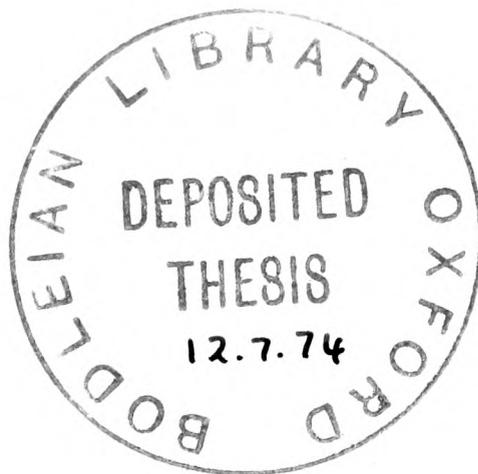


THE ROLE OF MILITARY MEN IN SYRIA AND EGYPT
FROM CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS II

VOL. II



CHAPTER I

PART 1

- N.D. Notitia Dignitatum, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin 1876).
The reference is always to the eastern lists. That for Lower Egypt is XXVIII on 58-60.
- G.C. Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, ed. H. Gelzer (Leipzig 1890)
- H. Hieroclis Synecdemus, ed. A. Burckhardt (Leipzig 1893)
- A.A. H.I. Bell, D. van Berchem and others, The Abinnaeus Archive (Oxford 1962), editorial matter.
- Ball J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers (Cairo 1942)
- v.B. D. van Berchem, L'Armée de Dioclétien et la Réforme Constantinienne (Paris 1952)
- Jones, L.R.E. A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602 (Oxford 1964)
- Jones, C.E.R.P. A.H.M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (Oxford 1937, revised 1971)
- PW Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopadie der Classische Altertumswissenschaft (1894-)

1. For the various parembolae see PW 36ster Halbband, Letztes Drittel 1455-6; for the legion in the parembole at Alexandria see PW 12ter Band 1487. The suggestion that 'Nee' is the Alexandrian Neapolis is made by v.B. 65. The suggestion that 'Naithu' is Nitine is made by v.B. 65, that it is Natho by Ball 162; for the scalae see S. Amélineau, La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte (Paris 1893), 269-70.

2. v.B. 63.

3. The 'Provinciae Augustamnicae' rubric comes at N.D. 60, 1. 37. For van Berchem's suggestion as to Busiris see v.B. 66; for the various towns called 'Busiris' see PW 2er Band 1073-4.

4. For the evidence of the city lists see H. 730.4 and G.C. 751, for the Notitia Alexandrina H.Gelzer, Byzantinische Zeitschrift II (1893), 22ff.
5. Seeck's emendation is in N.D. 59 n.2.
6. The creation of Arcadia cannot be earlier than the elevation of Arcadius to the purple in 383 (and see J.Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio III, 568 for Oxyrhynchus, and therefore the west~~ern~~ of Arcadia, being still in Aegyptus in 381), or later than the Notitia Dignitatum (see I.85). For the date of the latter see J.B.Bury, J.R.S. X (1920), 131 ff. and Jones, L.R.E. III, 347 ff.; Jones' conclusion for the eastern section is that it 'was revised fairly thoroughly at a date not long after 395 and thereafter left virtually untouched' (347), although later (381) he offers c. 408 as the basic date of the document as a whole. As for the army lists, he also notes (347-8) that 'in the lists of military units there are no regiments which can be proved to have been raised after 395, and there are signs that some regiments raised shortly before that date were recent additions to the lists'; so the military lists date, as a whole, to the end of the Theodosian, rather than the Arcadian, period.
- That the particular list before us is shown by the papyrological evidence to be essentially Diocletianic is the view of van Berchem in A.A. 13-4, and of R.Rémondon, 'Militaires et Civils dans une Campagne Égyptienne au temps de Constance', Journal des Savants 1965, 134-6. 319 is the date of P.Thead.31, treated below.
7. Hermupolis comes in the Thebaid section of the Notitia, XXXI.24. The papyri are listed by v.B. 63 n.1. In the last of the series, P.Lond. 1245, the commander of the unit, who must have been a tribune, is wrongly referred to as an

eparchos, (on which term see A.A. 15). It is disturbing that, were it not for the evidence of the Notitia, the conclusion would certainly be drawn that the unit in question was not a vexillation but an ala.

8. The last explicit reference to the unit at Narmuthis is P.Thead. 4, of which the editor's dating to 307 is corrected in P.S.I. VI (1920), 147 to A.D.328. The two criminal appeals are P.Abinn. 49 and 50, respectively; there is also an obscure reference to the village in a list of sales, P.Abinn. 80 verso, l.15. For the question of the geographical range of Abinnaeus' authority see, below, Chapter III, n. 49 (pp. 453 ff.).

9. For the careful abandonment of the fort at Dionysias see A.A. 20, the papyrus of 362 being P.Flor. 30. A.A. 20 suggests as the date 'probably near the end of the fourth century, when the villages around it had been abandoned by their population'. This is suggested by the drying up of the papyrological material, an argument countered by the example of Caranis: see A.C.Johnson and L.C.West, Byzantine Egypt: economic studies (Princeton 1949), 9. For the decay of Theadelphia see P.Jouguet, Papyrus de Théadelphie (Paris 1911), 24; and for the unit at Dionysias relying already in the time of Abinnaeus on supplies brought from near Arsinoe see, below, Chapter III, 184.

10. P.Thead. 31, l.26 ff. Jouguet's hesitant ὑπο δικοκνηπιος is emended to ὑπο δουκηναπιος by A.A. 15 n.6; his following ι' is unnatural both in its precision and its position, and a unit of ten soldiers is too small for a ducenarius. For the rank of a ducenarius see A.A. 15 with its quotation from St. Jerome. 'In default ...', A.A. 15.

11. P.Abinn. 28, l.22-3; P.Abinn. 42, with its reference to a primicerius at Arsinoe, shows that it is a vexillation, not an ala or cohort, in question. P.Abinn. 12 and 16 are letters

from unspecified praepositi, assumed to be of Arsinoe. P.Abinn. 77 and 78, adduced by Remondon, op. cit. (n.6), 134, include, in lists of many names, a few specified 'cataphractoi'; but these, from the context, are clearly members of Abinnaeus' unit, not isolated members of the Arsinoite vexillation.

12. B.G.U. 316, 1.5-7, οὐξελλ[ατίωνος] ἰππέων καταφρακταρίων εἰδρυμένων τὰ νῦν ἐν [τῇ Αρσινόειτῶν πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ Δωρόθεον τριβοῦ[νον]. 'The vexillation shown ...', A.A. 14; 'now reinforced ...', Remondon, 136. The single parallel is the stationing of two units at Scenae Veteranorum (N.D. XXVIII. 17,30) -- setting aside the possibility that both Parembole and 'Nee' were in Alexandria.

13. In the light of the annona organization for the Arsinoe post (especially in P.Thead. 31) and the several separate references to it in the Abinnaeus archive, the 'temporary stationing' will have been a matter of years rather than months.

14. For the three duces see v.B. 59-60, for a troop movement out of Egypt in the early years of Theodosius I Zosimus IV.30. The 'late' units in the Notitia lists for Lower Egypt (XXVIII) and the Thebaid (XXXI) are: XXVIII.20 Ala Theodosiana nuper constituta, 21 Ala Arcadiana nuper constituta, XXXI.32 Legio secunda Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum, 36 Legio prima Valentiniana, 39 Legio secunda Valentiniana, 40 Equites felices Honoriani. 'Ala secunda Armeniorum, Oasi minore' (XXVIII.22) and 'Ala prima Abasgorum, Hibeos, Oaseos maioris' (XXXI.41) may, from their position in the lists, also be Theodosian, but the deduction is not certain.

15. Jones, C.E.R.P. 514 ff. His general conclusion as to the relative merits of Hierocles and George is that the former is marred by many omissions, but the latter contains more

additions subsequent to our period. The principle employed throughout this chapter of conflating the two lists, while excluding cities known to have been created at a late date, cannot produce an entirely accurate result, but is adequate for our present purpose.

The two late alae whose posts are not given (1.20-1) are perforce omitted from our discussion. '(?+1)' below is 'Nee'.

16. The 9 are Memfis, Pelusium, Andro, Parembole, Thenenuthi (=Terenuthi), Rinocorura, Gerasa (=Gerra), Busiris and Afrodito.

17. The information relating to Egypt in the Antonine Itinerary is excellently set out in Ball 138-46. For the route of the Persian invasion see A.J.Butler, The Arab conquest of Egypt (Oxford 1902), 71; for that of the Arab, J.Maspero, Organization militaire de l'Égypte byzantine (Paris 1912), 28,33.

18. For the Rhinocorura to Pelusium road see Ball 140. For the six intermediate stops that the Itinerary places between Pelusium and Memfis, supplement Ball 141 by the listing of 'Vico Iudaeorum' on what is a common stretch of road on 142; the four that appear also in the Notitia are Tacasiria (= Tacasarta), Tohu (=Thou), Scenae Veteranorum and Vicus Iudaeorum. For the Pelusium to Thaubasium road see Ball 142, the Notitia posts on this route being Thaubasium and Sile.

19. See Ball 142 for the Itinerary on the road from Memfis to Alexandria, where the Notitia includes Andro and Terenuthi, of which the latter is not listed in the Itinerary. The Persians in 617 marched straight from Memfis to Alexandria, while the Arabs moved from Memfis into Arcadia before striking north again. Titus' march is in Josephus, Bellum Iudaicum V.11.5, on a route where the Notitia places only Pelusium, Andro and Parembole (Alexandria).

20. If it was thought necessary to identify 'Cefro' with one of the stations listed along this route in the Itinerary, the obvious candidate would be 'Chereu' (Ball 142).

21. The five eastern stops are Scenae Mandrorum, Aphrodito, Thimonepsi, Alyi, Hipponon ~~and Musae~~, while the four military stations certainly in western Arcadia are Memfis, Dionysias, Narmunthi (= Narmuthis) and Oasis Minor.

22. v.B. 68-71. His thesis works best for Lower Egypt, since there are not similar anomalies from the strategic point of view in the Thebaid list, treated at the end of the section.

