From *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume 14 (New York, 2000):
Chapter 21a, "Asia Minor and Cyprus," by Charlotte Roueché;
Chapter 21b, "Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia," by Hugh Kennedy;
and Chapter 21c, "Egypt," by James G. Keenan.

CHAPTER 21*a*

ASIA MINOR AND CYPRUS

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I. SOURCES

The literary evidence for the history of Asia Minor and Cyprus is abundant for every period, but it suffers to some extent from too much familiarity: Asia Minor and Cyprus were the homeland of so many writers and readers. There was nothing exotic about this area, the heartland of the eastern empire, and so authors felt little need to describe it; much has to be deduced from what they assume. Furthermore, the chief characteristic of Asia Minor and Cyprus in the fifth and sixth century was that they were at peace, so that there was little to recount in historical narratives. The exception, here as in other things, is Isauria, whose turbulent history in the fifth century brought it into the history of the empire.

The lack of 'historical' events can therefore convey a spurious air of immobility. In such a situation, the contribution of archaeological evidence is particularly important; and as the archaeology of this region in this period has developed, it has revealed more and more evidence of marked change. The majority of early excavations concentrated on city sites, and it was common for the late Roman material to be dealt with cursorily during the search for 'more interesting' periods. More recently, excavators have come to treat such material more attentively; moreover, since the 1950s, archaeologists have been surveying the countryside, and their work is starting to provide a more balanced picture of this very large area. Recent work on Roman defences and fortifications has also produced a great deal of evidence for the period. Because of the changes in approach and emphasis, and also because so much archaeological work is going on at present, it is necessary to look at the most recent work possible, while remembering that one year's observations are sometimes reversed by those made a year later.[1]

[1] For Asia Minor, regular reports in English are to be found in 'Archaeology in Anatolia', edited by Professor M. Mellink, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and normally in *Anatolian Studies*; regular summary articles, 'Archaeology in Asia Minor', appear every five years in *Archaeological Reports*, published with the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. An important source of information is the reports on current work – in various languages, but usually in Turkish – which are given by excavators at the annual symposia organized by the Turkish Department of Antiquities. For Cyprus, the principal source is the annual *Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus*; summary reports also appear every five years or so in *Archaeological Reports*.

Inscriptions continued to be set up in many cities of the region, but there is an enormous decrease in quantity between the Roman and the late Roman period. As a result, at very many sites there are only a few late Roman inscriptions, which are sometimes hard to find and even harder to evaluate in the epigraphic corpora.[2]

In assessing both inscriptions and archaeological material there is a recurrent problem of terminology: one author will describe as 'Byzantine' what another will call 'late Roman', and it is necessary to be extremely careful in reading such descriptions. It is also true that, because the archaeology of this period has developed relatively recently, the criteria for dating material within the late Roman period are still rather hazy; but each season's work is increasing archaeological accuracy in such matters. This is a field where our understanding may be radically different in another ten years.

Archaeological discoveries have therefore broken the silence of the historical sources. The picture which they provide complements that provided in the saints' *Lives*; these texts, which emerge as a literary genre in late antiquity, provide a new kind of information by focusing on individuals who lived outside the world of the urban élite. While they are written with no intention of informing us about social and political issues, much can be learned from their assumptions and from the incidental events which are mentioned in them. Lycia in the mid sixth century is brought alive by the *Life of Nicholas of Sion*, just as Galatia at the end of the same century is evoked in the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, and in both cases archaeological work in the area concerned confirms the witness of the text.[3] What becomes clear is that, while few events worthy of 'official' history were taking place, the way of life for individuals and communities in the area was changing significantly.[4]

II. THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Asia Minor is a term of convenience. The large land mass which corresponds roughly to the Asian territory of modern-day Turkey was never in antiquity a historical and cultural unity; it was inhabited by various peoples, speaking a number of different languages, who were from time to time controlled by a single political authority. Over the millennia, this authority had

[2] The only collection of such material, Grégoire (1922), was intended to be the first volume of a series, which never materialized. It is still worth consulting; but the best current source of information on such material is the section on Christian epigraphy in the 'Bulletin épigraphique', a survey of Greek inscriptions published annually in the *Revue des Études Grecques*. The easiest source of information in English is the 'Review of Roman Inscriptions' which normally appears every five years in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

[3] *The Life of St Nicholas of Sion* ed. Ševčenko and Ševčenko (1984); *The Life of Theodore of Sykeon* trans. Dawes and Baynes (1948).

[4] For central Asia Minor this is brought out, with an exemplary use of both archaeological and textual evidence, by Mitchell, *Anatolia* II. For the best account of Cyprus in this period see Chrysos (1993), and, for the end of the period, Cameron (1992).

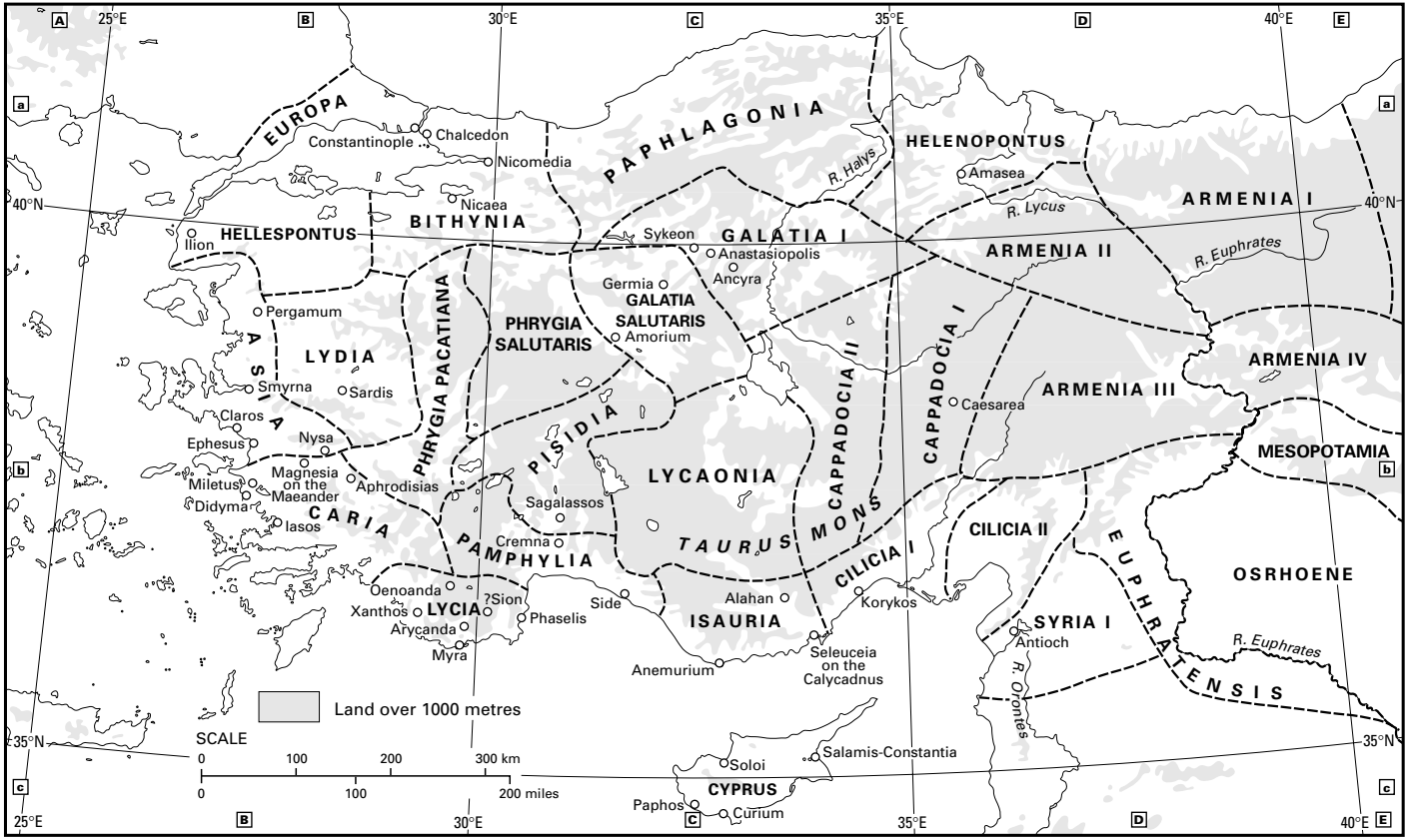
most often been located outside Asia Minor. The Hellenization which followed the conquests of Alexander provided the first unifying cultural force; all over the region, cities developed on the Greek model, where Greek was spoken, and local cults were interpreted through Greek religion. From the first century A.D. the whole area came under the single political control of the Romans, and experienced several centuries of remarkable security and prosperity.

But the apparent uniformity of public institutions did not eliminate ancient distinctions. When the large Roman units of government were broken down into smaller provinces under the tetrarchy, the new provinces were based on ancient tribal units and kingdoms – Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, etc. – because these still represented real entities; Phrygian, for example, was still being spoken in the fifth century A.D.[5] Local myths and foundation stories were still being recorded in local histories at the end of the fifth century, and many are reflected in Nonnus' fifth-century poem, the *Dionysiaca*. For all the importance of the cities, therefore, there was also an underlying tradition of older and larger political units. Indeed, the replacement of the huge administrative units of the Roman empire by smaller provinces, especially in Asia Minor, seems to have meant that those provinces came to be increasingly important to their inhabitants. It is striking that by the sixth century many people chose to describe themselves as inhabitants of their province – as 'the Lydian' or 'the Cappadocian' – rather than as citizens of particular towns. In so doing, they were using elegant archaism, since the smaller provinces were largely based on older historical units; but the usage may also reveal something as to where their loyalties now lay.

During the second and third century, the demands, above all, of defence had drawn emperors to set up headquarters in the east – for example, at Antioch; but it was only under the tetrarchy that this process started to be formalized, with the development of several 'capitals', including one in Asia Minor, at Nicomedia. The political ecology of the whole region was transformed when this process culminated in the establishment of a permanent imperial capital at Constantinople in 324, which had particularly profound implications for Asia Minor: for the first time for many centuries, the ruling power of the entire area was located on the borders of Asia Minor itself. From 395 the eastern part of the empire was governed from Constantinople; in 476, the deposition of the last western emperor left Constantinople as the only capital of the Roman empire.

This transformation had a major impact on the ruling classes of the cities of Asia Minor. Membership of the imperial senate now no longer involved long and complicated journeys. Moreover, over the same period, the nature of imperial administration in the region had been transformed.

[5] Socr. *HE* v.23.



Map 14 Asia Minor and Cyprus

The creation of newer small provinces started in the third century and took shape under Diocletian, but the process continued to the end of the fourth century. This development had met an increasing demand by men of eastern origin to serve in the imperial administration in the east; the creation of new provinces created many new posts for them, and the new senate at Constantinople grew very rapidly during the fourth century. Such service, however, was likely to draw them away from the public life of their own cities, and is probably a factor to be taken into account in considering the decline in traditional civic life discussed earlier.[6]

Beyond the further subdivision of provinces, there were no significant reorganizations in the administration of Asia Minor until the sixth century, when Justinian initiated a programme of reforms. He slightly reduced the number of provinces in Asia Minor by combining Honorias with Paphlagonia, and Helenopontus with Pontus Polemoniacus, but he increased the provinces of Armenia from three to four. He abolished the post of vicar – the administrative office between the praetorian prefect and the provincial governors. Recently discovered evidence suggests that this formalized a change which had already taken place. In several provinces of Asia Minor – Cappadocia I, Galatia Prima, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana and Pisidia, and the newly expanded Helenopontus and Honorias – he gave the governors new titles, higher salaries, and both civil and military authority. It is not easy to assess how important these alterations were for the life of the provincials. Of all his reforms, one of the most elaborate was perhaps the legislation which brought the provinces of the Greek islands, of Caria and of Cyprus all under the *quaestor exercitus*, based in Thrace, so that those rich and easily accessible provinces could provide the supplies for the army at the Thracian front; this suggests both the continuing prosperity of these areas and also the overriding importance of military finance in determining administrative decisions.[7]

Since the third century, the subdivisions of provinces had stimulated rivalry between cities as to which was to be the metropolis of a new province, with all the benefits which that could convey. An apparently significant change was made in Cyprus; the island continued to constitute a single province, but the city of Paphos, which had been the provincial capital since the creation of the Roman province, was demoted after the earthquakes of the mid fourth century, and the provincial administration moved to the city of Salamis, renamed Constantia. It is clear, however, from the recent excavations that Paphos remained a rich and important city.

By the fifth century, such issues in the secular provincial administration were largely resolved, but rivalry continued over status within the church

[6] See ch. 16 (Heather), pp. 437–68 above, and Heather (1994).
[7] Just. *Nov.* 8, 24, 25, 28, 29 (all of 535), 30, 31 (536).

hierarchy. Thus, the ancient and traditional conflict between Nicaea and Nicomedia, which had continued throughout the Roman imperial period, survived at an ecclesiastical level and had to be resolved at the Council of Chalcedon (451). The Council of Nicaea had formalized an arrangement by which the metropolis of a secular province was also the metropolitan archbishopric of a coterminous diocese, and this continued to be the general rule. By the sixth century, the system seems to have stabilized, so that when Justinian combined several provinces he specified that this should not affect the church administration.[8]

It is arguable that the coincidence of diocese and province further enhanced the sense, mentioned above, of 'belonging' to a province. The council of bishops of a province could meet regularly and form an effective pressure group. The most striking example of this is provided by the bishops of Cyprus, who petitioned the Council of Ephesus (431) to confirm their right to select and consecrate their own metropolitan bishop, giving their island a unique status within the church. When this status was called in question again, in 488, the metropolitan Anthemius was guided by a dream to discover the body of St Barnabas, buried with his own copy of the gospel according to St Matthew; this evidence of apostolic foundation was sufficient to ensure the continued independence of the archbishopric, together with particular privileges from the emperor Zeno, including the right to sign documents, as the emperor did, in red ink. Such developments may have been far more significant to the inhabitants of a province than modifications in the imperial administration, and they must have reinforced the local authority of bishops.[9]

III. THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Asia Minor differs most strikingly from other parts of the empire at this period in one crucial respect: it was virtually unaffected by war. During the anarchic years of the third century, Goths had harried coastal cities, and the forces of Palmyra had at one stage invaded the peninsula. But by the end of the third century Roman control was secure, and would continue to be until the Persian attacks of the early seventh century. During the fifth century, as huge areas of Roman territory came under foreign control, Asia Minor was untouched by external threats; not only was it buffered by Armenia and Syria to the east, and Greece and Thrace to the west, but the strategic position of Constantinople, powerfully fortified by land and in control of crucial sea-routes, offered vital protection. The security of this area must have reduced the contemporary sense of

[8] For secular rivalry see Roueché, *Aphrodisias*; for rivalries within the church hierarchy, Jones, *LRE* 873–94; for Cyprus, Jones, *LRE* 873 and Hill (1949) 276–8.

[9] *ACO* I.ii.vii, 118–22, with Jones, *LRE* 873.

catastrophe, and contributed to a sense that the other losses were ones that could be made up.

That is not to say that Asia Minor was entirely at peace. There had always been tensions between the comfortable city-dwellers and the inhabitants of the countryside; and from the third century onwards, there are indications that the less urbanized tribes in parts of the peninsula were giving increasing trouble. Chief among these were the Isaurians, of south-eastern Asia Minor, who had been pacified with some difficulty in the first century B.C.; they revolted again in the 270s, and developed their activities further during the fourth and more particularly the fifth century, when they are reported as attacking settlements as far away as Cappadocia and Pamphylia. By the fifth century, this situation was reflected in the administrative organization of the area: the *Notitia Dignitatum* shows a *comes* and troops stationed in Isauria at the end of the fourth century, and by the later fifth century there were also military commands in the three adjacent provinces of Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycaonia, in response to the increasing threat from this source.[10] Despite these arrangements, here as in other parts of the empire local magnates tended increasingly to ensure their own security and control by maintaining bodies of armed retainers; during the sixth century there was more than one attempt by the imperial government to restrain this development in Asia Minor (see further below).

Like other warlike enemies of Rome, the Isaurians also produced substantial numbers of troops for the Roman armies. In 474 this tradition acquired political significance when Tarasicodissa, an Isaurian who had risen to power by his military career, became emperor and took the name Zeno. The difficulties which he then faced were characteristic of such a situation; once Zeno had been elevated, other Isaurian chieftains felt themselves to be no less qualified to run the empire than he was. Throughout his reign, Zeno had to deal with revolts in which power was brokered between himself and other Isaurian and barbarian chieftains. He defeated the first attempts with the support of the Isaurian general Illus; but a few years later, in 483, Illus himself revolted, relying on power and connections in Isauria and Cilicia, and perhaps inspired by the success of Odoacer in taking power in Italy in 476. But the Isaurians, for all their strength, and the impregnability of their local terrain, were essentially less of a threat than the other barbarian forces whom the empire deployed, in that they had no kinship with powers beyond the Roman borders and no access to foreign frontiers; Illus negotiated ineffectively with the Persians and the Armenians, but he was defeated by Zeno in 488, and Isauria was finally reduced and pacified under Anastasius in 498.[11]

[10] *CJ* XII.59.10.5 of 471–2. [11] See further ch. 2 (Lee), pp. 50–3 above.

However, although Asia Minor and Cyprus do not appear in the historical records as involved in any other major military undertakings, they were perhaps more vulnerable than we might assume to the effects of war beyond their borders. The former patriarch of Constantinople, Eutychius, in exile at Amasea in the early 570s, had to cope with a famine created by a sudden influx of refugees fleeing the Persians.[12] In 578 the emperor Tiberius settled Armenian prisoners of war in Cyprus;[13] and throughout the sixth century there are hints that people displaced by war were moving westwards. The *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon is chiefly taken up with local events in the villages of his area; but Theodore had been conceived in an inn on the main military road which led from Constantinople to Ancyra and the eastern frontier, and the later chapters of his life are full of intimations of disaster, as the reign of Phocas began and the Persian raids on the east intensified. When the Persians finally broke into Asia Minor, their attacks were the culmination of several decades of progressive destabilization.

IV. THE CITIES

Despite this, it is clear that Asia Minor and Cyprus were essentially at peace in the fifth and sixth century. This is of particular importance, since it is clear that many aspects of life in the area did change; these changes cannot therefore be explained as principally the result of pressure from external forces, as in other provinces. One development that does suggest an increased sense of insecurity is the building or rebuilding of fortifications which took place in a considerable number of cities during the late Roman period. Such structures are extremely difficult to date, and in earlier years there was a tendency to date them all in the third century, which was seen as a 'difficult' time, when it seemed reasonable for cities to adopt fortifications; this is apparently what did happen at, for example, Ancyra and Miletus.

But at many sites closer study has made it clear that the situation is much more complex, although many fortifications remain undatable. In some peaceful areas, such as Galatia and Lycaonia, Hellenistic fortifications were rebuilt, but not very carefully. At Aphrodisias, city walls were built for the first time in the fourth century, and repaired in the fifth; they seem to have followed the outline of the Roman city, as did the late walls, of indeterminate date, at Nysa on the Maeander. At Smyrna, the walls were built or repaired under Arcadius. At Sagalassos, the late Roman walls appear to have been built in the early fifth century, probably as a defence against the inroads of the Isaurians; they enclosed most, but not all, of the Roman city, as did the late Roman walls at Oenoanda. Amorium was substantially

[12] Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii* 61 (*PG* LXXXVI.2, 2344B). [13] See Chrysos (1993) 9.

fortified under Zeno – again, probably in response to the Isaurian threat. It was apparently only at the end of the period, in the early seventh century, that fortifications were limited to the most defensible part of the city – as in the case of the Acropolis at Aphrodisias and Phaselis, or the later walls at Side, and the small circuit at Magnesia. Work on this subject is continuing, and the identification of phases of construction is likely to become more precise.[14] It may be that at some places – for example, Aphrodisias – where we do not know of any substantial threat, the new fortifications were intended as much to add to the prestige of the city as to provide for its defence; but it is also worth considering that such fortifications might be intended to meet not a serious 'political' threat, worthy of record in the historical narrative, but an overall increase in small-scale brigandage and robbery. The new walls may reflect a gradual shift in the relationship between the 'city' and the 'country' (see further below).[15]

The fortification or refortification of many of the cities of Asia Minor, and also the extensive re-use of materials in late Roman building, tended to lead earlier scholars to see an overall decline of the cities from the end of the third century. Recently, however, the subject has received closer attention as a result of the work of Clive Foss. As well as publishing studies of the later Roman period at three important cities – Ancyra, Ephesus and Sardis – he drew attention to the flourishing condition of many other cities during the fifth and sixth century. In his view, this period of prosperity came to a sudden end with the Persian invasions of Asia Minor and Cyprus in the second and third decades of the seventh century, leading to the virtual extinction of the cities, or their reduction to fortified *castra*. While this explanation has been disputed (see further below), a result of his work has been to draw the attention of historians and archaeologists to the late antique period at a wide range of sites.[16]

Some sites clearly fell out of use in late antiquity – most obviously, those such as the oracle at Claros, or the shrine of Leto at Xanthos, where the whole focus of the place was on pagan religious activity. These developments were, however, paralleled by the growth of new Christian pilgrimage sites, which became the recipients of substantial patronage. Thus the emperor Zeno provided a substantial new church for his local cult of St Thecla near Seleuceia on the Calycadnus; the life and miracles of Thecla were presented in a new Greek text of the same period. Justinian visited the shrine of St Michael at Germia, whose church also probably dated

[14] Important progress in the understanding and dating of such structures is being made by David Winfield and Clive Foss; see Winfield and Foss (1987).

[15] On the problems of peacekeeping in the Roman and later Roman period in Asia Minor see Hopwood (1983) and (1989), with bibliography.

[16] Foss's general arguments were set out in two overview articles, Foss (1975) and (1977a), as well as in studies of Ankara, Ephesus and Sardis. These and other articles are usefully reprinted in Foss (1990). For an update on the debate see Russell (1986), Whittow (1990) and Foss (1994).

from the late fifth century, as does the great pilgrimage complex at Alahan. These major centres received imperial patronage, and drew large numbers of visitors.[17]

The majority of cities continued to exist, but also changed internally. Certain structures fell out of use, and spolia from such buildings were used for new constructions. Most noticeably, of course, temples were abandoned; thus at Sagalassos one temple was used to make a tower in the fortifications, and the temple of Antoninus Pius, the most impressive building at Sagalassos, had its gables and cornices carefully removed and stored in rows, in order to re-use the frieze blocks in other buildings. Some temples were used as quarries for building materials over a considerable period, as at Ephesus and Sardis; but from the early fifth century onwards some abandoned temples were converted into Christian basilicas, as at Aphrodisias, Pergamum and Sagalassos. These were not just lazy adaptations of existing structures, but careful feats of engineering; at Sagalassos, the blocks of the temple of Dionysus, re-used in a fifth-century basilica, were apparently numbered during dismantling for easy reassembly. At other sites churches were built over temples, as at Side. Elsewhere, churches were established in imposing positions which did not necessarily have significant associations, but were carefully chosen and prepared: thus the basilica at Soloi was placed in a dominating position, requiring substantial terracing.[18] Such imposing building programmes were matched by the accumulation of treasures by churches, exemplified by the rich sixth-century silver treasure found at Kumluca in Lycia.[19]

Even more striking than the location of churches is the sheer quantity of church buildings which can be dated to the fifth or sixth century: thus at Anemurium four churches were built within the city, and at least five more in the immediate vicinity; at Cremna a considerable number of basilicas were inserted into the residential area of the city. Churches appear in unexpected places, such as the small church constructed in part of the theatre at Side, presumably to commemorate martyrs who had died there; this may be paralleled by the painting of Christian frescoes, perhaps in the first half of the sixth century, in the corridor behind the stage of the theatre at Aphrodisias. All these developments, of course, reflect the growing presence of Christianity, and are paralleled by the increasing status of the bishops in civic society. The basilica at Curium, constructed in the first half of the fifth century, was built with generous provision for catechumens and a large baptistery, suggesting that mass conversions were under way at this time. But building activity was not restricted to the Christian community; the synagogue at Sardis was repaired and improved throughout the period,

[17] For the fullest account of such a centre in Asia Minor see Gough (1985); on its function see Mango (1986) and (1991). [18] On the impact of such changes see Cormack (1990a).

