

BYZANTINE SOURCES ON LANDS AND PEOPLES

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

Laonicus “Chalcocondylas” (“the man with the brazen candlestick”) was one of only a handful of Greek and Byzantine historians who could claim genuine Athenian origin – the others being Thucydides, Xenophon, Dexippus and Praxagoras. The works of the last two named have only come down to us in citations. Born in Athens circa 1423, Laonicus’s father betook himself to the Morea after an unsuccessful coup against the Frankish rulers of his city. Laonicus had the opportunity to study under the famous Gemistos Plethon at Mistra.

His most famous work, *Ἀποδείξεις Ἰστοριῶν* (Proofs of Histories, Lat. *Historiae Demonstrationes*) was written in the 1480s after Constantinople had fallen to the Turks. It is one of the most important accounts in Greek of the rise of the Ottomans. More importantly for the SERICA project is that it includes lengthy excursus on lands and peoples of Central Asia, written at a time when the Mongol conquest of Asia Minor brought unprecedented knowledge of such matters to the notice of Byzantine men of letters.

Many of these excursus have been conveniently collected together and translated into German by Karl Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5.-15. Jhd.), *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kultatkunde* 5, 2 vols in 1 (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1912). However, Dieterich did not give the Greek text. Although the Bonn edition of the text of Laonicus is now available on-line, the project-leaders of SERICA have decided to give the Greek text of Darkó to aid the researcher, especially since the text of Darkó (published in Rumania) is extremely hard to obtain.

As the translation of the relevant citations may take a number of years to complete, the translated texts given below are likely to be regularly augmented.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions

Historiarum Libri Decem, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1843). Reprinted (on demand) by Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, 2011).

Historiae Demonstrationes, 2 vols., ed. E. Darko, (Budapest 1922-7).

Translations:

Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A Translation and Commentary of the Demonstrations of Histories, trans. Nikolaos Nikoloudis (Athens 1996) (Books I-III only)

J. R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam 1972), pp. 42–55 (Book VIII only)

Studies:

William Miller, 'The last Athenian historian', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 42 (1922), 36-49.

Anthony Kaldellis, *A New Herodotus: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the Fall of Byzantium, and the Emergence of the West* (Harvard University Press and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection: Cambridge, MA = Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities) forthcoming.

SELECTIONS FROM
LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

Translated for the *Serica* Project by Dr Greg Fox (Macquarie University)

1. Mercantile Cities in Central Asia
 (III; i, 118.6-120.7, ed. Darkó = 126.20-128.21, ed. Bonn)

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν τοῦ Μεχμέτεω So this is all I want to say about the νομοθεσίαν ἐς τοσούτον ἀναγεγράφθω legislation of Mohammed. Timur (Tamerlane) ἡμῖν Τεμήρης δ' ώς τὴν χώραν ταύτην devastated this land and, having captured ληίσαμενος, καὶ πόλεις ἐλών ἐνίας, some cities, arrived back safely in Samarkand. ὑπεκομίζετο ἐπὶ Σαμαραχάνδης. Σκύθας δὲ He learnt that some Scythians, who had set ὠρμημένους ἐπυνθάνετο ἀπὸ Τανάϊδος out from Tanais had invaded his land and τὴν τε χώραν ¹¹⁰ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ ravaged it in many places. And he was ληίσασθαι οὐκ ὄλιγα· χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔφερεν. furious. From there he immediately set out to ἐντεῦθεν τὸ αὐτίκα ἵετο ὁμόσε ἐπὶ τοὺς the same place against the people of Khataia. Χαταΐδας. λέγονται δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι These people are said to be the Massagetae of Μασσαγέται τὸ παλαιόν, καὶ διαβάντες years gone by. They crossed the Araxēs, went τὸν Ἀράξην τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ through the land a great distance on this side χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ὑφ' αὐτοῖς of the river and colonized the peoples subdued ποιησαμένους ἐνοικῆσαι. τούτους παρ- under them. He made preparations for them as εσκευάζετο ώς ἐλών, ¹¹⁵ καὶ στράτευμα if he was going to capture them. Having ποιησάμενος ἐς ὄγδοήκοντα μυριάδας formed an army of up to 800,000 soldiers, he ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ συμβαλὼν conducted an expedition against them. μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε τοὺς Χαταΐδας, καὶ ἐπὶ Meeting them in battle, he overcame the τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ people of Khataia. He marched into their βασίλεια ἐλαύνων ὁμολογίᾳ τε παρ- actual assembly place and royal places εστήσατο, καὶ μισθωσάμενος παμπόλλους (capital) and met with them to discuss terms αὐτῶν, τούς γε κρατίστους τὰ ἐς πόλεμον of peace. He hired very many of them as γενομένους, φέρετο ἄγων. ¹²⁰ ὁμήρους δὲ mercenaries, the ones who had proven to be λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ the strongest in warfare, and left with them. φόρον ταξάμενος τούτοις ἀπάγειν τε He took hostages and the sons of the nobles ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀπήλαυνε. τὰ δὲ Χατάϊα πόλις and, after imposing tribute on them to pay ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔω τῆς Υρκανίας μεγάλη τε καὶ within the year, rode away. Khataia is a great εὐδαίμων, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅλῳ and prosperous city to the East of Hyrcania. καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ προφέρουσα (119) It is pre-eminent for population, wealth and τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ πόλεων πλὴν Σαμαρ- other signs of prosperity among all the cities χάνδης καὶ Μέμφιος, εὐνομουμένη δὲ τὸ in Asia (Minor) except for Samarkand and παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν. τῶν μέντοι Memphis. It was well governed from of old Περσῶν τοὺς πλείστους μισθωσάμενος by the Massagetae. He hired as mercenaries τούτους, οἵα τῶν τε Σκυθῶν ἐμπείρους ως for the most part those Persians who had had a τὰ πολλὰ γενομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν lot of experience among the Scythians and δίαιταν οὐκέτι ¹⁵ ἀβροὺς ὄντας, ἐν νῷ ἔχων who had not yet become soft in their ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν demeanour, because it was his intention to αὐτῶν τὴν Οὔρδαν καλουμένην, καὶ launch a campaign against the Scythians, πυνθανόμενος, ως εἴη τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο against their assembly place which is called Horde. He learnt that this race was the oldest

παλαιότατόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην of the peoples in the inhabited world and that ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ none of the kings before him was able to βασιλέων χειρώσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ γένος, subdue this race, but that for the most part it κακὰ δὲ ὡς πλείστα ἐργασάμενον ποιῆσαι treated Asia and Europe badly and controlled τὴν ¹¹⁰τε Ἀσίαν καὶ Εύρωπην, ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ the land by making attacks. Having put this in πλείω ταμευόμενον τῇ χώρᾳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ mind that Darius the son of Hystaspes and νοῦν τιθέμενον, καὶ ὡς Δαρεῖῳ τῷ king of the Persians had led an attack against Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Περσῶν καὶ them and accomplished nothing, he was eager ἐπιστρατεύσαντι αὐτοὺς οὐδέν τι προ- to attain to this distinction. So that he might ὑχώρησεν, ὥρμητο αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ keep himself there and be nearer the work, he οὐλέος ιέναι. ὅστε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔχεσθαί τε τοῦ settled soldiers and nobles from Samarkand in ἔργου ἐγγυτέρῳ τούτων γενόμενον, ¹¹⁵ἐξ the city of Khesiē (Kesh) so-called. It was τὴν χώραν Χεσίνη πόλιν κατοικίσας ἀπό great and prosperous, since the king and his τε τῆς Σαμαραχάνδης καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ nobles were dwelling in it and the armies of τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτῷ στελλομένων ἐξ τὴν Asia assembled in it. Kesh became great ἀποικίαν φύκισε πόλιν Χεσίνη οὕτω quickly and in fact was well-governed καλουμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐδαιμονα subsequently, particularly when king Timur ἄτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβοντος was on the scene. So I am not able to affirm καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτοῦ, τῶν τε τῆς Ἀσίας where in Asia this city was founded, whether στρατῶν ἐξ αὐτὴν συνιόντων. ¹²⁰μεγάλῃ τε in the land of Assyria or in the land of the ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο ἡ Χεσίνη, καὶ εὐνομήθη Medes. Some people say that Khesiē μέντοι καὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ (Kesh) was Ninos (Nineveh) in days of old βασιλέως Τεμήρεω περιόντος. ὅποι μὲν and was assigned to the land of the Assyrians. οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας φύκισται ἡ πόλις αὕτη, καὶ They deduce this from Pagdatinian Babylon. εἴτε ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ χώρᾳ, εἴτε καὶ ἐν τῇ After having colonized the city of Kesh, Μήδων, οὐκ ἔχω τεκμήρασθαι. λέγουσι Timur made it his capital and took it into his (120) μέν τινες Νίνον τὴν Χεσίνη γενέσθαι mind to lead an expedition against Egypt and τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἐξ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων χώραν the Scythians and their assembly place called τετάχθαι, τεκμαιρόμενοι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Urde (Urda). Having gathered a large army Παγδατίνης Βαβυλώνος. οἰκίσας τὸ and enlisting the people of Khataia, he Χεσίνη πόλιν, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ pressed on to Tanaïs.

ποιησάμενος, ἐπενόει ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας ¹στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγορὰν Οὐρδάν καλουμένην, καὶ στρατὸν μέγαν συναγείρας καὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας· συμπαραλαβὼν ἥλαυνεν εὐθὺ Τανάϊδος.

2. India

(III, p. 152.15-154.12, ed. Darkó = 163.6-165.6, ed. Bonn)

¹¹⁵ Ο δὲ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς οὗδε ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν The King of the Indians is this man who has ἐννέα βασιλέων τούνομα ἔχων, the name of the nine kings, King Khaghatai. It Τζαχατάης βασιλεύς. τῶν ἐννέα δὲ is said that he became the king of the nine βασιλέων βασιλέα γενόμενον τοῦτον, τὸν kings after sending a large army because of διὰ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατὸν μέγαν ἐπὶ the Massagetae against Timur. He went to the Τεμήροην ἐπιπέμψαντα, λέγεται τόν τε Araxēs and crossed it and after subduing most Αράξην ἐπίοντα διαβῆναι, καὶ τὰ πλέω of the land there, withdrew and came home τῆς ταύτης χώρας καταστρεψάμενον ἐπ’ ¹²⁰ again. Sines is the King of all India and his οἴκου αὐθις ἀποχωρήσαι. Σίνης τε land extends as far as the Taprobanē Island βασιλεύει καὶ Ἰνδίας [καὶ] ξυμπάσης, καὶ (Sri Lanka), to the Indian sea, into which the διήκει αὐτῷ ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ Ταπροβάνην greatest rivers in the land of India empty νῆσον, ἐξ Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν, ἐξ ἧν οἱ themselves – the Ganges, the Indus, the μέγιστοι τῆς Ἰνδίας χώρας ποταμοὶ (153) Akesinēs, the Hydaspēs, the Hydraotēs and ἐκδιδούσιν, ὅ τε Γάγγης, Ἰνδός, Ἀκεσίνης, the Hyphasis – these being the greatest rivers Ὑδάσπης, Ὑδραώτης, Ὑφασις, μέγιστοι in the land. The land of India provides many δὴ οὕτοι ὄντες τῆς χώρας. φέρει τὸ ἡ goods and much wealth, as does the King of Ἰνδικὴ χώρα ἀγαθὰ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὅλβον the whole land, which is under his sway. He πολύν, καὶ ὅ τε βασιλεὺς ξυμπάσης τῆς himself, setting out from the land above the χώρας ὑπ’ αὐτὸν γενομένης. ὁρμώμενος Ganges and the coast of India and Taprobanē τὸ οὔτος ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ Γάγγην χώρας (Sri Lanka), went against the King of καὶ τῆς παραλίου Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Ταπρο- Khataia, the land inside the Ganges and the βάνης, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Χαταΐης, Indus. He overthrew its land and made this τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Γάγγου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, city his capital. Then it transpired that the καὶ καταστρεψάμενον τὴν ταύτη χώραν whole of the land of India was under one τὰ βασίλεια ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πόλει king. These people reverence the gods who ποιήσασθαι: ξυμβῆναι δὲ τότε γενέσθαι manage the land of Khataia – Apollo, Artemis ὑφ’ ἐνὶ βασιλεὶ ξύμπασαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν and especially Hera. They do not all speak the χώραν. ¹¹⁰ νομίζουσι δὲ οὕτοι θεούς, οἵ τε same language among themselves, but good τὴν Χαταΐην χώραν οἰκοῦντες, Απόλλω τε governance is given to the many distinct καὶ Ἀρτεμιν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἡραν. φωνὴν δὲ races, to most of the people in their cities and οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν σφύσιν ἔενται, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἔθνη villages. They offer horses as sacrifices to τε πολλὰ διηρημένα εὔνομεῖται ἐπὶ Apollo and oxen to Hera. Every year they πλεῖστον δὴ ἀνθρώπων κατά τε πόλεις καὶ sacrifice boys who have just attained puberty κώμας. θυσίας δὲ ἀνάγουσιν ἵππους μὲν to Artemis. This land produces so-called τῷ Απόλλωνι, βοῦς δὲ τῇ ¹¹⁵ Ἡρᾳ: τῇ τὸ “royal” wheat up to fifteen cubits high and Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι παῖδας ἀρτίως ἥβάσ- barley after the same fashion and millet up to κοντας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. φέρει δὲ ἡ χώρα the same size. They cross the river using boats αὗτη πυροὺς μὲν ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεις, made of reeds. The land of India, as they say, ὡς λέγεται, βασιλικούς, καὶ κριθὰς δὲ τὸν produces reeds of such great size that boats of αὐτὸν τρόπον, καὶ μελίνην ἐξ τὸ αὐτὸ forty Greek *medimni* are constructed from μέγεθος. καλαμίνοις τὸ πλοίοις χρώμενοι them. Because this nation is not very well διαπορθμεύουσι τὸν ποταμόν. φέρει δὲ ἡ Ἰνδική, ὡς ¹²⁰ λέγουσι, τοσοῦτον τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ναυπηγεῖσθαι πλοῖα μεδίμνων τεσσαράκοντα Ἐλληνι-κῶν. τὸ μὲν γένος τοῦτο οὐ πάνυ γνωστὸν