23. The 10 military posts that do not occur in the Itinerary are Oasis Minor, Terenuthi, Gerrha, Sosteos, Dionysias, Cefro, Busiris, Naithu (= Natho), Narmuthis and Nee -- of which, however, the last may conceivably occur in the Itinerary under a different name.

24. For the general principle of equitable distribution of the annona see Jones, L.R.E. 449. According to Johnson and West, op. cit. (n.9), 239, this cannot be demonstrated from the surviving Egyptian evidence.

25. J.Lesquier, L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste a Dioclétien (Cairo 1918), 378-80.

26. For Casium in the Itinerary see Ball 140, Leto et al. Ball 142. The 'five cities' are Oxyrhynchus ('Metropolis' in G.C.), Herakleus, Nilopolis, Cynopolis and Arsinoe-Theodosiopolis (for which see Jones, C.E.R.P. 345).

27. See Ball 141 for the Itinerary route across the Delta. Of the 8 Arcadian cities in both Hierocles and George, only Aphrodito is in the eastern part of the province.

28. N.D. XXXIII; Ptolemy, Geography V (ed. C.Muller, Paris 1901) -- see Ball 117-8 for the essential accuracy of Ptolemy's figures for the Egyptian names; the Peutinger Table, ed. K.Miller (Ravensburg 1888 and elsewhere); for Arabic material, R.Dussaud, Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale (Paris 1927), 273 ff.

The names in the Notitia are set out with locations in PW 2te Reihe, 4ter Band (1932), 'Syria' 1703. Unfortunately it does not distinguish clearly between certain and conjectural identifications. Properly, the following of the laterculum maius remain unlocated -- Matthana, Anatha, Acavatha, Neocaesarea; of the laterculum minus only Helela has been certainly identified. Additional notes may be appended on four of the stations:

Acadama (N.D. XXXIII, 1.21) is identified with 'Jabal Aqdam' by Dussaud in op. cit., 275. R.Mouterde and A.Poidebard, Le Limes de Chalcis (Paris 1945), 109 claims that this identification has been confirmed archaeologically; but according to the discussion by S.Mazlūm which it includes (117 ff., esp. 125), the irrigation installation which seems alone in question is Umayyad. A.Musil, Palmyrena (New York 1928), 151 -- a work I have not seen -- mentions as here also 'the remains of a small fort on a hillock'.

Neocaesarea (1.26) is mentioned twice in Procopius, De Aedificiis. Aed. II.9.10 names it together with Europos (which was north of Hierapolis), 'Gabboulon' (probably Gabboul, between Beroea and Barbalissus) and 'Pentacomia on the Euphrates' (location unknown); II.9.18 couples it with Zeugma (also north of Hierapolis). In view of the lie of the limes of the dux Syriae as revealed by the exactly located forts, it will best be located near Barbalissus rather than further north as these references seem to suggest. Gelzer in his note on G.C. 882 identifies this post with 'Caesarea', but the

location of this is equally uncertain.

Resapha (1.27) is also listed in Ptolemy V.17.5, an entry interesting, at least as it appears in surviving manuscripts, for a confusion exceptional in the Geography: the locality is listed in the Mesopotamian section, near Nicephorium (= Callinicum), but given the same longitude as Palmyra.

Helela (1.32) is to be identified with Ptolemy's 'Alalis' (V.14.20), which he locates just south of the Euphrates between Barbalissus and Sura, at a point very near to the modern village of Abu Hraira, with which Dussaud, op. cit., 454 and Mouterde and Poidebard, op. cit., 241 rightly identify it.

29. Resapha (N.D. 1.27) appears at G.C. 883 as Σεργίουπολις ἦτοι Ἀναστασιούπολις, ἡ σήμερον Ρατταφά. See Jones, C.E.R.P. 267-8, also V.Chapot, La frontière de l'Euphrate (Paris 1907), 382, 'D'après l'état des ruines, la population semble avoir été peu considerable et limitée a la garnison, avec une ou plusieurs communautés religieuses'.

30. 'Dux Foenicis', N.D. XXXII. H. 717 and G.C. 987 ff. list for this region -- which I here assume did not extend, with the civilian province, as far as Emesa and Laodicea -- the four cities of Palmyra, Abilla, Heliopolis and Damascus -- and also Εὐάριος ἦτοι Ἰουστινιανούπολις, a spurious entry unmasked in Jones, C.E.R.P. 516; of these, Palmyra and Abilla (in the form 'Abinna') occur in the Notitia. For the strategic importance of Heliopolis and Damascus see Chapot, op. cit. (n.29), 335 and 333 respectively. Julian, Ep. 24, τὸν τῆς ἑώρας ἀπάσης ὀφθαλμόν.

31. 'Dux Arabiae', N.D. XXXVII. Hierocles lists 17 places, of which one is only Ἐξακωμία κώμη; George adds many village units, but also Esbous, which appears as a major city in Eusebius (PW 6ter Band, 613); Areopolis, in Palestine in the

city lists, comes into this section of the Notitia. The three of the resulting 18 cities that appear as military stations are Areopolis, Bostra and Phaena. There is a faint possibility of a fourth overlap: the 'Gomoha' of the Notitia is conceivably a corruption of 'Canotha'.

32. 'Dux Palaestinae', N.D. XXXIV; it includes 'Aelia', but it is hard to believe in an isolated post in a city of Palaestina Consularis: perhaps 'Aelia' is really 'Aela', and the 'Aela' of this list Ptolemy's ἡ Ἐλάνα κώμη (see Gelzer on G.C. 1053), but there are numerous possibilities. Hierocles lists 10 'cities' for this region, but these include Areopolis and 'Saltus' (see Jones, C.E.R.P. 293); George adds, apart from Mampsora -- a late creation (Jones, ib.) --, Biroosaba and Aela (as 'Elas'), the latter certainly rightly (Jones, ib.). Of these cities Biroosaba (as 'Benosaba'), Zoara, Arindela and Aela appear in the Notitia.

33. For the Thebaid posts see the map at the end of v.B. and Tabula Imperii Romani, Coptos (Oxford 1958). We find units in the cities of Hermupolis, Cusae, Lyco, Diospolis Parva (two), Tentyra, Maximianopolis (two), Coptos (two), Thebes, Hermunthis, Lato, Apollonos Magna, Ombi -- comparing N.D. XXXI to H. 730 ff. and G.C. 760 ff. For Blemyan wars see, for instance, D.L. Page, Greek Literary Papyri I (London 1942), 590 -- a fragment of an epic poem on a Blemyan war of the fourth century --, Evagrius, Eccl. Hist. I.7 -- for the sad experiences of Nestorius in exile --, and, above all, J. Leipoldt, 'Berichte Schenutes über Einfälle der Nubier in Ägypten', Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 40 (1902/3), 126-40.

34. Compare N.D. 1.23,24,32 to the Antonine Itinerary at Ball 143.

35. The two units at the end of the route to Caenopolis are N.D. 1.29 (Maximianopolis, which modern scholars identify with Caenopolis) and 25 (Tentyra, which was immediately opposite on the other bank of the Nile). The three southernmost posts are Syene, Philae and 'apud Elephantinem'. Of the five Itinerary stations on the right bank from Vico Apollonos (with which Diocletianopolis is identified) down to Ombi -- as set out in Ball 144 --, only the city of Diocletianopolis is without its garrison.

36. The ten Itinerary stations along the west bank are listed in Ball 143, 'Diospoli' down to 'Contra Suenem'; of these all the five cities are garrisoned. Of the two units not in cities, one is in the town of Asphynis, absent from the Itinerary.

PART 2

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| Lib. | Libanius, <u>Orations</u> , ed. R.Foerster (Leipzig, 1903-8) |
| Hoffmann | D.Hoffmann, <u>Die Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum</u> (Dusseldorf 1969) |
| Downey | G.Downey, <u>A History of Antioch in Syria</u> (Princeton 1961) |
| Liebeschuetz | J.H.W.G.Liebeschuetz, <u>Antioch: city and imperial administration in the Later Roman Empire</u> (Oxford 1972) |
| Mouterde and Poidebard | R.Mouterde and A.Poidebard, <u>Le Limes de Chalcis</u> (Paris 1945) |

37. There is a very full discussion of the Notitia lists for the comitatus in Hoffmann. His conclusion as to the date of the eastern lists is that, with the exception of the Illyrican one, they date to between July 392 and May 394

(see especially I,516-9 -- and compare n.6 above).

38. C.Th. VII.8f; a very few of its constitutions refer not to cities but to the countryside (i.e. 10, quoted below). See Jones, L.R.E. 631-2.

39. 'Transeuntes', VII.8.7 and 10.1; 'milites ex procinctu redeuntes vel profiscentes ad bella', ib. 8.13; 'then there is the constitution ...' -- ib. 8.10; the exemption of synagogues, ib. 8.2, of the private residences of retired officials of the highest rank, ib. 8.3.

40. Ammian. XXVI.6.12. But it should be added that on the occasion of an exceptional concentration of troops either before or in the intervals of a major campaign, such billeting would often extend beyond the 'habitual two days'.

41. Zosim. II.34. After praising Diocletian's organization of the limites, Zosimus continues, και τούτην δὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διαφθείρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἑσχατιῶν ἀποστήσας ταῖς οὐ δεομέναις βοηθείας πόλεσιν ἐγκατέστησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλουμένους ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐγύμνωσε βοηθείας, καὶ ταῖς ἀνειμέναις τῶν πόλεων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέθηκε λύμην, δι' ἣν ἤδη πλείωται γέγονασιν ἔρημοι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκδόντας ἑαυτοὺς θεάτροις καὶ τρυφαίς ἐμαλάκισε, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἄχρι τοῦδε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπωλείας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ σπέρματα δέδωκε. For a different explanation of the decline of the cities in the same historian, see II.38.4.

42. For the location of the praetorium of the magister militum in an unlocated forum in Antioch, see the discussion in Downey, 625-7. For private houses owned by generals of

the Syrian comitatus in Antioch, see Ammian. XVIII.4.3 (the magister equitum Ursicinus) and Basil, Ep. 132 (the comes rei militaris Saturninus).