[19] See Boyd and Mango (1992), especially 1–88 and plates.

although less lavishly during the sixth century, and the synagogue at Side was being repaired in the late fourth and early fifth century.

Although the great civic temples were disintegrating during the fifth century, it is clear that pagan worship did continue in Asia Minor and Cyprus throughout the period. The mentions of Christ and of Apollo on the fifth-century mosaics of the house of Eustolius at Curium are paralleled by invocations of Aphrodite in inscriptions from Aphrodisias in the late fifth century. It is rash to place too much weight on the use of pagan imagery and language, when this was the normal means of expression for all educated people. But at Aphrodisias we know of an avowedly pagan circle, at least among the élite, who welcomed the pagan philosopher Asclepiodotus of Alexandria when he came to settle there. Such people might have been the owners of small pagan statuettes and two figures of Egyptian divinities found in the excavation of a lavish house, probably of the fifth century.

These discoveries might only suggest a taste for the old-fashioned at Aphrodisias, but recent excavation has uncovered a striking series of sculpted portraits of philosophers from the late fourth or fifth century in a substantial and centrally-located building. This seems to confirm the evidence that Aphrodisias was a centre for Neoplatonist teaching at this period, where Asclepiodotus would have had a valuable contribution to make. He and other philosophers travelled throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and were concerned to keep alive the traditions of pagan worship – thus Proclus, who originally came from Lycia but made his career in Athens, visited Lydia, both to study and to encourage proper pagan religious practice there. Paganism could even have political significance: pagans at Aphrodisias made sacrifices for the success of the revolt of Illus in Isauria. But perhaps more significant than this activity in the upper levels of society is the fact that when John of Ephesus was working as a missionary in the 540s, he could claim to have baptized 80,000 pagans in Asia, Caria, Lydia and Phrygia; this suggests that in some cases cities with an apparently 'Christianized' civic centre might be surrounded by a relatively unaltered pagan countryside.[20]

Even if a cultivated élite retained an interest in philosophy, however, the old idea of a civic education for all the young men of a city seems to have evaporated in the third century, and there seems to have been no further use for the great gymnasia of antiquity, which were expensive to run. In at least two abandoned gymnasia at Ephesus, churches were built. But the bath complexes which were often associated with gymnasia stayed in use; thus at Salamis-Constantia in the fifth century, while the ruins of the gymnasium

[20] Lydia: Marinus, *Life of Proclus* 15, with Fowden (1990); Illus: Zacharias of Mitylene, *Life of Severus* 40; John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (*PO* XVIII.681). For a discussion of paganism in Asia Minor at this period see Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* II.52–133.

were redeveloped, the baths were cleared of debris and put back into use, and a similar redevelopment took place at Sardis. At Anemurium, the palaestra was abandoned and built over by houses and shops; but two bath complexes were maintained, and a third, smaller, one was built. It was apparently in the early fifth century that Scholasticia restored the bath complex beside the street of the Kuretes in the centre of Ephesus. Baths continued to be repaired and maintained at many other sites, such as Aphrodisias, Didyma and Oenoanda, where, as at Side, the aqueduct was also repaired in this period. Theatres largely remained in use, although stadia tended to be altered; recent excavations have revealed a church built into the substructure of the stadium at Ephesus.

Along with these developments came the construction of new kinds of buildings for new purposes. One new category was that of the residential and administrative complexes required for the new church hierarchy; such buildings are coming to be recognized at various sites, although they may sometimes be hard to distinguish from the similar buildings which were also constructed at about the same time for governors at provincial capitals. These buildings themselves are also closely related to the large and lavish private houses which were built or restored in many cities of Asia Minor and Cyprus in this period, as for example Sardis, Aphrodisias or Salamis; particularly striking are the houses at Paphos, which were richly decorated with mosaics in the fifth century.

Parallel with the development of large private houses in this period was the extensive building of shops and other small-scale (presumably private) structures. A typical complex is that of the Byzantine shops at Sardis, constructed in the fifth century and destroyed in the seventh; even if they were less formally organized than shops of the Roman period, they represented new investment. There is considerable evidence for continuing and lively trade in this period. This is brought most vividly alive by the inscriptions from the cemetery at Korykos, in southern Asia Minor, where members of a very large number of different trades recorded their professional status on their tombstones; the interest of these texts – which appear to be largely of the fifth century – is not just as evidence of economic activity, but also as showing the importance of such activity to a man's status in society. The recent excavations at Sagalassos have uncovered an important centre for the manufacture of pottery: 'The position of at least ten kilns has been identified. They range in date from the Late Hellenistic period to the early sixth century A.D. The extent of the quarter makes it clear that Sagalassos must have been a major production centre in Southern Turkey working for an export market.'[21] At several coastal settlements in Lycia granaries and other storage facilities were being built in late antiquity.[22]

[21] Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989) 74; cf. Waelkens (1993) 48. [22] Foss (1994).

Shifts in priorities produced another fundamental change in the appearance of the cities during this period – the abandonment of a number of public spaces. At Phaselis, probably in the fifth century, a large basilica – almost certainly a church, but just possibly a secular building – was built in the agora, in the middle of an open space; similarly, a large Christian basilica was built in the centre of the agora at Iasos, perhaps in the sixth century. It is easy to see that many of the functions of an agora – in civic self-government and pagan religion – may have been less relevant to this period, while energetic commercial life still used the pattern of streets lined with shops. This is exemplified at Ephesus, where the great open *Staatsmarkt* area at the upper part of the site, which had been the centre of religious and political life, was abandoned and occupied by small dwellings; spolia from the public buildings there were used elsewhere on the site. But, during the late fourth and early fifth century, the main streets in the lower, western, part of the site were retained and even remodelled – most strikingly, the great Arcadiane, leading from the theatre to the harbour, which was equipped with street-lighting. Moreover, the agora in the lower town was restored in the late fourth century, and remained in use – even if perhaps only for commercial purposes.

In general, after a slack period in the early fourth century, the fifth and the sixth century saw energetic building activity at many cities, such as Side, Aphrodisias, Anemurium and the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia. Recent excavations at Amorium are uncovering a city which received new city walls, and a new lease of life, principally under the emperor Zeno. At Miletus, this surge of activity seems to have come even later: 'Work has demonstrated that, after a period of stagnation in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Miletus once again enjoyed a period of lively building activity in the 6th and 7th centuries.'[23]

One of the biggest changes in the late Roman period is the enormous reduction in the number of inscriptions. As a result, we know less than we would like about the government of these cities. But, after the end of the fourth century, the traditional formulae naming the Council and People as the governing entity disappear. Instead, works are undertaken by the council, by local benefactors, or by the bishop of a city – reflecting developments in the legislation, where civic matters come increasingly to be entrusted to bishops and local landowners. It is worth noting that this change may be reflected in the archaeological record described above, where church buildings, commercial activities and private houses invade some of the previously civic spaces.

At many sites, as has been shown, new buildings used spolia from previous structures, now redundant; but this should not overshadow the

[23] W. Müller-Wiener in Mitchell (1985) 85.

achievement of the civic governments in maintaining their splendour well into the sixth century. At Aphrodisias, for example, when parts of the colonnade of the so-called portico of Tiberius collapsed, apparently in the sixth century, the western side was reconstructed by a single generous donor, while several others contributed to the restoration of the south side. Some of the architrave blocks had been damaged; they were carefully replaced with blocks, several cut from spolia, which attempted to copy the sculpture of the original monument.

V. CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

Different, but undoubtedly related, changes can be detected in the archaeology of the countryside. As travel in the area has become easier, especially since the Second World War, archaeologists have found more village sites of the late Roman period. Many of these apparently started to develop in the third century A.D., and flourished until the end of the sixth, some even growing into cities.

This has provoked a debate which is far from being resolved: did such settlements grow at the expense of the cities or in response to the prosperity of the cities themselves? The evidence is still being uncovered, and is not simple to evaluate; it also varies between regions. One of the first of such surveys to be published was of the Troad, where a large number of new village sites – some of which may have developed from villas – seem to have been established in the late second or third century, and grew steadily in size. 'Roughly speaking, the fifth–sixth century would seem to be the critical time in which the balance was being tipped from the cities to the rural settlements . . . We have the impression that churches must have been built in many places around the sixth century. On the archaeological evidence we should consider that period to be one of the most flourishing in the history of the Troad.' Meanwhile, the ancient city of Ilion appears to have been inhabited until the sixth century, when it was abandoned.[24] A similar pattern is emerging from recent survey work in western Cyprus. But the extent of rural survey in Asia Minor is still very limited, and our understanding is dangerously dependent on small amounts of undatable material, and anecdotal evidence.

In Lycia, several village sites in the hills immediately behind the coast showed important growth, and the first stone buildings at these sites – some of them very impressive – were built in the fifth and sixth century. But further inland, small towns were dwindling into rough settlements, probably under pressure from brigandage. There is considerable debate as to how this evidence should be interpreted; Martin Harrison detected a

[24] Cook (1973) 369–73 (villages), 102 (Ilion).

retreat from the coastal cities to settlements in the immediate interior, while Clive Foss sees the prosperity of these settlements as created by movement towards the coast as the interior became less secure. One enigmatic site is that of Arycanda, an ancient settlement in one of the Lycian valleys; there the city remained in good repair into the sixth century, but during the fifth century a fortified town was established on the adjoining hill (at Arif), which coexisted for some time with the earlier city before the latter was abandoned at the end of the sixth century.[25]

Moreover, the countryside was being fundamentally altered by the spread of monasticism; monastic communities were spreading into rural and perhaps into undercultivated land. Many of the impressive monasteries which developed all over Asia Minor at this period will have been built on the property of rich landowners, as in the case of the communities founded by the family of Basil of Caesarea. The monastery of Holy Sion in Lycia seems to have been set up by a rich local benefactor, apparently on family land, in the first half of the sixth century, and the *Life of Nicholas of Sion* records the saintly life of its first *hegumen*, the nephew of the founder. But monastic foundations were also established by humbler patrons, and yet other communities evolved around the activities of a holy man, such as that which developed around Theodore of Sykeon.

The development of a monastic centre would seem to have provided a new focus for the local rural communities; during the plague and famine of the 540s Nicholas went round the villages in the area, providing food. In the account of his life, the nearest city, Myra, which was also the provincial capital, appears as relatively unimportant; the mission of the saint takes place in a well-populated countryside, confirming in the descriptions the archaeological evidence, mentioned above, for rural buildings in fifth- and sixth-century Lycia. Similarly, in the world of Theodore of Sykeon cities play no important role, but, like Nicholas, he has extensive dealings with village communities. In both *Lives* it is made clear that there is tension between the city-dwellers and the country communities: in the *Life of Nicholas* the inhabitants of Myra accused Nicholas of encouraging country farmers to cut off supplies during the Justinianic plague. Later in the sixth century, Theodore of Sykeon was forced to resign the position of bishop of Anastasiopolis, apparently because he was accused of encouraging peasants on church property to resist unfair demands for rent.

All this evidence waits to be explained; it may be that the country settlements grew to the detriment of the cities, but this may be too simple an explanation, since there was not necessarily a clear divide between town

[25] Arycanda/Arif: Harrison and Lawson (1979). For a very lucid summary of work on Lycia, with a useful bibliography, see Foss (1994).

and country in antiquity: one way of understanding the *raison d'être* of many of the cities which acquired substantial public buildings in the second and third century is to see them as the monumental civic centres for groups of villages. Equally, the owners of the country estates are likely to be the same people as the rich residents of the city houses – and also, perhaps, the senators of the Constantinople senate.

Such landowners had always been concerned to defend their property, and it has been mentioned above that local security seems to have been an increasing problem; an inscription recently found in Paphlagonia, together with laws in the imperial codes, shows that the imperial government was very concerned to control the development of private militias by landowners.[26] In such circumstances, imperial office could be used to provide legitimacy for the *status quo*. The new power structure may be illustrated by the career of Marthanes, a Cilician landowner who was appointed by Justinian with imperial authority to keep the peace in his own province of Cilicia – an appointment which broke all the earlier regulations preventing the appointment of local citizens to such office, and enabled Marthanes to exercise tyrannical power. Similarly, but less dramatically, a governor of the late fifth or early sixth century at Aphrodisias, Vitianus, was honoured there as being a local citizen. It seems likely that the ruling class of the provinces were now in a position to use imperial office to reinforce their control, and had less and less need of the old civic political system.

VI. THE END OF THE CIVIC ERA

Recent research has shown, at site after site, that buildings fell out of use, and settlements contracted, in the late sixth or early seventh century. Considerable energy and acrimony have gone into discussions of the exact date and the causes of this change. It may be that this question, like others discussed here, cannot yet admit of solution – or of the same solution for every site. The most striking phenomenon is the building of new fortification walls at many sites, protecting a far smaller part of the town than before (see above); unfortunately, such fortifications are often peculiarly hard to date closely. At Sagalassos, the centre for the manufacture of pottery which had flourished for several centuries came to an end in the early sixth century, and no material later than the early sixth century has been found on the site. For whatever reason, it was apparently at about this time that the inhabitants moved to the neighbouring site of Aglasun, where a small settlement developed, preserving the name of the older city. At Paphos, the 'House of Theseus' was probably abandoned in

[26] Feissel (1985); Just. *Ed.* 8, *Nov.* 29, 30.

the late sixth century; similarly, a substantial town house at Sardis, which appears to have been developed and extended until the end of the fifth century, seems gradually to have fallen out of use during the sixth. At Anemurium, buildings apparently fell into disuse – even churches, built in the preceding centuries, and baths, which had been maintained since Roman times – at a date around 580. While not all such changes can be closely dated, several can be shown to have occurred before the upheavals of the early seventh century.

From 603, for twenty years, the Persians dominated the east and made several raids into Asia Minor; from 610 onwards, Asia Minor was also the base of operations for Heraclius and his army. Those areas, such as Cyprus, which were not the centres of military activity were affected by a steady flow of displaced persons – such as John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria, who fled home to his native Cyprus in 619. There can be no doubt as to the debilitating effect of this long campaign. The advance of the Arabs in the 630s brought new pressures. We have a particularly dramatic account of what was to follow in an inscription found in the basilica at Soloi, recording the Arab invasions of 649 and 650, when it is claimed that 120,000 and 50,000 prisoners were carried off; but it must also be pointed out that the inscription was set up, in a newly restored basilica, by 655. Such explicit evidence is, however, exceptional, and much is left for us to deduce.

For a thousand years in Asia Minor, Graeco-Roman life was concentrated on cities; even for the many who lived in the country, almost all lived within the orbit of a city, and probably went there at least once a year, to participate in the religious festivals which were part of the self-definition of such communities. During the third century A.D., civic life altered – as is most drastically illustrated by the diminution in inscriptions – and it appears that the relative importance of rural communities began to grow; the spread of the new, universal religion of Christianity offered such communities an opportunity to establish religious centres equivalent to those found in the cities. Cities continued to provide an important economic and social function, not least as the seat of the bishops; but it is clear that, at some sites, such activity was dwindling even during the sixth century.[27] The cataclysms, firstly, of the plague in the mid sixth century, and of the wars of the early seventh, seems to have speeded up this process. But in some senses, perhaps, it did not matter as much as may appear. Asia Minor was to continue to be the power-house of the empire based in Constantinople for another five hundred years. The institutions which withered in the late sixth century or the early seventh were no longer important. The rural

[27] See Brandes (1988). On this process throughout the empire see ch. 8 (Liebeschuetz), pp. 209–10 above.

society which had always been essential to the cities now made a different use of them; some were abandoned, but many survived as places of refuge and small-scale trade centres, although no longer as the focus for public display or political interaction. What had ended was the 'civic' period of the polis as a political and social entity; the details of that transformation will continue to be illuminated by further archaeological discoveries in Asia Minor and Cyprus.

CHAPTER 21*b*

SYRIA, PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA

HUGH KENNEDY

The eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean and its hinterland comprised some of the richest areas of the eastern Roman empire in late antiquity. Geographically, the area is most easily understood as a series of different climatic zones running north–south. Along the Mediterranean seaboard there is a well-watered strip which provides rich agricultural lands. In the north, this belt is comparatively narrow where the mountains of Syria and Phoenica Maritima come down almost to the sea. Only in a few places, like the vicinity of Antioch and inland from Tripolis, are there extensive fertile plains. In Palestine the fertile area becomes more extensive, though increasingly arid in the south. The mountains themselves vary greatly in character. In Syria II the mountains along the coast are poor and sparsely inhabited, and further south the high summits of Phoenicia Maritima form an effective barrier between coastal cities like Berytus and inland Damascus. In Palestine, on the other hand, the hills are gentler and more densely settled with villages and towns, including Jerusalem.

Inland, the rift valley runs all the way north–south from Syria I to Palestine III. In the north, where the Orontes flows through it, the rift valley is bordered on the east by the limestone massifs – rounded, rocky hills which supported intensive settlement in late antiquity. Further south, both the Biqa valley around Heliopolis (Baalbek) and the Jordan valley were well populated and included such important cities as Tiberias and Scythopolis (Baysān, Bet She'an). Even in the arid lands of the Wādī ʿAraba south of the Dead Sea, the Byzantine period saw important settlements.

East of the rift valley, there is a belt of watered fertile land which includes such populated areas as the Auranitis (Ḥawrān) around Bostra and the hills of Moab. The eastern frontier of this land is represented by the 200 mm isohyet (the limits of the area with an annual rainfall of 200 mm) which marks the furthest boundary of settled agriculture. This line bulges eastward to include the Ḥaurān in the south, and in the north extends as far as the Euphrates. Here the grain-growing plains of Euphratensis, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, between the anti-Taurus to the north and the Syrian desert to the south, supported numerous towns and villages. This

area was, however, sadly exposed to attacks from the east; no natural barriers separated it from the lands of the Persian empire, and its exposure always meant that the towns and villages of this area suffered badly in any hostilities between the two empires.

The people of these areas were separated into distinct but mingling groups, divided by language into Greek, Syriac (a north Syrian and Mesopotamian version of the Aramaic lingua franca of the ancient near east which also developed as a literary language) and Arabic speakers. The division was partly a geographical one: on the whole, Greek was spoken in the settlements along the Mediterranean coast, whereas Syriac was widespread in the hinterland, especially in Syria and the north-eastern provinces. The division was partly social as well, the inhabitants of large towns tending to speak Greek while Syriac was the language of the villages. Having said that, it is clear that Syriac was also spoken in towns, and we find examples of people with clearly Semitic names erecting inscriptions in Greek.[1] Arabic remained essentially the language of the nomads and those along the fringes of the desert, though it seems to have been expanding by the end of the sixth century.[2]

There were also important Jewish communities in many of the main cities like Antioch and Edessa in antiquity, but little is known of their history in the later fifth and sixth century.[3] They were also to be found in the small villages and towns of Galilee, the Golan (Gaulanitis) and parts of southern Palestine. Historical narratives and religious polemic tell of persecution and rebellion, but the archaeological record gives a more positive picture. True, 'the numbers of churches in the Land of Israel constructed during this period is close to three hundred whereas only a few score synagogues were built at that time',[4] but good-quality buildings continued to be constructed throughout, with activity peaking in the late third and early fourth century, and again during the sixth. Many of these were in small country towns and villages, suggesting the survival of numerous Jewish communities in quiet rural prosperity.[5]

[1] See Sartre (1985) 142–9 and the 'index onomastique', 165–276 for numerous examples; also MacAdam (1986) 101–46.

[2] For the settlement of Arabs in the villages of Syria along the fringes of the desert and the Damascus area after the break-up of the Ghassānid federation in 581, see Sartre (1982) 191–2; for a more general account of the Arab presence in Syria in the early seventh century, Donner (1981) 101–11; for Arab expansion in Iraq in the sixth century, Morony (1984) 214–23. Further, ch. 22*c* (Conrad), p. 691 below, and in general Shahīd (1995).

[3] For the meagre evidence for Jewish life in Antioch, Downey (1961) 571; in Edessa, Segal (1970) 103–4. Sartre (1985) 158–9 found no evidence of Jews in Bostra after the early fifth century, and the same seems to be true of Scythopolis: see Binns (1994) 135–7; for Caesarea, Levine (1985) 135–9. Further, Cameron (1996).

[4] Hachlili (1988) 370, 399–400. For a general survey of the synagogues in Palestine, Levine (1981), which concentrates on archaeological and artistic aspects; the most recent discussion is Urman and Flesher (1995).

[5] See, for example, the communities of the Golan described in Urman (1985).

The Samaritans[6] comprised a much smaller minority, concentrated in the area around Neopolis (Nablus) and the site of their ancient temple at Mt Gerazim. In the third century, under the leadership of Baba Rabba, they had experienced a period of prosperity and religious revival but, like the Jews, they found the Christian empire of the late fifth and sixth century increasingly oppressive.

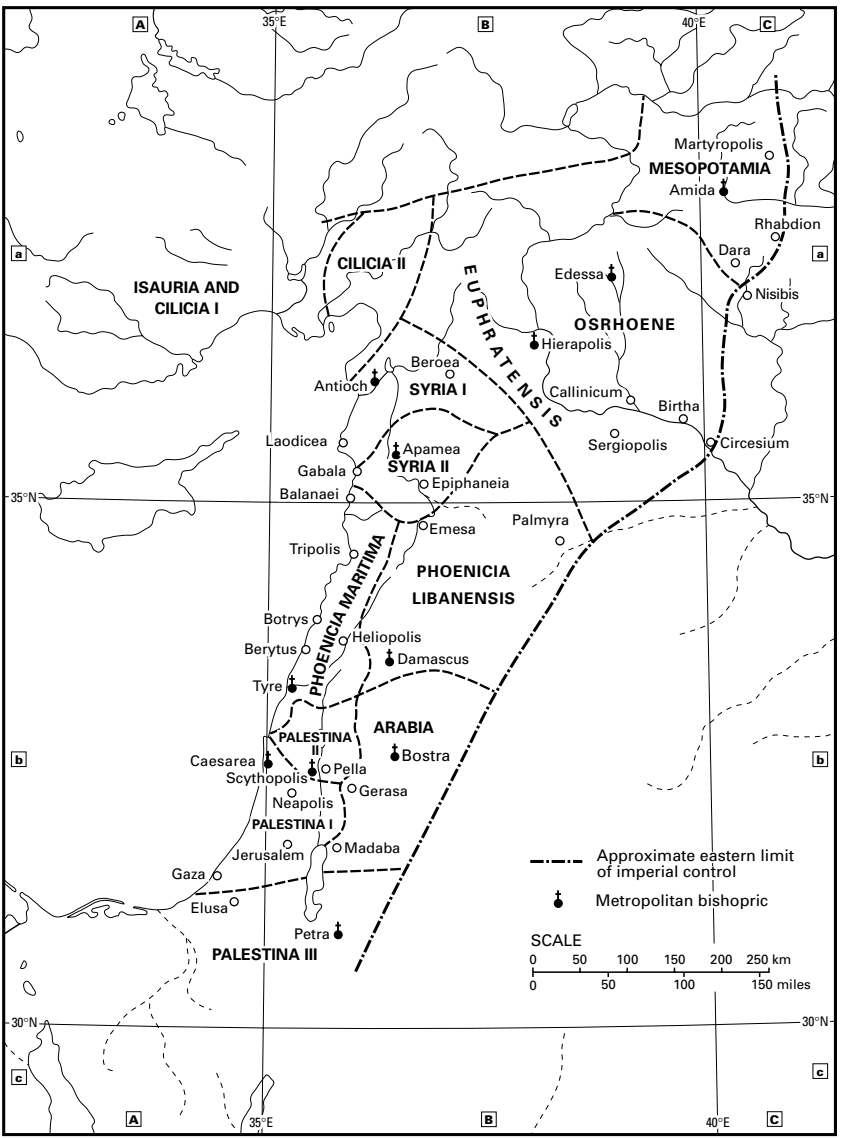
Syria in late antiquity, or at least until the mid sixth century, enjoyed something of a golden age. True, there were famines and riots, and the lot of the peasantry was frequently one of toil and indebtedness, but it was also a period of comparative peace and prosperity and considerable achievement in intellectual and architectural matters. And if you were to be asked which part of the ancient world you would like to live in as a peasant, you could do worse than opt for one of the villages by the great monastery of St Symeon Stylites, in the northern Syrian hills between Antioch and Aleppo, in the reign of Anastasius (491–518).

