PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA: The Persian Wars

Procopius was the major historian of the reign of Justinian and one of the most important historians of Late Antiquity. This is the first stand-alone English translation of his work *The Persian Wars*. It offers a new translation, which has at its basis one published fifty years ago by Averil Cameron. *The Persian Wars*, despite the title, is a wide-ranging work that reports the history and geography not only of Mesopotamia and the Caucasus, but also of southern Arabia and Ethiopia, Iran and Central Asia, and Constantinople itself. This book is equipped with notes, maps and plans, an introduction, and a translation of a further Greek text, that of Nonnosus, which overlaps with Procopius'. It will be of interest to specialists and the general reader alike.

GEOFFREY GREATREX is a Professor in the Department of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa and President of the Canadian Committee of Byzantinists. He has spent the past thirty years in research on the late Roman eastern frontier, much of it concerned with the work of Procopius, and has published extensively on the subject.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA: *The Persian Wars*

Translation, with Introduction and Notes

EDITED BY

GEOFFREY GREATREX

University of Ottawa

With acknowledgements to AVERIL CAMERON University of Oxford







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316617076

DOI: 10.1017/9781316694077

© Geoffrey Greatrex 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022 First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

1SBN 978-1-107-16570-0 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-61707-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

| PrefaceixAcknowledgementsxiAcknowledgementsxiiList of AbbreviationsxiiTables of NamesxiiiNames of PeoplexiiiNames of Places and PeoplesxviiiProper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | List of Maps and Battle Plans | page vi |
|---|---|---------|
| List of AbbreviationsxiiTables of NamesxiiiNames of PeoplexiiiNames of Places and PeoplesxviiiProper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Preface | |
| Tables of NamesxiiiNames of PeoplexiiiNames of Places and PeoplesxviiiProper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxviList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian WarsI2This TranslationI4ConclusionI4Further ReadingI6The Persian WarsI9Book I21Book III17Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Acknowledgements | xi |
| Names of PeoplexiiiNames of Places and PeoplesxviiiProper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxvExplanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | List of Abbreviations | xii |
| Names of Places and PeoplesxviiiProper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Tables of Names | xiii |
| Proper Names and Notes in the TranslationxxivExplanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Names of People | xiii |
| Explanation of the NotesxxvList of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion16Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Names of Places and Peoples | xviii |
| List of Primary SourcesxxviGlossaryxxviiiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Proper Names and Notes in the Translation | xxiv |
| GlossaryxxviiiIntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Explanation of the Notes | xxv |
| IntroductionIProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | List of Primary Sources | xxvi |
| ProcopiusIThe Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Glossary | xxviii |
| The Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century2The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Introduction | I |
| The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century8Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Procopius | I |
| Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity9The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | The Eastern Roman Empire in the Sixth Century | 2 |
| The Persian Wars12This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | The Persian Kingdom in the Sixth Century | 8 |
| This Translation14This Translation14Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Romano-Persian Relations in Late Antiquity | 9 |
| Conclusion14Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | | 12 |
| Further Reading16The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | This Translation | I4 |
| The Persian Wars19Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Conclusion | 14 |
| Book I21Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Further Reading | 16 |
| Book II117Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | The Persian Wars | 19 |
| Appendix: Nonnosus211Index of Persons and Titles219 | Book I | 21 |
| Index of Persons and Titles 219 | Book II | 117 |
| | Appendix: Nonnosus | 211 |
| | 11 | 219 |
| | Index of Peoples and Places | 237 |

v

Maps and Battle Plans

| I | The Eastern Roman Empire in 527 | 4 |
|----|--|----|
| 2 | The Persian Empire | 25 |
| 3 | The Persian Northeastern Frontier | 26 |
| 4 | The Roman East During the Anastasian War | 37 |
| 5 | Amida | 39 |
| 6 | The Caucasus Region, c.510 | 47 |
| 7 | The Eastern Frontier in 527 | 57 |
| 8 | The Frontier Around Dara | 58 |
| 9 | The Frontier Zone Between Dara and Nisibis | 59 |
| IO | The Immediate Environs of Dara | 60 |
| II | The Dispositions for Battle at Dara | 60 |
| 12 | The Battle of Dara (Phase 1) | 66 |
| 13 | The Battle of Dara (Phase 2) | 67 |
| 14 | The Battle of Dara (Phase 3) | 68 |
| 15 | The Battle of Dara (Phase 4) | 68 |
| 16 | The Battle of Dara (Phase 5) | 69 |
| 17 | The Satala Campaign | 71 |
| 18 | Places Linked to Orestes and Iphigenia | 77 |
| 19 | The Callinicum Campaign | 84 |

vi

page

CAMBRIDGE

| | List of Maps and Battle Plans | vii |
|----|---|-----|
| 20 | The Battle of Callinicum | 85 |
| 21 | The Arabian Peninsula, Ethiopia and Egypt | 89 |
| 22 | Constantinople at the Time of the Nika Riot | 104 |
| 23 | Constantinople and its Environs | II2 |
| 24 | Hunnic Invasions of the Balkans | 126 |
| 25 | Khusro's Invasions of the Roman East | 130 |
| 26 | Khusro's Invasion of 540 | 131 |
| 27 | Antioch | 140 |
| 28 | Dara | 156 |
| 29 | Edessa | 190 |
| 30 | Lazica and Iberia in the 540s | 203 |