43. For Libanius on the revolt at Seleuceia see XI.159, for the date of the start of the Persian wars, E.Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire I (Paris 1959), 130,483. Campaigns against the Persians were conducted by Augusti, or Caesars, in person, regularly wintering at Antioch, in the following years -- 333-50 (Constantius II), 351-4 (Gallus), 360-1 (Constantius II), 362-3 (Julian, nine months in Antioch), 363 (Jovian, one month in Antioch), 370-8 (Valens); see Downey, 354-402 and O. Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste (Stuttgart 1919), 185-251.

44. The quotation is from Lib. XI.177-8. Liebeschuetz, 117n.2 understands this to refer to the situation in 360, when the oration was composed (for which see Foerster I, 412); but XI.180 makes it clear that the reference is to Constantius' presence before the war against Magnentius, and, since the beginning of a Persian war is in question, this takes us back to his first arrival at Antioch, in about 333.

45. Misopogon 370B, when Julian was in Antioch the city was full of strangers ἐμοῦ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῶν ἔρχόντων. Ammian. XXII.12.6. For the Petulantes and Celtae being auxilia palatina see Ammian. XX.4.2 and N.D. Index, 321 and 325.

46. Zosim. III.34, παρέγενοντο μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσοι τὴν δορυφορίαν εἶχον εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ...
Ammian. XIV. 7.12 ff. For a study of the exact composition of Julian's and Gallus' guard see Hoffmann, I, 285-92.

47. Apart from the well-known food shortages of 354 and 362, due in part to the military presence, see Downey, 354 for a suggestion that this was also partly responsible for the famine of 333, apparently specially severe in the Antiochene region. For Constantius' building in Antioch see Julian, Or. I.40D-41A, for Valens' Downey, 403-10.

48. See Lib. XIX.34-6 for the forces used to put down the riot, 'the archers' and τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων; R.Browning, J.R.S. XLII (1952), 15 n.44 understands the latter to have been a mere guard of honour.

49. Lib. XXIII.26, μετέληφε σχῆμα φρουρίου. The John Chrysostom quotation is from De Statuis XVI.2; there are similar references in XII.3 and XVIII.13.

50. Lib. XLVI. 13-14, on the ἐγκαθήμενον λόχον; see too XLVII.33 (c.390 A.D.), on an abuse by individual soldiers in Antioch.

51. Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. IV.23, on το πολεμικὸν γυμνάσιον. The Libanian references are XV.76 (for the time of Julian) and XX.47 (for that of Theodosius).

52. Ammian. XXII.12.6.

53. For troops in the countryside round Antioch see Lib. XLVII.4 ff. and C.Th. VII.7.3, for the military escort of St. Simeon's body the Syriac Life, 133 (see bibliography for Chapter IV). The scattering of the army assembled for the Persian wars over the whole of northern Syria would have reduced the expense of transporting the supplies intended for its consumption.

54. Mouterde and Poidebard, Le Limes de Chalcis -- the name λιμίτον Χαλκίδος comes from Malalas on the Persian

invasion of 256 (P.G. 97, col. 448). Liebeschuetz, 116-7, 'Military remains show that the eastern edge of Syria was full of military camps and posts ... It is likely that the greater part of the garrison of Syria was stationed in that area'.

55. For the extent of the limes of the dux Syriae see, above, p.39. For Justinian's extensive military building along the Syrian frontier see Procopius, De Aedificiis II, confirmed by the exceptional number of military building inscriptions dating to his reign.

56. For Mouterde and Poidebard's uncertainty over which buildings are military see especially 166, 'Il est souvent difficile de distinguer, à basse époque, un couvent d'un castellum'. Both the cautions advanced in the text are made in v.B. 3-5. The places now listed occur in Mouterde and Poidebard on the following pages: Tūrīn 28, Ghūr 30, Jūsa-l-‘Amar 33, Tamak 42, Khazzana 77-8, Burj Sbanna 78, Qlay‘a 83.

57. The two inscriptions are L.Jalabert and R.Mouterde, Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie II (Paris 1939), nos. 656 and 654 respectively; they are published in forms that do not inspire confidence, but at least the reference to Lanciarii (in the form [Λ]αχηρηρων) is certain. For the Notitia evidence see N.D. Index, 323 'Ioviani' and 324 'Lanciarii'. That the soldiers of the inscriptions were veterans who had returned to the village from which they had been originally recruited, is the view of Inscriptions.

58. Mouterde and Poidebard, 166 recognizes the existence in their area of such fortified points of refuge.

59. For Apamea see C.Th. VII.7.3. Apart from the numerous references to Hierapolis as the army's centre in the Persian wars in the historians, see P.Abinn. 1,1.9-10 for recruits from Egypt having Hierapolis as their destination. For imperial marches from Antioch to the front regularly including a halt at Hierapolis see Ammian. XXIII.2.6 and Zosim. IV.13.

There is also a strong presumption that part of the Syrian comitatus was based permanently in Mesopotamia. Of the eight cities of the provinces of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia (H. 713-4, nine cities of which one, Leontopolis, is subsequent to our period -- for the lateness of the additional names in G.C. 891 ff. see Jones, C.E.R.P. 221-2), only three -- Batnae, Theodosiupolis and Amida -- were garrisoned by limitanei (listed in N.D. XXXV, XXXVI). But all the cities in an area so exposed to attack would have needed military garrisons, just as in the Thebaid. Consequently it is to be assumed that the remaining cities housed detachments of the comitatus.

60. Lib. XLVII.17.

61. The passage is quoted in full in n.41, above.

62. The 8 cities which, exceptionally, housed units of the laterculum minus are Arindela (in Palestine), Diospolis and Maximianopolis (in the Thebaid) and 5 cities -- Terenuthi, Aphrodito, Busiris, Rhinocorura, Gerra -- in Lower Egypt. The first of the two views set out below is that of v.B. 71.

63. Below, Chapter III -- the evidence of the Abinnaeus archive: the conclusion that limitanei were not placed in the countryside in order to fulfil some non-military function there is spelled out in Chapter VI, 375-7.

CHAPTER II

- Joh. Chrys. For an introduction to the very scattered material in the Antiochene homilies of St. John Chrysostom see J.M.Vance, Beiträge zur byzantinischen Kulturgeschichte aus den Schriften des Johannes Chrysostomos (Diss. Jena 1907).
- Lib. Libanius, Orations
- P.Brown, J.R.S. 1971 P.R.L.Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man', Journal of Roman Studies LXI (1971), 80 ff.
- Heichelheim F.M.Heichelheim, 'Roman Syria' in T.Frank, An economic survey of ancient Rome Vol. IV (Baltimore 1938)
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It should be noted that references in the text to 'modern' Syria refer usually to the Syria of Weulersse, which is that of the French mandate.

PART I

1. Lib. XLVII.11, τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν προστάτην οὐ μόνον ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὐ πολλῶν εἰσι τῶν ἔχόντων ἑκάστου μέρος οὐ πολὺ κερκτημένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εἰς ὃ δεσπότης. We can see the same contrast in Theodoret's Religious History (PG 82) between, say, 1420-1, a village of peasants without a master, and, 1413, a village owned by a leading curial.

2. Weulersse, 85 ff.; see also Warriner (1948), 15 -- in modern Syria half the land is owned by 'city notables', absentee landlords whose main function is to provide credit and who do not interest themselves at all in farming. The two Libanian quotations are from XLVII.22 and ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας (ed. Foerster, vol. VIII, 261 ff.), 9. Joh. Chrys., In Acta Apostolorum Hom. XVIII (PG 60), 148; see also ib. 146, πολλοὶ κώμας ἔχουσι καὶ χωρία, καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ποιοῦνται τινα λόγον. M.Rostovtzeff, The social and economic history of the Roman empire² (Oxford 1957), 661 n.25 adduces an interesting text of Malalas (XVII.420) for the townee's dislike of countrymen being heartily reciprocated.

To avoid the danger of over-simplification, it should also be noted that some landowners were much humbler and less wealthy than others -- see Lib. XXXI.16.

3. Lib., Ep. 1386 recommends to the governor of Cilicia, on behalf of the landowner, the epitropos of an estate in

the province, described as τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα κινῶν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγα συμπονῶν. In St. Basil, PG 31, 285, great landowners have numerous epitropoi; in Joh. Chrys., PG 60, 148, they entertain the clergy, but there is an implication in the writer's claim that a priest on an estate will provide it with a patron and protect it from all suspicion that mere epitropoi were inferior in status and influence. Compare Warriner (1948), 87 on an estate near Homs: 'almost the whole of the estate is let to share-tenants who are supervised by an agent.' For the question of 'domain' land see n.11, below.

4. G.Rouillard, La vie rurale dans l'empire byzantin (1953), 25 notes that in Egypt the great estates were largely divided up between numerous small tenants. See Heichelheim, 146 for the prevailing view that estates in the Roman Orient were generally worked by coloni rather than by hired labourers or slaves; no-one supposes that the 'domain' farm, where it existed, was really exceptional in extent.

5. Weulersse, 126-9.

6. Joh. Chrys., In Matth. Hom. LXI (PG 58), 591-2.

7. For the paucity of irrigation in modern Syria see Weulersse, 34 ff. and 160 ff., and Warriner (1962), 78, with a map revealing that even in 1954 the only irrigated areas in Syria were small regions south of Aleppo, between Hama and Homs, and round Damascus. For irrigation in all parts of ancient Syria see Heichelheim, 141-2. Prominent passages for irrigation in our period in the Antiochene

region are Lib. XI.19,27-8,234 and Joh. Chrys. PG 51, 155 (quoted at the beginning of section 4, below) and PG 48, 744, καθάπερ τὰ ὕδατα, ἕως μὲν ἀν' ἐπὶ ἰσοπέδου φέρεται [χωρίου], καὶ πολλῆς ἀπολαύῃ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας, οὐκ ἀνίσταται πρὸς ὕψος. ἔπειδ' ἀν' αὐτὰ χεῖρες ὀχετηγῶν κάτωθεν περιφρίγξασαι θλίψωσι στενοχωρούμενα, βέλους πάντος ὀξύτερον πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἰξάκοντίσεται — it is significant that these last two passages use irrigated farming as a familiar metaphor. For the profitability of irrigation see Warriner (1948), 90: the net income from irrigated land is two or three times higher than for non-irrigated.