The administrative geography of the area was essentially that of Diocletian's reforms, with some later alterations. The whole area was included within the diocese of Oriens, and the *comes Orientis*, based at Antioch, was in theory the leading figure in the civil administration, but by the sixth century his office was often united with that of the governor of Syria I, and the provinces were more or less autonomous. The area under discussion was divided into a number of provinces. From north to south along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean was Syria I, with its metropolis at Antioch. In about 425, in the reign of Theodosius II, Syria had been divided and Syria II established with its capital at Apamea, though this was sometimes subordinate to Syria I. In about 529, for reasons which are not clear, Justinian arranged a further division when he created a new small province of Theodorias with its capital at Laodicea (Lattakia) which incorporated the small coastal towns of Paltos Gabala (Jeble) and Balaneai (Banyas) in Syria I and Syrian II.[7]

Further south were the two Phoenicias, Phoenicia Maritima (metropolis Tyre) and, inland from that, Phoenica Libanensis, the capital of which was Damascus and which stretched far to the east to include Palmyra (Tadmur) in the heart of the Syrian desert.

From about 425 onwards, Palestine was divided into three provinces, Palestine I, the metropolis of which was Caesarea and which included most of the coastal lands as well as Jerusalem and Judaea, and Palestine II, which was ruled from Scythopolis in the Jordan valley and which covered Galilee and the Golan. In the south, Palestine III stretched from the Mediterranean around Gaza eastwards to include the Negev, the southern rift valley and the hills of Edom. In theory, the capital was at remote Petra but, in prac-

[6] There is little recent discussion of the Samaritans in late antiquity but see Crown, Pummer and Tal (1993); for Samaritan revolts see pp. 593 and 598 below. [7] Malalas p. 448 Bonn.



Map 15 Provinces and principal cities of the east A.D. 500

tice, Elusa in the Negev seems to have been the most important centre in the fifth and sixth century.[8] The province of Arabia, originally established by Trajan in 106, had been truncated in the south by the creation of Palestine III.[9] Bostra remained the capital in late antiquity, but the province

[8] See Gutwein (1981).

[9] The borders of the province in late antiquity are discussed in Sartre (1982) 64–75.

only included the southern Ḥaurān, the hilly area around Gerasa (Jerash) and Philadelphia (Amman), and the mountains of Moab.

Inland from Syria I lay Euphratensis along the west bank of the great river which gave it its name. Its capital was the ancient cult centre of Hierapolis (Manbij). Across the river lay Osrhoene, centred on Edessa (Urfa), and to the north of that on the southern fringes of Armenia lay Mesopotamia with its metropolis of Amida (Diyarbakir).

The eastern frontiers of the empire were undefined in many years. The northernmost section of frontier, as it had been determined by Jovian's treaty of 363 with the Persians, ran from the upper Tigris in a generally south-easterly direction along the flanks of Mount Izala (the Tur Abdin) in such a way that the mountains were in Byzantine hands while the plains belonged to the Persians. Here the boundary was well known, and at two points Byzantine fortifications directly confronted Persian ones. The first of these was where the fort of Rhabdion overlooks Persian Sisauranon, just five kilometres away, and the second some seventy kilometres to the west, where Dara was placed to observe movement westward from Nisibis (Nusaybin).[10]

Further south, where lack of water meant that large armies could not be maintained, there was no frontier as such, but we can trace the most easterly outposts of Byzantine control. On the Euphrates, at its junction with the Khabur, Circesium was the most advanced Byzantine outpost, while the Sasanians held Dura Europas, which Shapur had taken in 256. Further defence was provided by fortifications at Birtha (Halebiye) and Callinicum. Across the Syrian desert the frontier was unmarked, but the Byzantines controlled the outposts on Strata Diocletiana, which ran south from Callinicum through Sergiopolis to Palmyra, and then south-west to Damascus, though it is unlikely that all these outposts were garrisoned in the sixth century, when responsibility for security passed into the hands of the Ghassānids after about 530. South of Damascus, the eastern frontiers of Byzantine control marched with the limits of the settled lands as far south as Aila (ʿAqaba) on the Red Sea. The frontier forts which had been constructed on such sites as Lejjūn were mostly abandoned by the sixth century, and the Byzantine empire was defended by diplomacy and subsidy rather than force of arms in this area.[11]

The overall command of the armies in the east was entrusted to the *magister militum per Orientem*, who was based in Antioch, where he had his *praetorium*. There were *duces* to command the local forces, although it is not clear

[10] For the frontier in this area see Whitby (1986) and Whitby *Maurice* 197–213; also Palmer (1990) 4–6.

[11] For the Ghassānids see Sartre (1982) 177–88 and Shahīd (1995). The disbanding of the *limitanei* is claimed by Procopius (*Anecdota* XXIV.12–14) and some would see the archaeological evidence as confirming this; see Parker (1986); for evidence of the decay of the fortress at Lejjūn in the mid sixth century, Parker *et al.* (1987). Sartre (1982) 195–6 notes the almost total absence of fortifications in the Negev in the early seventh century.

that every province had one, and in 528 additional *duces* were established at Circesium in Mesopotamia and Palmyra in Phoenicia Libanensis to defend obvious invasion routes. As in other areas of late Roman administration, the hierarchies and responsibilities were not rigidly adhered to. The emperor communicated directly with provincial governors and *duces*, and on occasion the *magister militum* constructed buildings in Antioch, while the *comes Orientis* was put in charge of the development and garrisoning of Palmyra. One *comes Orientis*, Ephraemius, even became patriarch in 527. Justinian seems to have been concerned to maintain the status of the civilian governors *vis-à-vis* the *duces*, and in 535–6 the governor of Palestine I became a proconsul and those of Arabia and Phoenicia Libanensis were honoured with the new title of *moderator*. It is likely that the regular succession of officials continued at least until the Persian invasions of the early seventh century, but the evidence for this is very scanty and, for example, we do not know the name of any of the *duces* of the province of Arabia after Flavius Paulus in 580.[12]

The degree of military preparedness seems to have varied from time to time and place to place. Those provinces which directly bordered on the Persian empire – Mesopotamia, Osrhoene and Euphratensis – must have had permanent garrisons of *numeri* of the imperial army, at such strong points as Amida, Edessa and Circesium. Palmyra was garrisoned by *numeri* early in Justinian's reign. In the sixth century, major fortifications were built at strategic places on the Persian frontier and the remains of these can still be seen at Dara, Birtha on the Euphrates and Sergiopolis.[13]

Other areas seem to have had few regular troops: in the major Persian invasion of 540, Hierapolis, Beroea (Aleppo) and Apamea all paid ransoms to the invaders, having, it would appear, insufficient garrisons to defend them. Antioch, faced by the same invasion, was poorly defended and was dependent on 6,000 troops hurriedly summoned from Lebanon and on volunteers from within the city. Their combined efforts could not save it from the horrors of pillage and mass deportations.[14] The governors and *duces* of Scythopolis and Caesarea seem to have been equally ill-prepared to face the Samaritan revolts of 529 and 556, and it is said that, after the rebellion of 529, the governor of Scythopolis, Bassus, was executed and the *dux* Theodoros removed from office and put under arrest.[15]

The ecclesiastical administration echoed the civilian one. At the start of the period, all the churches in the area were subordinate to the patriarch of Antioch, just as the secular administration was presided over by the *comes Orientis*. In each province, the church was governed by a metropolitan based in the capital and bishops in all the main towns.[16] At the Council of

[12] Sartre (1982) 108–12 discusses the evidence for the sixth-century governors of Arabia.

[13] On Dara: Whitby (1986b) and the comments in Cameron, *Procopius* 107–8; on Zenobia: Lauffray (1983); on Rusafa: Karnapp (1976).

[14] See Procop. *Wars* II and Downey (1961) 533–46; Liebeschuetz (1977) and Cameron, *Procopius* 152–70.

[15] Malalas pp. 445–7 Bonn.

[16] These structures are detailed in Devreesse (1945).

Chalcedon in 451, however, this tidy system was disrupted when Jerusalem became an independent patriarchate presiding over the bishops of the three Palestinian provinces, including the metropolitan of Caesarea, who had previously been his superior.[17] When Theodorias was made into a separate province by Justinian, it did not acquire a separate ecclesiastical identity, and the bishop of Laodicea remained subordinate to Antioch.

A further and more serious confusion in the ecclesiastical organization was the establishment of an alternative and parallel hierarchy in the patriarchate of Antioch in the wake of the Monophysite schism. This rival hierarchy was largely a result of the missionary efforts of the Monophysite Jacob Baradaeus – hence the designation of the Syrian Monophysite church as Jacobite. Originally under the patronage of the empress Theodora, Jacob travelled extensively in the provinces of Syria and Asia Minor between 542 and 578 consecrating metropolitans, bishops and priests. This rival hierarchy took the established ecclesiastical titles, including that of patriarch of Antioch, but they were seldom able to reside in the cities from which they took their titles. Many of them were monks from rural monasteries in Syria and Mesopotamia and lived either in their monasteries or as wandering preachers.[18] The Monophysite hierarchy was also supported by the Ghassānids, and in the province of Arabia there were two bishops of Bostra, a Chalcedonian one in the city and a Monophysite one in the Ghassānid encampments.[19] Despite intermittent attempts at compromise, the divisions hardened in the late sixth and early seventh century, and the great majority of Syriac-speaking monasteries and villages remained loyal to the Jacobite patriarch, based on the monastery of Gubba Barraya, east of Aleppo. Although there is no evidence that the Monophysite populations aided or encouraged the Persian invasion of 611 which swept away the Byzantine political structures, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch wrote to his colleague in Alexandria: 'The world rejoiced in peace and love, because the Chalcedonian night has been chased away.'[20]

Only once did these provinces and their armies play a major role in the making and unmaking of emperors. Zeno came from neighbouring Isauria and served as *magister militum per Orientem* before ascending the imperial throne in 474. In 482–4 the rival Isaurian leader Illus made Antioch his base in an attempt to put Leontius on the imperial throne. Although his claims were accepted in the city, his troops were easily defeated, and he fled to his native Isauria, where he was eventually killed in 488. Apart from this

[17] On the status of Jerusalem in this period see Honigmann (1950); before Chalcedon: *ibid.* 238, 245–6. [18] See Honigmann (1954), a study of one important monastery.

[19] Honigmann (1951); see also Meyendorff (1989) 229–30 and 266–71; ch. 27 (Allen), pp. 824–33 below. For Bostra: Sartre (1985) 110–12.

[20] Severus b. al-Muqaffa', *History of the Patriarchs* ed. and trans. Evett (*PO* 1 (1907) 481), quoted by Meyendorff in his discussion of this period (1989) 270–1.

episode, which may suggest that Syria was not a viable power base, the political history of this area is restricted to the comings and goings of the *comites Orientis* in Antioch, occasional urban riots and the sporadic rebellions of the Jews and Samaritans in Palestine.

The main threat to the peace and stability of this area between 425 and 600 was from Persian invasions. Persian armies never used the direct desert crossing to Palestine or Arabia but always attacked through the settled areas of Euphratensis, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, and it was these areas, along with Syria I and II, which bore the brunt of the invasions. After a long period of peace, hostilities broke out in 502–3 when Kavadh attacked and captured Amida, slaughtering a large number of its citizens, and went on to besiege Edessa and ravage the surrounding country. The *casus belli* in this instance was that the emperor Anastasius had, from 483, refused to continue the subsidy previously paid to the Persians for the defence of the Caucasus passes on the grounds that the Persians had refused to return Nisibis, which they claimed had been ceded to them by Jovian in 363 for 120 years. In 503 and 504 large Roman armies counter-attacked, and Amida was restored to imperial control.[21] In 505 a seven-year truce was signed, and Anastasius began the building of the great fortress at Dara, later improved by Justinian, immediately across the frontier from Nisibis.

Hostilities broke out again in the Caucasus in 527 at the end of the reign of Justin I and spread to Mesopotamia, where the then *magister militum per Orientem*, Belisarius was defeated at Callinicum in 531. The fighting was ended by the death of Kavadh and the accession of Khusro I Anushirvan in 532, and a peace agreement by which the Romans paid a lump sum in commutation of the subsidy. This peace lasted until 540, when Khusro, attracted by the weakened defences of the eastern frontier while Justinian's efforts were directed to the west, invaded again, apparently more interested in money than in conquest. Most of the cities, including the provincial capitals of Edessa, Hierapolis and Apamea, duly paid, but as a result of imperial promises of military support and divided counsels within the city (it seems that the patriarch Ephraemius wanted to agree to peace but was prevented by commissioners sent by Justinian) Antioch attempted to resist. The result was the most serious military disaster to afflict Syria in this period. Antioch fell, the city was burned and large numbers of its inhabitants forcibly resettled in Iraq.

After this catastrophe, hostilities soon petered out, and there is no sign that Khusro sought to make permanent conquests. The outbreak of plague in the Roman east in 542 and the successful defence of Edessa by Roman forces in 544 resulted in a truce in 545 in which Justinian again agreed to a

[21] Malalas pp. 398–9 Bonn; for a full and vivid narrative of these campaigns W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (London 1882) caps. xlviii–lxxxi.

substantial cash payment. This peace lasted until 572, when the Romans attempted to take advantage of perceived Persian weakness in Armenia and Nisibis, and open warfare again broke out. Unfortunately, the Romans underestimated their opponents' strength, and Khusro retaliated in 573 by raiding and sacking Apamea, the capital of Syria II.[22] In the same year, the Persians also took the key frontier fortress of Dara. Hostilities dragged on for some twenty years after this, even during the years of truce from 574 to 578. In 591, however, Khusro II was obliged to ask Maurice for help in recovering his throne and was happy to return Dara and Martyropolis, which had been handed over to the Persians by treachery.[23]

The close of the sixth century saw the frontier very much as it had been in 425. The Romans were in control of Dara but never regained Nisibis. The Persian wars had been a burden on the central treasury but, apart from a few major disasters – Amida in 503, Antioch in 540, and Dara and Apamea in 573 – and intermittent ravaging of the countryside of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, they do not seem to have caused major damage to the provinces and there were many years of uninterrupted peace.

The only other external threat came from the desert. The desert frontiers of Syria and Palestine were very difficult to defend: frontier forts were easily bypassed by swiftly moving bands of bedouin raiders. From the fifth century onwards, the imperial authorities had realized that it was important to secure bedouin allies and increasingly turned to diplomacy and subsidy as a cheaper and more effective way of defending the settled areas than military force. From the end of the fourth century, the leaders of the tribe of Salīḥ seem to have been recognized as phylarchs or managers of the Arab tribes allied to the empire.[24] At the end of the fifth century, the Salīḥid phylarchy, about which we have very little information, was challenged by the arrival of two new tribes in the area, Kinda and Ghassān. In 491 Emesa (Homs) was sacked by the Arabs and in 498 Ghassān raided Palestine and, although they were defeated by the *dux* Romanos, they continued to pose a threat. Probably in 503, Salīḥ were replaced as phylarchs by the chiefs of Ghassān and Kinda. From 503 to 528 it seems as if each province had its phylarch working alongside the *dux*, and in 529 the *dux* of Palestine was assisted by the phylarch of the province in the suppression of the Samaritan revolt.

In 531 Justinian recognized al-Ḥārith b. Jabala the Ghassānid as chief phylarch, in overall charge of the defence of the frontier between the Euphrates and the Red Sea, probably to give him power and status equal to

[22] The sack is described by John of Ephesus, *HE* (ed. with Latin trans. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO*, *Scriptores Syri* 54 (Louvain 1952)), VI.6. The wealth and importance of Apamea in this period have been confirmed by recent excavations, on which see Balty (1981).

[23] See Whitby, *Maurice* 276–304 for a full account of the Persian wars of this period.

[24] On Salih: Sartre (1982) 146–9, 153–62, and Kawar (1958); Shahīd (1989).

the Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīra, who performed a similar role on the desert frontiers of the Persian empire. For fifty years the Ghassānids more or less kept the peace on the desert frontier, defeated the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra (notably at Halima near Chalcis in 551), and formed an important contingent in Byzantine armies fighting the Persians, as at Callinicum in 531. When al-Ḥārith died in 569, he was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir. In 581 the emperor Tiberius ordered the arrest of the phylarch al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith because he feared the Monophysite sympathies of the Ghassānids and their general unreliability. The Ghassānid system collapsed, and in 583 their supporters attacked Bostra, the capital of Arabia, and ravaged the surrounding area.[25] The defences of the desert frontier were left in disarray, and tribes which had followed them dispersed. The Byzantines still retained allies among the bedouin, some of whom, like the Judhām of southern Jordan, fought vigorously against the first Muslim incursions. Members of the Ghassānid ruling house fought in the armies of the empire at the battle of the Yarmuk in 636, but there can be no doubt that the disappearance of the Ghassānid system was one reason why Muslim forces were able to penetrate Byzantine Syria so effectively from 632 on.[26]

While the politics of the area were comparatively placid, the same cannot be said of the religious history. The area was the birthplace of Christianity, its bishoprics were amongst the oldest Chritian institutions in the empire, and its monasteries and ascetics were rivalled only by those in Egypt. By 425 the majority of the towns were at least nominally Christian, the public performance of pagan rites had been outlawed and some of the major temples destroyed.[27] Pagan cults persisted with considerable vigour in some places, notably at Carrhae (Harran), right through the period.[28] In Edessa, in many ways the spiritual centre of Syriac Christianity, sacrifices were still being made to Zeus at the end of the sixth century. The *magister militum per Orientem* Illus promised to restore pagan cults during his rebellion against the emperor Zeno (481–8), and this attracted some support, though it is not clear how widespread this was.[29] John of Ephesus says that the Christians of Heliopolis were a small and oppressed minority and that when an imperial agent came to put an end to the persecution they were suffering, he uncovered a pagan network in which the *vicarius* of Edessa and the patriarch of Antioch, no less, were alleged to have been implicated.[30] In the countryside,

[25] John Eph. *HE* III.40–5, 56; Sartre (1982) 189–94; Shahīd (1995) (a different view).

[26] For the situation at the time of the Muslim conquests, Kaegi (1992) 52–5; in general, Shahīd (1995), with ch. 22*c* (Conrad), pp. 695–700 below.

[27] For the destruction of the temple of Zeus at Apamea (*c.* 390) and the Marneion at Gaza in 402 see Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* I.123–9 and I.187–245.

[28] For Harran, where the pagan cult is well attested from Islamic times, see Green (1992). For the cults of Syria in general: Drijvers (1982).

[29] Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* 81–4, 93–4.

[30] John Eph. *HE* III.27–34; see Bowersock, *Hellenism* 35–40.

too, paganism persisted, especially in remote areas: the Christianization of the limestone massif east of Antioch was largely complete by 420, whereas pagan cults survived in the rural Ḥaurān until the late sixth century.[31]

In the late fifth and sixth century, tensions between the Jewish and Samaritan communities in Palestine and the Christian authorities seem to have been increasing. The Samaritans had not traditionally been militant but, apparently because of Christian attempts to remove sacred relics from Joseph's tomb, they raised a revolt in 484. Churches which had been built on their sacred Mt Gerazim and in Neapolis were destroyed, and they crowned one Justus or Justasas as their king. Caesarea was taken, many Christians were killed and Justasas celebrated victory games, but their success was short-lived. Troops sent by the emperor Zeno put down the rebellion, and Justasas was executed. In 529 there was another revolt. In June communal riots between Samaritans, Christians and Jews broke out in Scythopolis, and many parts of the city were burned by the Samaritans (at least, according to the account of the Christian chronicler Malalas).[32] Fearing the emperor's wrath, the Samaritans broke into open rebellion. Again they crowned a king/messiah called Julian, churches were burned and the provincial capital of Scythopolis taken and held. When Justinian reasserted Byzantine control, large numbers of Samaritans were killed, and the Ghassānid phylarch is said to have taken 20,000 boys and girls and sold them in Persia and India (probably, in fact, south Arabia or Ethiopia) as slaves. Malalas alleges that there were 50,000 Samaritan exiles at the Persian court who encouraged Kavadh to invade Byzantine territory, promising to hand over their own land, all Palestine and the holy places. There may well be no truth in these accusations, but they illustrate the kinds of inter-communal tensions which could arise in the sixth century.

On the whole, the Jews were more passive, even in the face of the increasingly hostile legislation of Justinian, but there are signs of growing militancy in the late sixth century. In 556 Samaritans and Jews allegedly took advantage of trouble between the Greens and the Blues in Caesarea to attack the Christians, and succeeded in killing the governor and storming his palace.[33] There are a number of reports which claim that the Jews joined the Persians in attacking the Christians in the invasion of 614. However, recent scholarship has shown that the evidence for this is based almost entirely on Christian polemical writing of the early Islamic period and has more to do with explaining Christian defeat than with historical accuracy.[34]

In contrast to the comparative tranquillity of political life, church life in this area was always vigorous and was marked by passionate disputes.[35] The

[31] Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* 34–5. [32] Malalas pp. 445–7 Bonn; cf. Binns (1994) 138–9.
[33] Malalas pp. 487–8 Bonn. [34] See Cameron (1994) and (1996); Schick (1995).
[35] For full accounts, Frend, *Monophysite Movement*; Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity* 165–292; and ch. 27 (Allen), pp. 824–8 below.

theological issues raised by the Monophysite controversy are discussed elsewhere in this volume (see pp. 818–33 below), and it is the political and social dimensions which are to be addressed here. The Monophysite controversy affected all the churches of the empire in one way or another, but nowhere else did it cause such violent dispute as in the patriarchate of Antioch, because here it became associated with other social and cultural divisions which aroused popular passions.

The dispute over the definition of orthodoxy accepted by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 expressed deep divisions over the understanding of the central Christian mystery of the incarnation. The contrast between the full humanity of Christ stressed by the Dyophysites (who of course accepted his divine nature as well) contrasted with the emphasis on the single, divine nature of Christ upheld by the Monophysites.

There was also something of a linguistic divide. Monophysite doctrines were espoused and expounded in the main by Syriac speakers and writers. Even in the case of Monophysite thinkers fully educated in the Greek tradition, like Severus of Antioch (d. 538), their writings have survived in Syriac versions. Others, like Severus' radical ally, Philoxenus of Hierapolis (d. 523), and the historian John of Ephesus, wrote only in Syriac. In general, Chalcedonian Christianity found its popular support in the cities and among the Greek-speaking élite, especially within the ambit of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, while the Syriac-speaking small towns and villages, away from the coast and towards the Persian frontier, were more solidly Monophysite.