Preface

As I note in the Preface to my detailed Commentary to this work, which will be published simultaneously, a publicist could perhaps describe this as the first new translation in English for over a hundred years, since Dewing's Loeb translation (vol. 1) appeared first in 1914. But in fact such an assertion would not be strictly accurate, for two reasons. First, Averil Cameron published in 1967 a paperback translation of significant extracts from the *Persian* and *Gothic Wars*, the *Anecdota* and the *Buildings*. With her kind permission I have used this translation as the basis of my own; it is a great shame that it was never widely available because the press that published it disappeared soon afterwards. Second, Anthony Kaldellis in 2014 brought out a one-volume translation of the *Wars* which, while ostensibly a revision of Dewing's, is almost a new work in itself. I discuss other translations below in the Introduction.

In addition to the translation of Procopius I have included a new translation of Nonnosus' work, so far as it survives in Photius' ninthcentury summary. The same translation, with more copious notes, may also be found in my Commentary. It sheds further light on the situation in southern Arabia in the first part of Justinian's reign, complementing what Procopius reports at 1.19–20.

I am grateful to various colleagues and friends who have assisted me with the translation, notably Richard Burgess and Eleanor Dickey. While working on this translation I also made one into Esperanto, on which Saioa Escobar was kind enough to send me comments; these have in turn helped me with the English version. Dariusz Brodka invariably responded quickly to questions I had about his Polish translation, with which Kamilla Twardowska also helped me. Julian and Elizabeth Lock read through the translation with their expert proof-reading eyes, as did my mother at a subsequent stage. Lucas McMahon helped insert the section numbers at an early stage. For the accompanying maps I am grateful to JaShong King, who produced most of them, as also to

ix

х

Preface

Catharine Hof and Grégoire Poccardi for the city plans. Maxime Petitjean kindly gave permission to adapt his battle plans for Dara and Callinicum, while Chris Lillington-Martin did likewise for the maps of the area around Dara. I should also like to thank Scott Winges for his work on the indices and to express my thanks to Barbara Docherty for her attentive copy-editing and to Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his faith in the project over its long duration.

The notes are quite brief: full details are, of course, to be found in my Commentary. While attempting to orientate the reader on basic points, I have tended to give references to basic works such as the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* and the *Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, alongside a few works devoted to the Roman eastern frontier. I have listed relevant general works in the Further Reading section, pp. 16–17.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful, as noted in the Preface, to Averil Cameron for her permission to adapt and complete her translation of 1967. This was published by the Washington Square Press, which is an imprint of Simon and Schuster, it should be noted, but has long been unavailable.

I should like to express my gratitude also for permission to adapt several plans:

- Elif Keser-Kayaalp and Nihat Erdoğan for the plan of Dara (fig. 28)
- Grégoire Poccardi and Catherine Saliou for the plan of Antioch (fig. 27)
- John Watt and Liverpool University Press for the plan of Edessa, which is based on map IV in J. Watt and F. Trombley, *The Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite (Liverpool, 1999) (fig. 29)
- Fig. 9 is adapted with permission from Christopher Lillington-Martin
- Fig. 10 is adapted with permission from Andrew Brozyna
- Figs. 11–16 and 20 are adapted with permission from Maxime Petitjean

The work of producing and adapting the maps was carried out for the most part, as noted in the Preface, by JaShong King, but I must also thank Catharine Hof for her adaptation of the city plans of Amida, Antioch, Dara and Edessa. Ross Burns kindly provided fig. 26, which shows the road network in the Roman East, while Jonathan Bardill likewise prepared fig. 22, the map of Constantinople at the time of the Nika riot.