8. In modern Syria there is a monoculture of cereals, save in the coastal region (Weulersse, 97). For mixed agriculture in ancient times in the Antiochene region, see especially Lib. XI.18-26.

9. Joh. Chrys. In Acta Apostolorum hom. XVIII (PG 60), 147. These coloni also have their rents increased -- but this is simply a sign of growing prosperity: compare Warriner (1948), 87, where, on one estate, the landlord's share is 25 per cent on non-irrigated land but 42½ per cent on irrigated.

10. Weulersse, 129: 'Dès qu'il y a plantation, la condition du métayer s'améliore; le maître ... ne peut plus se passer d'un minimum de collaboration de sa part. Pour la culture traditionnelle du blé ou de l'orge, que le fellah soit bon ou mauvais, peu importe. Dans les plantations, au contraire, que ce soit l'olivier, la vigne ou l'oranger, le paysan tient en ses mains la

richesse de son maître.' For the skill needed with irrigation works see ib. 36; see also 97 for the exceptional position in areas of mixed culture, 'la multiplicité des récoltes rend plus précaire sa surveillance (sc. du maître) et moins lourde sa tutelle.'

11. Liebeschuetz, 64. These loans are also referred to in Joh. Chrys. PG 54, 641, where the reference is to loans to buy new livestock -- scarcely a sign of extreme poverty, even though the writer describes the debtors as ἐν πενίᾳ ἰσχυροί. Unfortunately, it is unclear what exactly is in question in the In Matth. passage. Is all the labour at the vines down by these oppressed coloni or only the harvesting? If the latter, the implication would be that the vines were not necessarily part of the lord's 'demesne', but probably, indeed, let out to other tenants. And is the reference in 'intolerable charges and laborious services' to labour dues on a special farm, as usually supposed, or to the general supervision of the whole estate by the overseer (for which see n.3, above)? Jones, L.R.E. 805-6 notes the rarity of such home farms worked by labour dues and suggests that they existed only on estates 'where there was a villa where the landlord resided, or had once resided'. In our context, the special farm would have rather to be the farm of the overseer -- compare the Ravennate rent roll set out by Jones, ib., where there is rent to be paid on the farm probably worked by labour dues. But whatever the details, the general point of importance for us here remains the same: some coloni were harshly and unfairly treated, and this must have led to ill feeling and contention.

12. Warriner (1948), 86-91 shows that in modern Syria the prosperity of the individual peasant is immensely varied even inside the same community: land is unequally distributed, and many peasants are mere wage labourers. There is no reason to suppose that the heavily populated plains of ancient Syria were any different in this respect. But for our purposes here it is the condition of the average colonus, or tenant, that is of most interest, since it is coloni, or villages dominated by coloni, that seek military patronage.

13. For these villages see, as well as Lib. XLVII.11 quoted above (n.1), ib. 4, εἰσὶ κῶμαι μεγάλα πολλῶν ἐκάστη δεσποτῶν.

Some, including Jones in L.R.E. 787, have identified these free villages with the metrocomiae we read of in the Codes. The meaning of this term cannot be determined with exactitude, since the constitutions that use it do not define it and, although they refer to metrocomiae in Egypt, the term is not apparently to be found on any extant papyri. But the laws (i.e. C.Th. XI.24.6.4) do leave the impression that the metrocomiae were not simply free villages but administrative centres; and it may be imagined that they will have differed from ordinary villages at least in possessing autopragia, that is, the right to pay their taxes direct to the provincial governor without the interposition of any city authorities. Now, we would not expect to find such independent villages in regions, such as north-west Syria, that were dominated by immensely powerful cities. And in accordance with this we find that these free villages of Libanius do not possess the right of autopragia: they receive demands from curial tax-collectors from the city, who, if

the village refuses to pay, have to make up the deficit from their private funds (XLVII.7-8). Consequently, the term metrocomia is best kept out of a north Syrian context.

14. The most southern sector of the range extended into the territory of Apamea (see the map in Tchalenko, III,57). The name 'the Limestone Massif' in the rest of the chapter is merely an equivalent for 'le Massif Calcaire', a name that is Tchalenko's invention; the region has no single name in modern geography.

15. See Tchalenko, 61 ff. for the natural conditions of the region.

16. See, especially, ib. 405-9 for the development of the region. The text somewhat simplifies the process in that the development towards olive monoculture can be said to have started in the second century (ib. 91); but it is in our period that this accelerated and led to the break-up of the estates.

17. See ib. 300 ff. for Bamuqqa and 345 ff. for Behyo, also the summing up, with one other example, on 376.

18. Ib. 409.

19. Ib. 414-5. Tchalenko also (415-7) adduces the system of emphyteusis, which was used in the Roman period first on imperial lands but later by private owners as well. By this, a peasant was either sold or loaned on a perpetual lease a piece of land that had hitherto been uncultivated, on condition that he paid the original proprietor a

moderate annual sum; and during the first three years, when the land would be yielding little, he would farm it rent free.

The problem of which terms attracted fresh labour to the Limestone Massif must await a fuller reexamination both of the archaeological remains and of ancient systems of land tenure before Tchalenko's thesis can either be proved or rejected. However, it may be added that systems by which proprietors alienate some, or all, of their land in order to incite others to do the work of transforming the cultivation may not be relevant to an area where the landowners were resident farmers with estates of only moderate size (for which see the following paragraph). Perhaps the phenomenon before us is one not of the alienation of properties, but of the attraction of fresh labour simply by excellent wages and living quarters, as in certain areas of post-war Syria (see Warriner, 1962, 90 and 112).

20. For the modest and local character of the landowners of the period of the Principate see Tchalenko, 394-6, 405-6 and also 381-2. Tchalenko makes the interesting suggestion (382 and 395) that they were in origin veterans and retired officials who received these estates from the imperial administration.

21. See Shanin, 63-6 for the correlation between wealth and size of household, to the extent that the larger families tend to be wealthier than the smaller ones even per capita; see Stirling, 134 ff. for peasant families having to rely on their own manpower and so being unable

to expand faster than the size of their households. For the ability of peasant families to expand rapidly when this is economically possible, see G.M.C.Duby, La société au XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise (Paris 1953), 8-9, especially: 'Toutefois, la restriction au mariage n'est qu'un reflexe de défense qu'impose l'exiguité des ressources. Dès qu l'on se sent assez riche pour s'établir sans perdre son rang, on se marie ... que de nouveaux débouchés s'ouvrent, aussitôt la population s'accroîtra a un rythme beaucoup plus rapide.'

For a desire for independence leading, where economic factors allow, to constant partitioning see, especially, Shanin, 86-7.

22. For the physical segmentation of villas see, especially, Tchalenko, 356-7 on the fortunes of the villas of Behyo; one of them housed finally no fewer than four independent households. For the design of the late farm houses see ib. 385-6, '(les maisons) répètent, à une échelle modeste, l'ordonnance de la villa, avec sa cour fermée, son corps-de-logis et ses dépendances.'

23. P.Brown, J.R.S. 1971, 84-5; Liebeschuetz, 71-2. Liebeschuetz thinks that this supposition is supported by the evidence for the region round Chalcis; but there again the expansion is a matter of the colonization of an hitherto neglected area, moreover at a date subsequent to our period (see Tchalenko, 425, which he adduces). There was a similar, if less dramatic, expansion onto arid land in southern Syria: B.Bagatti, The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine (Jerusalem 1971), 350, 'during

the Byzantine period, due to demographic developments, also land poorly adapted to agriculture was worked.'

24. For the dependance of the region on the products, particularly cereals, of the neighbouring areas see Tchalenko, 74-5. The small farmer on the Massif was also in an advantageous position in being at such a distance from Antioch: see Weulersse, 261 (though his account of the plain is not true for our period) -- 'Dans les grandes plaines de l'intérieur tout concourt à l'asservissement du fellah, agent de production anonyme d'une société qui le dépasse et l'écrase. Dans les montagnes, au contraire, l'autonomie politique et une bienfaisante anarchie sauvegardent un plus fort développement de la personnalité.'

25. For the plain of Dāna see Tchalenko 103 ff., for Sarfūd 124, for Kish^ʿala 120. The same pattern can be observed in the plain of Qaṭūra (ib. 183-222): of the five ancient villages whose ruins can be analysed, Taqle was built in the fifth century, Refāde continued prosperous into the sixth, but Qaṭūra and Sitt-er-Rūm were most prosperous in the second century and stagnate thereafter, a fate from which Deir Sim^ʿān, the remaining village, was only rescued through becoming a centre of pilgrimage as a consequence of its proximity to the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites.

26. Lib. II.32. Liebeschuetz, 71.

27. II.37-40, on the degeneracy of the army; XXIV, 3-5, contra -- a passage, in its own fashion, no less partial. The charge that Libanius was an incorrigible laudator temporis acti was common at the time: II.26, νῆ Δί', ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς αἰτιάται, ἐκείνο δὲ τὸ τὰ πάλαι μὲν ὄντα ποθεῖν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, τῶν παρόντων δὲ κατηγορεῖν, καὶ τότε μὲν φάσκειν εὐδαιμόνας εἶναι τὰς πόλεις, νυνὶ δὲ δυστυχεῖν, καὶ τοῦτον αἰεὶ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν λέγεσθαι μοι τὸν λόγον.

28. XI.16-33, the ideal climate and varied fertility of the region. Ib. 230, τοῦτο μὲν κώμαι μεγάλαι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι πόλεων οὐκ ὀλίγων πλέον πολυανδρούμεναι καὶ χειροτέχναις, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄστεσι, χρώμεναι, κοινούμεναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας (τὰ) σφῶν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν πανηγύρεων καλοῦσαι τε ἐν μέρει παρ' αὐτὴν ἐκάστη καὶ καλούμεναι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνθυμούμεναι τε καὶ χαριζόμεναι καὶ κερδαίνουσαι, ὧν μὲν περίεστι μεταδιδούσαι, ὧν δὲ ἐνδεῖ προσλαμβάνουσαι, τὰ μὲν διατιθέμεναι, τὰ δὲ ὠνούμεναι, μακρῶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐμπόρων εὐδαιμονέστεραι, ἀντὶ ῥοθίου καὶ κυμάτων σὺν γέλωτι καὶ κρότῳ χρήματα ἐργαζόμεναι, μικρὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήσουσαι διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀντίδοσιν. In 231 ff. Libanius discourses on the wealth of the region between the city and Daphne, especially rich in orchards. Of this there is some confirmation in papyrus evidence of c.320 'that fruit played an important part in the diet of Antioch' (G.Downey, Antioch, 336). In modern Syria, too, the suburban areas are outstanding for their irrigated gardens, and here the living standard of the fellah rises (Weulersse, 163-4).

