῳ *add.* τῶν *edd.* Meineke || Γραμματικῇ Ba Be Meineke: γραμματικοὶ P || 24 θάλατταν P V *edd.* Meineke: θάλατται (*littera* *v* *ex dimidia parte erasa*) P V || 24 Καὶ — 26/7 ἀρχομένοιαι *secl.* V || 25 Ἀσπίδη P || 26 *post* Ἰβηρικῶς<sup>1</sup> *add.* Διονύσιος Ba Be Berkel Meineke || 26 Πρῶτος μὲν πρὸς τινος: πόντος μὲν πρῶτιστος Ba Be Berkel Meineke Dionysios || 26/7 ἀρχομένοιισοι P || 27 ἡ Ἰβηρία Meineke: Ἰβηρία Ba Be ἡ Ἰβηρις P || *post* εἰς<sup>1</sup> *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 || Σπανίαν<sup>1</sup> *om.* Be Meineke || καὶ<sup>1</sup> *om.* V Me Be Meineke || Σπανίαν<sup>2</sup> *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 τῆς<sup>2</sup> (*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: χαροποίητος ἀνακτος P || Τρῶζειν Τρῶζηνος ὁ Τρῶζηνος P || 35/6 Τρῶζήνιο 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 καὶ<sup>1</sup> *om.* edd. Meineke || 44 τε (*etiam Athenaeus*<sup>CE</sup>): 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 P<sup>2</sup> *mg.* P<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>cefm</sup> Σερμειῶν Ba Be || 23 Ἑσλιγοτθοὶ P || Ἀλαρίχον P V Me Theoph.: Ἀλαρίχου (*littera v ex dimidia parte erasa accentuque correcto*) P<sup>v</sup> Meursius Ba Be || 24 Πανωνίαν P edd.: Πανονίαν Theoph. || 25 ἔχοντες: ἔσχον Theoph. || *post* ἔπειτα *add.* τῷ Theoph.: *om.* Theoph.<sup>etm</sup> || 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* ἔσπεριου *add.* Λιβύης edd.: *deest in* Theoph. || 29 Οὐανδῆλοι P V: Οὐανδῆλοι P<sup>v</sup> mg. P<sup>s</sup> || 30 Νῖνον (*etiam* Theoph.<sup>bcs</sup>) Νεῖνον Theoph.<sup>etm</sup> νῖνος mg. P<sup>s</sup>: Ῥῆνον Ba Be Theoph. || 31 Γογίδισκλον (*litteris γί in ras. scriptis*) P<sup>s</sup> V edd. Γοδιγίσκλον Theoph. || 33 εἰς (*habet etiam* Theoph.) *s. v. add.* P<sup>s</sup> *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.<sup>c</sup>): Γιζέριχος Theoph. || δὲ: οὖν  
 Theoph. || 50 Γηζέριχον (*etiam* Theoph.<sup>c</sup>): Γιζέριχον Theoph. || 52 Ἀφρικῆ  
 P<sup>x</sup> V *mg.* P<sup>s</sup>: Ἀφρικῆ P || 54 Ἀσπαρα: τὸν Ἀσπαρα Theoph.<sup>beta</sup> Ἀσπαρον  
 P τῷ Ἀσπαρι Ba Be Theoph. || Γηζερίχου F *edd.* Theoph.<sup>c</sup>: Γιζερίχου  
 Theoph. Γεζερίχου P || 56 ἀμερμουμνεῖς Meursius: ἀμερουμνεῖς P *edd.* || 57  
 ἐν *add. edd.* || Βαγδάδ (*littera β in ras. scripta*) P<sup>y</sup> Ba Be: Γαγδάδ P *mg.*  
 P<sup>s</sup> || 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.* P<sup>2</sup> || ἀμερμουμνεῖς  
 P: ἀμερουμνῆς Be || εἰς (*litteris restitutis*) P<sup>2</sup>: ἐν Be || τὸ *scr.* Moravcsik: τῷ  
 (*litteris restitutis*) P<sup>2</sup> τῷ Ba Be || Βαγδάδ ] *litteras rest.* P<sup>2</sup> || 67 Χωρασάν  
*scr.* Moravcsik: Χωρασσάν *mg.* P<sup>s</sup> Χωροσσάν 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

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*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: ἀπό *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

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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 ἀφήσιν 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.* P<sup>8</sup>: 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 || ἀπολύσιν edd.: ἀπολούσιν 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. || Σαλερινὸν Be: Σαλερήνον P || 5 Γαῖτῆ Ba Be: Γαῖτῆ P Γαῖττη *sive* Γαῖττη 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-

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28 ἐνομισθην Be: ἐνομισθη P || 30 ταῦτα P<sup>a</sup> 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<sup>a</sup> 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