The Monophysite movement in Syria found its staunchest adherents among the monks. Even before Chalcedon, monks like Mar Barsawma (d. 459), who spoke no Greek, were openly hostile to episcopal authority. Syrian monasticism tended to be anarchic and individualist,[36] and many monks objected to being subordinate to a hierarchy, especially if the hierarchs spoke a different language and held questionable theological views. The monastic nature of the Monophysite community became even more pronounced after 518, when imperial pressure ensured that all the established bishops were firmly Chalcedonian. It was Monophysite monks, especially those of the frontier monastery at Qartmin, near Dara, who ensured that the council called by the *patricius* John, on the orders of Justin II, to try to resolve the issue at Callinicum in 567, ended in failure.[37]

There were also notable regional differences. By the mid sixth century, when the alternative Monophysite hierarchy was being established, we can see that Syria I, Euphratensis, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia had large, probably majority, Monophysite communities. In contrast, Syria II and the Phoenicias were mostly Chalcedonian. However, the Ghassānids were firm

[36] See Vööbus (1958–9) for the full richness of the Syrian ascetic tradition. [37] Palmer (1990) 150.

supporters of the Monophysites. Adherents to the Monophysite creed were subject to bouts of persecution but, despite rumours that Monophysite monks had betrayed Amida to the Persians in 503, it would be wrong to see the movement as anti-imperial or in any way 'nationalist' or separatist: the Monophysites simply wanted to be part of a Christian empire which was, in their sense, orthodox.[38]

The balance of power between the communities in the patriarchate of Antioch reflected political changes in Constantinople as well as local opinion. From 451 to 518 the key issue was the control of the office of patriarch itself, for the patriarch alone had power to consecrate new bishops and so change the complexion of the hierarchy. Until his death in 488, the key figure among the Monophysites of Antioch was Peter the Fuller, who was patriarch no less than three times, interrupted by two periods of exile. At this stage, much of the population of the city itself seems to have had Monophysite sympathies, and the unfortunate Chalcedonian patriarch Stephen was stabbed to death by his own clergy, using sharpened reed pens, in 479.[39]

In 482 the *Henotikon* of Zeno provided a framework within which the two parties could agree to differ, and some of the violence went out of the dispute. This tolerant policy was continued by Anastasius. In 512, however, Severus became patriarch of Antioch and succeeded in winning over the emperor Anastasius to a more militantly Monophysite position, while Philoxenus of Hierapolis won Euphratensis for the cause. From 512 to 518 the Monophysites were supreme in Antioch, though opponents remained in Syria II and among the monks of Phoenicia II, who went so far as to write to Rome seeking support. The accession in 518 of Justin I, a westerner seeking reconciliation with Rome, led to a violent reversal of policy. The hierarchy was swiftly changed: Severus was obliged to retire to Monophysite Alexandria and the new patriarch Paul, called 'the Jew', began active persecution of the Monophysites, until removed by the emperor for his excesses. Monophysite bishops were replaced and Monophysite monks expelled from their monasteries to find even more austere retreats in the mountains and deserts.

The years 531 to 536 saw a relaxation of persecution because of the pro-Monophysite actions of the empress Theodora but, as Justinian sought to win over the implacably Chalcedonian church of Rome, after 536 the persecution was started up with renewed intensity. This seems finally to have convinced Severus, still the spiritual leader of the Monophysites, to accede to the demands of militants like John of Tella

[38] On which see Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity* 251–4; the loyalty of Monophysite communities to the empire in the late sixth century is noted by Whitby (*Maurice* 213–15). Ghassānids: Shahīd (1995).

[39] Malalas p. 381 Bonn.

(martyred in 536) and Jacob Bar'Addai to begin the consecration of an alternative Monophysite hierarchy, which set the seal on the schism. For the rest of the century, the northern provinces of the patriarchate of Antioch saw continuous strife between an officially supported urban hierarchy and a rural populace which largely rejected it and sought their spiritual leadership elsewhere.

The dispute took a very different turn in the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The bishop at the time of Chalcedon, Juvenal, had gone to the council with Monophysite convictions but seems to have been persuaded to change his mind by the erection of his see into an independent patriarchate, something previous bishops had tried but failed to achieve. On his return, he was execrated as a traitor by the Monophysite populace and had to be guarded by imperial troops, while the bishop of Scythopolis was murdered for his Chalcedonian views; however, opinion gradually shifted in favour of Chalcedon. This was partly a question of local ecclesiastical pride: to anathematize Chalcedon, as the Monophysites demanded, would be to undermine the patriarchal status of Jerusalem which had been agreed there. The church in Palestine was also much more influenced by Constantinople and the west because of the constant arrival of overseas pilgrims, some of whom stayed and became monks. The monasteries of the Judaean desert, the spiritual power-houses of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, were very different from those in Syria. While Syrian monasteries recruited men of local experience from the local areas, the Judaean monasteries attracted recruits from all over the empire. The greatest of these, Euthymius (d. 473) and Mar Saba (d. 532), founder of the famous, still surviving, monastery in the Judaean desert which bears his name, were firm supporters of Chalcedon. In this way, despite setbacks like the deposition of the Chalcedonian patriarch Elias during the high noon of Monophysite power in 516, Jerusalem remained as firmly and completely committed to Chalcedon as the Egyptian church did to the Monophysite cause.[40]

The disputes of Chalcedon gathered pace against a background of expanding settlement and over-all economic (and probably demographic) growth. The evidence for this can be found in the unique archaeological record of the region, which is unrivalled in this period for its extent and scope but is not always easy to interpret. There are a number of problems in the use of archaeological evidence for the assessment of economic prosperity. The most obvious of these is the chronology. Much of the dating of sites rests on ceramic evidence which is not clear enough to make distinctions between fifth, sixth and seventh century or even between Byzantine

[40] See Patrich (1995); Binns (1994); and Honigmann (1950) 247–61. For the archaeology of the Palestinian monasteries, Hirschfeld (1992).

and early Islamic.[41] There is also a tendency among historians to see the Byzantine period as a sort of plateau and the Persian and Arab invasions of the early seventh century as marking a dramatic break in the social and economic life of the area:[42] in reality, economic and social change probably occurred over a much longer time-span. While it is sometimes possible to be certain when buildings were constructed, it is much more difficult to know when they fell into ruin or disuse. Furthermore, it is not always clear what archaeological evidence tells us about economic prosperity: the building of monasteries, for example, could be an indicator of economic expansion as people endowed the church with their surplus wealth, or it could be a sign that monasteries were expanding their lands at the expense of impoverished or depopulated villages. Equally, the intrusion of poorly built structures on to public open spaces like streets and squares, which seems to happen in the sixth century in Antioch, Apamea, Scythopolis, Gerasa and Madaba, among other sites, could show the general decay of urban life or, conversely, that increased commercial pressures meant that every part of the urban area had to be exploited to the full.[43] All generalizations about the economic history of this period have to be treated with some caution.

The fifth and early sixth centuries were characterized by continued building activities in major cities and the expansion of settlement into marginal lands in mountainous and semi-arid zones. The planned city with its broad, paved, usually colonnaded streets remained the ideal of urban builders. When Justinian rebuilt Antioch after 540, Procopius describes how 'he laid it out with stoas and agoras, dividing all the blocks of houses by means of streets and making water-channels, fountains and sewers, all of which the city now boasts. He built theatres and baths for it, ornamenting it with all the other buildings by which the prosperity of a city is wont to be shown.'[44] When Anastasius constructed the fortress of Dara, he equipped it with 'two public baths, churches, colonnades, warehouses for storing grain and two cisterns for water'. In the archaeological record, the clearest evidence for large-scale street layout in the period is emerging at Scythopolis, capital of Palestine II, where the city-centre streets were rebuilt and extended in the early decades of the sixth century.[45] There is

[41] For example, both Orssaud using ceramic material from the limestone massif of northern Syria and Watson using the material from Pella have recently emphasized that the pattern is one of continuity and slow evolution and that there are no clear breaks between the early sixth and the mid eighth century; see Orssaud (1992) and Watson (1992) and the *table ronde* 'De la céramique Byzantine à la céramique Omeyyade' in Canivet and Rey-Coquais (1992) 195–212.

[42] Tchalenko's discussion in *Villages* of the economic life of the villages of the limestone massif is based on the assumption that this society collapsed with the Muslim conquests. For a recent example of the same attitudes, see Shereshevski (1991) 222–3; cf. the critique in Cameron (1994) 91–3; for a helpful overview of the debate see Foss (1995).

[43] Kennedy (1985); also Kennedy (1986a) and the recent discussion in Di Segni (1995). For building and architecture see ch. 31 (Mango), pp. 918–71 below.

[44] Procop. *Buildings* II.10.2–25.

[45] Tsafrir and Foerster (1994).

further evidence from Jerusalem, where Justinian laid out or extended a broad, new colonnaded *cardo* or main paved thoroughfare to lead to the portico of his Nea church.[46] Chroniclers of the period also record numerous instances where the emperors sent money or remitted taxes to aid rebuilding after earthquakes or other disasters.

A particular problem is posed by the buildings at Androna (al-Andarin) and Qasr Ibn Wardan (ancient name unknown), on the fringes of the desert north-east of Hama. At Androna there is a series of churches, two of which are dated to the sixth century, and a square barracks built by 'the most estimable Thomas' in 558. At Qasr Ibn Wardan there is a church, palace and barracks complex of great elegance and sophistication with an inscription of 564. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of Thomas, and we have no idea of the name of the builder of Qasr Ibn Wardan.[47] Given the complete absence of literary or epigraphic evidence, there is no reason to assume that these buildings were imperial fortifications, especially as there is little evidence for imperial building of any kind in the near east in the last decade of Justinian's reign. We should probably ascribe these large-scale projects to local initiative – the governor, a local magnate or the Ghassānids.

Government patronage extended to individual buildings, although after the mid fifth century these are mostly churches. Among the most impressive projects were Zeno's patronage of the building of the great church of St Symeon Stylites in the limestone hills between Antioch and Aleppo (*c.* 476–91) and Justinian's vast Nea (dedicated 543) in Jerusalem,[48] both of them new foundations, but humbler establishments also benefited, as can be seen from the example of the monastery of Qartmin, on the remote Tigris frontier, where the main church, which still survives, was constructed by the emperor Anastasius.[49]

Imperial building activity can also be seen in fortifications. The threat of Persian attacks meant that Justinian's government reconstructed the walls of Antioch and Apamea. In Edessa the damage done by the disastrous flood of 525 was repaired by Justin I and Justinian, who restored the walls and the cathedral and built a dam to divert the flood-water of the river Scirtos which still exists today.[50] Imposing fortifications were constructed at Sergiopolis in the Syrian desert and Birtha on the Euphrates. At Sergiopolis, these consisted of a vast rectangle of walls 500 × 400 metres which contained the city with its churches, including the great basilica of the Holy Cross, dedicated in 559. At Birtha, a triangle of impressive walls

[46] Avigad (1984) 213–29.

[47] The best discussion of these buildings is still in Butler (1907–20) Section B, pp. 47–63.

[48] On the building history of the shrine of St Symeon: Tchalenko, *Villages* 1.223–76; for the Nea: Avigad (1984) 229–46; on Syrian stylites and their architectural remains: Peña, Castellana and Fernandez (1987). [49] Palmer (1990) 113–48. [50] Segal (1970) 187–9.

about 400 × 300 metres, with a citadel at the apex and the shorter side along the river, enclosed a small garrison town with a forum, baths and at least two churches.[51]

Imperial patronage was largely confined to provincial capitals and frontier fortifications. Cathedrals and churches were often built at the instigation of bishops.[52] The great cathedral at Bostra, one of the most important buildings in the entire area, was dedicated in 512/13 by bishop Julianus and there is no mention of imperial patronage.[53] As far as we can tell, the fine series of churches at Gerasa, which continue through to the early-seventh-century church of bishop Genesius (611), were all constructed by local patrons.[54] At Gerasa it was the bishop Placcus who built new, smaller, public baths in 454–5 to replace the vast classical *thermae* which had fallen out of use.[55] Major church-building schemes from the sixth century have also been revealed at Apamea, where the cathedral was reconstructed in the 530s by bishop Paul, and a round church and an atrium church were built at about the same time. In Edessa in the fifth century a whole series of churches were built by bishops. Bishop Hiba (436–57) was especially renowned for his lavish patronage: in 437–8 he gave a great silver altar to the cathedral and built a magnificent new church of the Twelve Apostles and an extramural church of St Sergius. His successor, bishop Nona, built extensively, including a church of St John the Baptist, with thirty-two columns of red marble, and an infirmary for the poor outside the south gate. As late as the time of the emperor Maurice, bishop Severus built himself a palace and a street called the New Portico.[56]

It was not, however, in the greater cities that the true vitality and prosperity of the late antique near east can be seen, but in the villages and small country towns of the area. Our knowledge of these is derived almost entirely from archaeological sources. The most important evidence is to be found in marginal areas, including the uplands of the limestone massifs of northern Syria (the so-called 'Dead Cities'), the basalt areas of the Ḥaurān and the Negev areas of Palestine III.[57] In all these areas, settlement was more extensive in the fifth and early sixth century than it had been under the principate. In all these areas, too, the communities have common features. The largest settlements can be called towns, but they are very different in character from the *poleis* of the classical period or, indeed, from a contemporary provincial capital like Scythopolis. Typical examples like Kapropera (al-Bara) in northern Syria, Umm al-Jimal (ancient name

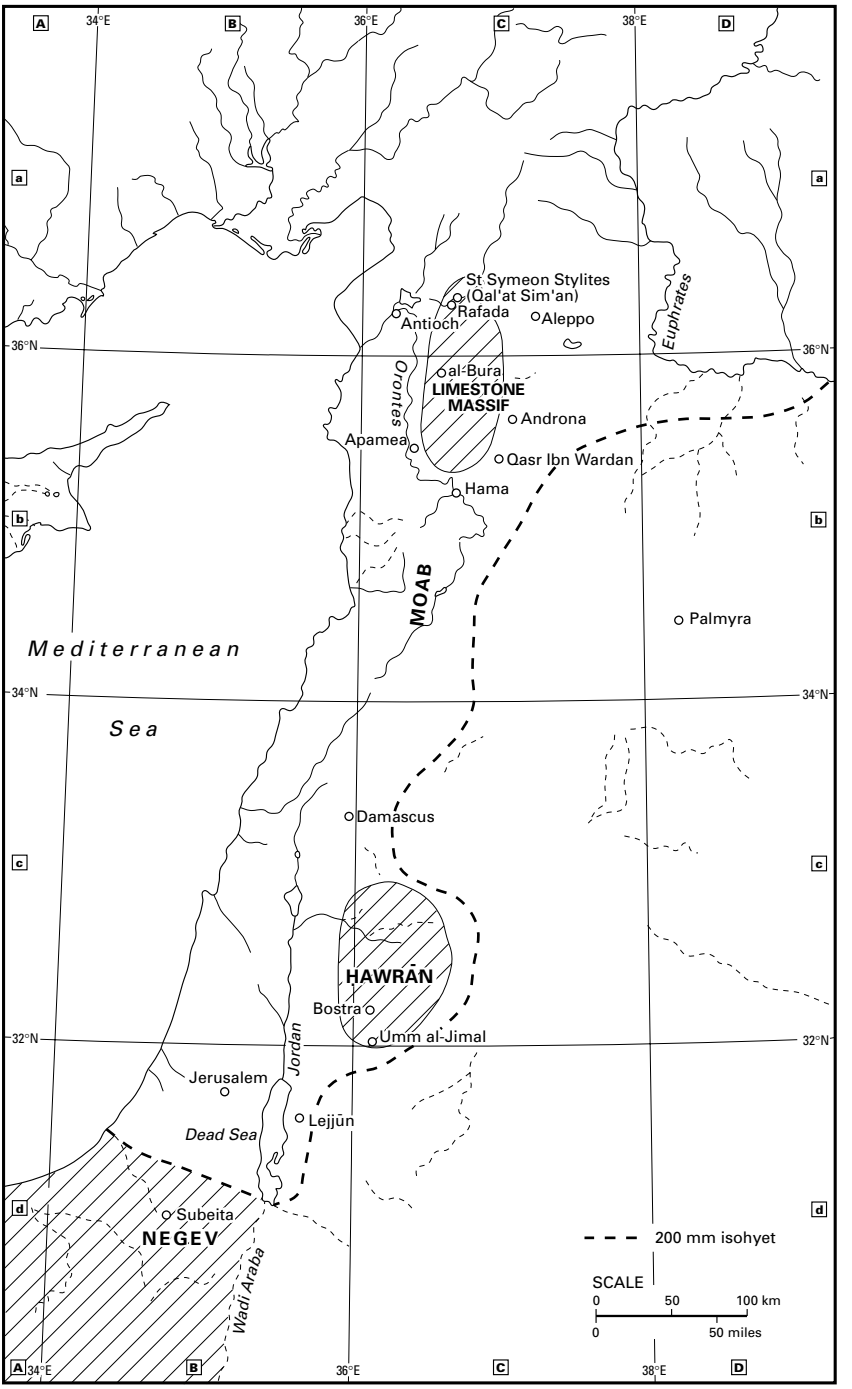
[51] See p. 592 above, n. 11.

[52] For church architecture in Palestine see Crowfoot (1941) and Tsafrir (1993); for Syria: Lassus (1947). [53] Sartre (1985) 124–5.

[54] For the superb series of churches at Gerasa see Kraeling (1938) 171–262.

[55] Kraeling (1938) 265–9. [56] For building in Edessa: Segal (1970) 183–91.

[57] For the villages of the limestone massifs see Tchalenko, *Villages*, and Tate (1992); for the Ḥaurān: Villeneuve (1985); for the Negev: Shereshevski (1991). In general: Cameron and King (1994).



Map 16 Archaeological sites and regions within the eastern provinces

unknown) in the southern Ḥaurān and Soboda (Subeita) in the Negev have common characteristics: there is no formal urban planning at all, and the streets are narrow winding lanes, without porticoes and bordered by the mostly windowless outer walls of the houses. The only public buildings are churches, of which all the settlements have two or more, but the houses are sometimes large and well-built, centred on internal courtyards. All these settlements expanded greatly during the fifth and sixth century, and most of the surviving building can be dated to these centuries. The unplanned village-town is the characteristic feature of late antique settlement in the near east.

The economic foundation of this prosperity was clearly agriculture, though some towns, notably Tyre, were probably in some sense industrial.[58] The apparent prosperity of communities in such unpromising agricultural areas as the limestone hills of northern Syria has been the subject of some discussion. In his pioneering work on these areas, Tchalenko[59] suggested that this wealth was based on a monoculture of olives, and that the hill villages exported oil to Antioch and the Mediterranean world and bought in grain and other necessities from the rest of Syria. All this prosperity, he claimed, was brought to an abrupt end by the Persian and Muslim invasion of the early seventh century, which cut off the area from its Mediterranean markets. This vision of a specialized, market-orientated agricultural economy is attractive but has been challenged more recently, and it now seems that agriculture was probably more mixed than Tchalenko suggested. Tate has pointed out that very few olive presses have been found in the area, certainly no more than would be needed for local consumption; that finds of animal bones suggest that animal husbandry was an important element in the local economy; and that settlement did not come to an end in the early seventh century but continued into the early Islamic period.[60] He argues for mixed peasant farming rather than a specialist economy based on cash crops, but this does not entirely explain the evident prosperity of the area in late antiquity in contrast to a lack of detectable settlement during the first three centuries A.D. and the apparent depopulation of the eighth, ninth and tenth. Villeneuve[61] notes the importance of vineyards in the Ḥaurān, and this is supported by references in the early Islamic sources to the trade in wine and other agricultural products between the Ḥaurān and Arabia in the late sixth century.[62]

There were also significant regional variations. In the limestone massifs of northern Syria and the Ḥaurān, most of the evidence comes from inscriptions on standing buildings. In the area of modern Jordan, however,

[58] See Rey-Coquais (1977) 152–61; for prosperity see also Walmsley (1996).

[59] Tchalenko, *Villages*: his general theories are discussed in 1.377–438.

[60] See Tate (1992). See also the extended excavation report from Déhès, a small village in the limestone massif, Sodini *et al.* (1980). [61] Villeneuve (1985) 121–5. [62] See Paret (1960).

the most important sources of information are the mosaic floors of churches whose built structures have almost entirely disappeared. These have revealed an astonishing upsurge of building activity lasting until after the Islamic conquests. The most famous of these are probably the mosaics of Madaba (including the famous map of the Holy Land) and Mount Nebo.[63] An illustration of the importance of archaeological evidence in this enquiry can be seen at Petra. Until recently it was thought that Petra in late antiquity was something of a ghost town,[64] but the discovery in 1990 of a major church with high-quality mosaics and marble furnishings must lead to a reassessment of this verdict.[65] At present the church is dated to the late fifth and early sixth century and may have been abandoned after the earthquake of 551. The silence of the literary sources should not lead us to assume that there was no cultural or economic activity in an area.

In Palestine, pilgrims and imperial subsidies for church building must have brought money into the area. Wealthy refugees from the west, like Melania the Younger (d. 439), settled in the area and distributed their vast assets in pious benefactions. The most famous of these patrons was the empress Eudocia (d. 460), who settled in Jerusalem from 441 onward. Though estranged from her husband and the imperial court, she still enjoyed huge wealth, with which she endowed the churches and monasteries of the region.[66] Melania and Eudocia seem to have no parallels in the sixth century, but pilgrims continued to arrive from the west, like the Piacenza pilgrim whose account of his journey (*c.* 570) still survives,[67] and they must have contributed to the local economy in a more modest way. Justinian's building projects in Jerusalem, the extended *cardo* and the great Nea church, must have brought in revenue as well.

Using this material to examine the general economic history of the area is fraught with problems, and the results of new excavations, like the church at Petra, can suddenly upset accepted hypotheses. At present it looks as if the period from the early fifth century to about 540 was one of gradually expanding settlement and extensive new building of both domestic houses and churches, though there may have been exceptions to this in areas like the countryside around Edessa which were subject to destructive Persian attacks. After the mid sixth century, this expansion of settlement ceased in many areas and regional variations become much more noticeable.

There is some evidence for the decline of the coastal cities, though because of repeated rebuilding, the evidence here is very difficult to assess.

[63] See Piccirillo (1989) and Donner (1992). [64] Gutwein (1981) 13.

[65] For a preliminary publication see Fiema (1993) 1–3; an important find of sixth-century papyri provides new evidence of local economic life. [66] See Holum, *Empresses*; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*.

[67] Antonini Placentini, *Itinerarium* ed. P. Geyer (*CCSL* 175, pp. 127–74); English trans. Wilkinson (1977) 79–89.

There is an almost total absence of literary, archaeological or epigraphic evidence from this area in the second half of the sixth century. Berytus, which had grown in importance in late antiquity, was severely damaged by an earthquake followed by a fire in 550–1, and when the Piacenza pilgrim passed through in about 570 the bishop told him that the famous law school had ceased to function as a result of the earthquake.[68] Smaller towns like Tripolis, Botrys and Byblos are also said to have suffered badly.[69] It may well be the case that the shift of population and economic activity away from the coast to inland towns, like Damascus, Homs and Aleppo, so noticeable in the first century of Muslim rule, may have begun earlier. Further south, Tyre, capital of Phoenicia Libanensis, seems to have preserved some urban life, and the Piacenza pilgrim noted textile manufacture and brothels in the city;[70] its inhabitants put up a vigorous resistance to the attacks of the Persians in the early seventh century. Caesarea,[71] too, seems to have maintained some sort of urban life down to the Muslim conquests, and Arab sources[72] mention a garrison and markets there, though whether this included all the vast area of the antique city or only the restricted fortified perimeter around the theatre is unclear.

The evidence from inland cities is problematic. We can say with some certainty that there is no evidence, literary or epigraphic, of significant construction in the provincial capitals of Apamea, Bostra or Scythopolis after 540, and we know that Apamea was sacked by the Persians in 573 and Bostra by the Arabs in 583. Antioch was rebuilt on Justinian's orders after the Persian conquest of 540 and the earthquake of 542, though the archaeological and literary evidence for this rebuilding is limited. It is also important to stress that we have virtually no information on cities like Beroea and Damascus which may well have been late antique 'success stories'.