Abbreviations

See also the list of other sources at the end of the Introduction, pp. 16–17.

| AEBI | Arabs and Empires before Islam, ed. G. Fisher (Oxford, 2015). |
|------|---|
| ODLA | The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity, ed. O. Nicholson |
| | (Oxford, 2018). |
| PLRE | Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vols. 2-3, ed. J.R. |
| | Martindale (Cambridge, 1980–92). |
| REF | G. Greatrex and S.N.C. Lieu, The Roman Eastern Frontier |
| | and the Persian Wars, A.D. 363–630 (London, 2002). |
| RPLA | B. Dignas and E. Winter, Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: |
| | Neighbours and Rivals (Cambridge, 2007). |
| RPW | G. Greatrex, Rome and Persia at War, 502–532 (Leeds, 1998). |
| | |

Tables of Names

| Greek name (transliterated) | Name used in this translation | Other versions of the name |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Abandanēs | Abandanes | |
| Abokharabos | Abu Karib | Abū Karib |
| Abramos | Abramus | Abraha |
| Akakios | Acacius | |
| Adergoudounbadēs | Adergudunbades | Ādhargulbād |
| Adolios | Adolius | |
| Adonachos | Adonachus | |
| Aeimachos | Aeimachus | |
| Aigan | Aigan | |
| Alamoundaros | al-Mundhir | |
| Alexandros | Alexander | |
| Amazaspēs | Amazaspes | Hamazasp |
| Ambazoukēs | Ambazuces | |
| Ambros | 'Amr | |
| Anastasios | Anastasius | |
| Anatolios | Anatolius | |
| Andreas | Andreas | Andrew |
| Aniabedēs | Aniabedes | ? ayēnbadh |
| Antōnina | Antonina | |
| Apiōn | Apion | |
| Aratios | Aratius | |
| Areobindos | Areobindus | |

(1) Names of People

xiii

| xiv | Tables of Name | 3 |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Greek name (transliterated) | Name used in this translation | Other versions of the name |
| Arethas | al-Harith | al-Ḥārith |
| Argek | Argek | |
| Arkadios | Arcadius | |
| Arsakēs | Arsaces | Aršak, Arshak |
| Artabanēs | Artabanes | Ardavan |
| Askan | Ascan | |
| Aspebedēs | Aspebedes | ? spāhbad |
| Augaros | Abgar | |
| Augoustos | Augustus | |
| Azarethēs | Azarethes | Exarath, ? <i>hazārbed</i> |
| Baradotos | Baradotus | Bar-Hadad |
| Baresmanas | Baresmanas | ? marzban |
| Basilidēs | Basilides | |
| Basileios | Basil | |
| Bassakēs | Bassaces | Vasak |
| Bassikios | Bassicius | Vasak |
| Belisarios | Belisarius | |
| Blasēs | Blases | Balash, Valash |
| Blēskhamēs | Bleschames | |
| Boēs | Boes | |
| Boraïdēs | Boraides | |
| Bouzēs | Buzes | |
| Bradoukios | Braducius | |
| Kabadēs | Kavadh | Cabades, Qubad, Qobad |
| Kaïsos | Qays | Caisus |
| Kandidos | Candidus | |
| Kaosēs | Kaoses | Kāwūs, Kayūs |
| Keler | Celer | |
| Khanarangēs | kanarang | kanārang, Kanārangīyān |
| Khosroēs | Khusro | Kosrow, Kisra, Xusro |
| | | |

| | Tables of Name. | s xv |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Greek name (transliterated) | Name used in this translation | Other versions of the name |
| Kōnstantianos | Constantianus | |
| Koutzēs | Cutzes | |
| Kyrillos | Cyril | |
| Kyros | Cyrus | |
| Dagisthaios | Dagisthaeus | |
| Diogenēs | Diogenes | |
| Dioklētianos | Diocletian | |
| Domnentiolos | Domnentiolus | |
| Dorotheos | Dorotheus | |
| Eirenaios | Irenaeus | |
| Ephraimios | Ephraem | |
| Esimiphaios | Esimiphaeus | Sumūyafa' Ashwa' |
| Euaris | Euaris | Evaris |
| Eusebios | Eusebius | |
| Phlorentios | Florentius | |
| Gabalas | Jabala | Gabala |
| Geōrgios | George | |
| Germanos | Germanus | |
| Glōnēs | Glones | Aglon |
| Godidisklos | Godidisclus | |
| Goubazēs | Gubazes | |
| Gourgenēs | Gurgenes | |
| Gousanastadēs | Gusanastades | Gushnaspdād |
| Hellesthaios | Hellesthaeus | Kālēb, 'Ella 'Așbeḥa |
| Hermogenēs | Hermogenes | |
| Honōrios | Honorius | |
| Hypatios | Hypatius | |
| - | | |

