

CONSTANTINE
PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

GREEK TEXT EDITED

by

GY. MORAVCSIK

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

by

R. J. H. JENKINS

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CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

EDIDIT
GY. MORAVCSIK

ANGLICE VERTIT
R. J. H. JENKINS

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DUMBARTON OAKS TEXTS

I.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Budapest — London
15th of March, 1949.

GY. MORAVCSIK — R. J. H. JENKINS

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

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

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

Washington, D. C.

November, 1966

Gy. M. — R. J.

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

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ Cedrenus, (ed. Bonn.), II, p. 326.

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

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

⁸ Theoph. Cont., pp. 447, 449.

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

¹⁰ Theoph. Cont., p. 446.

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

¹² Theoph. Cont., p. 459.

¹³ Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

¹⁴ Theoph. Cont., p. 458.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Rambaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

¹⁹ Zonaras, (ed. Bonn.), III, p. 483.

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

²¹ Theoph. Cont., p. 211.

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

²³ *D. A. I.*, 1₆.

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

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

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

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

²⁷ *ibid.* pp. 633, 636.

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

²⁹ Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

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

³¹ Theoph. Cont., p. 448.

³² Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 553, 556.

³³ Theoph. Cont., p. 447.

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

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

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

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

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

³⁷ Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 522 ff.

³⁸ *D. A. I.*, I₁₃, (διδάξει).

³⁹ *ibid.*, P₁₄₋₂₄.

⁴⁰ Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

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

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

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

⁴² *D. A. I.*, 39₃₋₅, 7-10.

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

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

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

⁴³ Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

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

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 13₁₄₉₋₁₇₆, 51₁₈₄₋₁₈₆.

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

R. J. H. JENKINS.

⁴⁶ See below, p. 32.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

1. MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν. καὶ καθέστη αὐ
μασ. ἐμὲς γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ἐκεί
σε ἐκαθέστησαν. πρὸς τὸ εἶμαι πλ
σίον τῆς κελύρας μου. καὶ ὅτε θύ
λω ἀποπέλω καὶ ἐν τῷ χειβυρίσκῳ
μασ, πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν
τούρκων ἐμφωνήθησαν. ὅτι
ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου
βαυτοῦ οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν. οὐ γὰρ δύνα
μεθα πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. ὅτι
καὶ χώρα μεγάλη καὶ λαὸς πολὺς.
καὶ κακὰ παιδία ἔσι. καὶ τοῦ λοι
ποῦ τὸν λόγον τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμασ
μη ἔφησεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀναπῶ μὲν αὐτόν.
Ἡ καὶ οἱ πατριάρχου ἐκείθεν τοῦ
δυνατῶν πρὸς ποταμῶν. μετὰ τὸ
ἐκείθεν χρονοῦται. καὶ αἰεὶ ἐκείσε καὶ
λοκαρίζουσι: ~

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

such rewriting are observable in other parts of the codex as well. Apart from these ravages of time, some leaves (fol. 59, 63, 75, 80) have received such material damage through clipping of the margins that the text itself is impaired and some letters are missing.

V = *codex Vaticanus—Palatinus gr. 126*: codex on paper of 271 numbered leaves; 3 additional leaves at the beginning, 1 at the end. Leaves measure 21.2×15.4 cm. Ms. contains several works. After *D. A. I.*, which covers fol 2^r to 127^r, come works of Tzetzes, Theophrastus, Bessarion and Nicolas Secundinus, though these have been copied by other hands.¹⁴ At the end of the text of *D. A. I.*, at the bottom of fol. 127^r, are two notes in the hand of the copyist: δόξα τῷ θεῷ (ε)ῶ τῷ λόγον καὶ γινῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωρουμένων: ἀφ' ἰου-υ(ίω) εἴη ἐτελειώθη): ἀφ' ἰου-υ ματῶ ις' η. ἐγὼ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος παῖς ὢν κατὰ τὸ ἀφ' ἰου-υ ἔτος ἔγραψα τὸ ἀνωθεν βιβλίον («Glory be to God who giveth understanding and knowledge to men: finished, 5th June 1509. — 16 May, 1554: I, Antony Eparchus, then a boy, wrote this book in the year 1509.») It was, then, the well-known humanist of Corfiot origin, Antony Eparchus (1491—1571), who copied the ms. — apart from a single passage at fol. 16^v (= 13_{192—197}), which is in another hand — in the 18th year of his age; three years before, in 1506, he had completed his ms. copy of the Gospels.¹⁵ The ms. passed into the possession of John Egnatius (1473—1553),¹⁶ probably very soon after it was copied, since Egnatius in the book which he published in 1516 refers to it as being already in his library.¹⁷ It should seem that the second note, dated 16th May 1554, was penned when Eparchus, after the death of Egnatius, came across his own copy among the relics of the deceased. The codex next passed