ἡμῖν γενόμενον πολλὰς ἀπιστίας παρέχει known to us, I have made doubts and do not μὴ πείθεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα believe the things which I hear about it. For πυνθάνομαι. ἡ τε γὰρ χώρα αὕτη πρόσω this country is so far away, inaccessible and ἐκποδῶν (154) γενομένη οὐ πάνυ ἐπι- uncolonized that we don't know about its τήδειος εἴσω φύκηται τε καὶ ὅποι ἔχει ἡθῶν customs and way of life. However, they were τε καὶ διαιτης. γένος μέντοι ἴσχυρότατον a very powerful race in days gone by- the γενόμενον τὸ παλαιὸν τούς τε Περσῶν kings of the Persians and the Assyrians, who βασιλεῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, ἥγουμένους τῆς ruled Asia, paid honour to the kings of the Ασίας, θεραπεύειν μὲν τοὺς Ἰνδῶν Indians, when Semiramis and Cyrus the son βασιλεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε Σεμίραμις ¹⁵ καὶ Κῦρος ὁ of Cambyses crossed the Araxēs and engaged τε Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀράξην διαβάντες in a great war. For Semiramis, the Queen of μεγάλῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐχρήσαντο. ἡ τε γὰρ the Assyrians, marched against the King of Σεμίραμις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλισσα ἐπὶ the Indians with a great force. She crossed the τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα ἐλαύνουσα μεγάλῃ river, fared very badly and died in that place. παρασκευῇ, ἐπεὶ τε τὸν ποταμὸν διέβη, After this Cyrus the son of Cambyses the ἐπερράγει τε χαλεπώτατα καὶ αὐτοῦ King of the Persians is said to have crossed ταύτη ἐτελεύτησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κῦρος ὁ the Araxēs and come into conflict with the Καμβύσεω, Περσῶν ¹⁰ βασιλεύς, λέγεται Massagetae, but fared very badly and died δὴ τόν τε Ἀράξην διαβάς, καὶ δια- there – while a woman called Tomyr ruled as γυνισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαγέτας queen.
 ἐπορᾶξέ τε τὰ χαλεπώτατα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς Τομύριος τῆς Μασσαγετῶν βασιλευούσης ἀποθανεῖν.

3. Tabriz and the Adzamians
 (III, p. 156.12-157.4, ed. Darkó = 167.5-18, ed. Bonn)

Ταβρέζη δὲ πόλις εἶναι μεγάλη τε καὶ Tabriz is a large and prosperous city. After εὐδαιμώνων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ μετά γε Samarkand it is the most eminent in Asia in Σαμαροχάνδην χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ income and other forms of prosperity. This τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ προέχουσα· σῆρας τε country breeds silkworms and produces raw τρέφει ἡ χώρα ¹¹⁵ αὗτη μέταξάν τε silk of the finest quality, even better than that καλλίστην ποιουμένη καὶ τῆς Σαμαχίης produced in Shemakhi. It produces a purple ἀμείνω. φέρει δὲ καὶ κριμίζιν σῆρα οὔτω silk which is called *krimizis* (cream), which is καλούμενον πορφυροῦν, ἐπὶ τὰ ίμάτια, τά suitable for garments of wool and silk - the τε ἀπὸ ἐρίων καὶ σηρῶν, βαφὴν dye being of the highest quality. Many of ἐνδεικνύμενα ἀξίαν λόγου. ἔστι τὸ πλέα these are (found) in this land of the Persians, τὰ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ Περσῶν τῶν who are also called the Adzamians. For all the Ατζαμίων καλουμένων ὅσοι γὰρ τὴν people who speak the language of the Ατζαμίων ¹²⁰ φωνὴν προϊένται, Πέρσαι τε Adzamians are all Persian and converse in the οὖτοι σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν (157) Persian language. They dwell in Tabriz, φωνῇ διαλέγονται. οἰκούσι τε Ταβρέζην Kagino and Nigetia, wealthy cities of the land τε καὶ Καγινὸν καὶ Νιγετίην, πόλεις of the Medes and the Assyrians. Shemakhi is εὐδαιμονας τῶν Μήδων καὶ Ασσυρίων situated in the land of the Armenians and is a χώρας. Σαμαχίη τὸ πρός τῇ Αρμενίων prosperous and densely populated city. χώρᾳ ὠκημένη, πόλις εὐδαιμών τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

4. The Caspian Sea

(III, p. 109.19-110.21, ed. Darkó = 117.19-118.24, ed. Bonn)

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ὑρκανίους ἐστορα- After this he (Timur) led an expedition against τεύετο καὶ τὴν ταύτη¹²⁰ θάλασσαν, καὶ the Hyrcanians and towards the sea there. ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὄλιγα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε Quite a number of coastal tribes dwelling at Ὑρκανίαν ἐνοικοῦντα παράλια κατ- this Hyrcanian sea were overthrown. It is εστορέφετο. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη καὶ Κασπία ἐς called the Caspian Sea, being named after this τὴν τε ἔθνους τούτου ἐπωνυμίαν διήκει δὲ nation. It extends for 30,000 stades in a κατὰ μεσημβρίαν Σάκας τε ἔχων καὶ southerly direction past the Sakai and the Καδουσίους ἐπὶ σταδίους τρισμυρίους, Cadusians. On the East and North it borders (110) πρὸς ἔω δὲ καὶ βιορράν Μασσα- the Massagetae, a nation which was notable γέτας, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ ἐν πολέμοις for its strength and warlike qualities – this εὐδοκιμοῦν, ἐπὶ σταδίους δισμυρίους extends as far as 20,000 stades. It is said that μάλιστα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ἐλαῦνον ἐπὶ this nation invaded the land of the Persians, τὴν Περσῶν χώραν λέγεται κατα- overthrew some cities and occupied them. στρεψάμενον πολίσματα κατασχεῖν ἔστιν Timur, who was born into this nation, joined ἄ, καὶ Τεμήρην τοῦ γένους¹⁵ τούτου with the Massagetae in invading the kingdom γενόμενον σὺν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις of Samarkand and overthrowing and posse- δόμασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρχάνδης ἀρχὴν καὶ ssing the land of the Assyrians. The sea in this Ασσυρίων τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενον place (the Caspian) is very large and extends ἔχειν. τὴν μέντοι θάλασσαν ταύτην ὑπὸ over many stades, as many rivers flow into it. ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐκ ὄλιγων ἐκδιδόντων But it is said that that it does not flow into the μεγίστην τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς sea outside (the Black Sea?). However I learnt σταδίους διήκειν, οὐδαμῇ ἐκδιδούσαν, ἡ that a canal extends from this sea and flows λέγεται, εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλασσαν.¹⁰ into the Indian Ocean. Many powerful tribes διώρυχα μέντοι ἐπυθόμην ἔγωγε ἀπὸ live near this sea and this sea produces many ταύτης διήκειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν fine fish and also produces oysters which have θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ἐνοικοῦσι δὲ τὴν pearls in them, as is the case with the Indian θάλασσαν τήνδε ἔθνη πολλά τε καὶ Sea. Many vessels sail on this sea, conveying ἄλκιμα. καὶ ιχθύας μὲν φέρει αὕτη ἡ merchandise from one group of people to θάλασσα πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς, φέρει another. It lies mostly o the eastern side of τὸ καὶ ὅστορεα μαργαρί-τας ἔχοντα, ἥπερ Asia. The mighty Araxēs, Khoaspēs, which τὸ καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ θάλασσα. καὶ πλοῖα flows towards the East and many other rivers πολλὰ¹⁵ πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, παρὰ flow into it. We mentioned earlier that the ἄλλήλους ἐπιπλέοντα φορτίων πλέα. ἔστι peoples which live near this river are ruled by τὸ αὔτη ἡ θάλασσα πρὸς ἔω μάλιστα τῆς the Cadusians and that they pay their taxes Ασίας, ἐς ἵν ἐκδιδοῖ ὅ τε Αράξης ποταμὸς every year to the city of the Cadusians.

μέγιστος καὶ Χοάσπης πρὸς ἔω ὁέων, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὄλιγοι. τὰ μέντοι ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθνη ὑπὸ Καδουσίων τε ἄρχεσθαι πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν,¹²⁰ καὶ τούς γε φόρους αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Καδουσίων πόλιν ἔτους ἐκάστου ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τούτους.

5. Iberia (i.e. Georgia) and the Illyrians

(IX; ii, p. 223.5-224.14, ed. Darkó = 467.10-468.21, ed. Bonn)

Ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία προσεχής ἔστι τῇ τῆς Now Iberia borders the land of Colchis and Κολχίδος χώρᾳ, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τούτων the kings of these people are not of lowly οὐκ ἀγενεῖς. διήκει τὸ ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ τοῦ birth. The land extends from the so-called Βαθὺ λεγομένου καὶ ἀπὸ Φάσιδος Bathu River and the Phasis River as far a ποταμού ἕως Χαλτζιχί, ἡ τοῦ Γοργούρου Khalchikhi and is the property of Korias, αὐθεντεία καὶ Κορίου καὶ Καχετίου καὶ Kakhetias and Typhlisas, these cities which Τυφλισίου, σύνεγγυς οὖσαι αἱ πόλεις are quite near Samakhias. Turks live in it and αὗται τε Σαμαχίου, Τούρκων¹⁰ οἰκούντων possess separately from below, the city of ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχόντων χωρὶς κάτωθεν τε Kakhetias, which is in the coastal area and in Καχετίου πόλεως τοῦ ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ the domain of Dadiannos of the Mingrelian of καὶ τῆς Σεβαστοπόλεως Μιγκρελίων τοῦ Sebastopol and Mamias and Samantaulas and Δαδιάννου αὐθεντείᾳ καὶ Μαμία καὶ Guria and the other coastal cities. For from Σαμανταύλα καὶ Γουρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων the cities of Upper Iberia are also the τῶν παραθαλασσίων πόλεων. ἀπὸ γὰρ Alanians, who share a border, and the Huns τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἄνωθεν Ἰβηρίας εἰσὶ καὶ and the Embians. The Alanians seem to be οἱ Ἀλανοὶ ὅμοροι καὶ Οὔνοι καὶ¹⁵ Εμβοί. living alongside the Caucasus. These men are οἱ δὲ Ἀλανοὶ δοκούσιν εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν considered to be the most excellent in military Καύκασον παρατείνοντες. οὗτοι καὶ ἐς τὰ matters, making remarkable corslets. These μάλιστα ὄνδρες νομιζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια men also serve as citizens in the service of our κράτιστοι, ποιοῦντες λωρίκια ἔξαιρετα. Lord Jesus Christ. They use their own πολιτεύονται δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου language constantly and fashion their shields ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θρησκείαν, δια- from bronze – called “Alanic shields” I am χρωνται δὲ φωνῇ ιδίᾳ τὸ παράπαν, καὶ not able to indicate from where the Iberians ὅπλα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ, ¹⁰ τὰ have come to this land, even from Iberia in Ἀλανικὰ καλούμενα. Ἰβηρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ the West. They indeed seem to have attained ὅθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἀφίκοντο, great power, having gained wealth and faith εἴτε ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν, οὐκ from Constantinople from one woman who ἔχω διασημῆναι: δοκούσι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ constantly visited that place for the sake of the μέγα χωρῆσαι δυνάμεως, (224) καὶ ὅλβον most holy faith. By her wonder-working she κτησάμενοι καὶ πίστιν ἐκ Κωνσταντίνου astounded the Iberians, converted them from πόλεως παρὰ μᾶς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖσε their ungodly belief and declared them to be διαφοιτώσης πίστεως εὐσεβοῦς ἔνεκα τῆς Christians by their profession of faith. But εὐσεβεστάτης: ἥδες καὶ θαυματουργίας after some considerable time the Scythians, τοὺς Ἰβηρας καταπλήξασα μετηλλάξατο who had the same borders as they did, τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αὐτῶν πίστεως, καὶ undertook a war against them, went through Χριστιανὸν¹⁵ ἀπεφήνατο τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ the lands of the Iberians, ravaged them and αὐτῶν. μετὰ τὸ χρόνους πολλοὺς οἱ completely devastated them. They enslaved Σκύθαι οἱ ὅμοροι αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἤραντο the men and held them in subjection, after the κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς χώρας τῶν Ἰβήρων kings had fled to the tops of the mountains. διερχόμενοι ἐδήσουν καὶ παντελῶς Afterwards, when the Scythians had gone to ἡφάνιζον, καὶ ὄνδραποδισάμενοι κατ- their own pursuits, they came down to the ἔσχον αὐτούς, καταφυγόντων τῶν land and by bringing tribute to the king of the βασιλέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρέων. Ὅστερον δ' οἰχομένων τῶν Σκυθῶν¹⁰ ἐπὶ τὰς σφετέρας διατριβὰς ἐπικαταβῆναι τε ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ δασμὸν φέροντας τῷ

βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ Scythians, continued to rule there. Not long βασιλεύοντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ after this they fought against the Alanians, the ὕστερον πρός τε τοὺς Αλανοὺς Unians and the Sasians..... Such is the extent μαχεσάμενοι, Οὗνους καὶ Σάσους of my knowledge and I will make mention of τοσόνδε ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιμνήσομαι περὶ them.
αὐτῶν.

6. Cairo and the Expansion of Islam

(III, p. 131.10-133.9 , ed. Darkó = 140.18-142.23, ed. Bonn)

Ο δὲ τῆς Μέμφιος βασιλεὺς χώρας τε Now the King of Memphis rules over a ἄρχει οὐκ ὀλίγης καὶ εὐδαιμονος: ἀπὸ substantial and prosperous land. Beginning Αράβων ἀρξάμενος Συρίαν τε κοίλην καὶ from the Arabs he holds all of Coele Syria, Παλαιστίνην καὶ σύμπασαν τὸ Αἴγυπτον Palestine and Egypt under his control. He has ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἔχει. βασιλεὺς τὸ καθίσταται τῆς become the King of Memphis and this empire Μέμφιος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆσδε τρόπῳ in the following way. All the prisoners of war τοιῷδε. ὅσοι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀρετῆς τι that demonstrate valour are raised by the king μεταποιοῦνται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ¹¹⁵ ὑπὸ to the status of soldiers. These men are called βασιλέως καθίστανται ἐξ τοὺς στρατούς - Mamelukes – there are about two thousand of τιώτας. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι δορυφόροι· them and they are the king's bodyguards. βασιλέα, ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους, Μαμα- Those of them that are outstanding in carrying λούκιδες καλούμενοι. ἀπὸ τούτων δέ, ὅσοι out any of the commands of the king rise to ἐπίσημοι ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὅτιοῦν τῶν power in a short time, even attaining the level ὑπὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένων, οὗτοι ἐξ τὰς of the king. When they are considered worthy ἀρχὰς κατὰ βραχὺ καθιστάμενοι ἐπὶ of the highest honour, they are promoted to μεῖζον χωρούσι τύχης ἅμα καπὶ βασιλέως, the rank of Melik emirs, as they are called. ¹²⁰ καὶ ἐξ τὰ πρώτα τιμῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπὶ From this they progress to the very territory of τοὺς καλουμένους Μελικαμηράδας καθ- the king and hold sway over the dominion of ἴστανται, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν Memphis and the whole of Egypt, Arabia, ἥδη χωρούσι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ Palestine and the other regions which are τὴν τῆς Μέμφιος ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπάσης τῆς under the sway of the king. The Melik emirs τε Αἴγυπτου Αραβίας τε καὶ Παλαιστίνης are rulers over the notable cities under this καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, ὅσαι ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ kingdom and have been made rulers by the βασιλεῖ τάπτονται. (132) Μελικαμηράδες king. This city of Memphis is the greatest city εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ ἐξ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ τήνδε in the world in both prosperity and popu- τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπισήμους, ἀρχοντες lation. The area of this land extends as far as καθιστάμενοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως. τὴν δὲ πόλιν seven hundred stades. Indeed it is the best ταύτην τῆς Μέμφιος μεγίστην δὴ πασῶν managed of all the cities which we know. It is τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἔστε said that it has five hundred thousand very τὴν ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ¹⁵ beautiful houses. The Nile River, which flows τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ τε γὰρ περιβόλος from the Silver Mountains, runs through the ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐξ ἐπακοσίους μάλιστα middle of the city and provides the best σταδίους διήκαν. εὐνομεῖται δὲ κάλλιστα quality water. It irrigates the whole of Egypt πασῶν δὴ, ὧν ἡμεῖς θεμεν, πόλεων. οἰκίας in an excellent way through the canals which δὲ ἔχειν καλλίστας λέγεται ἐξ τὰς have been dug in every part of the country, so πεντήκοντα μυριάδας. οἵτις δὲ διὰ μέσης that the land is watered in a very suitable τῆς πόλεως Νεῦλος ποταμός, κράτιστον fashion. Great numbers of Monothelites and ὕδωρ παρεχόμενος, θέων ἀπὸ ¹⁰ ἀργυροῦ Jacobites inhabit this land and of those who δοους. Αἴγυπτον δὲ σύμπασαν ἀρδεύει ἐξ worship Jesus as divine, some think one way, τὰ κάλλιστα κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔκασταχῆ χωρῶν κατεσκευασμένων, ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἀρδειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν. οἰκούσι δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην Μονο- θελῆται καὶ Ιακωβῖται, ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα, καὶ τῶν ἐξ τὴν τοῦ Ιησοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ

θρησκείαν τελούντων τε καὶ ¹¹⁵ φροο- others another way. They do not think the νούντων ἄλλων ἄλλῃ, οὕτε κατὰ τὸν same way as the Romans or according to the Ῥωμαίους, οὔτε κατὰ τὰ Ἑλλησι δεδογ- concepts approved by the Greeks in their μένα ἐξ τὴν θρησκείαν φρονοῦντες· ἀλλ’ worship. But just as there are very many ὅσοι μέν εἰσιν Ἀρμένιοι πλείστοι ἀνὰ τὴν Armenians throughout this land, so there are χώραν ταύτην, Μονοθελῆται δὴ καὶ many Monothelites, Jacobites and Ιακωβῖται καὶ Μανιχαῖοι πάμπολλοι. chaeans. The land of the King of Memphis διήκει δὲ ἡ χώρα τε τῆς Μέμφιος βασι- extends from Libya as far as the city called λέως ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἔστε πόλιν Χαλεπίην ¹²⁰ Aleppo in Asia. This king is considered by the οὗτοι καλούμενην κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν peoples in Asia and Libya and even in Europe νομίζεται δ’ οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπό τε τῶν to be the high priest of their worship and the ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐθνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Λιβύης laws laid down by Mohammed. Very many καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ people are taught the laws of his religion ἀρχιερεύς τε τὰ ἐξ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτῶν there. He was considered to be a high priest καὶ τὰ ἐξ τὸν νόμους τοῦ Μεχμέτεω, by the ancients and according to their writings παμπόλλων αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διδασκομένων he expounded the law of Mohammed very τὸν τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῦ (133) νόμους, accurately. As they own the tomb of Jesus in καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἀρχιερεύς τε Palestine, they derive much financial benefit. ἐνομίσθη, καὶ γράμμασι τοῖς τούτων The highest rulers of the house of the king ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀκριβέστατα δὴ τὸν τοῦ have been assigned to guard the monument. Μεχμέτεω νόμον. τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ Egypt extends from Pharos in Alexandria as κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέχοντες μέγα τε far as the land of Ituraea for as long as 80 ἀποφέρονται κέρδος, καὶ ἀρχοντες μέγισ- stades. The Nile, the river of Egypt, flows τοι ¹ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου ἐξ φυλακὴν northward into the sea near Alexandria in τε σήματος καθίστανται. διήκει δὲ Egypt.

Αἴγυπτος ἀπὸ Φάρου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας
ἔστε Ἰτουραιάν χώραν, ἐπὶ σταδίους
μάλιστά πη.... ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐξ θάλασσαν πρὸς
βιορρᾶν ἄνεμον κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῆς
Αἰγύπτου.

7. The religion of the Arabs

(III, p. 112.22-132.18 , ed. Darkó = 121.4-124.2, ed. Bonn; trans. 277-81)

Ο μέντοι νομοθέτης τούτων ὁ Μεχμέτης The lawgiver Mohammed is said to have been παῖς λέγεται γενέσθαι (113) Ἀλίεω, ἀπὸ born the so of Ali from Arabia Felix. As he Ἀραβίας τῆς εὐδαιμονος. ἐκθέμενος δὲ set forth his teaching he did not use force at τὴν νομοθεσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν μέντοι first, but subsequently persuaded the Arabs μηδὲν βιάζεσθαι, ἀναπειθοντά τε τοὺς and Syrians. After this he engaged Ali, who Ἀραβας καὶ Σύρους μετὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τὸ was the ruler of the land and his personal ταῦτα προσλαβόμενον τοῦ Ἀλίεω friend, to go and convert the inhabitants of the δυνάστου τε τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπιτηδείου land to the teaching wherever he went. He αὐτῷ, ^{ι^ς} ὡς μάλιστα ἐπίοντα προσάγεσθαι disseminated the teaching towards gentleness αὐτῷ ἐξ τὴν νομοθεσίαν, ὅποι ἄν ἐπίη, and the fervour of the divine (worship), but τοὺς τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦντας. ἀνίει τε τὴν yet inculcated continual study. For it is laid νομοθεσίαν ἔστε τὴν ὁρατῶνην καὶ τὴν down by him as a statute to pray to God four τοῦ θείου βακχείαν μέντοι, συνεχῇ δὲ ὡς times a day and that one should not be μάλιστα μελέτην. νομίζεται γὰρ αὐτῷ prevented by anyone in this matter of praying. τετράκις τῆς ἡμέρας προσεύχεσθαι τῷ On Aphrodite's day (Friday) they all go to the θεῷ, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλυόμενον εἰς τοῦτο, ^{ι^ο} temples *en masse* and pray. Nothing at all, ὥστε μὴ προσεύξασθαι. τῇ δὲ τῆς neither an image nor anything painted is Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρᾳ κοινῇ τε ἄπαντας ἐξ allowed to impinge upon their prayer in the τοὺς ναοὺς ιόντας προσεύχεσθαι νομί- temples. They ordain priests for themselves, ζεται μηδ' ὄτιον, μήτε ἄγαλμα, μήτε so that the priest goes up on a tower ἄλλο τι τῶν γεγραμμένων προσβαλόμενον constructed with a panoramic view in front of σφίσιν ἐξ τὴν προσευχὴν ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς. the temple and utters prayers in a loud voice – ιερεῖς τε σφίσιν καθιστῶντες, ὥστε πρὸ he constantly yells the appointed prayers in a τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξ περιωπήν τινα πύργον πε- very vociferous manner. So as far as its ποιημένον ^{ι^ς} ἀναβαίνοντα προσεύχεσθαι prayers are concerned we know that this race τῷ θεῷ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ καὶ αἱεὶ τὰς is most vehement and does not admit of any νομιζομένας εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι κεκρα-γότα relaxation at all. Yet in other matters their γεγωνότερον. ἐξ μὲν οὖν τὴν προσευχὴν customs as far as their way of life and αὐτοῦ γένος τὸ τούτο ἵσμεν ἐξ τὰ μάλιστα demeanour are not straightened, so that they ἐντεταμένον, μηδ' ὄτιον ἀνιέναι προσ- do not campaign against the pleasure of life. δεχομένους: ἐξ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τά τε ἐξ δίαιταν Thus they do not repress their natural καὶ ἐξ τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς οὔτε κεκολασμένον instincts. For they marry women and may ^{ι^ο} νομίζεται, ὥστε μὴ ἐξ τὸ τοῦ βίου ἡδὺ have as many concubines secured as slaves in πολιτεύεσθαι οὕτω τὴν φύσιν μηδαμῇ wartime as they are able to maintain. They βιάζεται. γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ ἄγεσθαι, have as many as five lawful wives and the παλλακίδας μέντοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων, children born to slave women are not viewed ὅσαις ἄν ἔκαστος οἶός τε (114) εἴη τροφὴν as illegitimate. But if they beget children from παρέχεσθαι ἐξ τὸν βίον. γυναῖκας τὸ free concubines, these are regarded by them κουριδίας ἄγεσθαι ἐξ τὰς πέντε, καὶ τοὺς as being illegitimate and do not become τε ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων παῖδας νομίζεσθαι beneficiaries of the family's estate. They σφίσιν οὐ νόθους. ἀν δὲ ἀπὸ παλλακίδων purchase their wives for as much money as a ἐλευθέρων γένωνται σφίσι παῖδες, νόθοι τε αὐτοῖς νομίζονται, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ^{ι^ς} τὴν πατρῷαν ούσιαν εἰσέρχονται. ὠνοῦνται τὸ καὶ τὰς κουριδίας, ὅσου ἄν τις βούλοιτο

ἐκδούναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. λαμ- man might require for his daughter. They πάδων δὲ προενηγμένων σφίσιν ἐς τοὺς carry lighted candles in front of the procession γάμους ἀγονται τὰς γυναῖκας. ἀν δὲ as they escort the women into the nuptials. If ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνήρ ἐπείπῃ τοῦ a husband is annoyed with his wife and makes λοιπού ἀπὸ τριῶν σπληνῶν ἀποσχέσθαι the pronouncement that henceforth he will αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἡλοτρίωται τῷ λόγῳ ἡ¹⁰ γυνὴ keep away from her for three spleens (i.e. τοῦ ἀνδρός. νομίζεται τὸ αἰσχιστον, ἣν ἄν months). It is considered to be disgraceful for τις ἀποπέμψηται, αὐθις αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι someone to dismiss his wife and to marry her ἀν δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ ἔτερου μοιχευθῆ, οὐκ again. Unless she has been debauched by ἔξεστιν ἀπάγειν. οἶνῳ τὸ χρήσθαι ἀθέμι- another man, it is not permitted to lead her τον ἀπαγορεύει τῷ γένει τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ away (into marriage). It is absolutely for- λουσάμενον μὴ ἔξειναι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν bidden for people of this nation to partake of προσευχὴν ιέναι. δεκατείαν δέ τινα wine and if they have not washed themselves ἔξελόμενος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἔτους, ἐς νηστείαν they are not allowed to go to prayers. They¹⁵ αὐτοὺς προάγεται ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ give a tithe to God every year. They are ἐπέκεινα ἡμέρας. τῆς μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅλης supposed to fast for thirty or more days. μηδ' ὅτιον προσίσθαι μήτε τροφῆς, μήτε During the whole of the day time they do not πόσεως, ἐσπέρας δέ, ὅταν ἄστρα touch either food or drink, but in the evening, φαίνηται, σιτίζεσθαι πάντων δὲ μάλιστα when the stars appear, they do eat. Especially τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μὴ ἔξειναι οἶνον at this time they are not allowed to drink wine πιέσθαι τὸ παράπαν. περιτέμνεσθαι δὲ τὸ at all. Circumcision of the genitals is αἰδοῖον χρῆναι παντάπασιν. Ἰησοῦν¹²⁰ δὲ mandatory. They consider Jesus to be an θεοῦ τε ἀπόστολον γενέσθαι νομίζει, καὶ apostle of God, the progeny of the angel ἐξ ἀγγέλου τοῦ Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Gabriel and Mary, who was a virgin and had Μαρίας, παρθένου τε οὔσης καὶ μηδενὶ not had intercourse with any man. She gave (115) ἀνδρὶ συγγενομένης γεννήσαι birth to Jesus, who was a kind of demigod, Ἰησοῦν, ἥρωά τινα μείζω ἢ κατὰ greater than a man. They say that at the end of ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦτον the world, when people are appointed to be κόσμου, ἐπειδὴν ἐς κρίσιν τῶν σφίσι judged for the things they have done in their βεβιωμένων καθιστῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, lives, Jesus will be designated as the judge of τόν γε Ἰησοῦν φασιν ἀγεσθαι διαιτητὴν τε the world. They eat all animals that are κόσμου. συὸς δὲ μὴ ἄπτεσθαι¹⁵ θέμας slaughtered, but do not think it right to touch εἶναι, καὶ τά γε ζῷα πάντα ἐσθίουσιν, ἀν pork. So they acknowledge on God who rules μέντοι ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γένωνται. Θεὸν μὲν οὖν over everything and uses servants of fiery ἔνα ἐφιστώσι τῷδε τῷ παντί, ὑπηρέταις δὲ minds, as they say. They say that God sent χρώμενον δς πυρίνοις, ἥ φασί, νόοις. Mohammed to complete the teaching of the πεπομφέναι δὲ Μεχμέτην ἐς τὰ ἐλλιπή τοῖς lawgivers who had previously been sent by πρότερον ἐπιπεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐς τὴν God into the world. They think that the οἰκουμένην νομοθέταις. κάθαρσιν δὲ purification of everything is particularly ἡγούνται τήν τε¹⁰ περιτομὴν σφίσι effected by circumcision, which they link with πάντων δὴ μάλιστα, ἐν ἥ καὶ γάμους marriage. They customarily bury their dead ποιούνται. ταφὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὰς near roads- it is not permitted to bury them ὁδοὺς νομίζεται γίνεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλῃ anywhere else. They wash and shave the body ἔξειναι θάπτειν. θάπτουσι δὲ λούσαντες and then bury it. They have this custom as καὶ ξυρῷ ἄμα τὸ σῶμα. νομίζεται δ' ἔτι well, that whoever does not obey the law καὶ τόδε, δς ἀν μὴ πείθηται τῷ νόμῳ, should be killed by the sword. The Armenians τελευτᾶν τῷ σιδήρῳ. Ἀρμενίους δὲ are the only ones of the other races that differ μόνους τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν¹⁵ διαφερο- from them in religion, whom they do not μένων σφίσιν ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν οὐκ

ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ώς Ἀρμενίῳ τινὶ προ- enslave, as it was an Armenian who told him ειρηκότι τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν (Mohammed) beforehand that his glory would οἰκουμένην ἐσόμενον. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ extend over the inhabited world. Because of ἐπιτρέπειν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι Ἀρμενίους. this he did not allow anyone to enslave the Armenians.

8. The Origin of the Turks

(I; i, pp. 7.10-9.10 , ed. Darkó = 9.10-11.9, ed. Bonn; trans. 95-97)

Τούρκους τὸ οὖν ἔγωγε οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι ἂν As far as the Turks are concerned, I do not καλέσαιμι κατὰ τὸ παλαιόν, ὥστε know what name from the past I should use to τάληθούς μὴ διαμαρτεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ describe them, so as not to deviate from the Σκυθῶν ἀπογόνους τοὺς Τούρκους truth. For some people think that the Turks are οἴονται εἶναι, ὡρθότερον τὸ συμβαλλό- the descendants of the Scythians. This μενοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐς ἡθη οὐ πολὺ deduction about them is quite accurate, διεστηκότα καθισταμένους γλώττη because they are not far removed from them σύνεγγυς μάλα διαχρήσθαι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ in customs and even now use almost the same αὐτῇ.¹¹⁵ Σκύθας τε γάρ φασι τὸ ἔβδομον language. People say that the Scythians set ἡδη ἀπὸ Τανάιδος ὠρμημένους κατα- out from the Tanais River (the Don) for the στρέφεσθαι τὴν ἄνω Ασίαν, Πάρθων τὴν seventh time and subjugated Upper Asia, at ἡγεμονίαν ἔχόντων, τὴν τε Περσῶν χώραν the time when the Parthians held sway, and καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ασσυρίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα also the land of the Persians, the Medes and ἐπικαταβάντας ἐς τὴν κάτω Ασίαν, ἐπὶ the Assyrians. After this they went down to Φρυγίαν, Λυδίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὰ Lower Asia – to Phrygia, Lydia and ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὑποχείρια¹²⁰ σφίσι Cappadocia- and made the regions about this ποιήσασθαι. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ιδεῖν, ἡ λέγουσι, land subject to them. At the present time they πολλὰ τε γένους τούτου πολλαχῆ τῆς say that it is possible to see many of this race Ασίας ἐπινεμόμενα, πρὸς Σκυθῶν (8) τῶν spread over many parts of Asia. They have νομάδων ἡθη τε καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένα adopted the customs and way of life of the οὐδαμῆ τῆς Ασίας ἔσχον καταφανῆ τὴν nomadic Scythians and have not had a διατριβήν. κάκείνη δὲ ἔτι συμβάλλονται, conspicuous dwelling place anywhere in Asia. ὡς Ασίας τὴν κάτω χώραν ἔνοικούντα It is supposed that the barbarian Turkish races βάρβαρα ἔθνη Τούρκων, Λυδίαν, Καρίαν, who inhabit the lower regions of Asia – Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Σκύθαις Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia – speak τὴν ἀπὸ¹ Τανάιδος ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν χώραν the same language and use the same tools as ἐπινεμομένοις ὄμογλωττά τε ἔστι καὶ the Scythians who occupy the area from ομόσκευα. Tanaïs to Sarmatia.

Ἐνιοὶ δὲ Πάρθων ἀπογόνους Some people say that the Turks are Τούρκους φασὶν εἶναι. τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ descended from the Parthians. For when they Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων διωκομένους ἐς τὴν were pursued by the nomadic Scythians, they κάτω Ασίαν ἐπικαταβῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ ended up in Lower Asia. When they were νομαδικώτερον ἀποκλίναντας¹²⁰ σκεδασ- inclined there to a more nomadic life, they θῆναι ταύτη ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἀπὸ scattered there among the cities, and as a τούτου ὡς δὴ νομάδας Τούρκους τὸ consequence this race was called nomadic γένος τούτο καλεῖσθαι. ἄλλοι δέ φασιν Turks. But other people assert vigorously that ἀπὸ Τούρκης τῶν Περσῶν πόλεως this race is descended from Turke, a great and μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος, προελθεῖν τε prosperous city of the Persians, that it went τὸ γένος τούτο δισχυρίζονται, καὶ εἰς τὴν forth, moved to the lower region of Asia, were κάτω χώραν τῆς Ασίας ἀπαλλαττομένους scattered there over Asia and subjugated the σκεδασθῆναι ταύτη¹¹⁵ ἀνὰ τὴν Ασίαν country. There are some who want to say that ἐπικατασχόντας τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ the Turks came to this land from Coelesyria βούλονται Τούρκους ἀπὸ Συρίας μᾶλλον and Arabia, rather than from the Scythians. τῆς κοιλῆς καὶ Αραβίας ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐπὶ They say that they came with Omar, who was τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἀφικομένους μετὰ Mohammed's successor in spreading the ὘μάρεω τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν διαδεξαμένου teaching. He rose to exercise rule over Asia, ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ασίας ἀρχὴν προεληλυθέναι,

καὶ ταύτη αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντας ἐς τὸ while the Turks who were left behind were νομαδικώτερον ^{1^ο} ἀποκλίναι. ὡς μὲν οὖν inclined to a more nomadic style of life. As τούτων ἔκαστα ἔχει ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐφ' ἄ (9) for the issue of how much truth lies in each of δέη τούτων χωρούντας πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον, these suggestions and what theories are οὐκ ἔχω ξυμβαλέσθαι ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα. worthy of more credence, I am not able to τοσόνδε μέντοι εἰρήσεται, ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ give a certain conclusion. However this much Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτοις can be said, that those who assert that this διυσχυριζομένοις ἔχοι ἂν τις συμφέρεσθαι dominion originates from the Scythians would ἄμεινον, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας τοὺς ἐν τῇ seem to be more in harmony with the facts. Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς ἔω ^{1^ο} ἔτι καὶ νῦν δια- The Scythians who still reside in Eastern γενομένους κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καλουμένην Europe, in the so-called “market”, com- τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ Τούρκων ἐπαίειν ὁ prehend the Turks in Asia without difficulty. χαλεπῶς, διαίτῃ τε καὶ σκευῇ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Both nations even now still enjoy the same τῇ αὐτῇ ἄμφω τῷ γένεε διαχωριμένους, way of life and apparel, as the Scythians ruled διὰ τὸ Σκύθας ἐπικρατήσαι ἀπανταχῇ τῆς everywhere in Asia. Indeed the name itself Ασίας. δηλοί δὲ καὶ τούνομα αὐτὸ τὴν (Scythian) designates a person who has νομαδικὴν δίαιταν προηρημένον καὶ τὸν chosen a nomadic way of life and practises ταύτη τοῦ βίου ^{1^ο} πλέον αὐτῷ ποιούμενον. this style of life more than any other.