| xvi | Tables of Name | 3 |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Greek name (transliterated) | Name used in this translation | Other versions of the name |
| Iphigeneia | Iphigenia | |
| Isaakēs | Isaac | |
| Isdigerdēs | Yazdgerd | |
| Isdigousnas | Yazdgushnasp | Iesdegousnaph, Iesdek |
| Iakōbos | Jacob | |
| Iasōn | Jason | |
| Iēsous | Jesus | |
| Iōannēs | John | |
| Ioulianos | Julian | |
| Ioustinianos | Justinian | |
| Ioustinos | Justin | |
| Ioustos | Justus | |
| Libelarios | Libelarius | |
| Longinos | Longinus | |
| Loukas | Luke | |
| Markellos | Marcellus | |
| Martinos | Martin | |
| Mebodēs | Mebodes | Māhbōdh |
| Mermeroēs | Mihr-Mihroe | |
| Mirranēs | Mirranes | Mihran |
| Molatzēs | Molatzes | |
| Moundos | Mundus | |
| Nabedēs | Nabedes | Nabed |
| Narsēs | Narses | |
| Nikētas | Nicetas | |
| Odonathos | Odenathus | |
| Olybrios | Olybrius | |
| Orestēs | Orestes | |

| | Tables of Names | xvii |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Greek name (transliterated) | Name used in this translation | Other versions of the name |
| Origenēs | Origen | |
| Osroēs | Osrhoes | |
| Pakourios | Pacurius | |
| Patrikiolos | Patriciolus | |
| Patrikios | Patricius | |
| Paulos | Paul | |
| Peranios | Peranius | |
| Perozēs | Peroz | Fīrūz |
| Petros | Peter | |
| Phabrizos | Vahriz | |
| Pharesmanēs | Pharesmanes | Farzman |
| Pharsansēs | Pharsanses | |
| Philemouth | Philemuth | |
| Phokas | Phocas | |
| Phoubelis | Phubelis | |
| Pityaxēs | Pityaxes | bdeashkh, bidaxš |
| Pompeios | Pompey | |
| Probos | Probus | |
| Proklos | Proculus | Proclus |
| Prokopios | Procopius | |
| Pyladēs | Pylades | |
| Rhekinarios | Rhecinarius | |
| Rhekithangos | Rhecithangus | |
| Roufinos | Rufinus | |
| Senekios | Senecius | |
| Seosēs | Seoses | Siyāvush |
| Sergios | Sergius | |
| Silbanos | Silvanus | |
| Solomōn | Solomon | |
| Soummos | Summus | |
| | | |