29. Enthusiasm over liturgies, ib. 135-7; compliance of the governors, 146; submissiveness of the demos, 150-2.

30. The chief references to irrigation in Chrysostom have been given above (n.7); in Lib. XLVII.5 the free village can be expected to have irrigated plantations. Expositio totius mundi et gentium, ed. Rougé (Paris 1966), ch. 31, 'omnes autem praedictae civitates (all the famous cities of Syria) gloriosae et fructiferae in frumento, vino et oleo ... et omne genus pomorum habent.'

31. Theodoret, Religious History, PG 82: the phrase κώμη μεγίστη και πολυάνθρωπος is used indifferently of Teleda on the Limestone Massif (1340 C) and Imma in the plain of Antioch (1365 A); the latter had a fair, τοὺς πάντοθεν ἐμπόρους ἐπισπωμένη και πλήθος ἄριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ἐφελκόμενη. Note too Abraam's village (1420 C), said explicitly to have had no master, which is described as μεγίστη, needs a loan of 100 gold pieces to meet tax demands, and can afford to build a church.

32. And compare the growing prosperity of many coloni -- see, especially, n.9, above --, which provides an argument in the case of the free peasantry, -- not that free peasants are regularly the more prosperous: Warriner (1962) notes that in modern Syria the peasant is more prosperous in the new than in the old regions (95), although it is the former that are most dominated by the large landowner (83). As for variation in the prosperity of free villages, it is worth noting that, according to writers on modern Syria (Warriner, 1948, 85 and Weulersse, 120), free villages must cultivate intensively and enjoy prosperity, if they are to survive at all.

33. For the contrast between expanding and stagnant villages see Stirling, 134-146, who also makes the point that in the former, since no family can farm more than it can provide the manpower for and there is constant partitioning, there is preserved a rough equality between different villagers; he observes too that in the latter poor peasants will supplement their income by working on the land of others, which is perhaps reminiscent of John Chrysostom's oppressed coloni working at the vine harvest as casual labourers. The quotation is from Weulersse, 77. A similar mentality is described in Stirling, 30: 'If any other village attempts to use land lying within the village boundaries, people mobilize rapidly and are quite prepared to fight, with fire-arms if necessary. Even incursions by other villages' flocks or herds cause at the very least militant indignation ... It is clear that all members are expected to defend the village regardless of the quarrels which constantly divide them.'

34. 'The lack of communal building has been taken as evidence for an absence of communal spirit' -- in P. Brown, J.R.S. 1971, 86-7.

Another reason for the comparative tranquillity of the region of the Limestone Massif as a whole will have been that olive monoculture did not involve any irrigation (Tchalenko, 65); instead what water was required by the local population was gathered and stored by the individual farmer in his own cisterns (ib. 45-6). This obviated both the maintenance of a common water supply and conflict between villages over the distribution of water; hence there were not on the Massif the same reasons for

Weulersse's 'complexe minoritaire' as in the plains.

J.Lassus, in Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie (1947), 244-5, considers the small quantity of church building in the countryside during the first fifty years of official Christianity a sign of rural poverty in the first half of our period. But John Chrysostom complained (PG 60, 146-7) that the magnates built anything in preference to churches, and at all times most of the churches were built by individual donors, not village communities (so Lassus, 251 ff.). The real reason must rather lie in the slow conversion of the countryside to the Christian faith of the cities, a development that perhaps only gathered momentum with the rise of the Syrian holy man.

35. Lib. XLVII.4-6. There is the hint of a similar spirit in Joh. Chrys. PG 60, 148, where a surprising emphasis is laid on a resident cleric being able to free his village from the suspicions of its neighbours, should a murder or theft occur. In modern Syria the antagonism between villages is accentuated by religious divisions, for these do not cross village boundaries: it may then seem significant when we read in Theodoret, Ep. 81 of ten whole villages of Marcionites or other heretics.

36. 'It has been noted elsewhere ...', Shanin, 94. The reason for supposing that the fresh labour attracted to the Massif must have come from the plain of Antioch is that the region to the east only developed after our period (Tchalenko, 425). There was also extensive emigration to the cities (see Lib. XI.164 for immigrants to Antioch, some ὡς ἐπὶ πένιδας ἀπὸ ἀλλογῆς) and even to distant lands (see Liebeschuetz, 72, with his reference to the emigration

to Italy studied by L.Ruggini).

37. Warriner (1962), 71 ff., esp. 81-2,90,112.

PART 2

38. Perhaps the richest single source for the study of rural patronage is Lib. XLVII (1-24), a speech that is the subject of our next section. See, too, Joh. Chrys. PG 60, 148, especially for the pacifying role of a resident patron. Indicative in a variety of ways is the story of the hermit Abraam in Theodoret, Religious History (PG 82), 1421: he secured a loan to enable a village to pay its taxes, at which the village adopted him as its patron, οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ κώμη δεσπότην· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν καὶ γεωργοὶ καὶ δεσπότες. For the role of the holy man, and what that has to tell us of the ethos of rural patronage, there is a valuable general discussion and many references in P.Brown, J.R.S. 1971, esp. 85-91. The ancient evidence tells essentially the same story as the excellent account by Weulersse (115 ff.) of modern Syrian patronage, save that we shall not repeat his emphasis on patronage leading to the absorption of the free village, which is related to his picture of the poverty and helplessness of the modern fellah. It will not be necessary to cite these works repeatedly for individual points, but a few essential or illustrative references may be added.

No use is made in the text of the title in the Theodosian Code on the subject of 'the patronage of villages' (XI.24). By the arrangement reprobated under this title the patron obtains possession, as the constitutions roughly put it, of the lands of ~~the~~ farmers.

These continue to work their fields and indeed, at least according to the imperial administration, to own them, but they have to pay a regular sum to their patron. In return, they are enabled to escape from their fulfilment of tax obligations and munera; this they do by illegally using their new relationship with their patron as an excuse for, and protection in, opting out of the old fiscal unit made up of themselves and their fellow free farmers in the same village or district, in which they were subject to taxation and the imposition of munera, leaving these obligations to be fulfilled by the other members of the unit. Once these details are set out, it becomes apparent that this patronage of the Codes is not rural patronage of the normal kind, but a peculiar form of tax evasion.

39. On the climatic dangers the following passage of John Chrysostom is specific as well as eloquent: PG 51, 156, μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκείνους πολλάκις πόνους τε καὶ ἰδρώτας ὁ γηπόνοσ ἐνίοτε ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτῷ τὴν δρεπάνην ἀκονᾶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄμητον παρασκευάζεσθαι, ἐρυσίβης κατενεχθείσης, ἢ πλήθους ἀκρίδων, ἢ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου τῆς ἐπομβρίας γενόμενης, ἢ ἑτέρας τινὸς πληγῆς ἐπενεχθείσης ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀέρων ἀνωμαλίας, ἀπῆλθε κεναίς οἴκαδς χερσὶ, τὸν μὲν πόνον ἅπαντα ὑπομείνας, τοῦ δὲ καρποῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκπεσών.

40. For the burden of indebtedness see especially the hagiographical material quoted in Chapter IV, 302-3.

41. The Libanian reference is LIX.159; see also the ruin of small farmers by fiscal pressures alleged by Lib. II.32. For extortions by the tax-collectors see too C.Th. XI.8 on 'superexactiones'.

A special burden for the peasant unprotected by patronage lay in the distribution of munera, which was to some extent arbitrary and therefore naturally weighted against him. In a law of 328 (C.Th. XI.16.4) governors are to observe the rule 'ut primo a potioribus, dein a mediocribus adque infimis quae sunt danda praestentur'. A law of 325 (ib. 3, 325 Seeck) testifies to the situation that necessitated this ruling: care must be taken 'ne libidini et commodo potiorum multitudo mediocrium subiecta gravibus et iniquissimis adficiatur iniuriis'. The ruling was inevitably ineffectual: many constitutions in the rest of the section, dating from the 360s to 390, testify to continued discrimination in favour of those able to secure themselves exemption and to the detriment of the small farmer.

42. 'An early fourth century papyrus', P.Cair.Isidor.68. The Egyptian appeal to the empress is P.Maspero III 67283 (shortly before 548); twenty years later the same village is still suffering from the violent depredations of tax-collectors (ib. I 67002).

43. Theodoret, PG 82, 1421.

44. 'It has been observed elsewhere', Shanin, 37; Stirling, 253-4, notes that in the peasant communities of most societies economic and political survival depend on a co-operation that internal strife seriously endangers. As for the source of internal disputes, Stirling, 263, observes that quarrels constantly arise inside the village as a result of the lack of written proof of ownership and rights.

45. Weulersse, 78 points out how the 'minority complex' of the peasantry, emphasized at the end of the preceding section, leads to a search for effective protection against ones neighbour and so inevitably to patronage. For the way in which governors were indifferent to justice when it came to mere peasants, especially in the case of conflict with a man of position, see Lib. XLV.5 (quoted on p.145, above), admittedly on coloni in dispute with their masters.

46. The quotation is from P.Brown, J.R.S. 1971, 87. Jones, L.R.E. 775-7 still holds that rural patronage was irregular and an abuse, leading to the absorption of free villages; in this view emphasis is always given to the title on rural patronage in the Theodosian Code that has been dismissed above (n. 38).

47. For the rural patronage practised by 'Mixidemus' see Lib. XXXIX.10-11, for the metrocomiae evidence Jones, L.R.E. 787.