9. The Mongols of Central Asia

(III; i, pp. 120.8-128.3 , ed. Darkó = 129.1-137.4, ed. Bonn; trans. 287-297)

Ἐνταῦθα πυθόμενοι Σκύθαι Τεμήρην Then learning that King Timur was attacking βασιλέα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντα μεγάλῃ παρα- them with a great army, the Scythians sent an σκευῇ, τήν τε εἰσόδον ἔπειταν στράτευμα army to seize the entry to the mountains ¹¹⁰ προκαταληψιούμενους τῶν ὁρέων, ἦ beforehand at the place where Timur and his ἔμελλε Τεμήρης σὺν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ army were planning to pass through. These διέναι. Σκύθαι μὲν οὖδ τὸ πάλαι ἐς Scythians divided up into tribes long before μοίρας τινὰς διηρημένοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν and managed the country between the Ister χώραν ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἔστε ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν and the people that are near the Caucasus. Καύκασον. νῦν δὲ γένος μέντοι τούτων ἐς Now one of these tribes called the Sachataioi τὴν Ἀσίαν γενόμενον, τὰ πρὸς ἔω αὐτοῦ (Chaghatais) ended up in Asia. They settled in τε ἐνοικῆσαν τὴν ἐπὶ ¹¹⁵ τάδε τῆς Ἀσίας the eastern part of Asia and spread over much χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τετραμμένον, territory north of the country of the Persians Σαχαταῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν and going towards the Sakai and the Περσῶν χώραν ἐς τοὺς Σάκας τε καὶ Cadusians. Some people believe that Timur Καδουσίους ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ Τεμήρην was descended from them. This nation is a αὐτὸν οἴονται γεγονέναι τινές. ἔστι δὲ strong nation and the most warlike of all those τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἄλκιμόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν in Asia. With their assistance Timur is said to Ἀσίαν καὶ πολεμικώτατον, καὶ σὺν have seized control of all the regions of Asia τούτοις λέγεται ¹²⁰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ except for India. The rest of the Scythians are Ασίᾳ παραλαβεῖν, πλὴν Ἰνδῶν. ὁ δὲ of the same mentality and are governed under λοιποὶ Σκύθαι κατὰ ταύτῳ φρονοῦσί τε one king. They have their capital in Horde, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχονται βασιλεῖ, κατὰ which is the so-called ‘market’. They claim Οὐρδᾶν τὴν καλούμενην ἀγορὰν τὸ that their king comes from a very old royal βασιλεία ποιούμενοι, ἀποδεικνύμενοι lineage. They are also elsewhere in Europe. A σφίσι βασιλέα γένους τε ὅντα τοῦ large proportion of them went to the βασιλείου τὸ παλαιότατον. καὶ ἔστι δὴ καὶ Bosphorus, being scattered throughout that ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὸν ¹²⁵ Βόσπορον land. They were under the direction of a king, μοίρα τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγη, ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν from a house of kings, and his name was ταύτην διεσκεδασμένον, (121) ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ Atzikerie (Hadji Girai). These people ταττόμενον, οἴκου τῶν βασιλέων, ὅνομα submitted themselves to the rule of this king, δὲ τούτῳ Ατζικερίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὡς proceeding to this land and even pressing on ἐπετράποντο σφᾶς τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐς as far as the Ister. They crossed the Ister, τήνδε ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἐπελά- overran a substantial portion of Thrace and σαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν plundered it. Then they withdrew from Ἰστρον διαβάντες, μοίρά τοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγῃ ¹²⁶ Sarmatia on their way to the Tanais. Many τῆς Θράκης λεηλατοῦντες ἐπέδραμον, καὶ from this race settled at the Ister. Most ἀνεχώρουν ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναιν crossed under Paizetis (Bayazid) and settled ιόντες. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ γένους τούτου there. Thus each part of this race was settled. αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐνέμειναν. ὧν τὸ The remainder of it (Scythia) beyond the Ister πλέον ἐπὶ Παιαζήτεω διαβάν τὸν Ἰστρον is subject to Casimir, the King of the [ἐνέμειναν] φύκισθη χωρὶς ἔκαστον μέρος Lithuanians. They have their way of life, look τοῦ γένους τούτου γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ after the land even to this present time and ὑπολειφθὲν μέρος αὐτοῦ πέραν ¹¹⁰ τοῦ Ἰστρον <παρὰ> Καζιμήρω τῷ βασιλεῖ
Λιτουάνων τὴν δίαιταν ἔχουσι, τὴν γῆν

νεμόμενοι ἐς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐς τε τὸν πρὸς ally themselves with him to a great extent in τοὺς περιοίκους αὐτῷ πόλεμον συμ- his fighting against his neighbours. Wherever βαλλόμενοι τὰ κράτιστα ὅπου γὰρ ἂν τὸ this nation happens to be they seem to be γένος τούτο τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, δοκοῦσι τε warlike and are very powerful. The people τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰσὶ κράτιστοι. ὁ δὲ περὶ who live around the Bosphorus and the so- τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὴν ¹⁵ Ταυρικὴν νῆσον called Taurus Island, which marks off Lake καλουμένην, διείσθιον-σαν λίμνην τε τὴν Maiotis and the Black Sea are under the rule Μαιώτιδα καὶ τὸν γε Εὔξεινον πόντον, of King Hadji Girai Atzikerie. They raid the ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ατζικερίῃ τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ ἐς peoples in the land and have subjugated them γῆν ληίζομενοι κατεστρέψαντο ἐς φόρου to pay tribute- the peoples are the so-called ἀπαγωγήν, τούς τε Γότθους καλουμένους Goths and the Genoans, who inhabit the city καὶ Ἰανυίους τοὺς τὴν τε Καφά πόλιν of Caffa. A section of Sarmatia also pays ἐνοικούντας. καὶ Σαρματίας μέρος τι tribute to this king. So the Sarmatians, those ἀπάγει τούτῳ τῷ ¹⁰ βασιλεῖ φόρον. who live near the Black Sea and those near Σαρμάται μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Εὔξεινον the Ocean pay tribute to the great King of the πόντον καὶ οἱ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν τῷ μεγάλῳ Scythians “in the market” – inasmuch as (the Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (122) Scythians) overran Sarmatia and enslaved φόρον ἀπάγουσιν, ἐξ ὅτου τὴν Σαρματίαν some sections, others they raided and ἐπιδραμόντες τὰ μὲν ἡνδραποδίσαντο, τὰ occupied for a long time.

δὲ ληίσάμενοι κατέσχον ἐπὶ συχνόν τινα So Sarmatia extends from the Scythian χρόνον, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε φόρον τε nomads to the Dacians and the Lithuanians, a ἐτάξαντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἔτους tribe that mostly uses the language of the ἐκάστου ἀπάγουσι. Illyrians. Both in manner of life and customs

⁵ Σαρματία μὲν οὖν διήκει ἀπὸ they are adherents of the laws of Jesus, being Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων ἐπὶ Δᾶκας τε καὶ rather inclined to the Greeks. They are not Λιτουάνους, γένος τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν φωνῇ τὰ very partial to the high priest of the Romans, πολλὰ διαχρώμενον. καὶ διαίτῃ τε καὶ but use the Greek high priest and obey him in ἥθεσι τε Ἰησούν νόμοις ἐποικοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς matters connected with their worship and “Ἐλληνας μᾶλλον τετραμένοι οὐ πάνυ behaviour. Although they practise the same συμφέρονται τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, customs as the Greeks, they wear almost the Ἐλληνικῷ τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ χρῶνται, καὶ τούτῳ same apparel as the Scythians. Most of the ¹⁰ πείθονται τὰ ἐς θρησκείαν τε καὶ Sarmatian tribes that live near the Black Sea δίαιταν σφίσι. καὶ ἥθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς (Euxine), near what is called Leukopolichne Ἐλλήνων διαχρώμενοι, σκευῇ τῇ Σκυθῶν (White City) are divided into principalities. παραπλησίᾳ προσχρώνται. τὰ μέντοι πρὸς Moscow, Kiev, Tofar and Kharkov are cities Εὔξεινον πόντον Σαρματῶν γένη, ἀπὸ ruled by princes in the so-called Black Λευκοπολίχνης καλουμένης, ἡγεμονίαι τε Sarmatia. The tribes that live in the (sub-) διαλαγχάνουσι τὰ πολλά, τό τε Μοσ- arctic region near the Ocean call their region χόβιόν τε καὶ Κίεβος καὶ Τοφάρι καὶ White Sarmatia. However the city by the Χαρκόβιον, ¹⁵ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννους Ocean called Ugkratis (Novgorod) has been εὐθυνόμεναι, ἐς τὴν μέλαιναν οὕτω ὑπὸ converted into an aristocracy. It is rich and σφῶν αὐτῶν καλουμένην Σαρματίαν exceeds the other cities of Sarmatia in wealth, τελούσι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον οἰκημένα γένη λευκὴν Σαρματίαν καλοῦσι. πρὸς μέντοι ὠκεανὸν πόλις Οὐγκράτης καλουμένη, ἐς ἀριστοκρατίαν τετραμένη, ὅλβον τε παρέχεται καὶ αὐτὴν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ²⁰ ὑπερφέρουσαν τῶν

ἄλλων τῆς Σαρματίας πόλεων, τῆς τε whether they are called white or black. And λευκῆς καὶ μελαίνης οὐτωσὶ καλουμένης. this land called Inflante (Livonia) extends to καὶ διήκει ἐπ' ὥκεανὸν αὔτη ἡ χώρα, the Ocean. Indeed ships from Denmark and Ἰνφλάντη καλουμένη. ἔνθα δὴ ὁδοῦζονται Germany, which carry cargo from Britain and καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Δανίας νῆες καὶ Γερμανίας, Celtica to this land anchor there. Now from φορτία φέρουσαι Βρετανικά τε ἄμα καὶ the Tanais to the British Ocean and the land of Κελτικὰ ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν the Celts the journey over the inhabited area (123) Τανάϊτοις ἐς ὥκεανὸν τὸν Βρεταν- would take a maximum of thirty-five days. ικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτῶν χώραν εἴη ἀν The area beyond the Tanais is extremely ὁδὸς τὸ μακρότατον ἡμερῶν πέντε καὶ wide, from Sarmatia to the land of the τριάκοντα τὸ οἰκούμενον ἐπὶ μῆκος, ἐπὶ Assyrians. The Scythians occupy this land and πλάτος δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπέρ τὸν Τάναιν χώραν so, as it seems to me, the land beyond the εἶναι μεγίστην, ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἔστε ἐπὶ Tanais is the largest of the lands in Europe in τὴν Ἀσσυρίων¹⁵ χώραν. Σκύθαι νέμονται two respects, both in length and breadth.