¹⁴ See H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae*, (Romae, 1885), p. 60.

¹⁵ See E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique au 15^e et 16^e siècles*, I, (Paris, 1885), pp. CCX—CCXXVII; L. Dorez, 'Antoine Eparque', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13 (1893), pp. 281—364; M. Vogel—V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, (Leipzig, 1909), p. 35.

¹⁶ Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 302; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*, (Paris, 1875), pp. 449—452.

¹⁷ «... hic (sc. Constantinus) à literis, optimisque disciplinis non abhorrens, quas penè extinctas ab interitu uindicauit, librum Romano filio reliquit. in quo summam totius imperii, sociorum omnium foedera, hostium uires, rationes, consilia explicuit. quem nos in bibliotheca nostra tanquam thesaurum seruamus, in quo multa de Venetis etiam nostris imperator ipse disserat.» See J. B. Egnatius, *De Caesaribus libri III a dictatore Caesare ad Constantinum Palaeologum, hinc à Carolo Magno ad Maximilianum Caesarem*, (Venetiis, 1516) (sine numeris pag.); cf. *Romanorum principum ll. III*, ex recognitione Des. Erasmi Roterodami, (Basileae, 1518), p. 850.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. EDITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. TRANSLATIONS

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

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

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

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

⁵⁰ See *ed. cit.*, c. 1133—1208.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discrepancies between the text of Meursius and V are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The edition of Bandur marks an advance on that of Meursius; Bandur, as he himself records, collated Meursius' text with P, and was thus able to correct, both in his text and in his notes, a large number of errors originating partly in V and partly in Me. But Bandur did not make his collation with the necessary care, with the result that many omissions and blunders escaped his attention. How many errors of Meursius were corrected by Bandur, and how many Bandur transferred to his own edition, may be easily discerned if we look at the examples given above in our examination of the relationship of V and Me, and note the proportion of the number of errors found in V Me and Me only to the number of errors found in V Me Ba or V Me Ba Be, and in Me Ba or Me Ba Be. To the number of inherited blunders Bandur added a fresh crop of his own, e. g.: 6₈ πέπερι Ba (Be) || 29₆₁ ἐξ *om.* Ba || 29₈₂ ἐρμηνεύονται Ba (Be) || 30₉₄ οἱ λοιποὶ Σκλαβῖνιοι Ba (Be) || 40₁₂ Λιούντινα Ba (Be) || 45₂₁ καὶ¹ *om.* Ba (Be) || 46₁₁₁ Κωνσταντῖνῳ (*per comp.* P)] Κώνσταντι Ba (Be) || 46₁₄₄ Κωνσταντῖνος (*per comp.* P)] (Be) Κώνστας Ba || 51₇₀ πρωτοσπαθάρσιος *om.* Ba (Be) || 51₂₀₀ Λογουβαρδία Ba (Be) || 53₂₁₈ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατῷ *om.* Ba (Be) || 53₂₅₁ ἀρχομένου Ba (Be) || 53₄₅₅ τῆς¹ τὴν Ba (Be).