48. The three Libanian quotations are, respectively, XXXIX.10-11, XLVII.22, ib.19. See also Joh. Chrys. PG 60, 147, where masters have to be urged to treat their coloni with φιλανθρωπία, προστασία, ήμερότητα, κολακεία, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι. In modern Syria, the master's main function is to provide his peasants with credit -- Warriner (1948), 15.

49. Lib. XXXIX.10 mentions, in addition to Mixidemus' patronage, that by apparitores of the governor; see for patronage by resident clergymen Joh. Chrys. PG 60, 148, and for the special character of that practised by holy

men our chapter IV,306; for the recourse to such patrons from considerable distances see, for instance, Lib. XLVII.17.

On an estate, some of the chores of patronage will presumably have been taken over by the overseer. But in relations with neighbouring communities or with magnates he will generally have lacked adequate status, while in the internal functions of patronage he will have lacked impartiality and, sometimes at least, the respect of the coloni. For this see John Chrysostom (PG 60, 148) on the advantage of a resident priest on an estate: he will be able to secure harmony both inside the village and in its relations with neighbouring communities. Now the estate where the priest is to reside will presumably be under the charge of an overseer, as in the same passage the neighbouring estates are said to do: since the priest's patronage is to secure a novel benefit, it follows that the writer takes it as self-evident that an overseer would be a poor patron. It would seem, then, that the role of the overseer in patronage will usually have been no more than liaison between master and coloni and the execution of the decisions of the former.

PART 3

The 'De Patrociniis': Lib. XLVII, ed. Foerster, vol. III (Leipzig 1906), 401-422.

Harmand L.Harmand, Libanius, Discours sur les patronages (Paris 1955)

Liebeschuetz Antioch, 201-4

Since Harmand's commentary is generally of poor quality and Liebeschuetz's discussion of a commendable brevity, I have not thought it necessary to record meticulously in the following notes our agreements and disagreements.

50. The problem of the date was discussed by J. Gothofredus in the editio princeps (Geneva 1631), who concluded that it was composed after A.D. 385 and before the end of 392. No subsequent treatment has succeeded in delimiting it further: attempts to establish a more exact dating through reference to the law in question are implicitly rejected at the end of this section. However, since, as we shall see, one of the main points of the speech is Libanius' defeat at law as a result of the machinations of the magister militum per Orientem, while from 383 till 388 this post was held by Ellebichus, a friend of Libanius' (see The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. I, 277-8), the terminus post quem can be brought down to 388.

51. The correct translation is to be found in the revised edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek lexicon, sub ἀπειλέω (in Fasc. I, which appeared in 1925).

52. Petit, 72-4 and 254-5.

53. G.M. Harper, 'Village administration in the Roman province of Syria', Yale Classical Studies I (1928), 105-168; the particular passage referred to in the text is on 141. For the inscriptions relevant to northern Syria see ib. 117, 131-2 and elsewhere; there are others in Liebeschuetz, 119-20, a more judicious collection. For the location of autonomous villages in Syria see

George of Cyprus, 857 ff., where they are numerous in Arabia (1077 ff.), but rare in Phoenice and Palestine and non-existent in northern Syria.

54. I.Hahn, 'Das bäuerliche Patrocinium in Ost und West!', Klio 50 (1968), 265 n.2.

55. For the law's protection of the persons of soldiers, and by extension of their dependents, see Chapter III, with its reference to P.Abinn. 12, where the assault of the son of a soldier is subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the local praepositus militum.

56. Libanius writes generally about the military patronage of domain villages in sections 11 and 12; this leads to a treatment of his suit with Jewish tenants, 13-16; 17 sums up this section by alleging that his experience could be paralleled in the case of 'every city', presumably of northern Syria.

57. Ib. 11, ἄλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ κακῶς ποιεῖν διώκοντες, οὐ τὸ παθεῖν φεύγοντες δυνάμεις τινῶν ὠνοῦνται, αἷς χρώμενοι πολλοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν κυρίους (<ἐπισπέρχοντας>) τοῦτο τῆς γῆς βουλομένης ἄγριον ἔστησαν ὀφθαλμὸν... Liebeschuetz, 202, esp. n.4.

58. Ib. 12.

59. Ib. 13, ἐπεθύμησαν μὴ ὅπερ ἦσαν εἶναι καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἀποσεισάμεναι θυγὸν...; 14, καὶ ὁ μὲν προσέταξεν εἰάν τοὺς λιπόντας τὴν τάξιν.

60. Ib. 11, ἀνάγκης μὲν ὄντες ἔξω, γνώμη δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἀψόμενοι τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ πείθοιεν αὐτούς. 13, ἠξίου ὀριστὰ τοῦ πῶς ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς χρηστέον εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες χρώμεθα δικαστηρίῳ.

61. It was once popular to adduce, in particular, C.J. XI.51.1 (386), which enacts an extension of the tied colonate to Palestine. That this law is irrelevant here was argued convincingly by J.Juster, Les Juifs dans l'empire romain (Paris 1914), II, 79-80n., a judgment endorsed by most later writers. It is really adequate simply to point out that Libanius' estate may be assumed to have been not in Palestine but in the territorium of Antioch.

62. Harmand, 192-3. Liebeschuetz, 203 n.4.

63. See n.13, above.

64. XLVII.13, καὶ μαθὼν ὁ καθήμενος, τίνες ὄντες εἰς τίνα παρουνοῦσιν ἐν τίνι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες... See XLV.5, quoted just below, for the helplessness of coloni in legal dispute with their masters in normal circumstances.

65. Jones, L.R.E. 479. Petit, 71-6.

66. Liebeschuetz, 203 n.4; Lib. XLV.5 -- this speech dates to 388-9 (R.A.Pack, Studies in Libanius, 1935, 121-4) and is therefore exactly contemporary.

67. For the defensor civitatis see C.Th. I.29, of which 5 (373 Seeck) is quoted here, also our chapter IV,

68. For pedanei iudices see C.J. III.3. The edict of Julian's referred to is no. 5, those of Diocletian nos. 2 and 3 respectively.

69. See, above, p. 51 with the note ad loc.

70. Lib. XLVII.13.

71. Ib. 17.

72. Ib. 36.

73. These various suggestions are set out, and discussed, by Harmand, 58-66; his only slight bibliographical error is that he understands (66n.) W.A.Heitland in Agricola (Cambridge 1921) to propose XII.1.128, when in fact he suggested XI.24.2, some years before Martroye.

PART 4

74. PG 51, 155.

75. See p. 137 on a phrase in XLVII.11.

76. For the social relations of the magister militum in Antioch see Chapter V.

77. Lib. XLVII.11, καὶ οὗτοι (the villages with a single master) τὸν μισθωτὸν προστίθενται τῇ τοῦ δεσπότης γῆμιν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζοντες καὶ δίδοντες ἐξ ὧν ἀποστεροῦσι. This passage has also been used as evidence for share-cropping (Liebeschuetz, 66), which would be important, since this system is usually evidence of a sense of economic insecurity; but it is not necessary to interpret the passage so strictly.

78. Lib. XXXIX.10-11.

79. For recruits for the Syrian comitatus from the Thebaid see P.Abinn. 1, 1.9-10.

80. For the career of Abinnaeus see H.I.Bell and others, The Abinnaeus archive (Oxford 1962), 6-12.

CHAPTER III

A. H.I.Bell, D. van Berchem and others, The Abinnaeus archive (Oxford 1962), the papyri, no. ...
(= P.Abinn.)

A.A. ibid., editorial matter

The abbreviations used for other publications of papyri are the standard ones, for which see, for instance, E.G.Turner, Greek Papyri (Oxford 1968), 154-170.

1. D.L.Page, Select papyri vol. III (London 1942), no. 142.

2. Ep. I.99. Our MSS describe the addressee as 'Gelasius the dux', but the internal evidence suggests that he cannot have been so exalted in rank.

3. For the excavation of Dionysias see A.A., 19-20, for the details and chronology of Abinnaeus' career ib., 6-12.

4. A lesser area of duty was the performance of special missions on the instructions of some external official, military or civilian. The following are attested:

A.3: a military guard is to help the 'overseer of the imperial domains' in rent collection.

A.9: police work for an officer of the nitron monopoly.

A.11: an official guard to be provided for some, unspecified, visitors to the nome. (The editors assume on inadequate grounds that these are an officialis of the dux and his party.)

A.16: a military guard for smiths of the vexillation at Arsinoe.

5. D.van Berchem, L'armée de Dioclétien, 70-71 and the same author in A.A., 17-18. His arguments from the Notitia Dignitatum and the Antonine Itinerary have been discussed above, pp. 28-34.

6. The very large variety of taxes are set out in A.C.Johnson and L.C.West, Byzantine Egypt: economic studies (Princeton 1949) and more recently in J.Lallemand, L'administration civile de l'Égypte 284-382 (Brussels 1964).

7. The document discussed is A.3. For the other special missions see n.4, above.

8. A.26.

9. A.13. The relevant line (1.3), which the original editors (P.Gen.58) did not attempt to make out, is printed τοὺς ἵππους οὓς ἀπεστιά[ς μ]οι. The editors must have chosen this reading in preference to '... οὓς ἀπεστιά...' on the grounds that the final letters of the line are probably 'οι' and [σ] would be too short a supplement for the lacuna:

but with cursive papyri no confidence can be placed in the identification of isolated letters. The rest of the papyrus is too fragmentary, until the closing lines, to settle the question.

10. A.16. For Abinnaeus' subordination to the praepositus at Arsinoe see A.28, where a petitioner threatens to appeal to the praepositus of the Arsinoite vexillation if Abinnaeus does not carry out his request for the disciplining of a soldier of the ala. In A.11 the praepositus of the vexillation instructs Abinnaeus to send a guard to receive some visitors a good way east from Arsinoe, quite outside the normal zone of Abinnaeus' activities, though probably within that of the vexillation (see n.49, below): such delegation of his own duty, whether according to instructions from the official of the dux or not, also suggests that the Arsinoe praepositus had some authority over the one at Dionysias.