τήνδε. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔμοιγε The Permians live in the area north of καταφαίνεται, τὰ ὑπέρ τὸν Τάναιν χώρα the Sarmatians. They share a border with the μεγίστη δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατ' ἄμφω, Sarmatians and the Sarmatians speak the same μῆκός τε δὴ καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ μῆκιστον language as the Permians. It is said about the διήκουσα. Permians that they make their living mostly

Πέρομοι τὸ οἰκοῦσι τὸ πρὸς βιορρᾶν through hunting and ...
ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σαρμάτας, ¹⁶ ὅμοροι δέ εἰσι The region of Sarmatia which borders Σαρματῶν, καὶ φωνὴν τὴν αὔτην ἔνται οἱ on the Ocean also borders the country called Σαρμάται τοῖς Περομίοις. λέγεται δὲ περὶ Prus(s)ia and the White-robed Nazirites Περομίων τάδε, ὡς ἔστι γένος ἀπὸ ἄγρας (Knights) and the religious order in this land. τὸ πλέον τοῦ βίου σφίσι ποιούμενον καὶ ... This tribe seems to be German and they use

Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς ὥκεανὸν διήκουσα the language and way of life of the Germans. Σαρματία ἐπὶ Προυσίαν καλουμένην They live in very beautiful cities which are χώραν διήκει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ταύτην extremely well governed. They have a λευκοφόρους ¹⁷ Ναζηραίους καὶ ιερὸν τὸ religious order, which is the same as that ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ. δοκοῦσι δὲ γένος τοῦτο practised in Iberia and the race of Nazirites εἶναι Γερμανοί, καὶ φωνὴ τῇ αὐτῶν which dwells in Rhodes. These three religious ἐκείνων προσχρώμενοι καὶ διαιτῇ. οἰκοῦσι orders are prominent throughout the inhabited δὲ πόλεις περικαλλεῖς καὶ εὐνομουμένας world. They have been founded to promote ἐς τὸ κράτιστον. ἔστι δὲ τούτοις ιερόν, ἢ the religion of Jesus against the barbarians. δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ιερὸν νομίζεται καὶ ἐν The one in Iberia was founded to fight the τῇ Ρόδῳ ἐνοικοῦν Ναζηραίων γένος. Libyans who crossed over to Iberia. The ταῦτα ¹⁸ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοία ιερὰ ἀνὰ τὴν Prussian one is fighting the Samo(ge)tai and οἰκουμένην ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θρησκείαν the Scythian nomads who settled there in ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φωκημένα τὸ times gone by. The Rhodian order is fighting καταφανῇ ἔστι, τὸ τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς for the grave of Jesus against the barbarians in ταύτῃ τῶν Λιβύων διαβάντας, καὶ Egypt and Palestine and those in Asia.

Προυσίων πρὸς τε τοὺς Σαμώτας καὶ The Prus(s)ians border on the Σκυθῶν τοὺς νομάδας, αὐτού (124) ταύτη Samo(ge)tai who are a strong nation and do ἀγχοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ωκισμένους, καὶ Ροδίων τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τάφον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ βαρβάρους.

Προυσίων δὲ ἔχονται Σαμώται, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ οὐδενὶ ¹⁹ τῶν περιοίκων

όμοδίαιτον, οὐδὲ ὁμόγλωσσον. νομίζει τὸ not have the same customs or language as τοῦτο τὸ γένος θεοὺς Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ their neighbours. This race worships the gods Ἀρτεμιν διαίτη τὸ χρῶνται τῇ πάλαι Apollo and Artemis. They practise the old Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἥθεσι, σκευῇ δὲ τῇ Greek way of life and customs and their Προυσίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Τούτων τὸ ἔχονται Βοέμοι, τῇ τε Σαμωτῶν δόξῃ τιθέμενοι καὶ τῇ Γερμανῶν on the Bohemians – they live in this land οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐνοικούντες, σκευῇ appearing like? the Samogetai and the τῇ ¹¹⁰ τῶν Παιόνων παραπλησίᾳ ἐσκευασ- Germans (and) use almost the same apparel as μένοι. ἔνεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μητρόπολις, πόλις the Paeonians. They have a capital which is a εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, Βράγα prosperous and densely populated city called οὐτωσὶ καλουμένη, καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως Braga (Prague). Many of the inhabitants of ταύτης οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπεὶ ἐπαύσαντο this city have not long ceased worshipping the τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ θρησκεύειν. μόνον δὲ fire and the sun. This is the only race of those τὸ ἔθνος τούτο τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐκτὸς in Europe which does not abide by the γενόμενον ταῖς ἐγνωσμέναις ἡμῖν ¹¹⁵ ἐν τῷ religious observances known to us at the παρόντι θρησκείαις, τῆς τε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ present time, I mean the religions of Jesus, φημι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μεχμέτεω καὶ Μωσέως Mohammed and Moses. For we know that ταύτας γάρ τε σχεδόν τε ἴσμεν δια- these religions have almost covered the κατέχειν τὴν τε ἐγνωσμένην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ known world which has been inhabited. As I ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην. ἔστι μέντοι, ἡ have ascertained, there is also beyond the πυνθάνομαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν Caspian Sea and the Massagetai the Indian θάλασσαν καὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἔθνος nation, which is devoted to the worship of Ἰνδικὸν ἐξ ταύτην τετραμμένον τὴν Apollo. That race worships still more gods, ¹²⁰ θρησκείαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. νομίζει δὲ Zeus and Hera, as will be made clear as my ἔκεινο τὸ γένος καὶ θεοὺς ἔτι ἄλλους, Δία account progresses. Let this conclude my τε καὶ Ἡραν, ὡς προϊόντι πρόσω τε λόγου remarks about them at this point.

δηλωθήσεται.

The Poles border on the Sarmatians

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταύτη ἐπὶ and use a language cognate to theirs and have τοσούτον εἰρήσθω. Πολάνοι (125) δὲ a way of life and customs which are similar to ἔχονται Σαρματῶν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τούτων the Romans. The Lithuanians are neighbours νομίζουσι, καὶ ἥθεσι δὲ καὶ διαίτῃ τῇ of the Poles and border on the Black Sea and Ῥωμαίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Sarmatia. Black Bogdania, which has its

Πολάνων δὲ ἔχονται Λιτουάνοι ἐπὶ capital in White Town, borders on Dacia Εὔξεινον πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν along the Ister (Danube), Lithuania and καθήκοντες καὶ οὗτοι. ἡ μὲν μέλαινα Sarmatia. This nation is worthy of notice, one Πογδανία, ¹³ ἡ ἐν τῇ Λευκοπολίχνῃ might say, as it has the same language as the καλουμένῃ τὰ βασίλεια ἔχουσα, ἀπὸ Dacians and from old has been divided into Δακῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐπὶ two kingdoms and principalities. The Λιτουάνους καὶ Σαρμάτας διήκει. γένος Lithuanians do not have the same language as δέ ἔστι τούτο δόκιμον, ἡ ἂν τοῖς the Sarmatians or the Paeonians, nor the τεκμαίροιτο, τὴν τε φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν Germans or even the Dacians, but use their ἰέμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ διεσχισμένον own individual language. Their capital city is διχῇ τὸ γένος ἐξ τυραννίδας καὶ ἡγεμονίας δύο κατέστη. ¹⁴⁰ Λιτουάνοι δὲ οὔτε Σαρμάταις εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε Παιόσιν, οὔτε μὲν Γερμανοῖς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Δαξίν, ιδίᾳ τὸ τὸ παράπαν νομίζουσι φωνῇ. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς βασίλεια πόλις

μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ large, populous and prosperous and this race εὐδαιμών. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ γένος εἶναι seems to me to be the greatest and bravest of τε μέγα τῶν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐθνῶν all the races in this region. They are at war καὶ ἀνδρειότατον, ¹¹⁵ καὶ πρός τε τοὺς with the Prussians, Germans and Poles about Προυσίους τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ the borders of their land. This race is inclined Πολανούς διαπολεμοῦν περὶ τε ὅρων τῶν towards the customs and way of life of the ἐξ τὴν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος Romans. They wear virtually the same apparel πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ δίαιταν as the Sarmatians and as they share a border τετραμμένον, σκευῇ δὲ τῇ Σαρματῶν with Black Bogdania over a long distance, παραπλησίᾳ χρωμένους, καὶ τῇ μελαίνῃ they are engaged in hostilities with them.
Πογδανίᾳ ὅμορος τὰ πολλὰ οὖσα πρὸς The Sarmatians speak a language
τούτους ἀγωνίζεται. which is almost the same as that of the

(126) Σαρμάται τὸ φωνῇ διαχρῶνται Illyrians, who live by the Ionian Sea as far as παραπλησίᾳ τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν ἐξ τὸν the Enetoi (Venice). I have not been able to Ιόνιον παροικούντων ἔστε ἐπὶ Ἐνετούς. ascertain from the narratives of any of the ὄπότεροι μὲν τούτων παλαιότεροι, καὶ τὴν elders nor could I signify as being true which ἑτέρων ὄπότεροι τούτων χώραν ἐπι- of these two nations are older and which of νέμονται, ἡ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς these two nations settled in the territory of the Εὐρώπης διαβάντες Πολανίαν ἢ τε καὶ others, or whether the Illyrians crossed Σαρματίαν ὥκησαν, ἡ Σαρμάται δὲ ἐπὶ Europe and settled in Poland and Sarmatia, or τάδε τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενοι τὴν τε Μυσίαν whether the Sarmatians came to this side of καὶ Τριβαλλῶν χώραν καὶ δὴ καὶ the Ister (Danube) and settled in Mysia, the Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ιόνιον ἄχρι δὴ land of the Triballi and the Ionian coast as far Ἐνετῶν ὥκησαν, οὕτε ἄλλου τινὸς as the Enetoi (Venice).

ἐπυθόμην τῶν παλαιοτέρων διεξιόντος, I shall now return to the question of οὗτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι πάντῃ ὡς ἀληθῆ δια- the Scythian nomads. They would have been σημήνασθαι.

¹¹⁰ Επάνειμ δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, races, such that none of the races in the δὴ γένος μέγιστόν τε καὶ ισχυρὸν καὶ inhabited world would be able to come near, γενναιότατόν ἔστιν, οἷον οὐδενὶ τῶν κατὰ if it were not for the fact that they have been τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν παραβάλλειν, ἀν scattered in many places throughout the μὴ πολλαχῆ ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κατά τε world, throughout Asia and Europe, and have Ασίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην ἐσκεδασμένον ἄλλῃ established their kingly rule in different τε τῆς αὐτῶν βασιλείας ὥκισθη, ὡς τῇ places, as they have been heavily involved in ἐπιδομῇ τὰ πολλὰ χρησάμενον ¹¹⁵ ἡ δὲ conducting raids. Where the land was χώρα ἡρέσκετο, ταύτῃ ἐναπολειφθὲν pleasing, once they were left in it, they settled ὥκησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφόρονται κατὰ τάδε, τὴν it. So if they had had this inclination to settle αὐτὴν ἐνοικοῦν χώραν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ in the same land and if they had been under γένοιτο βασιλεῖ, οὐδένες οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ the rule of a single king, nobody in the world οἰκουμένη ἐνίσταντο ἀν, ὥστε μὴ could have withstood them. But now they συνομολογεῖν αὐτῷ. νῦν δὲ ἀπανταχῇ τῆς have settled everywhere in Asia and Europe, Ασίας ἐπινεμόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, settling in Thrace and around the Bosphorus. ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ¹²⁰ Βόσπορον They have established their capital in the ἐνοικοῦν, ἀπώκισται τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν Horde. So those of them who have settled βασιλείας τῆς ἐς τὸ Οὔρδαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐς around the Bosphorus, in the land there, raid τὸν Βόσπορον τὴν ταύτη χώραν the bordering countries – the Circassians, the ἐπινεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ὅμορον λεγλα- Mingrelians and the Sarmatians. They carry τοῦντες, τὴν τε Τζαρκάσων (127) καὶ Μιγκρελίων καὶ Σαρματῶν, καὶ ἀνδρά-