Γαῖτῆ Ba Be: Γαῖτης P || πέμπτον Moravesik: ε' P πέμπτη edd. || 53 Λογούβαρδοι edd. || πριγκιπάτα P || 54 ζ': ἐβδόμη edd. || 54/5 Λογουβαρδία edd. || 55 σ': ρ' conī. Bury || 61 Καπύη mg. V<sup>2</sup> || 62 Ἀφρικῶν P || 63 οἱ om. edd. || Λογούβαρδοι edd. || 63/4 τῶν Ἀφρικῶν ἐπερχομένων Meursius Ba Be: τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐπερχομένην (*ultima littera η in ras. scripta*) P<sup>1</sup> V || 65 ἐπονόμασεν P || 65/6 Κάπτουαν νέαν τὴν conī. Be: Κάπτουαν νέαν conī. Bandurius Καπαντὴν P Καπάντην F mg. V<sup>2</sup> || 67 Ἀμαλφῆ mg. V<sup>2</sup> || 69 μαστρομήλης P || 72 Ἐνετικοί Meursius Ba Be: Αἰτῖκιοι P || 73 αὐτὰ: ταῦτα conī. Bekker || Κόνκορδα P Κονκόρδια mg. V<sup>2</sup> || 76 Ἐνετικῶν Meursius Ba Be: Αἰτῖκῶν P || ἔκτισαν Meursius Ba Be: ἔκτισεν P || ἐν<sup>1</sup>: ἐμ P || 77 κυκλῶθεν P: κύκλωθεν edd. || 78 εἰς ἦν] *litteras ζ et η in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 79 κάστρου om. edd. || 80 Βενετικοί P || Κογράδον (*etiam V*): Γράδον V<sup>2</sup> mg. V<sup>2</sup> κ' (= κάστρον) Γράδον conī. Skok || 80/1 μητρόπολις: ἀρόπολις 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

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edd. || 87 Βροῦδον V Βρουδουλον (*sine acc.*) *mg.* V<sup>2</sup> || 88 Λαύριτον *mg.* V<sup>2</sup> || 89 καὶ εἰσὶν edd. || αὐτῇ *corr.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. || Βενετίχ *coni.* Kukules || 92 Ἄκουλον *mg.* P<sup>8</sup> || 93 ἐμπορίον P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Ῥίβαλτον *mg.* V<sup>2</sup>: Ῥιβαντόν P V Ῥίβαντον Ba Be || 96 ἐμπορία P.

28. 5 Ἄκουηλεγίας P || 6 ἀντικρὺ edd. || Ἄτιλα P || 8 Ἄκουηλεγίας P || 10 ἀοικήτους V edd.: ἀόικους P || 11 Ἄτιλα P || Ἄτιλα P || 14 ἀποσεισάμενοι *litteras ei in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 17 Ἄτιλαν 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.* P<sup>1</sup> || 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

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F edd.: πλάτεια P παλάτεια P<sup>1</sup> 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 κάστρον<sup>2</sup> 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

οί edd. || 'Ρωμαίοι P || 55 καθ' ὄν — 56 συγγραφῆ *exrupait* 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 || Διοκλειτιανοὶ 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 || ἀφηνιάσαντες (*littera σ erasa, spiritu addito primaque littera ι in η correctā*) P<sup>y</sup> mg. P<sup>o</sup> Meursius Ba Be Theoph. Cont.: σαφινιάσαντες P σαφηνιάσαντες V || 66 ἰδιόρρυθμοὶ καὶ αὐτοκέφαλοι: αὐτόνομοι τε καὶ αὐτοδέσποτοι Theoph. Cont. || 67 ἔχει edd. εἶχεν *coni.* Gedeonov || 68 Σκλαβινία P: Σκλαβίνια 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*. P<sup>7</sup> ἢ Βούτομα Theoph. Cont. || 92 Ῥῶσαν De Them. Ῥῶσα Theoph. Cont. || 92/3 τὰ Δεκάτερα, τὸ κάτω: τὰ κάτω Δεκάτερα De Them. Theoph. Cont.<sup>v</sup> τὰ κάτω Δεκάτορα Theoph. Cont. || 93 κάστρον: μητρόπολιν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || παρεκάθισαν: ἐπολιόρκουν De Them. Theoph. Cont. || 94 δεκαπέντε Be: ιε' 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.<sup>V</sup> || 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.<sup>C</sup> || ῥίξ P || 119 ῥίξ P || 120 Σολδάνον Theoph. Cont. || 121 αὐτὸν V<sup>1</sup> 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 conii. 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

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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]λ[αν]τάς P || αὐτοῦς V edd.: αὐτοῦ[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. ἐρχεται Theoph. Cont. || 208 οικεῖοι: ὑπηρεταί 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 || Βαλεντῖνος<sup>2</sup> 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': ἐβδόμησ 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,

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246 βισάλων P || 247 ἐγχωρήγου P: ἐγχωρούου *coni.* Kukules || τετραπεδικων: τετραπέδων *coni.* Laskin || 248 ὄργυας P || μιάς: α' V edd. || 249 ὄργυας P || 250 μολίβδω 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.* P<sup>1</sup> Τράγουρις *mg.* V<sup>2</sup> || 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.* V<sup>3</sup> || 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: εἰληματικός V edd. || 272 'Ρωμαίων V edd.: ῥῶ' P || 273 ἰὰμ ἔρα V Me ἡμερὰ P: ἰὰμ ἔρατ Meursius Ba Be ||