11. A.4.

12. A.26. See also 4 and 29 for the despatch of annona to the camp.

13. The references, arranged by village, are:

For the region outside Arsinoe:	Andromachis	66,68,72,80
	Hermoupolis	4,67,68,69
	Theoxenis	4,29,80
For that near Dionysias:	Taurinou	26

The one other reference in the archive to cereal culture in the region near Dionysias is A.50 (for the location of

Magais see B.P.Grenfell and A.S.Hunt, The Tebtunis papyri Part II, London 1907, p.388).

14. P.Jouguet, Papyrus de Théadelphie (Paris 1911), 24-5, for which the most striking evidence is P.Thead.20 (IV), and 16 (after 307), 1.5 ff.: 'since the land of our village is situated high up and the neighbouring villages, Narmuthis, Hermoupolis and Theoxenis, steal our water and prevent the irrigation of our land, ... we, inhabiting a desolate village where tribute is assessed on 500 arourai that are always dry, ...' The decline can be taken to have extended westwards through Euhemeria to Dionysias, since this narrow strip presumably shared one major irrigation canal, first tapped by Theadelphia (see Jouguet, 14). Jouguet has noticed (30-1) that the emphasis in both the Theadelphia and Abinnaeus archives on thefts of sheep and goats testifies to a switch in this region from cereal culture to pasturage.

15. For the ala at Oasis Minor see Not. Dign. Or. XXVIII,

22. For routes through Dionysias see Jouguet, op. cit., 12.

16. P.Oxy.2766, a declaration by the ἐπιμελητῆς σιτακρίθου ἀνακομιζομένου ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν Ὀάσιν.

17. A.A., 17-19 and 56.

18. 'The letter of a tax-collector', A.5; of the exactor, A.14; the lists, A.66 ff. For the notification by the epimeletes see A.29.

19. The two letters are A.4 and 5. Aetius addresses Abinnaeus as his 'lord brother': had he been a soldier, he would have written 'master' or 'patron' (as in A.26) -- see A.A., 25.

20. The only certain reference to soldiers transporting annona is A.4 (1.10, 14), though there will also be a reference to this in 29, 1.18, if this Kiales is the soldier of 66, 1.21. For the 'Libyans' see 4, 1.3-4, and 82.

21. The two documents are A.26 and 29.

22. And even if the military had played a dominant role in the collection of the annona militaris, their role would still not have had the importance attributed to it by van Berchem, since the annona militaris was only one of many taxes -- see the Theadelphia archive, where in a mass of fiscal documents it features only in 31 (1.26) and 48.

23. The documents in question are collected together as A.44 to 55, but 12 and 15 also belong to this group, if less formulaic in expression. The repeated grammatical error is τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμοῦντες for (τους) τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμοῦντας, wherever the phrase is used. The formulaic character of the language is very striking, and is, in fact, exceptional. To the extreme closeness in closing formulae between, say, 45 and 47, and 49 and 53 (all from different plaintiffs), compare the much greater verbal variation in the phrasing of the appeal for jurisdiction between P.Cair.Isidor. 75

(316), ib.78 (324) and P.Merton II 92 (324), all of them petitions to praepositi of the same pagus from the same complainant.

24. The aberrant case where it appears that Abinnaeus is himself to settle a case of assault is A.12, where it is the son of a soldier who has been the victim.

25. The formula that describes the jurisdiction of the dux runs in Greek αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι (τοὺς) τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμοῦντας ἐκδικεῖν ; what makes it clear in the cases of theft that this involves punishment as well as forced restitution is the independent specification of the latter in A.44, as also, in petitions addressed to praepositi pagi, P.Thead.21 and SB 9622. The letter of St. Basil's referred to is ep. 3.

26. P.Amh.II 146 (V).

27. Libanius, Or. XLVI, especially sections 17 and 25-6.

28. See B.R.Rees, 'The defensor civitatis in Egypt', Journal of Juristic Papyrology VI (1952), 81-85. The case of 336 is in SB 6294.

29. For the exactor and the following civilian officials the evidence is assembled in J.Lallemand, L'administration civile de l'Égypte 284-382 (Brussels 1964). The case of 320 is W. Chrest.I 379. Consider too P.Lond.1651 (363), described by its editor as 'a petition by an inhabitant of Hermopolis to the strategus, complaining that during his absence from home his wife has carried off the

contents of his house, including valuable legal documents. Having failed to get them back, he asks the strategus to secure the offender and place her under arrest pending the actual arrival of the praeses, before whom he intends to take proceedings.' For the case delegated to the exactor see P.Merton II 91 (316); the initial failure of the exactor to take up the case is not spelled out, but is clearly implied by 1.16.

30. There is extremely little evidence for the role of the logistes in jurisdiction, which itself suggests that it was not an important one. For his lack of enthusiasm over any role involving jurisdiction see P.Cair.Isidor.79 (IV), where a second petition to this official over a case of wilful damage to crops is prompted by his ignoring the first one.

31. In P.Lips.37 (389) the riparius is asked to refer a case of assault for trial by the governor. In P.Amh.II 146 (V) he orders two irenarchs to effect the restitution of two stolen cows or, if the criminals resist, to send them to the city for trial by the governor. Incidentally, it is the riparii who are instructed by the prefect of Egypt in an edict of 367-70 (P.Oxy.1101) to deal with those who have recourse to illegal military jurisdiction.

32. In W. Chrest.I 379 (320) villagers attempting to sabotage the complainant's harvest are described as
 κωμητικῆ ὑποδία χρησόμενοι.

33. For the dikasterion of the praepositus see P.Cair.Isidor.76 (320), 1.5 τῷ σω [sic] δικαστηρίῳ and SB 9622, where the praepositus is asked, in one eventuality, to send the culprits εἰς τὸ μέγα δικαστήριον of the governor. For delegation by the governor to the praepositus see P.Cair.Isidor.76 (concerning a debt) and P.Lond.III 971 (IV-- a disputed liturgical appointment); in the latter the delegation is made at the request of the plaintiff.

34. The petition of 350 is P.Amh.II 141 (=W.Chrest.II 126), where the request for a hearing runs, ἐπιδίδωμι ... τάδε τὰ βιβλία ... ἀξιούσα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ ἐκδικείας τυχεῖν. This creates a probability that it is the verdict of the praepositus himself that is requested in the cases -- for instance, P.Cair.Isidor.75 (316) and 78 (324), P.Thead.21 (318), P.Merton II 92 (324) -- where the request for jurisdiction does not specify any higher authority.

35. SB 9622, first published in Studia Patristica I (1957), 1-9.

36. For 'summoning' see P.Cair.Isidor.78 or P.Thead.21, for 'bringing before' P.Merton II 92 or P.Cair.Isidor.75. But the choice of one or the other phrase seems arbitrary and it may well be that 'summoning' as well implies arrest.

37. The nomenclature is irregular and confusing in that the term 'irenarch' was also used of higher-ranking officials, i.e. in P.Thead.24 (an irenarch of the pagus)

or P.Amh.135 (where the irenarch is to be εὐπόρος). For the bewildering variety of names given to petty police officers see F.Oertel, Die Liturgie (Leipzig 1917), 366-7. The relevant papyri in the Abinnaeus archive are 45 and 47; 'another papyrus of our period', P.Amh.II 146 (V). Reference could also be made to P.Thead.16 (IV), where the three major landholders of Theadelphia say (l.23) that they provide, among other services, τοῖς εἰρηγόροις φύλακα ἔνα.

38. P.Oxy.897 (346), where four villagers, who do not profess to be liturgical office-holders, make a declaration to the riparii of the nome denying all knowledge of the whereabouts of a certain person they have been ordered to produce.

39. In the following section of this chapter, a similar contrast will emerge in the case of military jurisdiction over civilians, which, although active and unhampered among the peasantry of the countryside, was regarded as anathema among the administrators and curials in the city.

40. P.Cair.Isidor.78 (Jan. 324) and P.Merton II 92 (May 324). For the case of 316 see P.Merton II 91 (316), l.16.

41. A.45, l.13 ff., and 47, l.10 ff.

42. P.Oxy.VI 904 (V).

43. P.Cair.Isidor.79 (early IV); A.54.

44. One suspects that the complainants who ask Abinnaeus to extract confessions out of the culprits (as in A.49 and 53) envisaged the use, or threat, of physical brutality. For Abinnaeus' origins see A.A.,7, where a false deduction is drawn from his first serving in a unit of Parthusagittarii: the important point is not that this name had a Syrian origin, but that the unit served at Diospolis in Upper Egypt.

45. The archive of Sakaon: P.Jouguet, Papyrus de Théadelphie (Paris 1911). 'A stray papyrus', SB VI 9622 (343).

46. The two papyri in question are P.Cair.Isidor.78 (Jan. 324) and P.Merton II 92 (May 324). For the details of the law these adduce see A.E.R.Boak and H.C.Youtie, The archive of Aurelius Isidorus (Michigan 1960), 305; but they are surely mistaken in deducing from P.Cair. Isidor.78, 1.7-11 (τὴν τιμὴν τῷ πολιτικῷ λόγῳ χωρὶν, τὸ δὲ ἄξιμιον τῶν παραπολομένων τῷ δεσπότῃ [of the damaged estate] περισώζεσθαι) that here all the proceeds of the sale are to go in the first place to the treasury since this is surely merely a shamefaced paraphrase of the Merton papyrus' (92, 1.21-2) τῷ μὲν ταμείῳ μέρος χωρὶν καὶ τῷ τὴν βλάβην πεπονθότι τὸ ἄλλο μέρος. For the legal position in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt see R.Taubenschlag, 'Die actio de pastu, de pauperie und de arboribus caesis im Rechte der Papyri', Opera Minora (Warsaw 1959), II, 567 ff.

47. In the case of robbery in A.48 two of the defendants are soldiers, but nothing is made of this in the appeal for military jurisdiction. But mention should also be made of A.12, where the commander of the Arsinoite vexillation (probably) asks Abinnaeus to judge the case of a soldier of his whose son has been assaulted: here it is the close military connections of the victim that secure military jurisdiction.

48. A.A., 19.

49. For the topography see B.P.Grenfell and A.S.Hunt, The Tebtunis Papyri, Part II (London 1907), Appendix II, with the map reproduced here (after p.485).