| Greek name (transliterated)Name used in this translationOther versions of the name (transliterated)SounikasSunicasStephanakiosStephanaciusStephanosStephanusStratēgiosStrategiusSymeönSymeonTatianosTatianTheodōraTheodoraTheodōrosTheodoreTheodrisosTheodoreTheodrisosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTrajanTribonianTribounianusTribonianTribounianusTribonianTribounaValerianQuaranešValerianOutaranešVarramesBalerianosVitalianOutrigisVitigisWittigisZaberganZamēsZaberganZamēsZanesZenobiaZenobia | xviii | Tables of Name | °S |
|---|--------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| StephanakiosStephanaciusStephanosStephanusStratēgiosStrategiusSymeonSymeonTatianTatianTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodorsTheodoreTheodorsTheodoreTheodorsTheodoriusTheodorsTheodoriusTheodorsTheodoreTheodorsTheodoriusTheodorsTheodoriusTheodoriusTheodoriusTheodoriusTheodoriusTheodoriusTheodoriusThioniusTheodoriusTimostratosTrijanTribounianusTribonianTribounosValerianOuarramēsBahramValeranBahramSterisVitalianOuitrigisVitigisZaberganēsZamesZamesZamesZanesZames | | | Other versions of the name |
| StephanosStephanusStratēģiosStrateģiusSymeönSymeonTatianTatianTheodōraTheodoraTheodōraTheodoreTheodōrosTheodosiusTheotāsiosTheodericTheodriktstosTheodericTimostratosTribonianTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuararanēsSahramValeranesBahram, VahramBárosVitalianOuitriģisVitalianZaberganēsZamesZamēsZamesZanēsZanesZanesZames | Sounikas | Sunicas | |
| StrategiosStrategiusSymeonSymeonTatianosTatianTatianosTatianTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodorosTheodoreTheodošiosTheodosiusTheotištosTheoctistusTheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosValerianOuaranačsBahramValerianValramesBalerianosVitalianOuarančsVitalianStatianosVitalianStatianosSitalianosGuarančsSenoStatianosStrategiasBalerianosStrategiasStatianosStrategias | Stephanakios | Stephanacius | |
| SymeonSymeonTatianosTatianTatianosTatianTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodoreTheodošosTheodosiusTheokistosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTraianosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosSahramValerianSahramQuaramēsSahramSérosVerusBitalianosVitalianOuirtigisZaberganZabergančsZamesZančsZanesZančsZeno | Stephanos | Stephanus | |
| TatianTatianTatianTheodoraTheodoraTheodoraTheodorosTheodoreTheodošiosTheodosiusTheodišiosTheoctistusTheodericTimostratosTimostratosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosValerianOuaranaësBahramOuaranaësVaramesBalerianosVitalianOuaraněsVitalianStaberganěsZamesZaberganěsZamesZaněsZamesZaněsZeno | Stratēgios | Strategius | |
| TheodōraTheodoraTheodōraTheodoraTheodōrosTheodoreTheodōšiosTheodosiusTheoktistosTheoctistusTheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTrajanTrijanTribounianusTribonianTribounosValerianOuaranāšBahramOuarramēsVatramesBitalianosVitalianOuitrigisVitagisMitalianosSitalianAberganāšZamesZaberganāšZamesZamēsZamesZamēsZeno | Symeōn | Symeon | |
| TheodōrosTheodoreTheodōsiosTheodosiusTheodtistosTheoctistusTheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTrajanTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosValerianOuaraanēsBahramValeramesBahram, VahramBitalianosVitalianOuitrigisVitagisBitalianosKitagisZaberganēsZamesZamēsZamesZamēsZeno | Tatianos | Tatian | |
| TheodošiosTheodosiusTheoktistosTheoctistusTheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTraïanosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuararanêsBahramOuarramêsVarramesBitalianosVitalianOuitrigisVitegisZaberganêsZamesZamêsZamesZenoîZeno | Theodōra | Theodora | |
| TheoderikTheocetistusTheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTraĭanosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuaranāsBahramOuarramēsVarramesBitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitegisWittigisVitegisZaberganēsZamesZamēsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZamesZanõs </td <td>Theodōros</td> <td>Theodore</td> <td></td> | Theodōros | Theodore | |
| TheuderikhosTheodericTimostratosTimostratusTraïanosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuararanêsBahramOuarramêsVerusBitalianosVitalianOuitrigisVitagisWittigisSaberganêsZaberganêsZamesZamêsZamesZanêsZanesZanêsZanesZanêsZanesZanêsZanesZanêsZanesYananYananêsYananêsYanesYananêsYitalianYanêsYitalianYanêsYitalianYanêsYitalianYanêsYitalêsYanêsYitalê | Theodōsios | Theodosius | |
| TimostratusTimostratusTrajanTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuaranaēsBahramOuarramēsVarramesBitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitalianZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZamēsZamesZanēsZanesZenoZeno | Theoktistos | Theoctistus | |
| TraïanosTrajanTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuaranāšBahramOuarramēsVarramesBitalianosVerusOutrigisVitalianOutrigisSaberganZaberganēsZamesZamēsZamesZanõsZamesZanõsZanos< | Theuderikhos | Theoderic | |
| TribaniarTribaniarTribounianusTribonianTribounosTribunusBalerianosValerianOuararanēsBahramOuarramēsVarramesBahramVahramOuarramēsVerusBitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitigisZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZenonZeno | Timostratos | Timostratus | |
| TribunusBalerianosValerianOuarananēsBahramVahramOuarramēsVarramesBahram, VahramBérosVerusBahram, VahramBitalianosVitalianVitalianOuittigisVitigisWittigisZaberganēsZamesZamesZamēsZamesZham, JāmāspZenoZenoZamašs | Traïanos | Trajan | |
| BalerianosValerianOuaranõsBahramVahramOuaranõsVarramesBahram, VahramOuaranõsVerusBahram, VahramBitalianosVitalianVitalianOuittigisVitigisWittigisZaberganõsZamesZamesZanõsZanosZeno | Tribounianus | Tribonian | |
| OuararanêsBahramVahramOuarramêsVarramesBahram, VahramBérosVerusBahram, VahramBitalianosVitalianVitalianOuittigisVitigisWittigisZaberganêsZaberganZamesZenonZenoZham, Jâmâsp | Tribounos | Tribunus | |
| OuarramēsVarramesBahram, VahramBérosVerusBitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitigisZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZenoîZeno | Balerianos | Valerian | |
| BérosVerusBitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitigisZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZenonZeno | Ouararanēs | Bahram | Vahram |
| BitalianosVitalianOuittigisVitigisZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZenoZeno | Ouarramēs | Varrames | Bahram, Vahram |
| OuittigisVitigisWittigisZaberganēsZaberganZamēsZamesZenonZeno | Béros | Verus | |
| Zaberganës Zabergan Zamës Zames Zham, Jāmāsp Zēnōn Zeno | Bitalianos | Vitalian | |
| ZamēsZamesZham, JāmāspZēnōnZeno | Ouittigis | Vitigis | Wittigis |
| Zēnōn Zeno | Zaberganēs | Zabergan | |
| | Zamēs | Zames | Zham, Jāmāsp |
| Zēnobia Zenobia | Zēnōn | Zeno | |
| | Zēnobia | Zenobia | |