## 29, 30

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 || Σελβῶ P || Σκιρδάκισσα V edd. Σκιρδὰ Κίσσα conī. Šafarik || 292 Μελετὰ V edd. || Ἔστιουνήζ: 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 Σκληραβι{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*

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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<sup>x</sup> Ἀβάρης P Ἄβαροι *mg.* P<sup>s</sup> || 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

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τὸ φοσσάτο P || 60 Ἄβαρεις V Me Ba: Ἄβαρης P Ἄβάρεις Be Migne || 62 κατοίκου edd.: κατοίκου P || Βαγιβαρείας: Βαβιγαρείας *coni.* Pavić || 63 Βελοχρωβάτοι edd.: Βελαχρωβάτοι P || μιὰ P || 64 πέντε V edd.: εἴ 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 Ἄβάρεις Be || 67 ἀλλήλοις V edd. || 68 κατέσφαξαν] *litteras κατ in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 70 ἐκ: <τινες> ἐκ *coni.* Bury || τούς *secl.* Migne Bury: τούτων *coni.* Dujčev Kyriakides || 71 Ἄβάρεις Be || 73 *ante* ἴδιον *add.* τὸν edd. || 74 ῥίγι P || τῆς: τε *coni.* Bandurius || 74/5 συμπεμεθερίας P || 75 τῶν<sup>1</sup> *om.* V edd. || 77 Παννονίαν Ba Be: Παπωνίαν P *mg.* P<sup>8</sup> || 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 Σκλαβίνιαι *coni.* Bury οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβίνιοι Ba Be || Σκλαβίνιαι 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.* Νοβακονιὸν Rački || 107 Ῥάστωτζα (*littera α² erasa*) P<sup>v</sup> Be: Ῥάστωτζα P V || Μόκρου edd.: Μόκρου P || 108 αἵτινες edd.: οἵτινες P || σαγινας P || μηρόθεν Be || 109 ζῶσι] *litteram ζ in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 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

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136 νομισματα<sup>1</sup> add. Moravesik || νομισματα<sup>2</sup> 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

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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. P<sup>1</sup> || 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 ἀλλοτρίοις 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. P<sup>1</sup>* || 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 || κάστρον<sup>1</sup> (*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<sup>s</sup> || 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 || χιλιάδων<sup>2</sup> *corr.* Moravesik: χιλιάδας P edd. || σαγῆνας P || 73 κονδοῦρας (*littera τ in δ correcta*) P<sup>v</sup>: κοντούρας P V edd. κονδοῦρας *mg.* P<sup>s</sup> || 74 κονδοῦραι (*littera τ erasa et s. v. littera δ addita*) P<sup>1</sup> *mg.* P<sup>s</sup> 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 ||

## 31, 32

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 Pagania 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

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32. 2 Σερβλῶν P || 4 Βόικι edd. Βοϊσκι *coni.* Marquart Βοϊοι *coni.* Skok Βόϊμι *coni.* Grégoire || 6 τοῖνον: οὔν 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

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Σέρβλου: τῆς Σερββλας *coni.* Bekker Bury || 32 ἔγγων V edd. ἔγγον P: ἔγγονος P<sup>Υ</sup> || 33 ἐγεννήθη edd.: ἐγεννήθην P || 35 Βλαστήμερος edd. || 35/6 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 39 Βλαστημέρου edd. || 41 πολεμίσας P || 42 ἀπόλεσεν P || Βλαστημέρου edd. || 43 Μουντίμηρος Bury || 44 Στροϊμήρος 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: Βλαστιμήρων 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' ὁδοῦ 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

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*om. edd.* || Τξεσθλάβος P *edd.* || Μουντιμήρος P: Μουντιμηρος *edd.* || δ<sup>3</sup>  
*om. edd.* || 67 Βράνον] *litteram β in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> *mg. iter.* P<sup>8</sup> || 68  
 Πριβέσθλαβος *mg.* P<sup>8</sup> 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 πολεμίας 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.

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edd. || 115 δὲ *per comp. inser.* P<sup>1</sup> *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.* P<sup>8</sup> Μεγυρέτζος *coni.* Skok || Δρεσνεϊκ: Δρεσνεή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || Λεσνήκ: Λεσνή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok || 151 Βόσωνα V *edd.* Βόσθνα *coni.* Šafarik || τὸ<sup>8</sup>: τὰ *coni.* Bury || Δεσνήκ: Λεσνήκ *coni.* Rački Δεσνή κ' (=κάστρον) *coni.* Skok.

33. 3 Ῥωμάνων *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.* Ῥωμάνων V *add.* Ῥωμαίων *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 Λουκάβετς *coni.* Rački.

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