ποδα ώς πλείστα ἀγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν off many captives to the Bosphorus, the city of Βόσπορον, ἐπὶ Καφᾶν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Caffa, and Lake Maiotis, as it is called, and Μαιώτιδα καλουμένην λίμνην ἀπάγοντες, make a living selling them cheaply to the ὄλιγου τε αὐτὰ ἀποδιδόμενοι τοῖς τε Venetian and Genoese traders. The Scythians Ἐνετῶν καὶ Ἰανυίων ἐμπόροις, οὗτοι in the market travel around in carriages and βιοτεύουσι. Σκύθαι¹⁵ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ on beasts of burden. The live mostly on horse ἀμαξῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων τὸν βίον milk and meat and apparently do not consume ποιούμενοι, γάλακτι τὰ πολλὰ ὕπων τε wheat or barley, but rather millet and rye. καὶ κρέα διαχρώμενοι, οὔτε σίτῳ, οὔτε They wear linen garments and their riches and κριθῇ καταφανεῖς εἰσὶ διαχρώμενοι, affluence is measured according to their μελίνῃ δὲ τὸ πλέον καὶ σηκάλῃ, λινᾶς τε wealth in (precious) stones. The bows and ἐσθῆτας φοροῦντες ἐς τὸν τῶν λίθων swords that they use, to tell the truth, are quite ὅλβον εὐδαιμονέστατοι καὶ πλουσιώτατοι barbaric. Their shields are similar to those νομίζονται. τόξοις¹⁶ δὲ χρώνται, τὸ used by the Dacians. Many of them wear caps σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, καὶ ξίφεσι βαρβαρικοῖς, but not those who live near Sarmatia and they καὶ θυρεοῖς τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν παρα- do not wear woollen garments, just linen. The πλησίοις, πόλοις δὲ τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι, “market” of these Scythians and the Great οὔτε ἡ περὶ Σαρματίαν οἰκοῦντες, οὔτε King extends for a distance of fifteen days. ιματίοις ἀπὸ ἐρίων, ὅτι μὴ λινοῖς They have managed the land and subdivided it νομίζουσι. διήκει δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ τούτων τῶν in a manner most suitable to themselves. They Σκυθῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπὶ are scattered into small groups, being ὁδὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν, ὥστε¹⁷ established from each side into one. They ἐπινέμεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἐπι- make their “market” a very long distance and τηδειότατον σφίσι καταστάντες, καὶ κατ’ subdivide the land, providing abundant ὄλιγους διεσκεδασμένοι, ἀφ’ ἐκατέρου pasture for their livestock. They live under the πλαγίου καθιστάμενοι ἐφ’ ἐνός τὴν τε government thought best for them. They ἀγορὰν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ μήκιστον, καὶ establish the king and the aristocracy in διανέμονται τὴν χώραν, τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις rotation and have them for periods of time. ἄφθονον παρεχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἐς They provide the king with a royal residence τάξιν τὴν ἀρίστην ὑπὸ σφῶν νομιζομένην made out of wood. They subdivide this καθιστάμενοι.¹⁸ κατ’ αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον τὸν “market” into sections and appoint rulers over βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ταύτη ἀρίστους ἐπὶ them. And whenever the king summons them, κύκλους καταστάντες, καὶ περιόδους they proceed to whatever task is needful.

ποιούμενοι, βασιλειά τε παρέχουσι τῷ
βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ ξύλων κατεσκευασμένα.

ἐπιδιελόμενοι (128) δὲ εἰς μοίρας ταύτην σύμπασαν τὴν ἀγοράν, ἄρχοντάς τε ἐφιστάσι τούτων, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλῃ βασιλεύς, χωρούσιν, ἐφ’ ὅ τι ἀν γένηται χρεία.

10. The Karamanians and the Barsakians

(V; ii, pp. 20.5-128.3 , ed. Darkó = 242.10-245.17, ed. Bonn)

Ούτω μὲν οὖν ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἀπὸ And so in this manner the Peloponnese passed Ἰταλῶν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας περιῆλθεν. from the Italians to the Greeks. So it brought Ἑλλησι μὲν οὖν οὕτω προσέφερε τὰ business to the Greeks, who subjugated the πράγματα, ὑπαγομένοις σφίσι τὴν Peloponnese to themselves. Murad, the son of Πελοπόννησον Ἀμουράτης τὸ ὁ Mahomet, led an expedition to the land of the Μεχμέτεω ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Triballi. And first, when he initiated the war, Τοιβαλλῶν χώραν. καὶ πρότερον μέν, he sent forth armies and ravaged the land. So ἐπει τε ἔξήνεγκε πόλεμον, στρατεύματα then, when the king of the Triballi learnt that ἐπαπέμψας ἐδήσου τὴν ¹⁰ χώραν. καὶ τότε the king was attacking him, after sending δὴ οὖν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ὁ τῶν Τοιβαλλῶν ambassadors, he requested that they make a ἡγεμῶν ἐπιέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, treaty, with the proviso that they take πρέσβεις τε ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἡξίου σπονδὰς whatever tribute the king might demand and ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἀπάγειν φόρον, ὃν ἂν that they would put up with whatever τάξηται αὐτῷ βασιλεύς, καὶ πείσεσθαι, ὃ conditions he might exact. Then Murad τι ἄν κελεύοι αὐτῷ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀμουράτης married the daughter of the leader of the ἄγεται τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τοιβαλλῶν Triballi and sent Sarazie the keeper of the ἡγεμόνος. ἐπαπέμψας ¹⁵ δὲ Σαραζίνην τὸν gates and married his wife, when Chalilis, τῶν θυρῶν ἡγεμόνα ἡγάγετο τε τὴν who was of great reputation with him, took γυναῖκα, τοῦ Χαλίλεω ἀνάγοντος, παρ' him up to his capital. After this he attacked αὐτῷ μέγα εὐδοκιμούντος, κατὰ τὰ Karamanos the Alisurian, the leader of Caria, βασίλεια αὐτοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἥλαυνεν making some accusations and primarily the ἐπὶ Καραμάνον τὸν Άλισούριον, ἡγεμόνα one that when he had his younger brother τῆς Καριάς, τά τε ἄλλα αἰτιασάμενος, καὶ beside him, he sent him against the Greeks. ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον When he arrived with a great army, he ἔχων παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἐπεμψεν ²⁰ ἐπὶ τοὺς devastated the land, when Karamanos had left Ἑλληνας. ἐπιὼν δὲ σὺν στρατεύματι it and was occupying the high places of the πολλῷ τὴν χώραν ἐδήσου, ἐκλεοπότος mountains. He had two cities – one of them αὐτὴν τε Καραμάνου καὶ τὰ ἄκρα called Laranda and the other Iconium, a city κατέχοντος (21) τῶν ὄρέων. ἐστὸν δὲ αὐτῷ which from days of old was great and δύο πόλεες, ἡ μὲν Λάρανδα λεγομένη, ἡ δὲ prosperous. In it was the queen of the τὸ Ἰκόνιον, πόλις μεγάλη τε οὖσα τὸ previous kings of this race. Now since the παλαιὸν καὶ εὐδαίμων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βασιλὶς ἦν mountains of the land were strong and were τῶν πρόσθεν βασιλέων τοῦ γένους τούτου· not easy to climb, they set out from that point ἄτε γὰρ τῶν ὄρέων τῆς χώρας ισχυρῶν and took the surrounding land and captured it. ὅντων ¹ καὶ οὐκ εὐπετῶν ἐπιβῆναι, After attacking it for a short time, they ὁρμώμενοι τὴν ταύτη χώραν περίοικον subdued it. The city (Iconium) has been well ἥγον καὶ ἔφερον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ governed for a very long time. Now this city προϊόντες κατεστρέφοντο. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις of Laranda has been settled at the foot of the αὗτη εὐνομούμενη ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ. mountains there and was not captured with Λάρανδα δὲ ἡ πόλις ὥκηται μὲν αὕτη ὑπὸ any stronghold.. When Murad attacked, the τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν ταύτη ὄρέων, καὶ οὐ land withstood him and did not give in. For it πάνυ ἔάλω τινὶ ὄχυρωματι. ἡ δὲ χώρα is not considered appropriate for those who ἐπίόντος τοῦ Ἀμουράτεω ¹⁰ ὑπέμενέ τε καὶ are Turks to be enslaved, in that they have οὐκ ἔξελιπεν οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομίζεται been established both in the same customs and Τούρκους γε ὅντας αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδί-

ζεσθαι, ἐς τὰ αὐτά τε ἄμα ἥθη καὶ way of life as the Romans.

ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν δίαιταν καθισταμένους. ὁ μέντοι Καραμάνος οὗτος ὅμορός ἐστι τῇ περιδῶν χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ Τουργούτεω. οἱ δὲ Πισιδῖται οὗτοι καὶ Βαρσάκιδες καλού-
μενοι νομάδες μέν εἰσι ¹¹⁵ καὶ γλώττῃ τῇ of the Turks. They live in a rather piratical
Τούρκων διαχρόμενοι, ληστρικώτερον δὲ way and plunder Syria and their other
βιοτεύουσι, τήν τε Συρίαν ληξόμενοι καὶ territory. And in fact they carry on hostilities
τὴν ἄλλην σφίσιν χώραν, καὶ δὴ τὴν in the land of Karamanos and plunder it.
Καραμάνου διαπολεμοῦντες ληξόνται. Those who rule over them, when they engage
ἄρχοντες δὲ σφίσιν ἐφεστῶτες καὶ in piracy, divide up the share of the plunder
ληξόμενοι τῆς τε λείας τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (22) which falls to them and distribute the lion's
μέρος αὐτοῖς τε διαλαγχάνουσι, καὶ τοῖς share and give it to those who stay at home
οἴκοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπιμένουσιν with wives. Turgutis rules over the land of
ἐπιδιελόμενοι διδόασι τὸ ἄλκιμον μέρος. Phrygia and his land extends to Armenia and
Τουργούτης δὲ τὸ τῆς Φρυγίας χώρας Cappadocia. The family of Turgutis seems to
έπαρχει τε, καὶ ἐπὶ Αρμενίαν ἤκει καὶ have come on the scene more recently under
Καππάδοκας ἡ χώρα αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ Murad and went down there and wrested the
Τουργούτεω γένος δοκεῖ ¹⁵ νεώτερον land from him. And when he reached this
γεγονέναι ύπὸ Άμουράτη, καὶ ἐπικαταβὰν place, he conducted hostilities against his
ἐς τὴν ταύτη τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν children and Karamanos. So he conducted
ἐπικρατήσαί τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῆς χώρας, hostilities of old, against the Leucarnians, the
καὶ ἐς δεῦρο διαγενόμενον πρός τε τοὺς children of Karailoukis. Kanduloron the city
παῖδας τε καὶ Καραμάνον διαπολεμεῖν. of Caria is under a man named and after
διεπολέμησε μὲν οὖν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πρὸς overthrowing the land, Murad the son of
τοὺς Λευκάρωνας Καραϊλούκεω παῖδας. τὸ Mahomet put his daughter into the harem and
μέντοι Κανδυλόρον ¹⁰ ἡ πόλις τῆς Καρίας left his son behind to rule the land. The
ύπὸ ἀνδρὶ τούνομα καὶ τὴν χώραν rulers, Kermianos and Aidines, he drove
καταστρεψάμενος Άμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέ- towards Karamanos and drove Sarchanes out
τεω τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν ἐς τὴν of the land. After attacking their capital, he
γυναικωνῖτιν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ enslaved them. Now Aidines died being
κατέλιπεν ἄρχειν τῆς χώρας. τοὺς μέντοι childless and Sarchanes and Mendesias
ἡγεμόνας, τόν τε Κερμανὸν καὶ Αϊδίνην, escaped to the lands that shared the same
έλαύνων ἐπὶ Καραμάνον, καὶ τόν τε borders and fled from Murad's advance.
Σιαρχάνην τῆς τε ¹⁵ χώρας ἐξήλασε, καὶ Mendesias actually arrived at Rhodes and
ἐπιὼν τὰ βασίλεια αὐτῶν ἤνδραποδίσατο. stayed there. After this having been
ὁ μέντοι Αϊδίνης ἐτελεύτησεν ἀπαῖς ὅν, summoned by a herald, he went to the king.
Σιαρχάνης δὲ καὶ Μενδεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς He made a request to receive some benefit
όμόρους αὐτῶν χώρας διεσώζοντο, from the king and staying in that place had his
ἀποφυγόντες Άμουράτην ἐπόντα. Μεν- expenses paid by the gates. Now Karamanos,
δεσίας μέντοι ἐς Ρόδον ἀφικόμενος as he had captured Iconium and subjugated its
διέτοιβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κηρυκευσάμενος land, stayed there. He sent envoys to Murad,
ἀφίκετο παρὰ ¹²⁰ βασιλέα, δεόμενος τυχεῖν promising to give his daughter to him as a
άγαθοῦ τινος πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ (23)
ἐς δεῦρο ἔτι διατρίβων τὴν δαπάνην ἔχει
ύπὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ὁ μέντοι Καραμάνος, ὃς
τό τε Ικόνιον κατειλήφει καὶ τὴν χώραν
αὐτοῦ κατέχων διέτοιβεν, ἔπειτε πρέσβεις
παρ' Άμουράτην, ύπισχνούμενος τὴν τε
θυγατέρα δούναι αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ¹⁵

τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέμπειν συστρατευό- wife and to send his son to serve with him at μενον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμουράτεω θύρας. ὁ μὲν δὴ the gates of Murad. Murad was persuaded by Ἀμουράτης ἐπείθετο, τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ this and after making a truce and taking an δόκια ποιησάμενος ἀπῆλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς oath, advanced on Europe. After this, when Εὐρώπης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου ἐπιγιγνο- some time was elapsing, he found fault with μένου αἰτιασάμενος Ἰσμαήλην τὸν Ishmael, the leader of Sinope and Castamonia Σινώπης καὶ Κασταμωνίας ἡγεμόνα and conducted an expedition against him. On ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ’ αὐτόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὡς learning that Murad was attacking him, he ¹¹⁰ ἐπύθετο ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπιέναι Ἀμουράτην, sent envoys, undertook to deliver revenue of πρόσβεις ἔπειμψε, καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ bronze (money), as much as he had, and he πρόσοδον ὑπέσχετο ἀποφέρειν τοῦ too undertook to send his son to the king’s ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὅση ἄν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοι οὖσα, gates. We learnt that he brought in the son of καὶ τὸν γε παῖδα ὑπισχνεῖτο ἐπιπέμπειν Turgutis, who had previously been present at καὶ οὗτος ἐξ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. τὸν the king’s gates, made him king and entrusted μέντοι Τουργούτεω παῖδα καὶ πρότερον the land to him to manage it, as might seem ἔτι παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως good to him.