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

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

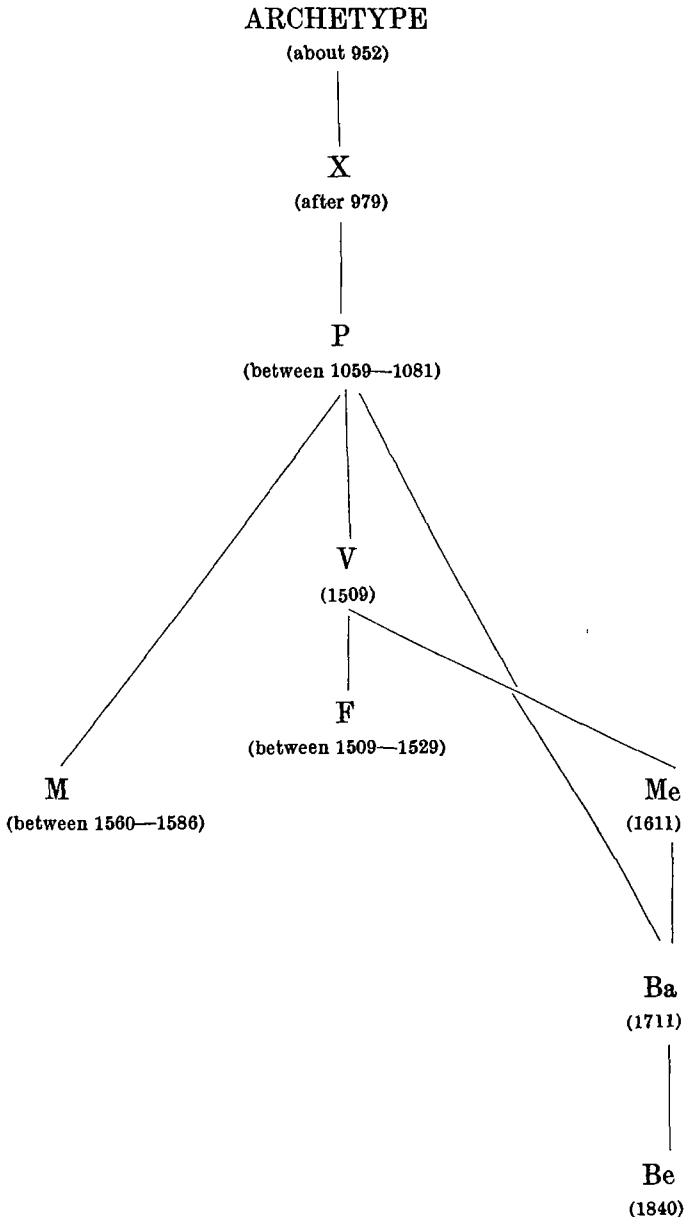
Of *D. A. I.*, as of the *De Cerimoniis*, only one ms. survives from the Byzantine age.^{55bis} In view of the fact that none of the later Byzantine historians or chronographers makes use of the work, we must conclude that *D. A. I.*, which was a confidential, indeed a most secret, document, was never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

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

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

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

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



5. METHOD FOLLOWED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The apparatus criticus falls into two parts, and contains

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GY. MORAVCSIK.

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

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

LIST OF SIGNS

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

MANUSCRIPTS:

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

EDITIONS:

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

SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES:

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

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

CONSTANTINE

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

Proem.

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

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

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

P

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

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

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

1, 2

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

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

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

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

2. Of the Pechenegs and the Russians.

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

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

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

2. 2 Πατζινακίται P ||

2, 3, 4

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

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

3. Of the Pechenegs and Turks.

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

4. Of the Pechenegs and Russians and Turks.

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

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

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

4, 5, 6

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

5. Of the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians.

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

6. Of the Pechenegs and Chersonites.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9, 10

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

The Uzes can attack the Pechenegs.

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

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

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

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

10, 11, 12, 13

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

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

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

12. Of black Bulgaria and Chazaria.

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

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

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

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

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

12. 1 τῆς² *om.* V edd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Of the genealogy of Mahomet.

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

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

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

15. Of the tribe of the Fatemites.

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

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

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