Demographically and economically, the rural areas may have been more resilient. The evidence from the limestone massifs of northern Syria seems to show that domestic building virtually ceased after the mid sixth century: in the small but prosperous village of Refada by the monastery of St Symeon Stylites, for example, there is a series of elegant houses, some with columned porticoes, dated from 341 to 516, but nothing from the second half of the sixth century.[73] It seems, however, that the building of churches and monasteries still continued: for example, the monastery of Braij, in the country surrounded by its own fields, seems to have been built in the late sixth century.[74]

[68] Antonini Placentini, *Itinerarium* cap. 1, p. 129; cf. Agathias, *Hist.* II.15.

[69] See Malalas p. 485 Bonn.

[70] *Itinerarium* cap. 2, pp. 129–30.

[71] For a pessimistic assessment of Caesarea in late antiquity see Levine (1985) 135–9.

[72] al-Balāḏurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1866), pp. 141–2. al-Balāḏurī also notes (pp. 117–18) that Umayyad rulers made efforts to rebuild and repopulate the coastal cities of Tyre and Acre, which are described as being in ruins, but whether this was the result of the invasions of the early seventh century or a more gradual decline is not clear.

[73] Tchalenko, *Villages* I.194–7.

[74] Tchalenko, *Villages* 124–5, 158–9, 173.

It may be that church building demonstrates continuing prosperity but there are other possible explanations. One is that the division of the church into separate Monophysite and Dyophysite communities meant that more churches were required to accommodate divided congregations. It is also possible that demographic decline, possibly caused by plague, allowed churches and monasteries to build up large landholdings.

The position in Jordan seems to have been very different, with evidence of large numbers of new, or at least newly decorated, churches from the sixth and seventh century. This prosperity was maintained here in a way in which it was not in the north, especially in the villages and rural monasteries which provide us with the evidence.[75] It may well be that increasing trade with Arabia, notably in wine, oil and grain, was responsible for this, and that the archaeological record confirms the importance of this trade reflected in the early Islamic literary tradition.[76] The evidence from the Negev gives us much less in the way of chronological information, and the Jordanian tradition of mosaic floors seems to have been entirely absent. It is by no means clear whether the depopulation of these settlements was a product or a prelude to the Islamic conquests. The remains of a small mosque beside the entrance to the south church in Subeita[77] suggests that the town was still inhabited in the mid seventh century and that the Muslim settlers were, initially at least, small in number and accepted peacefully.

The causes of change were a combination of natural disasters and foreign invasion. Of the natural disasters, the plague was the most widespread, appearing in the area in 542 and reappearing with grim regularity throughout the late sixth century and, indeed, later.[78] There has been some tendency in the recent literature to play down the effects of plague on society, but there seems no reason to doubt that the loss of life was enormous and that the recurrent outbreaks make it difficult to envisage a sustained demographic recovery. It is also probable that densely populated cities and villages would have suffered worse than nomad areas.

The demographic effects of plague were compounded by a period of violent seismic activity. The most famous earthquakes were those which destroyed Antioch in 526 (in which Malalas estimated that 250,000 people died)[79] and Berytus and other cities of the Lebanese littoral in 551. It seems

[75] See the fine series of mosaic floors published in Piccirillo (1994); Whittow (1990).

[76] See p. 604 above, n. 55. The existence of this or any other trade in late pre-Islamic Arabia has recently been questioned by Crone (1987), but, while most scholars would accept that the overland incense trade with South Arabia had long since disappeared, it seems clear that there was still a more localized trade between the pastoralists of the desert and the agriculturalists of the settled areas in such mundane goods as wine, wheat and hides; see ch. 22*c* (Conrad), pp. 686–8 below.

[77] Shereshevski (1991) 74.

[78] The best account of the plague remains Conrad (1981). See also Conrad (1986). For a sceptical view of the importance of the plague, Durliat (1989) in *Hommes et richesses* and the response by J.-N. Biraben in the same volume, pp. 121–5. The importance of the plague has been reaffirmed in Conrad (1994).

[79] Malalas pp. 419–20 Bonn.

that, despite imperial aid, neither Antioch nor Berytus fully recovered from these disasters. These were only the most destructive (and best recorded) of many tremors at this period. The Persian conquests of Antioch in 540 and Apamea in 573 both resulted in widespread destruction and large-scale deportations.

The end of expansion did not mean that the survivors were necessarily impoverished, and it is possible that some individuals may have become more prosperous as they took over vacant land, but it did mean, as in Europe after the Black Death, that many marginal lands were lost to settled agriculture.

The early seventh century saw dramatic changes in the political status of the Byzantine Near East. From 603 Khusro II began his great offensive, ostensibly to avenge the deposition of the emperor Maurice the previous year. This invasion was much more far-reaching than any of its predecessors.[80] Edessa was taken in 609, Antioch in 611 and Jerusalem and Tyre in 614, a campaign in which the Persians were allegedly helped by an uprising of the Jewish population. Persian rule lasted until 628, when Heraclius defeated the Persian armies in Iraq and caused them to withdraw from the Roman near east. The historical sources for the Persian conquest are very poor and the archaeological evidence is not much more helpful: apart from a set of polo goal-posts in the hippodrome at Gerasa, there are no monuments which can be ascribed to the period of Persian rule with any certainty. The extent of the destruction they caused is also problematic, and the nature of the evidence makes it impossible to distinguish damage done by the Persians from that which resulted from the Muslim conquests from 632 onwards.[81]

The Muslim conquest is often seen as a major rupture in the historical continuity of the area, but there is in fact little evidence of widespread destruction. The Arabic sources for the conquests, though full, are often confused about chronology and contain numerous *topoi*, so the detail on specific conquests needs to be treated with some caution,[82] but the general outlines are clear. The earliest Muslim raids seem to have begun in 633, the year after Muḥammad's death. The invaders avoided confrontation with large Byzantine forces but took over much of the land on the fringes of the desert. Probably in 634 Khālid b. al-Walīd arrived with reinforcements from Iraq, and the Muslims began to besiege and take urban centres including Bostra, Scythopolis and Damascus. This provoked a response from the Byzantine authorities, and Heraclius despatched units of the imperial army. However, these were defeated at the battles of Ajnadayn, near Pella, and the Yarmuk between 634 and 636. After this, the way lay

[80] A somewhat lurid narrative account of the Persian conquest is given in Stratos (1968) 107–11.

[81] For the problems of assessing the impact of the Persian invasions, Schick (1992) 107–19; Schick (1995).

[82] See North (1994).

open for the occupation of the rest of the country, including the coastal cities and Antioch itself. By around 647–8 the whole of Syria was in Muslim hands.[83] After the defeat of the Byzantine field armies, most cities surrendered peacefully on easy terms. Only at Damascus and Caesarea does there seem to have been any prolonged and organized resistance.

Our understanding of the Muslim conquests is determined by the view we take of the Near East at the time of their arrival. In the present state of historical research, it is possible to suggest that a major military victory, at the battle of the Yarmuk in 636, was followed by the largely peaceful penetration of a sparsely populated land by nomad or semi-nomad tribesmen, and many of the changes often ascribed to the Muslim conquests, like the decline of the coastal cities and the evolution of new patterns of urban planning, were continuations of trends already established in late antiquity. The Muslims certainly brought a new ruling class, and a new dominant religion and language eventually replaced the Christian Greek and Syriac world of antiquity, but even so, the conquests were only one factor among many in the long evolution of the economic and social life of town and country.

[83] See Donner (1981) 91–155 and Kaegi (1992); ch. 22*c* (Conrad), pp. 695–9 below.

CHAPTER 21*c*

EGYPT

JAMES G. KEENAN

By the year 425, Egypt had achieved a provincial arrangement that would last for well over a century.[1] A single province under the principate, it had come under Diocletian to be divided into three smaller provinces. It all began in the last decade of the third century when a new province of Thebaid, coterminous with the old Theban *epistrategia*, was created out of the southern part of the original province of Egypt (Aegyptus); subse-

[1] Literary and legal notices for the history of Egypt after 425 are scattered; some will be found in the text and notes below. A text of Justinian's Edict XIII is included in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. III (*Novellae*), 6th edn, by R. Schoell and W. Kroll (Berlin 1954), 780–95. The fourth-century record of monastic traditions, preserved in Greek, Latin and Coptic texts, yields in the fifth century to the Coptic writings of Shenoute and Besa. What is unique about Egypt, in this as in other periods, is its wealth of documentary evidence preserved on papyrus. Any account of Egypt must rely heavily on this. The years 425–600 are represented by a few papyri in Latin and Coptic, by a great number in Greek, some from the fifth century, but most from the sixth. Important editions include: *P.Monac.* (revised as *P.Münch.*), *P.Lond.* V.1722–37 (for Syene's Patermuthis archive); *P.Cair.Masp.* I–III, *P.Lond.* V, *P.Flor.* III 279–342, *P.Mich.* XIII, *P.Michael.* 40–60 (for Aphrodito); *BGU* XII, *P.Herm.* (for Hermopolis); *P.Oxy.* I and XVI, and *P.SI* VIII (for Oxyrhynchus); *Stud.Pal.* III, VIII, XX, *SB*, especially vol. I, *BGU* (*passim*), and some volumes in the *CPR* series, most recently X and XIV (for the Fayum). Papyri from these and other editions are cited according to the conventions set out in J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, W. H. Willis and K. A. Worp, *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* 4th edn (*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* Suppl. 7: Atlanta, GA, 1992).

The papyrus evidence, despite its richness, has its limitations. One is that it derives from a limited number of sites, none of which can be taken as typical of Egypt as a whole. The most important of these are (from south to north): Syene, Aphrodito, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum (Arsinoite nome). Of these, Oxyrhynchus has drawn the most scholarly attention, the Fayum (the state of whose documentation is improving, but still in great disarray) the least.

Besides its geographical spottiness, the papyrus evidence is limited in other, equally important ways. The papyri mostly concern local and regional, rarely imperial events. The plague of 542, for example, extensively described in Procopius (*Wars* II.22–3), finds but one obscure and probably figurative allusion in the papyri (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 with ed. intro.). When papyri do refer to seemingly important events, it is necessary to resort to speculation in seeking their 'fit' into the larger imperial scheme. See, for example, Maehler (1976). Similar, though probably more successful, have been efforts to find the 'fit' between the documentary papyri and the late imperial law codes (esp. *C.Th.*, *CJ*, Just. *Nov.*), though see the remarks of A. H. M. Jones, *JHS* 71 (1951) 271, on how hard it is 'to weave together the bits and patches of the papyri with the tangled skein of the Codes and Novels'.

For bibliographical guidance beyond what is provided here, see A. Bataille, *Les papyrus* (Paris 1955: Traité d'études byzantines II); O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 2nd edn (Milan 1988), pt 4, esp. 259–61, 578 (for papyrus archives); H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994), *passim*. My thanks to Terry G. Wilfong for the map that locates places mentioned in this discussion and for advice on Coptic and other late sources.

quently, Libya was separated off to become its own province. Each new province had its own governor, but all three – Aegyptus, Thebaid, Libya – were subject to the plenipotentiary authority of the Augustal prefect, resident in Alexandria.

By the latter part of the fourth century, when Ammianus Marcellinus was penning his well-known digression on Egypt (22.15–16), the threefold division into Aegyptus, Libya and the Thebaid seemed to the historian to have dated 'to ancient times' (*priscis temporibus*); other subdivisions were the creations of more recent times (*posteritas*). A province of Augustamnica, a revival of the short-lived Aegyptus Herculia, consisting of the eastern Delta and the old Heptanomia, had been created out of the territory of Aegyptus, which retained the western Delta, including the city of Alexandria; and the province of Libya had come to be divided into Pentapolis (Libya Superior) and 'Drier' Libya (Libya Inferior).

At some time verging on 381, Egypt's cluster of five provinces became a self-standing diocese, and shortly after, probably between 386 and the century's end, yet another province was created: Arcadia, named for the emperor Arcadius (d. 408), was deducted (mostly) from Augustamnica. First mentioned in the papyri towards the very end of the fourth century, the new province found inclusion in the lists of Egyptian provinces in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, in parts that were probably revised in 395 or shortly after.[2] It was roughly equivalent to the old 'Seven-Nome Region', Heptanomia, but lacked the important middle Egyptian city of Hermopolis, which belonged to the Thebaid.[3]

The six-province nomenclature (Libya Superior, Libya Inferior, Thebaid, Aegyptus, Arcadia, Augustamnica) is, then, the one that is found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[4] A half-century later, the same provinces, in a different order, in terms closer to Ammianus' but less correctly spelt, are represented in the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, A.D. 448.[5] All six provinces were directly subject to the Augustal prefect as head of the Egyptian diocese and, through him, subject to the praetorian prefect of the East. It was not until 539 that new, major changes were effected, this time by Justinian. The details were recorded in the emperor's Thirteenth Edict,[6] and from what survives of the edict's damaged text, it is clear that already

[2] Kramer (1992); *Notitia Dignitatum* ed. Seeck, *Or.* 1.85, 11.29, XXIII.6 = 13; Jones, *LRE* Appendix II. Cf. Keenan (1977). See now *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371, 4385, with introductions; 4386, 10 n.

[3] *SB* I 5337 mentions five Arcadian cities and one district: Herakleopolis, Cynopolis, Memphis, Letopolis, Nilopolis and 'the Arsinoite'.

[4] *Or.* XXIII.1–14; Augustamnica was mistakenly excluded from *Or.* 1.80–5 and 11.24–9, cf. Jones, *LRE* 1417.

[5] *Not. Dig.* ed. Seeck, pp. 259–60 (*Aegyptus, Augustamnis, Thebaida, Libia sicca, Libia pentapolis, Archadia*), cf. Jones, *LRE* 1451, 1461.

[6] For the vexed question of the edict's date, see Rémondon (1955). For papyrus fragments of the edict, see now *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4400.

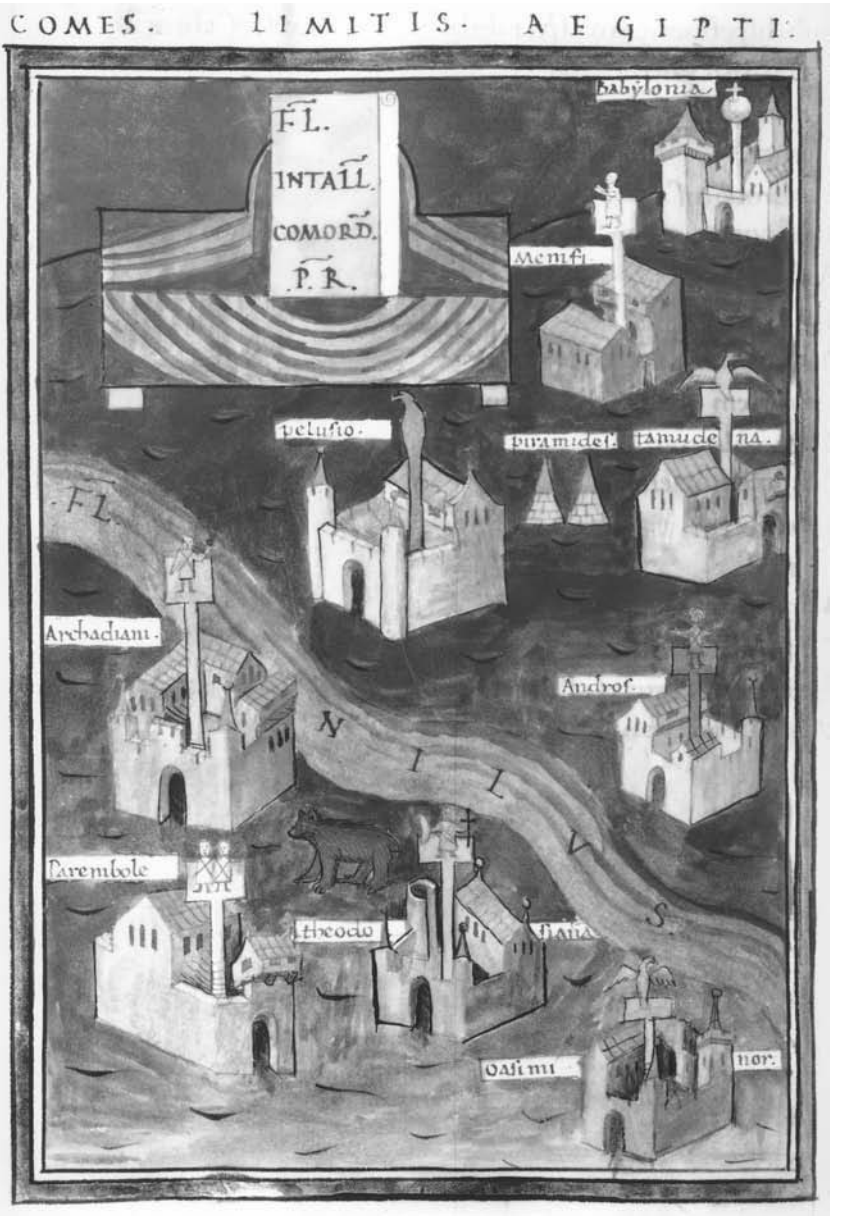


Fig. 18 Leaf from the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Fifteenth-century copy of a Carolingian original. Insignia of the *comes limitis Aegypti* (Count of the Egyptian Frontier) with a schematic map of the Egyptian delta region. The Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 113r. (Photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library)

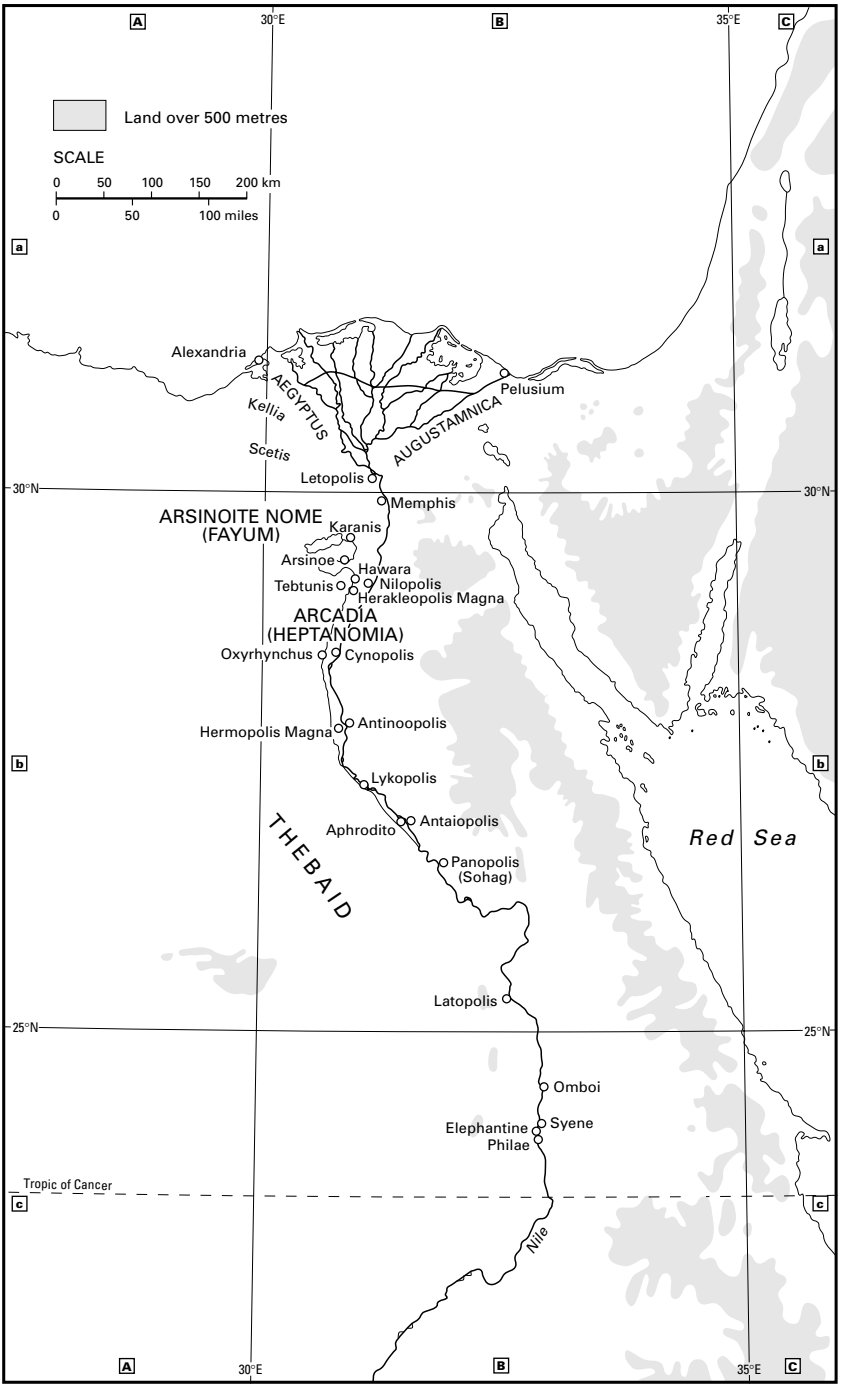
some of the Egyptian provinces – Aegyptus, Augustamnica, Thebaid – had been divided in two. By Justinian's reforms, the Augustal prefect was deprived of control over the Egyptian diocese. His exercise of military and civil authority was restricted to Aegyptus I and II, and he had a subordinate civil governor for Aegyptus II. An Augustal duke of the Thebaid had military and civil authority over that province, but with subordinate civil governors for both its upper (southern) and lower (northern) halves. Libya had a duke with a subordinate civil governor.

For the remaining three provinces – Augustamnica, Pentapolis, Arcadia – speculation is needed, because the parts of Edict XIII that concern Augustamnica are damaged, while those that concerned Pentapolis and Arcadia are lost. It has been assumed that Augustamnica, subdivided into I and II, was treated like the Thebaid, Pentapolis – if it was included in the reform – like Libya.[7] The papyri are not as helpful as one might have expected in filling the gaps, if not for Pentapolis,[8] at least for Augustamnica and Arcadia. It is clear none the less from papyri of (mainly) Oxyrhynchite provenance that Arcadia was not subdivided. It had a civil governor, a *praeses*; papyri available to date do not mention a military governor, a *dux Arcadiae*, until A.D. 636.[9] It is therefore possible that Arcadia's treatment in Edict XIII was unlike that of any other province. It may simply have had a civil governor with some coercive police authority; its duke may have been a later creation, perhaps in response to crisis.[10]

In theory, the Egyptian provinces were independent of one another and individually subject, again as for most of the fourth century, to the praetorian prefect of the East. In practice, however, it is difficult to assess the extent to which the subdivided provinces – Aegyptus, Augustamnica, Thebaid – were effectively distinct; and without question, the collection of grain for Constantinople, eight million *artabs* a year according to Edict XIII (chapter 8), required co-operation among all the Egyptian provinces, under the general supervision of the Augustal prefect in Alexandria. Alexandria, strictly speaking, was limited to being the senior capital of the two provinces of Aegyptus; but regardless of its restricted provincial embrace, it remained Egypt's chief city and one of the great metropolises of the eastern empire, an often turbulent centre of education and religion, a thriving centre for manufacture, banking, commerce, shipping and law.[11]

Each Egyptian governor, whether Augustal prefect, duke or *praeses*, had of course his own staff (*officium*, τάξις). A typical civil staff like that of the

[7] Jones, *LRE* 281. [8] Pentapolis in the papyri: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67168 – a rare glimpse.
[9] *P.Prag.* I 64. [10] Keenan (1977).
[11] Bowman (1986) ch. 7; Chuvin, *Chronicle* esp. 105–11; *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York 1991) I.95–103, *s.v.* Alexandria in late antiquity (H. Heinen); *P.Oxy.* I 144 (= *FIRA* III.156) and 151; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126, with Keenan (1992); *PSI* I 76, with Keenan (1978).