(2) Names of Places and Peoples

| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Aborrhas (river) | Khabur | |
| Ailas | Aela | Aqaba |

| | NT 1. 1. 1. | O(1) |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
| Aithiopai | Ethiopians | D . 11 |
| Amida | Amida | Diyarbakır |
| Ammodios | Ammodius | Amuda, 'Amudin |
| Antinoou (<i>polis</i>) | City of Antinous | Antinoë, Antinoöpolis |
| Antiokheia | Antioch | Antakya |
| Apameia | Apamea | Afamia |
| Arkhaiopolis | Archaeopolis | Nokalakevi |
| Arsinos (river) | Arsinus | Arsanias, Murat Su |
| Artakē | Artace | Erdek |
| Arzamōn | Arzamon | Tell Harzem |
| Arzanēnē | Arzanene | |
| Attakhas | Attachas | Attachae |
| Auxōmis | Auxomis | Axum, Aksum, Ethi- opia |
| Auxōmitai | Auxomites | Axumites, Aksumites, Ethiopians |
| Barbalissos | Barbalissus | Eski Meskene |
| Batnai | Batnae | Batnan, Serug |
| Beroia | Beroea | Aleppo, Halab |
| Blemyes | Blemmyes | ? Beja |
| Bōlon | Bolum | Bołberd |
| Bosporos | Bosporus | Panticapaeum, Kertch |
| Boulikas | Bulicas | |
| Byzantion | Byzantium | Constantinople, Istanbul |
| Kadisēnoi | Kadiseni | |
| Kaisareia | Caesarea | |
| Kallinikon | Callinicum | ar-Raqqa |
| Kappadokia | Cappadocia | |
| Karrhai | Carrhae | Harran |
| Kaspiai Pylai | Caspian Gates | |
| Kassandreia | Cassandreia | Potidaea |
| Kaukasos | Caucasus | |
| Kelesēnē | Kelesene | |

| XX | Tables of Names | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
| Khersōn | Cherson | Sevastopol |
| Kherronēsos | Chersonese | |
| Khorzianēnē | Khorzianene | |
| Kilikia | Cilicia | |
| Kirkēsion | Circesium | |
| Kitharizōn | Citharizon | |
| Kolkhis | Colchis | Lazica, (Western) Georgia |
| Komana | Comana | |
| Kommagēnē | Commagene | |
| Kōnstantina | Constantia | Viranşehir |
| Ktēsiphōn | Ctesiphon | |
| Kyzikos | Cyzicus | |
| Daphnē | Daphne | |
| Daras | Dara | Anastasiopolis |
| Doubios | Dubios | Dvin |
| Elephantinē | Elephantine | |
| Ephthalitai | Hephthalites | Abdelai |
| Erouloi | Heruls | |
| Euphratēsia | Euphratesia | Euphratensis |
| Europos | Europus | Carchemish, Jerablous |
| Pontos Euxeinos | Euxine Sea | Black Sea |
| Gabboulon | Gabbulon | Usually found as Gabboulōn |
| Gorgō | Gorgo | Gorgān, Gurgān |
| Hebraioi | Jews | Hebrews |
| Homeritai | Homerites | Himyarites |
| Ounnoi | Huns | |

CAMBRIDGE

| Tables of Names xx | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
| Ibēres | Iberians | Georgians |
| Illyrioi | Illyricum | |
| Iōtabē | Iotabe | |
| Isauroi | Isaurians | |
| Istros | Danube | |
| Hierosolyma | Jerusalem | |
| Lazika | Lazica | (Western) Georgia |
| Libanos | Lebanon | |
| Libyoi | Libyans | Africans |
| Ligouroi | Ligurians | |
| Lykaones | Lycaonians | |
| Makedōnoi | Macedonians | |
| Maddēnoi | Maddeni | Maʻadd |
| Massagetai | Massagetae | Huns |
| Mēdoi | Medes | Persians |
| Melitēnē | Melitene | Malatya |
| Mindouos | Minduos | |
| Mokhērēsis | Mokheresis | ? Mourisius |
| Maurousioi | Moors | |
| Mopsouestia | Mopsuestia | Yakapınar |
| Neilos | Nile | |
| Noubatai | Nobatae | Noubades |
| Nymphios | Nymphius | Batman-su |
| Obbanē | Obbane | |
| Oinokhalakōn | Oenochalakon | |
| Orokasias | Orocasias | |
| Orontēs | Orontes | Asi |
| Osrhoēnē | Osrhoene | |