θύρας ¹¹⁵ ἐπιθόμεθα ἐπαγαγέσθαι
βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπειρέπειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ
διαθεῖναι, ἥ ἄν αὐτῷ δοκοίη.

10. The Administrative hierarchy and Military command of the Turks

i. (V; ii, pp. 7.23-10.8 , ed. Darkó = 228.9-231.4, ed. Bonn)

αἱ μὲν οὖν θύραι ὡδέ πῃ ἔχουσαι. πεζοὶ So the gates function something like this. The πάρεισι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τοὺς foot-soldiers wait upon the king, about the six ἔξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐνίοτε ἀμφὶ τοὺς thousand and sometimes about the ten μυριόντων ἀπὸ (8) γὰρ τούτων φρουράν τε thousand. For from these he displays a φαίνει ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι, καὶ αὐθις garrison on the citadels and he establishes yet ἐτέραν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνων καθίστησι. another one for their land. And they were near παρεγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ τῇδε. παῖδας λαβὼν him in this place. After having taken the αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσους ἀν τύχῃ ἀνδρα- children captive, he settled as many as he ποδισάμενος, κατατίθεται ἐς τὴν Ασίαν happened to enslave in Asia to stay among the παρὰ τοῖς Τούρκοις, ὥστε τὴν Ἁ φωνὴν Turks, so that each one of them might learn ἐκμαθεῖν ἕνα ἔκαστον. καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἥ καὶ the language thoroughly. So having spent two τρία ἔτη διαγενόμενοι τίν τε γλώσσαν or three years they do understand the language ἐκμαθάνουσι, καὶ συνιέντες τῆς φωνῆς, thoroughly. And when they have understood ὅσα ἀν δυνηθῶσιν, αὐθις συλλέγει, ἀφ' the language, he again assembles as many as ὧν κατέθετο, ἐς δισκιλίους καὶ πλείους possible of those whom he settled, up to two τούτων. ἄγει δ' αὐτοὺς ἔνυπαντας ἐς τὴν thousand and more. He leads them all to Καλλιούπολιν, καὶ καθίστησιν αὐτοὺς ἐς Callioupolis and puts them on the boats, to act τὰ πλοῖα, ναυτίζεσθαι ¹¹⁰ τε καὶ δια- as sailors and carry across those who want to πορθμεύειν ἐς τὴν Ασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς cross from Europe to Asia. Each one of them Εὐρώπης τοὺς βουλομένους διαβαίνειν. receives an obol there and a coat each year. ὁβολὸν δ' ἔχει ἔκαστος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ After a short time they are sent to his gates. χιτῶνα τε ἐνιαυτοῦ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ He provides some of them with a salary χρόνον μεταπέμπονται ἐς τὰς θύρας sufficient for survival. But to others more is αὐτοῦ, παρέχων τε μασθόν, ὅσος ἂν provided. They are assigned to decemvirs, ἵκανὸς εἴη ἐς τὸ ἀποξῆν αὐτούς, ἐνίοις leaders of fifty men, bands of sworn soldiers ἄλλοις δὲ πλείω παρέχεται. καὶ ἐς and armed bands of soldiers. Those who have δεκαδάρχας ¹¹⁵ τε καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας καὶ distinguished themselves go on campaigns, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ λόχους τεταγμένοι τε καὶ share in the officers' mess and at sunset are διακεκριμένοι στρατεύονται, κατὰ τὰ with the decemvirs in the tent. These dwell in συσσίτια τε καὶ τῇ δύσει ἡλίου εἶναι σὺν their tents in close proximity to the king, each τῷ δεκαδάρχῃ ἐς τὴν σκηνήν. σκηνοῦσι τὸ in his own spot, but adjacent to another οὔτοι ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ person. However within this area nobody is χώρον ἔκαστος ἔχόμενος τοῦ ἐτέρου. permitted to pitch a tent, except for the ἐντὸς μέντοι τούτων οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι ¹²⁰ children of the king and the treasures of the σκηνοῦν, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων king and the bedchamber. He has a red tent. καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ Now when there are two and when there are κοιτῶνος. σκηνὴ τὸ ἐρυθρὰ αὐτῷ. ὅτε μὲν three tents situated near the king himself, they δύο, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἴδονται αὐτῷ τῷ are made of red felt shot through with gold. βασιλεῖ, ἀπὸ πύλου ἐρυθροῦ χρυσόπαστοι, The other tents around the fifteen are all καὶ σκηναὶ ἔτεραι ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντεκαίδεκα, inside the newcomers. The rest of the men of πάσαι ἐντὸς τῶν νεηλύδων. ἐκτὸς δὲ the gates dwell outside, the ἀμουραχόριοι, σκηνοῦσιν οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν (9) θυρῶν ἄνδρες, and the cup-bearers, which are called οἵτε ἀμουραχόριοι καὶ οἰνοχόοι οἱ σαραπτάριοι by them and standard-bearers, λεγόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν σαραπτάριοι, καὶ σημαιοφόροι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐμουραλάμιοι, καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν προτανεῖς, βεζίριδες

οὗτοι καλούμενοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελια- which are called εμουραλαμοι and the chief φόροι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μεγάλοι τε ὄντες, magistrates of the gates which are called καὶ ὡς ^ι πλείους ἐπαγόμενοι θεράποντας, βεζιριδες, the message-bearers of the king. πληθὺν παρέχοντας ἅπλετον. μετὰ δὲ So these men are important and possess as συλικτάριδες ἔνεισι τῶν βασιλέως θυρῶν many servants as possible, which produce an ἀμφὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, οἱ ἵπτεῖς ὄντες ἀπὸ immense multitude. As well there are the τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ ταύτην παραγίνονται keepers (?) (συλικτάριδες) of the three τὴν χώραν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καριπίδες οἱ hundred. These are cavalry from the recent ἐπήλυδες καλούμενοι, ἀπὸ τε Ασίας καὶ arrivals who have come to this land. After Αἰγύπτου καὶ δὴ καὶ Λιβύης αὐτῷ ^{ι^ο} ἐς these are the foreigners called *karipides* τὰς θύρας παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἀρετῆς (καριπίδες), who have come from Asia and ἀντιποιούμενοι ἔναντι βασιλέως, μεμισθω- Egypt and even Libya to his gates. They μένοι αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν πλείονος, ὁ δὲ demonstrate valour before the king and are ἐλάττονος. τούτων τὸ ἔχονται ἀλοφατ- hired by him, one man for a greater amount, ζίδες ὁ μισθωτοὶ καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακο- ζίδες) around the eight hundred. Close to σίους. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων ^{ι^ο} these again are the so-called spachides παῖδες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος (σπαχίδες) around the two hundred. These ἐκβαλὼν ἐς ταύτην αὐτοὺς καθίστησι τὴν are the children of the chiefs, some of whom, χώραν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἔχει after removing them from the bedchamber, he ὡς ἀνδρῶν παῖδας ἀγαθῶν γενομένους. sets in charge of this land, while he chooses

Καὶ αἱ μὲν θύραι, ὡς ξυνελόντι μοι others and keeps them there as the children of φάναι, οὕτω τετάχαται δύο δὲ ὑπὸ noble men.

βασιλέως ἐς ξύμπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν Now the gates, as was told to me καθίστανται ^{ι^ο} στρατηγοί, ὁ μὲν τῆς briefly, are arranged in this way: two generals Εὐρώπης, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ασίας. καὶ τούτων are appointed by the king to rule over his ἐκατέρῳ ἔπονται τά τε στρατεύματα καὶ ὁ whole empire – one over Europe and the other ἄρχοντες, ὅποι ἂν ἔξηγῶνται, ἐπειδὰν over Asia. The armies and the rulers follow ἐπαγγεῖλη αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. ἔπονται δὲ each of them wherever they lead, whenever αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπαρχοι παρ' αὐτοῖς the king issues instructions to them. The σημαιοφόροι καλούμενοι ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐς subordinate commanders, who are called τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὑπὸ βασιλέως among themselves standard-bearers follow καθίστηται, (10) σημαίᾳ τε δωρεῖται αὐτὸν them. For whenever someone is assigned to ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς στρατηγῷ γενομένῳ καὶ this responsibility, the king bestows a πολλῶν ἄρχοντι πόλεων. τούτῳ δ' αὐτῷ standard on him, as having become a general ὑπάρχω ἔπονται οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντες, and a ruler of many cities. Also the rulers of ὅποι στρατεύηται. χωροῦσι δὲ ἄπαντες the cities follow this subordinate commander, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπόμενοι τοῖς σφετέροις wherever he leads his army. They all proceed αὐτῶν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ^ι according to these criteria, as they follow their ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὸ βασιλέως παραγένωνται own rulers and generals, whenever they are στρατόπεδον. αὐτὴ σχεδὸν ἡ τῶν involved with the king's army. So this is στρατευμάτων αὐτῷ διάταξις. οἱ μέντοι roughly the way his armies are managed. The ἵπποδρόμοι τάττονται καὶ οὗτοι ἐς τοὺς cavalry however are organised for their own σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουσ. οἱ δὲ ἀζάπιδες subordinate commanders. The *azapides* ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι, ἐς ταύτῳ (ἀζάπιδες), who follow under one leader, go on military expeditions for the same purpose.

ii. (VII; ii, p. 103.3-12, ed. Darkó = 331.12-22, ed. Bonn)

(103) ^{Ι³} καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς νεήλυδας First of all, having drawn up the newcomers παραταξάμενος ἐκυκλοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν in battle array, he was surrounded by the θυρεῶν, εὐμεγέθεις πηξάμενος σιδηρείους shields, having fixed huge iron posts in the ^{Ι⁵} ἐς τὴν γῆν. φέρει δὲ τούτους αἱεί, ὅποι ground. The king constantly conveys these on ἄν στρατεύηται βασιλεύς, ἐπὶ τῶν the camels, wherever he leads an expedition. καμήλων καὶ πρός γε τὰ ὅπλα τῶν In addition he conveys the weapons of the νεηλύδων ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέρει, καὶ newcomers on the camels. Whenever he ὅποι ἀν ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ μάχη, διανειμάμενος might be involved in a battle, he distributes τὰ ὅπλα ἐς μάχην καθίσταται. μετὰ δὲ the weapons and gets involved in the battle. τούτους τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἄγων καὶ τὰς After bringing the shields and camels, he puts καμήλους αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἔμπροσθεν ^{Ι¹⁰} τῶν them in front of the shields and thus things are θυρεῶν ἔστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρετάσσετο ἐς arranged for the gates. But in the middle, he τὰς θύρας. ἐν μέσῳ δ' αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ and the leaders of his household and those in οἴκου ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν, ὅσοι charge of the gates are situated, as many as πάρεισιν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. are at hand for his army.