A
30°E
B
35°E
C
Land over 500 metres
SCALE
0 50 100 150 200 km
0 50 100 miles
a
b
c
Alexandria
AEGYPTUS
Kellia
Scetis
AUGUSTAMNICA
Pelusium
Letopolis
Memphis
30°N
ARSINOITE NOME
(FAYUM)
Karanis
Arsinoe
Hawara
Tebtunis
Nilopolis
Herakleopolis Magna
ARCADIA
(HEPTANOMIA)
Oxyrhynchus
Cynopolis
Hermopolis Magna
Antinoopolis
Lykopolis
Aphrodito
Antaiopolis
Panopolis
(Sohag)
THEBAID
Red Sea
Latopolis
25°N
Omboi
Elephantine
Philae
Syene
Tropic of Cancer
Nile

Map 17 Egypt

praeses of Thebaid had, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*,[12] a chief (*princeps*), adjutants (*cornicularius*, *adiutor*), an accountant (*numerarius*), several types of clerks (*commentariensis*, *ab actis*, *a libellis*, *exceptores*) and other officials (*cohortalini*). The papyri serve to confirm and extend, and to some extent clarify, the often confusing vocabulary of late imperial bureaucracy, but their evidence almost exclusively derives from the provinces of Arcadia and Thebaid. This is due to the often-remarked accidental nature of the finds. Arcadia is familiar because Oxyrhynchus, its capital,[13] is a rich source of late papyri. The Thebaid is well-known because of papyri from its capital, Antinoopolis, but more so because of papyri from other Thebaid provenances, especially Hermopolis and Aphrodito.

This papyrus evidence tends to be casual and scattered and private in nature. A herald (*praeco*) on the staff of the *praeses* in Antinoopolis, for example, borrows money from an Antinoopolite widow; a clerk (*scriniarius*) on the staff of the duke of the Thebaid, originating from Hermopolis, buys part of a house in Antinoopolis; a 'stenographer' (*tacugrafov*) on the staff of the *praeses* of Arcadia, whose home is in the Arsinoite, rents a flat in Oxyrhynchus, no doubt to secure a residence near his workplace.[14] But there are occasions when the evidence on staff officers is more focused. In one private letter, for example, a stenographer (*exceptor*) is seen travelling in the company of his superior, the provincial governor (*rcwn*), probably the *praeses* of Arcadia; the stenographer writes to his mother in Oxyrhynchus. The letter indicates that communication, official and private, was being conducted through aides called *symmachoi* (armed messengers) and *singulares* (despatch riders). Another letter, addressed to an *exceptor*, mentions a *praeses* (*rcwn*), probably (again) the governor of Arcadia, and various members of his *officium*: an *ab actis*, a *numerarius* and *officiales*.[15] Still more important is a late-fifth-century list of officials belonging to the staff of the *praeses* of the Thebaid: two lawyers (*scholastici*) and an assistant lawyer, three chief clerks (*proximi*), an 'assistant in the secretariat', an 'under-assistant' (*subadiuva*), two stenographers (*exceptores*), five despatch riders (*singulares*) and one or more 'couriers' (*cursores*).[16]

Given the variety of titles, it will not be surprising to learn that there were distinctions in grade and rewards among these civil servants, partly depending on the importance of the staff to which they were assigned, partly on whether their work was clerical or not.[17] This is well illustrated in two wills. In one, from sixth-century Oxyrhynchus, Flavius Pousi, a courier (*cursor*) attached to the praesidial (i.e. civil) *officium* of Arcadia, leaves shares of his

[12] *Or.* XLIV 6–15, cf. Jones, *LRE* 593–6.

[13] *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3932.6 n., citing Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis romani* ed. H. Gelzer (Bibl. Teubner), 745.

[14] *P.Mich.* XI 607 (569), *P.Berl.Zill.* 6 (527/65), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1965 (553).

[15] *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3932, *P.Mich.* XI 624 (both sixth century).

[16] *CPR* XIV 39 (late fifth century); cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67054, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1108.

[17] Jones (1949).

house to a religious institution (one half), his wife (one quarter) and another woman (one quarter). His wife receives, in addition to her own clothing and personal ornaments, all the household furniture. The mystery woman receives specified articles, including a platter, three spoons and a third share of the testator's winter and summer clothing; two of Pousi's fellow couriers are assigned the rest of his wardobe. One half of his pension is set aside for burial expenses and, by a common practice, for endowment offerings (*prosßora‹*) for requiem masses and eucharists (*gapai*) for his soul's repose.[18] The other half goes to his wife. Pousi's elaborate autograph signature to his will, recapitulating its essential terms, is full of mistakes, suggestive of serviceable but unrefined training in letters. Among the witnesses is Pousi's 'boss', the chief (*primicerius*) of the provincial office's school (*schola*) of heralds.[19]

The second will, from several indications a draft, not a final copy, was drawn up in Antinoopolis on 31 March 567.[20] The testator is Flavius Theodore, stenographer (*exceptor*) on the ducal *officium* of the Thebaid, son of a deceased lawyer (*scholasticus*) of the Forum of the Thebaid.[21] The will, in prolix style, names as heirs (1) the monastery of Apa Shenoute in the Panopolite nome, (2) a subsidiary monastery named for Apa Mousaios and (3) Theodore's maternal grandmother, Heraïs. By its provisions, the Shenoute monastery is to receive the bulk of Theodore's landed property, in the Hermopolite, Antinoopolite and Panopolite nomes (and elsewhere), and urban properties in Antinoopolis and Hermopolis, the yearly income and rents from all these to be expended on 'pious distributions'. A house in Antinoopolis, with its stable, inherited from Theodore's father, is to be sold by the monastery, the proceeds to go for the ransoming of prisoners and other 'pious distributions'. Property that had come to Theodore by inheritance from his deceased wife is to be sold off to finance good works in her name. Theodore's movable property is assigned to the Apa Mousaios monastery and is at least partly to be devoted to the remission of his sins. Grandmother Heraïs is to receive a farm (*kt ma*) whose name and location are left blank in the text. Theodore frees all his slaves; they get to keep their 'nest eggs' (*peculia*) and are assigned cash legacies of six *solidi* apiece. Finally, by another legacy, Theodore's nurse and her daughter are to receive by way of trust a yearly pension of twelve *solidi* from his monastic heirs.

The contrast between the estate of Pousi, a non-clerical official on a civil staff, and the estate of Theodore, a stenographer on a ducal staff, can hardly

[18] For the practice and for the link between offerings and masses: Wipszycka (1972) ch. III, esp. 65–70. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003.

[19] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1901.

[20] *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312; *PLRE* IIIB.1253 (Fl. Theodorus 27).

[21] Theodore's name and his position in the ducal *officium* are badly damaged in the papyrus. The editor considered the one 'probable enough', the other 'doubtful'; there is no doubt that, whatever his position, the man was a civilian official on the duke's staff. For convenience' sake the name and title are retained in the discussion that follows.

be more striking. In Pousi's, three spoons merit mention; in Theodore's, the properties are apparently so extensive that no effort is made to describe them in detail. It is no wonder, then, that Pousi has been judged 'a poor man', 'a humble civil servant', Theodore 'a man of rank and substance'.[22] There is no way, however, to determine whether either estate is in any way typical of what a praesidial courier or a ducal stenographer might be expected to have inherited or acquired and bequeathed; but there is a sense that Theodore's substance outstripped his office and that the reverse was true for Pousi. Nevertheless, both wills, but especially Theodore's, raise for any description of late antique Egypt issues of broad concern, to which attention may now be drawn.

First, both wills give evidence of thorough Christianization in sentiment and in fact. Although Christianity by tradition made an early appearance in Egypt, its progress in the countryside is virtually imperceptible in its first three centuries. The most striking documents, so-called *libelli* of the Decian persecution, A.D. 250, are in effect negative evidence (though implying a corresponding positive). These certificates of pagan sacrifice attest that the individuals concerned sacrificed, poured libations and tasted the sacrificial meats – that, accordingly, they were *not* Christian.[23] It is only in the fourth century that Christianization, following the great persecution of 303–4, experienced a 'take-off' of such magnitude as to leave a noticeable imprint in the documentary papyri. As the fourth century progresses, the papyri present increasingly numerous references to churches and clergy, while implying for the latter a hierarchical structure of bishops, priests and deacons.[24] There were later pagan survivals. A festival of the Nile, though perhaps conducted without blood sacrifice, is evidenced as late as 424.[25] Pagans continued to teach philosophy at Alexandria through the fifth and into the sixth century. These included, before his conversion, Flavius Horapollon, native to the village of Phenebythis of Egypt's Panopolite nome, whose metropolis was a hotbed of late antique paganism.[26] The temples on the island of Philai, including the famous Isis temple, remained open and active till their destruction by Justinian's general Narses in the mid sixth century. Nevertheless, Christianity had become virtually universal in Egypt in the fifth century, thoroughly universal in the sixth, penetrating, as a variety of evidence attests, as far south as the First Cataract frontier.[27] Elsewhere, but only by way of example, twelve priests and five deacons, implying the existence of from twelve to seventeen churches in the supposedly declining village of Karanis in the Fayum, are evidenced in a

[22] Jones, *LRE* 595–6, 895, 599 (in that order). [23] *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3929, with intro.
[24] Bagnall, *Egypt* ch. 8, for this and for much that follows. [25] *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3148.
[26] *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, *PLRE* II.569–70 (Fl. Horapollon 2). Cf. Rémondon (1952).
[27] MacCoull (1990).

papyrus of A.D. 439. A century later, ten churches (at least), named for Mother Mary, for the Holy Apostles and for various saints (mainly martyrs), were to be found in the middle Egyptian village of Aphrodito.[28] Churches like these need not have been large either in their physical structures or in their congregations, but they were apparently everywhere.

So also were monasteries – of various kinds and in assorted environments: hermitages in natural caves or in rock-cut Pharaonic tombs on the line of desert hills above the Nile valley; underground dwellings in the desert plains near Esna (ancient Latopolis) in Upper Egypt and at Kellia ('Cells') off the western Delta north of Wadi Natrun (ancient Scetis; Fig. 49, p. 944 below); Pachomian foundations for communal (cenobitic) living on the sites of deserted villages in the Thebaid; Melitian and orthodox monasteries on the Fayum's desert edge near Hawara; but it just so happens that in Theodore's will an especially renowned Coptic monastery comes into play. For the monastery of Apa Shenoute, heir to most of Theodore's estate, was none other than the famous White Monastery (Deir el-Abyad), built around 440 on the 'mountain of Athribis' on the edge of the western desert hills near present-day Sohâg.[29]

Like other monasteries, the White Monastery early on counted on bequests of necessities to help feed and clothe its monks and nuns in a cenobitic community reported to number some 4,000 souls; but as time passed it became an economic force in its own right, able to support by charity thousands of refugees in times of famine and turmoil.[30] By the sixth century, the properties of the White Monastery and other religious institutions in Egypt had become substantial. Besides what it acquired by Theodore's will, the White Monastery under its abbot ('archimandrite') owned land in the arable area of the village of Phthla ('the Cultivation') near Aphrodito in the Antaiopolite nome.[31] Through a lay steward (*pronoht v*), it leased this land out to a local entrepreneur named Aurelius Phoibammon. He in turn, as middleman, guaranteed the land's farming through a series of sub-leases and work contracts. Similar arrangements must have been in place for the lands the monastery inherited from Theodore. The monastery as landlord would have been, like Theodore himself when alive, an absentee.[32]

Possibly ironical in all of this is that Theodore's will is a most decidedly representative Byzantine Greek document, dictated in Greek for writing in Greek.[33] It favours a community whose early heads – Pgol, Shenoute, Besa

[28] *P.Haun.* III 58 (re-edited by J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 89–95); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.

[29] In addition to Bagnall, *Egypt* ch. 8: Jones (1991); *Vita prima sancti Pachomii* 12, 54; *SB* I 5174–5, with McGing (1990); Gascou (1990). White Monastery: *The Coptic Encyclopedia* III.761–70. Monastery locations: Timm (1983).

[30] Shenoute, *Opera* ed. J. Leipoldt, III.67–71; Leipoldt (1902–3); Kuhn (1954).

[31] *P.Ross.Georg.* III 48 (sixth century).

[32] Keenan (1980) and (1985a).

[33] Like *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151 (570), the will of Flavius Phoibammon, chief doctor of Antinoopolis. Contrast *MChr.* 319 (sixth century), the will of bishop Abraham of Hermouthis, dictated in Egyptian for transcription in Greek.

Fig. 19 Relief from the upper half of a limestone grave-marker showing a bearded monk with hands raised in prayer. Saqqara, sixth or seventh century A.D. Dumbarton Oaks BL-270. (Photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC)

– were Sahidic-speaking Copts. The second of these, Shenoute, exhibited in his day a virulent antipathy toward 'Hellenes', that is, Hellenized Egyptians of the upper classes, who would have included in their numbers imperial bureaucrats like Theodore.[34] Moreover, Theodore's will was not only in Greek, but in a very florid Greek. This floridity, construed by earlier scholars as a mark of pomposity and extravagance, servility and degeneracy, is nowadays more likely to be seen as an artful and purposeful extension of the classical rhetorical tradition.[35] Part of the training behind such exercises in the writing of Greek, especially when connected with the study of law, entailed the study of Latin even when it was no longer strictly required.

A natural result was the proliferation of Latin loanwords in late Greek documents from Egypt.[36] One interesting example in Theodore's will is *stablon*, Latin *stabulum*. It will be recalled that Theodore's house in

[34] Cf. Trimbie (1986) 268. [35] MacCoull, *Dioscorus*, esp. ch. 2; Kovelman (1991).
[36] Maas, *John Lydus* 13, 25, 27, 29–30 and *passim*. Loanwords: Daris (1991).

Antinoopolis had a stable, a word that suggests, at the very least, that Theodore owned and kept horses; at most, that, like other landlords of dispersed properties, he had his own 'postal service' (*cursus velox*).[37] He may even have kept racehorses for the circus, a wildly popular entertainment, not only in a megalopolis like Constantinople or Alexandria, but also in Egyptian provincial capitals like Oxyrhynchus and, Theodore's own hometown, Antinoopolis. A unique codex leaf excavated there in 1914 contains a fragmentary painting of five charioteers in Roman dress, wearing the colours of three of the four circus factions (red, blue, green). The physical remains of Antinoopolis' circus suggest it was second in Egypt only to Alexandria's in size and magnificence.[38]

More to the point in Theodore's will, however, is its technical legal vocabulary, which included loanwords like *codicilli* ('codicils'), *epistula fideicommissaria* ('fideicommissary letter') and *peculium* ('nest egg'); but most extraordinary among these words is the reference to a *ius Falcidium* ('Falcidian right') based on a Roman law over six hundred years old, the Lex Falcidia of 40 B.C., whose purpose was to limit legacies to three-quarters the value of an inheritance. In his own will, Theodore seemingly envisages his grandmother complaining that the will's legacies were too great; but he must also have sensed that in any litigation his will should have withstood challenge because so much had been set aside for the kinds of 'charitable purposes' (*piae causae*) favoured in Justinian's legislation.[39]

Much time has so far been spent on Theodore's will, but its value as a mechanism for identifying phenomena typical of late antique Egypt has not quite been exhausted. Three more items are worth remark.

First, in the will's final clauses, Theodore manumits his slaves and establishes trust funds for his nurse and her daughter. Apparent in these measures is a fundamental characteristic of Egyptian slavery in this as in earlier periods of history – that is, slavery was an urban rather than a rural phenomenon. Egypt was a land whose agriculture, even as conducted on great estates, depended on the toil of a large class of peasants, not the efforts of gangs of agricultural slaves. What slaves there were – and these were seemingly much fewer in late than in early imperial times – tended rather to be domestic slaves owned by those in society's higher reaches.[40]

Second, some of the proceeds of Theodore's estate were to be devoted to the pious cause of ransoming prisoners.[41] The will does not specify, but

[37] Esp. *P.Oxy.* I 138 (610/11), Apiones of Oxyrhynchus.

[38] In general: Cameron, *Circus Factions*; Antinoopolis: Turner (1973) (the codex leaf); Humphrey (1986) 513–16.

[39] Berger (1953) 552 *s.v.* Lex Falcidia (citing *Inst.* II.22, *D.* 35.2; 3; *CJ* VI.50) and 629–30 *s.v.* piae causae (citing *CJ* I.3). In general: Hagemann (1953).

[40] Bagnall, *Egypt* ch. 6. Cf. Fichman [Fikhman] (1973).

[41] Cf. Just. *Nov.* 65 (538), 120.9 (544); Shenoute, *Opera* ed. Leipoldt, III.69–77. In general: Amirante (1957).

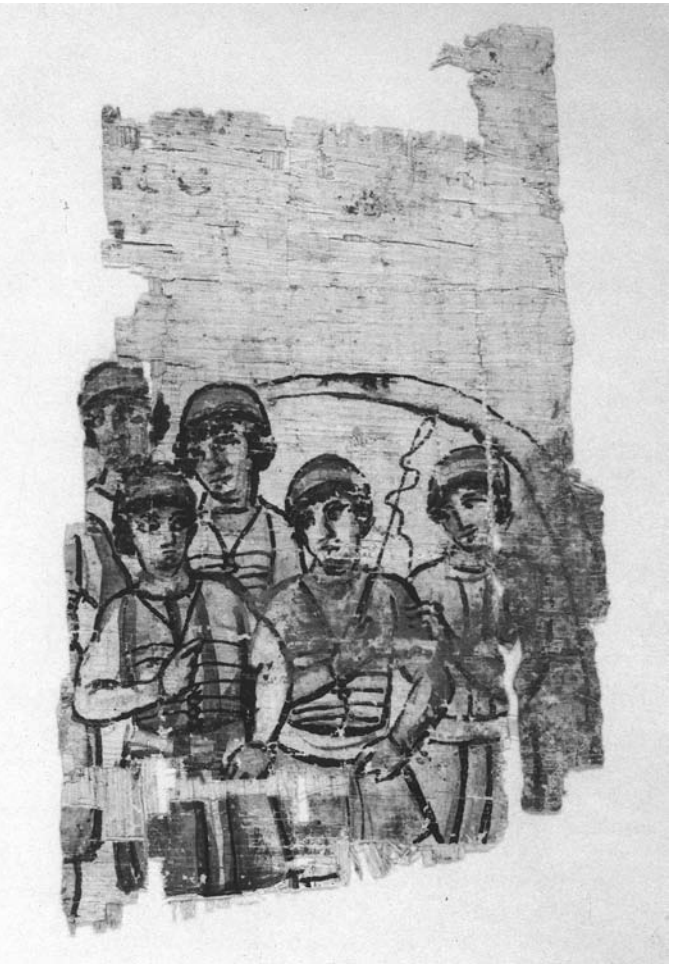


Fig. 20 Fragment of a papyrus codex with illustration of five charioteers (and part of a sixth) wearing jackets in the colours of three of the four circus factions. Antinoopolis, *c.* 500. (Photo: courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society)

the original editor and those who have followed him assume that the prisoners in question were persons kidnapped by desert nomads, especially the Blemmyes, in raids on the Nile valley. Toward the close of the third century Diocletian had secured Egypt's southern frontier,[42] but there were later break-throughs, and the full length of the Nile valley could not, in any event, always be safeguarded. The Thebaid was especially vulnerable to attack, and there are indications that the second quarter of the fifth century

[42] Procop. *Wars* I.19.27–37.

was a time of special tribulation. One Blemmyan captive in this period was the exiled ex-patriarch Nestorius.[43] There followed a revolt by the Blemmyes and Nobades, suppressed by the Romans in 451 and concluded by a treaty whose terms included the ransom-free return of Roman captives.[44] The treaty was soon violated. Sixth-century papyri point to more trouble with the desert tribes, establishing that 'in the olden times of our parents', probably around 500, 'the vile Blemmyes' had ransacked Antaiopolis in middle Egypt, destroying its basilica and its public baths; that the Blemmyes had likewise, later in the sixth century, pillaged the city of Omboi in upper Egypt. By mid century a unit of 'Justinian's Numidians' (*Numidae Iustiniani*), 508 men strong, had been stationed by the emperor's orders at Hermopolis for the purpose of protecting the Thebaid and for the 'repulse of every barbarian attack'.[45] But events and measures like these and like the third Blemmyan war (563–8) must in the end be set against the backdrop of generally peaceful relations between Romans and Blemmyes, the peace achieved by Athanasius, duke of the Thebaid, in the early 570s not long after the drafting of Theodore's will, the tranquil conduct of business between Romans and Blemmyes in Latopolis, and the apparent calm in the First Cataract frontier zone with its garrisons of local militia at Syene, Elephantine and Philai.[46]

Third, Theodore's position shows him to have been a bureaucrat who served in the same provincial government as his father, that of the Thebaid, under its duke. His father, dead by 567, had been a lawyer (*scholasticus*) of the 'Thebaid's Forum', *forum Thebaidos*. Another document may establish that Theodore had a brother serving the same provincial court that his father had served.[47] This tendency of sons to follow their fathers into government service is evidenced elsewhere in the papyri.[48] It was a natural and easy course, but it was also one that came to the attention of late imperial social legislation, especially in the fourth century.[49] By one view, the laws, and particularly *C.Th.* VII.22.2 (331), aimed to enforce hereditary service among staff officials; but by another, the aims were more limited. They were to keep officials from jumping from one *officium* to another, to ensure that sons enrolled in the same *officium* in which their fathers had served, and to see to it that wealthy staff officials on retirement did not escape certain financial obligations to the crown.[50]

[43] *W.Chr.* 6, in the new edition by Feissel and Worp (1988) (p. 104 for Nestorius' captivity); Shenoute, *Opera* ed. Leipoldt, III.67–77, with Leipoldt (1902–3). [44] Priscus fr. 21 (Dindorf).

[45] Antaiopolis: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67009 v 16–20; Omboi: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004; Hermopolis: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67321, *P.Lond.* V 1663, *SB* V 8028.

[46] Gascou (1975) esp. 206; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 v BC, with MacCoull, *Dioscorus* 113–15 (Athanasius); *BGU* III 972 (Latopolis contract); Keenan (1990) esp. 144–5.

[47] *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169 + III 67169 *bis*. [48] *P.Lond.* V 1714; *BGU* I 306 + *SB* VI 9592.

[49] Generally, Keenan (1975).

[50] Jones, *Roman Economy* ch. 21, 396–418, at 403–4; Jones, *LRE* 594–5.

Theodore's following his father in service in the same *officium* thus fits both an expected familial pattern and a pattern sanctioned by late imperial law. But where did provincial staff officials like Theodore ultimately come from? The answer, reasonable but more assumed than proven, is that they belonged to the provincial élite, and in many cases were men of the curial class who in earlier times would have sought recognition through service as members of municipal councils. Although the councils apparently continued to function down into the reign of Anastasius (491–518), the papyrus evidence disappears shortly after 370 when the records for the Oxyrhynchus council (*boul*) come to a close.[51] The curial class, from which members of the municipal councils had been and perhaps continued to be drawn, persevered and sometimes prospered in Egypt to the end of Byzantine rule. Some of its members became counts, others reached high office, many were substantial landowners.[52] Still others must have sought political advancement through government service at the provincial, or even higher, level in a world where despite, or rather because of, the fragmentation of provinces, 'power was more tightly channeled toward the imperial center at Constantinople'.[53]

In this gesture of following his father into bureaucratic service, Theodore, whether of the curial class or not,[54] typified the provincial élite of his age; but he is – finally – representative in yet one last and perhaps most important respect – namely, in representing the common link between private wealth and public service. The wealth, as typical of antiquity as a whole, took the form of landed estates run by agents and stewards for their absentee owners. In fact, the very existence of the provincial political and cultural élites of late antiquity, and of the bureaucracies they served, depended on the possibility and fruits of absentee landlordism. Late antique Egypt presents many examples of this on various levels,[55] but far and away best known is that presented by the Apion family of Oxyrhynchus.