| xxii | Tables of Names | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
| Palaistina | Palestine | |
| Peloponnēsioi | Peloponnese | |
| Pelousion | Pelusium | |
| Persai | Persians | |
| Petrai | Petra | Al-Batrā |
| Pharangion | Pharangium | İspir, Sper |
| Philai | Philae | |
| Phisōn | Phison | |
| Phoinikē | Phoenice | Phoinice Libanensis |
| Phoinikōn | Palm Grove | |
| Pitious | Pityus | Bichvinta, Pitsunda |
| Pontos | Pontus | |
| Potidaia | Potidaea | |
| Erythra thalassa | Red Sea | |
| Rhizaion | Rhizaeum | Rize |
| Rōmaioi | Romans | |
| Roufinianai | Rufinianae | |
| Sabeiroi | Sabirs | |
| Sarakēnoi | Saracens | Arabs |
| Saros | Sarus | Sarız |
| Seleukeia | Seleucia | |
| Sisauranōn | Sisauranon | Sisarbanon |
| Skanda | Scanda | |
| Sophanēnē | Sophanene | |
| Sounitai | Sunitae | Siwnik' |
| Soura | Sura | Suriya |
| Sykai | Sycae | |
| Tauroi | Taurians | |
| Tauros (mountains) | Taurus | |
| Theodosioupolis | Theodosiopolis | Erzerum, Erzurum |

| Tables of Names xxiii | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Name in Procopius' Greek | Name used in this translation | Other name(s) |
| Thermopylai | Thermopylae | |
| Thessalia | Thessaly | |
| Thilasamōn | Thilasamon | |
| Thrakia | Thrace | |
| Trapezous | Trapezus | Trebizond, Trabzon |
| Trētos | Tretus | |
| Tzanoi | Tzani | |
| Bandiloi | Vandals | |
| Leukosyroi | White Syrians | |
| Zēkhoi | Zekhi | |
| Zēnobia | Zenobia | Halabiyya |



Proper Names and Notes in the Translation

I have used the normal (Latin) versions of Greek/Roman names in the translation. This is not, I realise, a neutral choice: Anthony Kaldellis prefers to use the Greek version of a name, so that he refers to Ioannes rather than John and to Kappadokia rather than Cappadocia, arguing that to use the Latin or English forms is a distortion and a 'redundant affectation'. On the other hand, it has been the norm not only in English, but also in (e.g.) French and German for centuries. As he correctly notes, consistency is almost impossible to maintain in any case, since he is prepared to refer to Justinian rather than Ioustinianos. For non-Roman people I have chosen a simple version of their name in the appropriate language, e.g. Khusro (Chosroes in Greek) and al-Harith (Arethas in Greek); I have deliberately avoided diacritics in these names, preferring (e.g.) Abu Karib to Abū Karib for the Greek Abokharabos. In cases where I am uncertain of the identification of someone with a Greek name, I have preferred to retain it: hence I refer to Seoses, for instance, not Siyavush, unlike Kaldellis, and prefer mirranes to Mihran. For place names I use the normal English versions, e.g. Antioch rather than Antiokheia; again, there are exceptions, e.g. Dvin instead of Dubios, a decision dictated partly by the strangeness of the name Dubios (or Dubius, as I would normally have transcribed it) in English. In the case of titles, I have preferred to insert the Latin titles rather than translate the Greek: instead of 'General of the East' I therefore give magister militum per Orientem. A Glossary of such titles is to be found on p. xxviii.

In order to avoid confusion, I have provided Tables of Names so that the Greek and non-Greek versions can be compared.

xxiv

Explanation of the Notes

The notes are deliberately brief and mostly devoid of references to secondary literature. Readers seeking more guidance are encouraged to turn to my Commentary, published simultaneously, where extensive references are given. They do refer to other primary sources, however, and so below I offer a list of these sources and of translations. In many cases translations may also be found in the source books that feature among the Abbreviations on p. xii, *REF* and *RPLA*. I offer at the end of this translation as an Appendix an English translation of the patriarch Photius' summary of Nonnosus' work, a report on diplomatic missions to southern Arabia in the 530s/540s. References without indication of the work are to Procopius' *Wars*.

There are numerous cross-references in the notes. A reference to (e.g.) 7.22 refers to chapter 7, section 22 (of the same book). If there is any doubt as to which book is meant, then that is inserted as well, e.g. 1.7.22, which would refer to Book 1. Any reference where the work is not specified is to Procopius' *Wars*.