Although the history of the family can be notionally traced back to the mid fifth century, the first known household head with the name Apion only comes into evidence toward the close of the century, and then he appears

[51] Bagnall, *Egypt* ch. 2; Maas, *John Lydus* 19. Later evidence is scrappy and sometimes indirect: Geremek (1990).

[52] Counts: *P.Oxy.* XVI 2002, *Stud.Pal.* XX 218. High office: Bernand (1969) II.216 (decurion who is *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid). *Curiales* as landlords: e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67113, *SB* VI 9587, *Stud.Pal.* II 218 (sixth- and seventh-century land leases), *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67134, 67135, III 67327, *PSI* VIII 935 (sixth-century rent receipts); further (assorted fifth-century evidence): *P.Michael.* 33, *P.Oxy.* VI 902, 913.

[53] Maas, *John Lydus* chs. 1–2. (The quotation is from p. 20.)

[54] If *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169 + III 67169 *bis* concerns his brother, then Theodore's grandfather would have been a count (*comes*).

[55] Discussion and examples: Keenan (1974) 284–6 and notes.

as a landlord, not at Oxyrhynchus, but at Herakleopolis Magna.[56] It is this Apion's son, Flavius Strategius, who first appears as a great landlord (*geoucØn*, *magnus possessor*) at Oxyrhynchus in a document dating to 497.[57] The father, still alive, had been honoured with consular rank; the son had attained high, though perhaps purely honorary, military rank as a 'count of the most devoted domestics' (*comes devotissimorum domesticorum*). Apion the father has been identified with 'Apion the Egyptian', the leading patrician who served as 'quartermaster-general' for the army Anastasius despatched to relieve the town of Amida from Persian siege in 503.[58] The expedition failed. Apion, when at Edessa, was relieved of his duties. In May 504 he was, by one account,[59] summoned from Alexandria to Constantinople and charged with having conspired against the expedition's leading general, Areobindus. He apparently spent the next several years in the imperial capital, until the exile that led to his compulsory ordination at Nicaea in 511.

In 518, the accession of Justin I returned Apion to favour and raised him promptly to the praetorian prefecture of the East, perhaps following upon a conversion from Monophysitism to Chalcedonian orthodoxy. The office was not long held. Apion is last mentioned as prefect on 1 December 518; his successor was in place by 19 November 519.[60] He apparently survived into the early years of Justinian's reign, dying by 532 or at some early date in 533. If this is the Apion who is to be credited with having founded his family's fortunes, that effort must have been made in the fifth century, before his sixth-century service and detention abroad, and by means that are lost in the documentary record. It is likelier, though sheerly speculative, that he was not the founder but the inheritor of the family fortune, and that the work of accumulation had been that of his father or grandfather, unknown to us but active in the middle third of the fifth century or even earlier.

Strategius, the son of this Apion, is named in Edict XIII (chapters 15, 16) as having been prefect of Egypt around 523. He reappears in a text of uncertain date as a *magister militum* (*strathlatÆhv*) with consular rank, both seemingly honorary titles, to which another, the patriciate, was added by 530. At the same time, he was a 'leading citizen' (*prwte¸wn*) of both Herakleopolis and Oxyrhynchus.[61] In 532 he presided over a synod of

[56] *SB* VI 9152 (492), *Stud.Pal.* XX 129 (497); cf. (perhaps) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1877 (*c.* 488). Discussions on the family and its members: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829.24 n.; Hardy (1931) and (1968); *PLRE* II.110–12 (Apion 1, Apion 2, Fl. Apion 3), 1034–6 (Fl. Strategius 8 and 9) and Stemma 27 on p. 1325; Gascou (1985) esp. App. I (pp. 61–75), with full presentation of the evidence. An earlier generation of the family has been recently identified. See *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4389 (439) and references in the note to line 1.

[57] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982. A possible earlier (489) appearance is in *P.Flor.* III 325 (cf. Gascou (1985) 63 n. 356) where Strategius (restored) appears as a *politeuomenos*, i.e. *curialis*, of Oxyrhynchus and *magnus possessor* (*geoucØn*).

[58] Hardy (1931) 25–6, Gascou (1985) 62, *PLRE* II.111–12 (Apion 2); *contra P.Oxy.* 1829.24 n.

[59] Josh. Styl. *Chron.* (Wright) 58. [60] *CJ* VII.63.3; V.27.7.

[61] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1984; XXVII 2779, similarly in XVI 1983 of A.D. 535. The significance of the term *prwte¸wn* is unclear: Hardy (1931) 32 n. 4; Gascou (1985) 64; *PLRE* II.1036.

Monophysite and Chalcedonian bishops at Constantinople. Shortly after, he began service as the empire's chief financial officer, count of the sacred largesses. Besides duties that must have included overseeing the financing of the construction of St Sophia, Strategius served on several occasions as Justinian's roving ambassador. It is assignments like these that suggest that the ordinary consulship bestowed in 539 upon his son, Flavius Apion (II), was a reward or memorial for the father's distinguished career, an honour to the family more than to Apion the man, who – to judge from the portrait medallion on his consular diptych, discovered in 1860 in the cathedral at Oviedo (Spain) – was still quite young, destined to survive his own consular year by nearly forty more.[62]

With this appointment, the Apion family reached its political zenith. Flavius Apion II first appears in the papyri in 543 as *consul ordinarius* and great landlord at Oxyrhynchus. As late as 577 he appears as former ordinary consul, patrician and great landlord. His death fell between 577 and 579.[63] It is to be presumed that Apion spent the earlier part of his public career in the imperial capital, but returned to Egypt toward mid century, 548/50, to take up his post as duke of the Thebaid.[64] After that, he served for a long time as pagarch in the pagarchy of the Arsinoites and Theodosiopolites (the old Arsinoite nome) where some of his ancestral property lay. In this office, his primary responsibility was the collection of taxes for those parts of the district that were not specifically excluded from his authority by imperial grants of 'autopragia'.[65] Apion appears first in this office, and also as *magister militum*, in 556; subsequently as pagarch and ex-consul.[66] The extent to which he exercised his duties as pagarch by proxy, rather than in person, is an insoluble problem. He was still pagarch at the time of his death, by which time (unless it was a posthumous honour) he had also been named 'first patrician' (*protopatricius*), perhaps implying his presidency of the senate in Constantinople.[67] Following his death, his estate went undivided to his heirs, the most important of whom was his son, another Strategius, Strategius II, about whom little is known.[68]

It is the usually unnamed heirs of Apion II who prevail in the family's documentary record from 579 till 586/7, when they at last escape from anonymity.[69] When they do, the heirs turn out to be Flavia Praeiecta, a woman

[62] Hardy (1931) 32; Gascou (1985) 65; *PLRE* IIIB.1200–1 (Strategius). Apion diptych: *CIL* II.2699 = Dessau, *ILS* I.1310; medallion: Schefold (1945) with plates 3 and 4; career: *PLRE* IIIA.96–8 (Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion 3). [63] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1985; 1896; I 135.

[64] *P.Oxy.* I 130, with *P.Lond.* V 1708.79 and the long discussion in the relevant note, together with Gascou's equally long discussion of the attendant dating (and other) problems: (1985) 66 n. 370.

[65] Liebeschuetz (1974). Synoptic discussion and full bibliography: *The Coptic Encyclopedia* VI.1871–2, *s.v.* Pagarch (B. Verbeeck). [66] *BGU* I 305, *CPR* XIV 10.

[67] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1976 (582) and other documents; Gascou (1985) 66 and references in n. 374.

[68] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829 is the key proof, though far from problem-free, of Strategius II's position as principal heir to Apion II. [69] *P.Oxy.* I 135, many other refs. in Gascou (1985) 68 n. 382.

of consular rank (ⲡⲁⲧⲓⲥⲥⲁ, *femina consularis*), either the wife or the sister of Strategius II (who had apparently died), and her two sons – another Apion (Apion III) and George, both with honorary consular rank.[70] George appears so far only once in the papyri; Praeiecta and Apion appear in tandem in papyri of 590 and 591, the mother acting with and possibly on behalf of her son, still a minor.[71] By 593, Apion is acting on his own and Praeiecta has disappeared.[72] His marriage to Eusebia, daughter of a Roman aristocratic family with friendly ties to the future pope Gregory the Great, must already have taken place.[73]

Apion III appears in documents of 593 and later as sole owner of the family's estates in Oxyrhynchus and as honorary consul. By 604/5 he had attained the patriciate and continued to hold that dignity till (at least) mid year 619. He was dead by the very beginning of 620, but his 'glorious household' continued as an economic unit for another year or so, fading from history early in the decade of the Persian conquest and occupation (619–29).[74] Apion III had, among other children, a son, Strategius (III), still a youth at the turn of the century, and no longer confused (as he once was) with another Flavius Strategius, a contemporary of Apion III, who was apparently from a collateral line of the family that was more active in the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes than in the Oxyrhynchite. This older Strategius, first mentioned in a papyrus of 591,[75] and now commonly referred to as 'pseudo-Strategius III', was himself an honorary consul, and eventually a patrician. He is perhaps best known from documents of the first decade of the seventh century that show him as pagarch of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchy, as Apion II had been before him.[76] A person of eminence, he is credited with having prevented a schism between the Egyptian Monophysite and Syrian churches at an Alexandrian synod in 616;[77] but like Apion III, pseudo-Strategius III and his household disappear from history in the early years of the Persian occupation.

It is clear from this summary that the Apion family had a long and distinguished history, traceable for some six generations from the late fifth into the early seventh century. If there are any trends to be perceived in all this,

[70] *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196; *PLRE* IIIB.1049 (Fl. Praeiecta 2). Praeiecta appears in most discussions (and stemmata) as Strategius II's wife; for arguments that she was his sister: *CPR* XIV, p. 43 n. 1.

[71] *PLRE* IIIA.515 (Fl. Georgius 10); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2243, XVI 1989–90, *P.Erl.* 67.

[72] *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2202, additional refs. in Gascou (1985) 70 n. 387, to which may be added numerous new references in *P.Oxy.* LVIII.

[73] Cameron (1979) 225–7; Gascou (1985) 70; *PLRE* IIIA.98–9 (Fl. Apion 4). Eusebia and her mother figure often in Gregory's epistles, but leave no imprint in the documentary papyri.

[74] Details in *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3939.4–5 n., 3959 intro. [75] *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935.

[76] Gascou (1985) 70–1 and n. 392; *CPR* XIV, pp. 41–8; *PLRE* IIIB.1203–4 (Fl. Strategius 10).

[77] Hardy (1931) 35–6, Gascou (1985) 70–1.

one is that earlier household heads were more prominent than later ones on the imperial political scene; Apion I and Strategius I must often have been away from home on foreign assignment. It was once thought that the later Apiones had retrenched, content with honorary dignities and provincial or local offices, possibly becoming more Egyptian than their predecessors, possibly reconverting to Monophysitism, choosing to live in Egypt instead of the imperial capital. It is now thought that the family's glory remained undimmed and that its members continued to move in Constantinople's social circles, spending more time away from than in Egypt.[78]

What the papyri contribute to the corporate history of the Apion family is a rough but, as new papyri come to be published, increasingly refined chronological outline of births and deaths, of offices held and honours bestowed. This in itself is an important contribution, but it is rather to an understanding of the economic foundation for the Apion social and political success, the family's landed wealth and its management, that the papyri contribute most. A full treatment cannot be given here, but a sketch of the Apion holdings at Oxyrhynchus (the best-known) and the principal features in their management cannot be avoided.[79]

Although hard statistical evidence is lacking, one estimate, with an indirect basis on payments in kind for the *mbol* (grain shipments for Constantinople), puts the extent of Apion holdings in the Oxyrhynchite nome and the neighbouring Cynopolite at 112,000 *arouras* (75,000 acres) out of a total available 280,000 *arouras*, roughly two-fifths the arable land in those districts.[80] The presence of twenty stewards, *pronohta‹*, in an account for Apion holdings just in the Oxyrhynchite is another telling if imprecise indication, as is the fact that each *pronoêtês* normally had charge of several 'estates' (*kt mata*).[81] Apion holdings in the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes are assumed also to have been large, but the documents give no inkling whatsoever of their measure. Whatever their size, the usual view is that the Apion estates did not conform to modern notions of what estates are. That is, they did not form in any given area a coherent territorial block. Instead they were scattered through various rural hamlets (*po‹kia*) in the orbits of nome villages. The spread of the Apion properties, not only in the Oxyrhynchite and neighbouring Cynopolite districts, but also in the Herakleopolite and Arsinoite, together with the frequent absenteeism of the family heads, necessitated for their operation an extensive private bureaucracy of agents (*dioikhta‹*), clerks (*chartularii*), stewards (*pronoêtai*), and bankers. It also required a communications network that included both an 'express post' (*cursus velox*) and a slow post by land, with

[78] Gascou (1985) 74–5; Cameron (1979) 225–7, esp. 225 n. 22, 227 n. 34.
[79] I rely heavily on Hardy (1931) for what follows.
[80] Jones, *LRE* 780, 784.
[81] *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032, 1 136 (= *WChr.* 383).

their stables and riders (*symmachoi*, messengers), and estate boats with their sailors (*naûtai*) for river travel and transport.[82]

The earliest document from the Oxyrhynchite part of the archive, A.D. 497, includes features that show that the Apion estate system was already fully developed and brings the realization that, despite efforts to the contrary,[83] barring new discoveries, there will never be any way for the historian to trace its origins or early development. The document in question[84] is of a type common in the archive, a so-called receipt for agricultural machinery. In its formulaic structure there lies an embedded narrative, a little drama:[85] an Apion tenant acknowledges that he has found need of a piece of agricultural machinery, in this case (as in many others: presumably axles were most liable to wear or breaking) a new axle for a water wheel (*mhcan*). He has 'gone up' from his rural hamlet (*po‹kion*), part of an Apion estate (*kt ma*), to the city, Oxyrhynchus, and received the needed part. He promises to irrigate faultlessly a plot of land called Thryeis. He will in due time pay his rents to the estate account.

Typical features include the Apion ownership of the 'means of production' – not just the land, but the estate's more expensive equipment: the irrigation machines and their spare parts, in addition to the oil presses, mills and bakeries evidenced in other documents. The Oxyrhynchus estate's 'company store' lies in the city, but the farmlands are outside. Typical is the formulary on which this specific document is based: the resulting document turns out to be more like a formal contract between two parties, landlord and tenant, than would seemingly be required in the normal course of operating an agricultural enterprise, where a verbal agreement or a short written receipt should have sufficed. The formula is not only elaborate, but long-lasting; it is found as late as 616.[86] Most significant is that the tenant farmer is styled an *nap¾graßov gewrg¾n* in the Greek text, a term which is a linguistic equivalent to a Latin term found in the late imperial law codes: *colonus adscripticius*. The laws proclaim that the status of such individuals was barely distinguishable from that of slaves.[87] They were, it seems, 'tied to the soil'; but this, according to a recent argument,[88] was accomplished, not by public intervention, but by a process of private registration or listing (*pograφ*). The tenant first entered upon a contractual arrangement with his landlord (a work contract, a lease). The landlord then agreed to pay his tenant's taxes for him and the tenant came to be registered in his landlord's census.

Curiously, nearly all *enapographoi* in the papyri are to be found in documents from Oxyrhynchus,[89] and most of these Oxyrhynchite documents

[82] See esp. *P.Oxy.* I 136 (= *WChr.* 383), contract for hire of a *pronoêtês*, A.D. 583.
[83] Fikhman (1975). [84] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982. [85] Hardy (1931) 127–8. [86] *P.Oxy.* XVI 1991.
[87] E.g. *CJ* XI.48.21 (530), Jones, *LRE* 801; but for the realities, see Fikhman (1991) and Sirks (1993).
[88] Sirks (1993).
[89] Exceptions: *SB* XVIII 13949 (541): Oxyrhynchite landlords, two *enapographoi* from a Herakleopolite hamlet.

concern the Apions and their tenants. Besides showing Apion *coloni* going up to the city for machinery parts, they frequently show them being sworn for in documents that have come to be called sureties or guarantees (*cautionnements*, *Bürgschaft-urkunden*).[90] In some of these the formulary is, like that for agricultural machinery receipts, surprisingly elaborate and equally long-lived.[91] In a leading example of the genre,[92] an Oxyrhynchus lead-worker named Aurelius Pamouthius goes bail for a *colonus* named Aurelius Abraham from the Apion estate (*ktêma*) of Great Tarouthinas in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Pamouthius guarantees that Abraham will remain on his assigned estate together with his 'family and wife and animals and furniture'. If Abraham's presence is required by his landlords (the heirs of Apion II), Pamouthius will ensure Abraham's production in the same public place where he received him, 'the jail of the said glorious house'.

The mention of the jail of the glorious house suggests that the Apiones exercised a coercive authority that impinged on the official coercive authority of the government. This, in fact, was reinforced by their employment of soldiers known as 'doughboys' or 'biscuit eaters', *bucellarii*.[93] These in Apion estate accounts appear often to be of foreign, sometimes Gothic, origin; they were paid in kind (in grain, meat, wine and oil) and in cash, and served the glorious house as a mercenary police force.

The presence of an estate jail and the employment of *bucellarii* are at first glance shocking because these were two practices, following upon that of patronage, that late imperial legislation tried vainly to check – yet the Apiones were closely connected to the imperial court.[94] And these two practices, added to the existence of great estates farmed by *coloni adscripticii* ('serfs'), are most responsible for the impression that the Apion household, that Oxyrhynchus with its other great landlords, that late antique Egypt as a whole was 'feudal' in the medieval sense of the term, and that the great houses of Egypt were resistant to and in conflict with the imperial government.[95] Nowadays, it is argued that the Apion and other great houses of Egypt were not working in conflict with the imperial government, but rather with its (eventual) approval and sanction. It is not only that *bucellarii* may have been at least semi-official in character,[96] privately mustered with government approval, but that if private interests in Egypt had not (for example) assumed the upkeep and repair of the irrigation works, the economy would have collapsed and the imperial capital itself would have

[90] Summary discussion with a list of parallel documents in Fikhman (1981).
[91] Latest example, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959 (Persian period, 620).
[92] *P.Oxy.* I 135 (579), with several reprintings: *WChr.* 384, Meyer, *JJP* 51, *Sel.Pap.* I 26, *FIRA* III 13.
[93] Hardy (1931) esp. 60–71, cf. Robinson (1968); Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 43–7; Schmitt (1994).
[94] Keenan (1975) esp. 243–4 and n. 14.
[95] Early and most influential presentation of the 'feudal model': Bell (1917). See Keenan (1993).
[96] Gascou (1985). Cf. on the *bucellarii* Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 43–7.

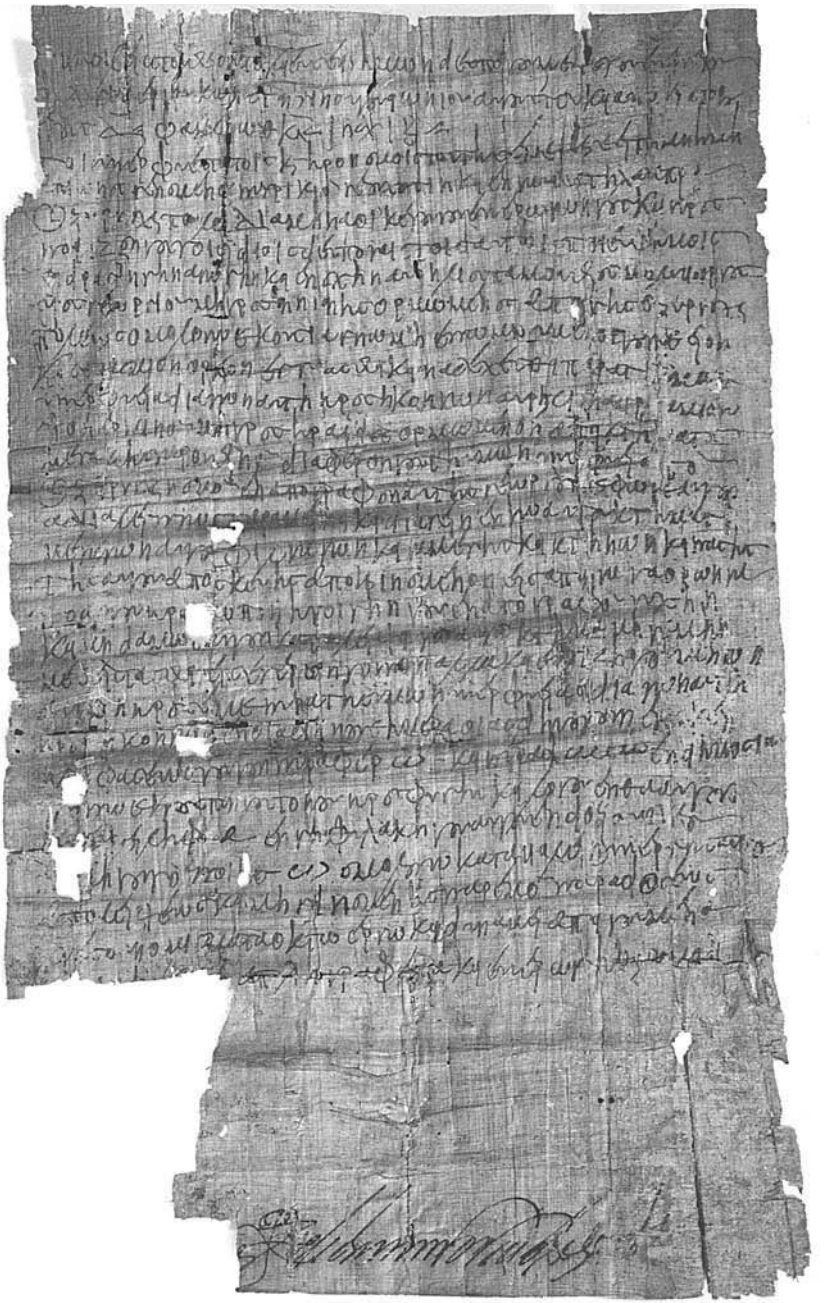


Fig. 21 Deed of surety sworn by a lead-worker, Aurelius Pamouthius, on behalf of Aurelius Abraham, *colonus adscripticius* to the heirs of the Oxyrhynchus landlord, Flavius Apion, 579. *P.Oxy.* 135. (Photo: courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. Copyright: The Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

become vulnerable to famine.[97] The new view may in effect be more a refinement than a rejection of the feudal model. Whether the new view is right or not (it does seem to fly in the face of some of the legal evidence), the old one was wrong in laying too much stress on, and generalizing too much from, the evidence from Oxyrhynchus, to the neglect of other sites: Hermopolis, for example, one of whose estates was judged on the basis of a long agricultural ledger to have been 'managed with great wisdom and great humanity',[98] and even more so the middle Egyptian village of Aphrodito.

The sixth-century history of that village and its regional and imperial connections can be partially reconstructed thanks to the survival of an archive preserved by one Flavius Dioscorus.[99] Although Dioscorus himself was probably not born until around 520, the archive includes a few papers of earlier date. The family's Egyptian roots are intimated by the name of its earliest known member, 'old man Psimanobet',[100] who presumably reached his prime in the mid fifth century. Psimanobet, whose Egyptian name signified 'son of the gooseherd', had a son, Dioscorus, who in turn had children, including a son named Apollos. It is this Apollos, father of Flavius Dioscorus, whose activities come to light initially in the Dioscorus papyri. He first appears in 514 as a village headman (*prwtokwm thv*) of Aphrodito, appearing later, in the 530s, as a member of the village's board of 'contributaries' (*suntelesta<*), jointly responsible for the village's tax collection.[101] He may also have served the local great landlord, count Ammonius, as 'collector' (*<pod kthv*);[102] but all the while he was operating as an entrepreneur in his own right, taking land in lease concurrently from many absentee landlords – from *curiales* of Antaiopolis, from bureaucrats and lawyers from Panopolis and (probably) Antinoopolis, and from one of the village churches. He sublet these parcels or saw by other means to their being worked by a local force of free tenant farmers.[103] In the last decade of his life, by 538, Apollos became a monk,[104] without fully retiring from worldly business. The year 541 found him in the imperial capital in the company of his fraternal nephew, a priest named Victor. There the two villagers took out a loan of twenty *solidi* from a banker named Flavius Anastasius, a 'waiter of the sacred table', due for repayment four months

[97] See on the irrigation works, their operation and maintenance, Bonneau (1970), with special attention to the Apiones. [98] Schnebel (1928).

[99] Discussions of the village and its chief family: Bell (1944); Keenan (1984a); MacCoull, *Dioscorus* esp. 1–15; Gagos and van Minnen (1994). Dioscorus' career: *PLRE* IIIA.404–6 (Fl. Dioscorus 5), differing in some details from what is presented here. [100] *P.Lond.* V 1691.15–16.

[101] First appearance: *P.Flor.* III 280; Apollos' career: Keenan (1984b).

[102] Hardy (1931) 144; Thomas (1987) 61, 72, approved by MacCoull (1993a) 21 n. 2. Count Ammonius: *PLRE* IIIA.56–7 (Fl. Ammonius I).

[103] A critical document is *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327; discussion: Keenan (1985a), cf. Thomas (1987) 72–3.

[104] *PSI* VIII 933.

later in Alexandria.[105] Before his death in 547 Apollos founded a monastery named for the 'Holy Christ-Bearing Apostles', appointing his own son, the family's second Dioscorus, as the foundation's lay 'curator' (*φροντιστ ν*).[106]

This Dioscorus, so it seems, received a fine literary, rhetorical and legal education, paid for by his entrepreneurial and upwardly mobile father. It is usually assumed that this educational polish was applied in Alexandria, a flourishing, cosmopolitan 'university town', where, in Dioscorus' day, a major intellectual figure would have been John Philoponus,[107] the prolific grammarian, philosopher and theologian. So it is perhaps a bit ironic that in Dioscorus' first dated occurrence in the papyri, in A.D. 543, he appears as victim of a typically rustic trespass: the standing crops in a field he was holding, apparently under lease from a local monastery, had been trampled, uprooted and mired, thanks to an unruly drover who had run his sheep through them.[108] Like his father before him, Dioscorus travelled to Constantinople. He was there in 551 to defend the right of Aphrodito to collect its own taxes (the privilege called 'autopragia', 'self-collection') without interference from the district's pagarch. It was on that visit that he and some fellow villagers secured a rescript from Justinian and hired two *exsecutores negotii* ('executors of the business'), one of them a count of the sacred consistory, both of them citizens of Leontopolis in Cappadocia, to assist in enforcing the village's claimed rights against the pagarch's alleged violations back home.[109] That in Constantinople he met Romanos the Melodist, and in later retrospect commemorated the occasion with an acrostic poem in his honour, is an attractive but problematic bit of speculation.[110]

Back in Egypt, Dioscorus had by A.D. 566 taken up residence in the provincial capital, Antinoopolis. There he put his legal training to use, settling disputes and drawing up contracts and other documents in Greek and in Coptic,[111] including the will of Flavius Theodore discussed above. This was one of many papers Dioscorus brought back to Aphrodito on his return in 573. The remarkable thing about the documents written in Antinoopolis is that they were often on very large sheets of papyrus which Dioscorus saved for scrap. On their versos he composed, in autograph drafts showing

[105] *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126; discussion: Keenan (1992).

[106] See esp. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67096, cf. Thomas (1987) 64, 73.

[107] *RE* IX.2 (1916) 1764–95 (Kroll).

[108] *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67087, with Keenan (1985b).

[109] Critical documents include *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 (rescript), 67032 (contract with *exsecutores negotii*, also accessible as Meyer, *JJP* 52 and *FIRA* III 179), *SB* IV 7438 (letter of recommendation for Dioscorus); synoptic discussion with pertinent references: Keenan (1975) 244–6. Further, esp. on *P.Cair.Masp.* 67024: Geraci (1979) with extensive bibliography.

[110] Kuehn (1990) (for the connection); van Minnen (1992) esp. 97–8 (opposed).

[111] MacCoull, *Dioscorus* esp. ch. 2 (pp. 16–56); cf. MacCoull (1981) and (1986b) (= MacCoull (1993b) chs. XII and X).

corrections, what were once judged the last and worst Greek poems – birthday and wedding poems, panegyrics, encomiums and 'salutations' (*cairetismo‹*) – antiquity had produced; but these are now being re-evaluated with a new sense of their artistry that largely stems from a new appreciation for the *Weltanschauung* they reveal.[112] They are the bookish poems of a scholar whose library included codices and rolls of Homer, Aristophanes, Menander (including a likely lawyer's favourite, the arbitration scene from the *Epitrepontes*)[113] and Eupolis, the poetry of Anacreon, a life of the orator Isocrates and a Greek–Coptic glossary.[114]

This archive, then, was the collection of an educated, bilingual, perhaps even trilingual, lawyer; it is full of information on Dioscorus' general milieu, but also on more mundane matters like his village's society and economy. In this evidence we find that, in contrast to the great landlords of Oxyrhynchus and their *coloni*, Aphrodito's core was its small landholders.[115] 'For the village consists of smallholders (*leptokt torev*)', according to a long petition to the duke of the Thebaid,[116] and wretched though they at times claim to have been (when it suited their purposes),[117] they seem on the whole to have been prosperous and well-organized: prosperous enough to send delegations to Constantinople to plead their case before the crown, and organized into a '*collegium* of village headmen (*prwtokwm tai*), contributaries (*suntelesta‹*) and landowners (*kt torev*)' to represent the village in its formal business.[118] The village claimed, besides, the special protection of the 'divine house' (*divina domus*) of the empress Theodora and could gather as signatories in a report to her: eleven priests, a reader, a deacon and a monk; twenty-two landholders and a village headman; two notaries; the heads of the guilds of smiths, fullers, carpenters, weavers, boatwrights, wine merchants – and more.[119]

The village itself,[120] a former nome metropolis since demoted, dominated a number of surrounding satellite villages. Located on a tell in the Nile flood-plain, it was surrounded by land in quarters (*pediadev*) named for the four main compass points. The land was sometimes classed as estates (*kt mata*), farms (*geÞrgia*) and pastures (*bosk mata*), in an apparently descending order of value. Estates, sometimes amply described, included such things as cisterns, wine vats, towers, vegetable gardens, vineyards and

[112] Early (negative) appraisal: Maspero (1911). Current standard edition for most of the poems: Heitsch (1963) 127–52; a new edition by J.-L. Fournet is in preparation. See further Viljamaa (1968). Re-evaluation: Baldwin (1984) II.327–31; MacCoull, *Dioscorus* esp. ch. 3 (pp. 57–146); Kuehn (1995).

[113] This point is made in Gagos and van Minnen (1994) 33–4.

[114] List of works: Bell (1944) 27; Homer: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67172–4; life of Isocrates: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67175; Anacreon: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 v F, with MacCoull, *Dioscorus* esp. 119–21; glossary: Bell and Crum (1925).

[115] For much of what follows: Keenan (1984a).

[116] *P.Lond.* V 1674.95–6.

[117] E.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.2.

[118] *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001.

[119] *Divina domus*: Zingale (1984–5); signatories: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 with intro. and Jones, *LRE* 847–8.

[120] Topographical and other data in Calderini (1966) 303–414.

orchards with trees of various kinds – date palms, olives, mulberries, citrons, acacias.[121] There were monasteries outside the village and numerous churches within. Also within were private houses, some of reputed grandeur, and in one part of town, houses owned or formerly owned by a shepherd, a vetch-seller, a cook, a smith, a headman and a priest.[122] There must also have been houses or shops in which artisans plied their crafts – smiths, fullers, carpenters, weavers, the boatwrights who made wickerwork skiffs for canal and river travel – and where wine merchants sold their wares.[123] There were walled-in gardens in the residential areas; a record office, storehouse, threshing-floor, guardhouse; an olive works on Isis street; potteries and a monastic hostel.[124]

The sense conveyed by all of this – when added to the agrarian dealings of Apollos, the literary efforts of his son, and the villagers' journeys to Constantinople – is one of vitality, activity and variety, not, as was once maintained, 'appalling dullness'; and the sense of variety might be further developed by appealing to other archives: the Taurinus archive from Hermopolis, for example, with its landowning soldiers and bureaucrats, or the Patermuthis archive from Syene (modern Aswan), with its border guards and boatmen, house sales and inheritance disputes.[125] The Dioscorus archive ends with unfortunate abruptness with a document of no great significance, a pasture lease dated to 5 April 585;[126] but Dioscorus' village reappears in the early eighth century with another important (and final) Greek-Egyptian archive, embodied in the correspondence between the district pagarch, Flavius Basilius, and the Arab governor of Egypt, Kurrah ibn Sharik. There the linguistic shift from administrative Greek to Arabic is clearly seen to be under way.[127]

The intervening years, in particular those down to 642, were marked by a turbulent and confusing rush of events, of great significance for Egypt and for the Byzantine empire at large. The record, especially for events set forth in the damaged, biased but invaluable *Chronicle* of John, bishop of Nikiu,[128] gives an unremitting series of examples of courage and cowardice, carnage and cruelty on all sides. There was, of course, the familiar street violence in Alexandria, ignited by politics and religion, tempered at

[121] See esp. *P.Mich.* XIII 666, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 r, III 67300.8–9, *P.Lond.* V 1695.4–9, *P.Michael.* 48.16–17. [122] *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 II 24 (grand old houses); *P.Mich.* XIII 665.

[123] Evidence in MacCoull (1984) (= MacCoull (1993b) ch. xx). Comparable variety in other Egyptian locales: Fikhman (1965) (in Russian).

[124] Calderini (1966) 303–414: *P.Lond.* V 1691, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67109 (gardens); *P.Flor.* III 285 (olive works).

[125] Taurinus archive: *BGU* XII, with extensive introduction by H. Maehler, cf. now also Palme (1994). Patermuthis archive: *P.Münch.*, *P.Lond.* V 1722–37, with Farber (1986) and the series of articles in *BASP* 27 (1990) 111–62. [126] *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 IV r. [127] See e.g. *P.Lond.* IV, cf. Abbott (1938).

[128] Charles (1916).

times by the charities of John III, 'the Almsgiver', the revered Chalcedonian patriarch, 610–19.[129] Just before his patriarchate, Alexandria was thrown into turmoil by the revolt of Heraclius against the unpopular emperor Phocas. The very end of his patriarchate was attended and followed by the Persian invasion and occupation of 619–29.[130] This in turn was prelude to the Arab invasion and the final occupation of Egypt, 639–42, under ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAsi. In these last-mentioned years began the process whereby Egypt and its people adopted the Arabic language and became overwhelmingly Islamic in faith. So also began the process whereby Greek culture in Egypt disappeared and the indigenous Coptic culture was much eclipsed.[131] As a result of the Arab conquest, in addition to the magnificent city of Alexandria, the Byzantine empire forever lost Constantinople's principal source of food and a substantial portion of the annual imperial revenues.[132] The human toll, especially at the beginning of this transformation, was, by all accounts, enormous. The story of what happened in that period was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, brilliantly reconstructed and retold, but in an old-fashioned, largely pre-papyrological way.[133] That story, which continues the one sketched above, now begs retelling with a full accounting for the papyrological evidence.[134]

[129] Monks (1953).

[130] *The Coptic Encyclopedia* VI.1938–41, *s.v.* Persians in Egypt (R. Altheim-Stiehl).

[131] MacCoull (1989) (= MacCoull (1993b) ch. XXVI); and see also Samir (1986).

[132] Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* esp. 10–11; Haas (1997) 337–51; Fraser (1993) [1995].

[133] Butler (1978), cf. *The Coptic Encyclopedia* I.183–9, *s.v.* Arab conquest of Egypt (P. M. Fraser).

[134] For the evidence see Fraser's extensive 'Additional Bibliography' in Butler (1978), with Bagnall's review, *Classical Journal* 75 (1979–80) 347–8; also: MacCoull (1986a) (= MacCoull (1993b) ch. XII). An important, recently published seventh-century document: Gascou (1994).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	Emperors	The West	The East
425	Theodosius II (408–50) Valentinian III (425–55)		Reform of teaching in Constantinople
427			First commission to codify laws
428			Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople
429		Vandals cross to Africa	
431		Aspar and eastern army defeated by Vandals	First Council of Ephesus; deposition of Nestorius
432		Death of Augustine	
435		Revolt of bagaudae in Armorica	Exile of Nestorius
436		Goths besiege Narbonne	
438			Theodosian Code issued
439		Geiseric the Vandal captures Carthage	
440		Vandals ravage Sicily	Yazdgard II attacked eastern provinces
441		Sueves control Baetica and Carthaginiensis	Victories for Attila in Balkans
443			Ascendancy of eunuch Chrysaphius
447			Sweeping successes of Attila in Balkans
449		Embassy to Attila	Second Council of Ephesus (the Robber Synod)
450	Marcian (450–7)		
451		Attila invades Gaul; defeat at Catalaunian Plains	Council of Chalcedon
452		Attila attacks Italy; sack of Aquileia	
453	Death of Pulcheria	Death of Attila	
454		Valentinian III murders Aetius	Huns defeated at River Nedao
455	Avitus (455–7)	Vandals sack Rome	
457	Leo I (457–74) Majorian (457–61)		Aspar controls succession Death of Symeon Stylites

460		Expedition of Majorian to Spain *v.* Vandals	
461	Libius Severus (461–5)	Defeat of Majorian in Spain; Ricimer controls succession	
467	Anthemius (467–72)		
468		Failure of eastern expedition *v.* Vandals	
471			Overthrow and death of Aspar
472		Death of Ricimer	
473	Glycerius (473–4)		
474	Zeno (474–91)		Leo sends Nepos west to depose Glycerius
	Nepos (474–5)		
475	Romulus (475–6)	Rebellion of Orestes	Rebellion of Basiliscus; Zeno retires to Isauria
476	Basiliscus (usurper)	Odoacer deposes Romulus Augustulus	
		Visigoths capture Arles and Marseilles	Return of Zeno; exile and death of Basiliscus
480			Death of Theoderic Strabo
482		Acacian schism divides Rome and Constantinople	Zeno issues *Henotikon*
484		Huneric persecutes Catholics	Rebellion of Illus
489		Theoderic enters Italy	Theoderic the Amal leaves Balkans for Italy
491	Anastasius (491–518)		
492			Rebellion in Isauria
493		Theoderic the Amal captures Ravenna and kills Odoacer	
496			Anastasius deposes Euphemius of Constantinople
497			Suppression of Isaurian revolt
498			Abolition of Chrysargyron tax; coinage reform
502			Kavadh invades eastern provinces; siege of Amida
505			Truce on eastern frontier; construction of Dara
507		Clovis and Franks defeat Visigoths at Vouillé	
511		Clovis' Catholic Council of Orleans	Anastasius deposes Macedonius of Constantinople
		Division of Frankish kingdom on Clovis' death	
512			Deposition of Flavius of Antioch; Severus succeeds
513			First revolt of Vitalian
515			Defeat of Vitalian
518	Justin I (518–27)	End of Acacian schism	
524		Execution of Boethius	
526	Athalaric (526–34)		
527	Justinian I (527–65)		
528			Commission for codification of Law

A.D.	Emperors	The West	The East
529			First edition of *Codex Iustinianus*
530			Commission to codify Roman jurists
531			Accession of Khusro I, king of Persia
532			Nika riot; 'Endless Peace' with Persia
533		Belisarius defeats Vandals	Theopaschite Edict
			Completion of *Digest* of Roman law, and *Institutes*
534		Pragmatic Sanction to regulate affairs of Africa	Second edition of *Codex Iustinianus*
		Burgundian kingdom taken over by Franks	Triumph of Belisarius at Constantinople
		Regency of Amalasuintha in Italy	
535		Murder of Amalasuintha; Belisarius despatched to Italy	Consulship of Belisarius
536		Belisarius lands in Italy; capture of Naples	
		Belisarius occupies Rome	
537		Siege of Rome	Dedication of rebuilt St Sophia
539		Goths capture Milan and massacre inhabitants	
		Franks invade Italy	
540		Belisarius enters Ravenna	Khusro I attacks Romans; sack of Antioch
			Basilius, the last annual consul
			Jacob Baradaeus appointed bishop of Edessa; creation of separate Monophysite hierarchy
542			Bubonic plague strikes Constantinople
544		Belisarius' second expedition to Italy	
546		Totila captures Rome	
547			Pope Vigilius summoned to Constantinople
548	Death of Theodora		
549		Recall of Belisarius	
552		Arrival of Narses in Ravenna	
		Defeat and death of Totila at Busta Gallorum	
553/4			Fifth Oecumenical Council at Constantinople
554		Pragmatic Sanction to regulate affairs of Italy	
558			First contacts between Avars and Romans
559			Kutrigurs cross Danube; raid breaches Long Walls
561		Division of Frankish kingdom on Chlothar I's death	
562			Plot against Justinian; 50 Years Peace with Persia

Visigothic Kings		Vandal Kings		Frankish Kings		Rulers of Italy		Lombard Rulers in Italy		Persian Kings	
Theoderic I	419–51	Geiseric	428–77	Childeric	?–481	Odoacer	476–93			Vahram V	421–38
Theoderic II	453–66	Huneric	477–84	Clovis	*c.* 481–*c.* 511	Theoderic	493–526			Yazdgard II	438–57
Euric	466–84	Gunthamund	484–96	Chlothar I	511–61	Athalaric	526–34			Hormizd III	457–9
Alaric II	484–507	Thrasamund	496–523	Theoderic I	511–33	Theodahad	534–6			Peroz	459–84
Gesalic	507–11	Hilderic	523–30	Childebert I	511–58	Vitigis	536–40			Balash	484–8
Amalric	511–31	Gelimer	530–3	Theodebert I	533–47	Totila	541–52	Alboin	568–72	Kavadh	488–531
Theudis	531–48			Theodebald	547–55			Cleph	572–4	Khusro I	531–79
Theudisclus	548–9			Guntram	561–92			Ducal interregnum	574–84	Hormizd IV	579–90
Agila	549–55			Charibert I	561–7			Authari	584–90	Vahram Tchobin	590–1
Athanagild	551–68			Sigibert I	561–75			Agilulf	590–616	Khusro II	590–628
Liuva I	567–71			Chilperic	561–84						
Leovigild	569–86			Childebert II	575–95/6						
Reccared	586–601			Chlothar II	584–629						
				Theodebert	596–612						
				Theoderic II	596–613						

Visigothic Kings		Vandal Kings		Frankish Kings		Rulers of Italy		Lombard Rulers in Italy		Persian Kings	
Theoderic I	419–51	Geiseric	428–77	Childeric	?–481	Odoacer	476–93			Vahram V	421–38
Theoderic II	453–66	Huneric	477–84	Clovis	*c.* 481–*c.* 511	Theoderic	493–526			Yazdgard II	438–57
Euric	466–84	Gunthamund	484–96	Chlothar I	511–61	Athalaric	526–34			Hormizd III	457–9
Alaric II	484–507	Thrasamund	496–523	Theoderic I	511–33	Theodahad	534–6			Peroz	459–84
Gesalic	507–11	Hilderic	523–30	Childebert I	511–58	Vitigis	536–40			Balash	484–8
Amalric	511–31	Gelimer	530–3	Theodebert I	533–47	Totila	541–52	Alboin	568–72	Kavadh	488–531
Theudis	531–48			Theodebald	547–55			Cleph	572–4	Khusro I	531–79
Theudisclus	548–9			Guntram	561–92			Ducal interregnum	574–84	Hormizd IV	579–90
Agila	549–55			Charibert I	561–7			Authari	584–90	Vahram Tchobin	590–1
Athanagild	551–68			Sigibert I	561–75			Agilulf	590–616	Khusro II	590–628
Liuva I	567–71			Chilperic	561–84						
Leovigild	569–86			Childebert II	575–95/6						
Reccared	586–601			Chlothar II	584–629						
				Theodebert	596–612						
				Theoderic II	596–613						

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ABBREVIATIONS

Full references to editions of primary sources and standard collections can be found in, for example, Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek Lexicon*, and *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vols. I–III.

AA	*Auctores Antiquissimi*
AAntHung	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*
AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*, 71 vols. 1863–1940
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACHCM	*Actes du Congrès d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin, 1914–40; J. Straub, Berlin, 1971–
ACOR	American Centre for Oriental Research, Amman
Actes XI Cong. Int. d.Arch. Chrét.	*Actes du XI Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Anc.H.Bull.	*Ancient History Bulletin*
Annales:ESC	*Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini
Ant. Afr.	*Antiquités Africaines*
AO	*Acta Orientalis*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
ARCA	Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, Liverpool
AS	*Anatolian Studies*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen* (later *Staatlichen*) *Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BS	*Byzantine Studies*
BSAA	*Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Byz.	*Byzantion*
Byzslavica	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, Berlin, 1891
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
Cd'É	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CHAAN	*Colloque internationale d'histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, Actes*
ChHist	*Church History*
CIC	*Corpus Iuris Civilis*[2], ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krüger *et al.*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1928–9
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krüger, Berlin, 1929
CLA	*Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ed. E. A. Lowe, Oxford, 1934–
Class. et Med.	*Classica et Medievalia*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CPR	*Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
C.Th.	*Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1905
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
Hist. Zeit.	*Historische Zeitschrift*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IGLS	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
IQ	*Islamic Quarterly*
IVRA	*Ivra. Rivista internazionale di Diritto romano e antico*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JÖB	*Jarhbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Justinian, *Nov.*	*Corpus Iuris Civilis III, Novellae*, 6th edn, R. Schoell and W. Kroll, Berlin, 1954
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*
MChr	*Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, Juristische Teil*, ed. L. Mitteis
MEFR	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome (Moyen Âge)*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
Mus.Phil. Lond.	*Museum Philologicum Londiniense*
NMS	*Nottingham Medieval Studies*
Num.Chron.	*Numismatic Chronicle*
OC	*Oriens Christianum*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OLA	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen vit hen Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
OMS	*Opera Minora Selecta*
Oxf. J. Arch.	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
P.Cair.Masp.	*Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PGL	*A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe
P.Herm.	*Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
P.Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I–III, Cambridge, 1971–92
PLS	*Pactus Legis Salicae*
P.Mich.	*Michigan Papyri*
P.Michael.	*Papyri Michaelidae*
P.Monac.	*Byzantinische Papyri in der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*

P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
P&P	*Past and Present*
P.Ross.Georg.	*Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*
P.Ryl.	*Rylands Papyri*
PSI	*Papyri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto*, 1912–
P.Warren	*The Warren Papyri* (Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat.) I, ed. M. David
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBPH	*Revue belge de philologie et de l'histoire*
RDC	*Revue de droit canonique*
RE	*Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll, Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1894–
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RH	*Revue historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
RIDA	*Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SChrét.	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SCNAC	*Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, Florence, 1759ff.
SDHI	*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
SRM	*Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
StPatr.	*Studia Patristica*
StudPal	*Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*
T&MByz	*Travaux et Mémoires*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. G. Krause and G. Müller, Berlin, 1977–
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WChr	U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, Historischer Teil*, II. Leipzig–Berlin, 1912
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRG GA	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*
ZRG RA	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung*

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