XXV

Primary Sources

The abbreviation TTH used here refers to the very useful series from Liverpool University Press, Translated Texts for Historians. Page numbers are generally those of the translations with the exception of the *Chronicon Paschale* and Theophanes.

| Agath. | Agathias, Histories, tr. J.D. Frendo (Berlin and New |
|-------------------|--|
| - | York, 1975). |
| Chr. Pasch. | Chronicon Paschale, tr. M. and M. Whitby, Chronicon |
| | Paschale 284–628 AD, TTH (Liverpool, 1989). |
| С.Ј. | Codex Justinianus, tr. B.W. Frier et al., The Codex of |
| | Justinian, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 2016). |
| PsDion. ii. | Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle, known also as |
| | the Chronicle of Zuqnin. Part III, tr. W. Witakowski, |
| | TTH (Liverpool, 1996). Also available in The Chronicle |
| | of Zuqnin Parts III and IV A.D. 488–775, tr. A. Harrak |
| | (Toronto, 1999). This source reproduces extensively lost |
| | sections of the sixth-century church history of John of |
| | Ephesus. |
| Evagr. <i>HE</i> | Evagrius, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius |
| | Scholasticus, tr. M. Whitby, TTH (Liverpool, 2000). |
| Hdt. | Herodotus, Histories, many translations available. |
| Joh. Eph. | John of Ephesus: see PsDion. |
| Joh. Lyd. | De Mag. John Lydus, tr. A. Bandy, On Powers, or The |
| | Magistracies of the Roman State (Philadelphia, 1982). |
| Jord. <i>Rom.</i> | Jordanes, Romana, tr. P. van Nuffelen and L. van Hoof, |
| | TTH (Liverpool, 2020). |
| PsJosh. | (Pseudo-)Joshua the Stylite, The Chronicle of Pseudo- |
| | Joshua the Stylite, tr. J. Watt and F. Trombley, TTH |
| | (Liverpool, 2000). |

xxvi

Primary Sources

xxvii

| Mal. | Malalas, <i>Chronographia</i> , tr. E. and M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986). |
|--------------|--|
| Marc. com. | <i>The Chronicle of Marcellinus</i> , tr. B. Croke (Sydney, 1995). |
| | |
| NovJ. | D. Miller and P. Sarris, <i>The Novels of Justinian</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2018). |
| Proc. | Procopius, Wars, tr. H.B. Dewing, 5 vols. (Cambridge, |
| | MA, 1914–28). This tr. is revised by A. Kaldellis, |
| | Prokopios: The Wars of Justinian (Indianapolis, 2014). |
| Proc. Aed. | Procopius, De Aedificiis/Buildings, tr. H.B. Dewing |
| 1100.1100. | (Cambridge, MA, 1940). |
| Proc. Anecd. | Procopius, Anecdota/Secret History, tr. H.B. Dewing |
| | (Cambridge, MA, 1935); also tr. A. Kaldellis, The Secret |
| | History with Related Texts (Indianapolis, 2010); also tr. G. |
| | Williamson and P. Sarris, The Secret History (London, |
| | 2007). |
| Tabari | The History of al-Tabari, vol. 5, The Sāsānids, The |
| | Byzantines, The Lakhmids, and Yemen, tr. C.E. Bosworth |
| | (Albany, 1999). |
| Theoph. | Theophanes, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, tr. C. |
| 1 | Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997). Page references are |
| | to the Greek text (to be found in the translation). |
| Th. Sim. | Theophylact Simocatta, <i>The Histories</i> , tr. M. and M. |
| 111. 01111. | Whitby (Oxford, 1986). |
| Thuc. | Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> , many |
| Thue. | translations available. |
| D 7 1 | |
| PsZach. | Pseudo-Zachariah, The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah of |
| | Mytilene: Church and War in Late Antiquity, tr. G. |
| | Greatrex, R. Phenix and C. Horn, TTH (Liverpool, |
| | 2011). |
| | |

Glossary

Further details on these offices or titles (or units of measurement) may be found in *ODLA*.

| bucellarii, sing. bucellarius | elite soldiers in the service of a particular |
|--|---|
| | (Roman) general |
| <i>centenarion</i> , pl. <i>centenaria</i> | unit of weight (100 Roman lbs.), often |
| | applied to gold coins |
| <i>dux</i> , pl. <i>duces</i> | duke or military commander attached to a |
| | particular province |
| kanarang | Persian military commander in charge of |
| | Abharshahr (the north-eastern frontier of |
| | the Persian empire) |
| magister militum | master of soldiery, high-ranking military |
| | official |
| magister militum per | master of soldiery stationed on the north- |
| Armeniam | eastern frontier |
| magister militum per | master of soldiery stationed on the eastern |
| Orientem | frontier |
| magister militum praesentalis | master of soldiery stationed in the capital |
| magister officiorum | master of offices, head of the central civil |
| | administration of the empire |
| phylarch | commander of auxiliaries (often Arab) |
| | allied to the empire |
| praepositus (sacri cubiculi) | grand chamberlain of the palace |
| praetorian prefect | important regional civil functionary |
| quaestor (sacri palatii) | high-ranking imperial official concerned |
| | with legal matters |
| stade | classical unit of measurement of distance: |
| | there were seven stades to one Roman mile; |
| | the Roman mile equates to 1.472 km (a |
| | little under one mile today). |
| | |

xxviii