Abinnaeus' area of responsibility is essentially the division of Themistes. The evidence for this may be tabulated as follows:

The area near Dionysias (=N.W. Themistes) --

(a) annona references, (b) seek military jurisdiction, (c) total number of significant references, including other miscellaneous ones

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Berenice		A.55	1
Dionysias			1
Euhemeria			1
Magais		A.50	1
Philagris		A.12,45	5
Taurinou	A.26		3
Theadelphia		A.44	1
TOTAL			<u>13</u>

The area west of Arsinoe (=S. Themistes) --

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Andromachis	A.66,68,72,80		6
Hermoupolis	A.4,67-9	A.15,47-8,51-3,56	13
Theoxenis	A.4,29,80	A.49,57	<u>7</u>
TOTAL			26

The significant, or conceivably significant, references to localities in other areas deserve more detailed discussion.

(1) The area to the east

(a) Arsinoe. A.9 -- the letter concerning the natron monopoly. Since Arsinoe does not appear elsewhere in the zone of Abinnaeus' official activities and stationed a different unit, it may seem so improbable that any of his troop were stationed there that one might prefer to see this reference (to police-work in Arsinoe, as elsewhere) as an error on the part of the writer, who is not a local official. Otherwise, this must be another case of the occasional delegation by the Arsinoite vexillation (for which see n.10, above).

(b) Karanis. In A.35 subordinates of Abinnaeus pass three days there, permitting no-one to leave the village, and exact 'two solidi and 50 talents of silver'. The editors suggest that they were on a recruiting mission, but, as they admit, 'the sum given was far below the tax-figure equivalent to a recruit, and even below the indemnity for equipment' (p.89, n.27).

(c) Pelkeesis. In A.37 we find that a soldier of the unit has been resident there.

(d) Leukogion, -- the southern Nile port for the Arsinoite nome. In A.11 the commander, apparently, of the Arsinoite vexillation writes to Abinnaeus: 'It has become necessary to inform your nobility of the instructions given by the official of my lord the dux ..., that, as soon as you receive my letter, you may have them met at Leukokion (sic) as included in the letter.' The port is certainly outside Abinnaeus' regular zone of activity, though presumably in that of the Arsinoite vexillation. So it seems significant that the order was sent in the first place to the commander of the vexillation: here Abinnaeus would be acting as his delegate. But the archive does not suggest that such delegation produced a regular extension of Abinnaeus' zone of activity, since its references to the area north and east from Arsinoe are so few and slight.

(2) The division of Polemon

- (a) 'Ibion'. Grenfell and Hunt, op. cit., 380, distinguish three Ibions in the Arsinoite nome, two of which are in this division and the other in that of Heraclides. There are two references to Ibions in the archive that deserve mention: A.82 -- in this obscure list from the unit's accounts occurs an individual of Eikosi (= Ibion Eikosipentarouron, in Polemon) --, and A.28 -- a soldier of the unit is resident in 'Ibion', but which one is unclear.
- (b) Narmuthis. In the appeal for Abinnaeus' jurisdiction in A.49 the defendants are in Narmuthis, but the complainant writes from Theoxenis (in Themistes) and it is there that the crime was committed. Meanwhile,

in A.50, the complainant writes from Narmuthis, but the crime, and criminals apparently, are in Magais (in N.W. Themistes). One could add that this place is also named in A.80 verso l.15, in a list of sales.

(3) Finally, two places of uncertain location may be listed for the same of completeness.

(a) Iopitus (?) -- location unknown. In A.13 horses are sent by the exactor of Arsinoe to Abinnaeus, or, according to the editors, vice versa (see p.180-1, above) ἀπο Ἰοπῖτου[].

(b) Ptolemais. This name occurs once in an obscure account (A.69, l.110). See Grenfell and Hunt, op. cit., 397-400 for a discussion of the various villages in the area that bore this name; the two most probable candidates where, as here, no specification is added, would appear to be Ptolemais Hormou (S.E. from Arsinoe) and Ptolemais Melissourgon (in Polemon).

To conclude, in the determination of the zone of Abinnaeus' activity as praepositus of the ala at Dionysias we find the strongest contrast between the evidence for the division of Themistes, which is full and unequivocal, and that for other areas of the Arsinoite nome, which is very sparse and ambiguous. The conclusion must be made that his zone of regular activity and responsibility did not extend outside Themistes.

50. C.Th. II.1.2 (355), with an interpretation; C.J. III.13.6 (413). For the special considerations that led to military jurisdiction over soldiers see C.J. III.13.6 and N.Th. 4 (438). C.Th.XII.1.128 (392): 'militaribus viris nihil sit commune cum curiis, nihil sibi licitum sciant, quod suae non subiectum est potestati; nullum iniuria, nullum verbere, nullum gravi pulsatione, tribunus, dux ille an comes sit, curialem principalemve contingat ...' C.J.I.46.2 (416): 'praecipimus ne quando curiales vel privatae condicionis homines ad militare exhibeantur iudicium vel contra se agentum actiones excipiant vel litigare in eo cogantur. interminationem autem quinquaginta librarum auri adversus comitianum officium proponi decernimus, si quid contra haec aliquando temptaverit.' C.Th. II.1.9 (397), addressed to the Prefect of Egypt: 'si quis neglectis iudiciis ordinariis sine caelesti oraculo causam civilem ad militare iudicium crediderit deferendam, praeter poenas ante promulgatas intellegat se deportationis sortem excepturum, nihilominus et advocatum eius decem librarum auri condemnatione feriendum'; the subjoined interpretation omits the restriction to civil cases. C.Th.IX.2.2 (365)

51. P.Oxy.VIII 1101.

52. The heavy fines threatened by C.J.I.46.2 (and C.Th. II.1.9) also point to a concern with cases much more exalted than those brought to Abinnaeus.

53. Jones, L.R.E., 347-365, especially 347-8 and 359-60.

54. The two documents of March 342 are A.44, to the military praepositus, and P.Thead.22, to the civilian one. The instructions to the former take the usual form; those to the praepositus pagi run, ἀξίω και δέομαί σου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὅπως καταναγκάσης ... τὸ χρέος ἀποκαταστήναι [? τοῖς τοποῦ σιτολογοῖς] εἶνα δυνήθῃ τα προ(βα)τα ἀπολαβεῖν, εἶτα γραφέντα ὑπὲ ἐμοῦ εἰς γνώσειν τοῦ κυρίου μου δοκεῖς ἀναφέρειν, αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμοῦντες ἐκδικεῖν (P.Thead.22, with the supplements suggested by A.S.Hunt in his own copy of Jouguet's book, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). Sakaon and the culprit were joint members of a fiscal board, and the culprit had failed to pay his due from his own resources, but instead stolen property of Sakaon's: it is this fiscal debt that the praepositus pagi is asked to see to. The petition requesting jurisdiction from the identical praepositus is SB VI 9622 (343).

55. There is one minor question that the Abinnaeus archive, and it alone, enables us to answer with some particularity, namely the meaning of a unit of limitanei being officially stationed in one locality, in this case Dionysias. The fortress, on the edge of the village, on which it was based has fortunately been discovered and excavated. It was found to contain, apart from a small suite of more imposing rooms, manifestly for the use of the praepositus, 51 small rooms that clearly made up the quarters for the common soldiery. We cannot tell how many soldiers were assigned to each room, and the total for the whole ala appears to be likewise unknown; but

the conclusion is clearly invited that the fort provided living quarters for only a proportion of the unit (A.A., 19-20). Where, one wonders, did the rest live? In the light of the discussion of billeting in our first chapter (47-9) it will not be suggested that they were quartered on the inhabitants of the village.

This is a question to which the archive provides an adequate answer. In one document an officer of the natron monopoly instructs Abinnaeus 'to impound whatever natron you find being imported into Arsinoe or into other places': the implication is that there were soldiers of the ala permanently on duty in localities distinct from Dionysias (A.9). Unfortunately, no other document refers unmistakably to such detachments from the force, and in some cases it is made clear that the soldiers entrusted with some special mission at a distance from Dionysias have been temporarily dispatched from the fort (A.26, margin, and 29, 1.6-7), which can itself be referred to, without apparent ambiguity, simply as 'the castra' (A.26, 1.8 and 14; 29, 1.7,15,21; etc.). One must conclude that the companies permanently on duty at a distance from Dionysias were probably quite small in size and not such as to qualify in an important way the statement that the unit was stationed at Dionysias.

But the documents refer with some frequency to a more disturbing phenomenon, the residence of individual soldiers in a variety of villages scattered between Dionysias and Arsinoe. For instance, one petitioner complains of a soldier of Abinnaeus' unit resident in one of the most distant villages referred to in the archive, who 'goes

out continually drunk into the fields and makes the village his prey' (A.28). Another petition accuses four individuals of theft, two of whom are soldiers, apparently resident in the important village, nearer Arsinoe than Dionysias, of Hermoupolis (A.48). Such soldiers appear to have been an irritation and embarrassment to their commander. One, somewhat fragmentary, document appears to be a report from an agent sent by the praepositus to summon back to camp a number of soldiers who had absented themselves and now declined to comply with such excuses as accident or illness (A.37). Still more significant is a letter to Abinnaeus from a priest in Hermoupolis who intercedes for one of the absentees just referred to in the following terms: 'I wish you to know, sir, about Paul the soldier, about his desertion, forgive him this once, for I have no time to come to you this very day, and afterwards, if he will not leave off, he will be at your disposal another time' (A.32). The tone of his note implies that the writer expected Abinnaeus to comply, and elsewhere priests appear as a class for which he shows a respect marked by the exchange of gifts and small mutual services (A.6-8). Such interference by influential civilians must have made effective discipline in Abinnaeus' unit quite impossible.

The cause of this absenteeism is fortunately clear: in a majority of cases there is explicit testimony that the absent soldier was living with his family or relatives. To give a fresh example, the writer of one letter requests leave of absence for an officer in the unit who is related to him so that he may be able to devote himself to his

private affairs; Abinnaeus is assured that, if some special need arise, the officer will always be able to return temporarily to the camp (A.33). One topic for which the archive provides valuable evidence is that of recruitment. Letters on the one hand concerning recruits (A.26, end) and on the other mentioning relatives locally resident of soldiers under Abinnaeus (A.12,33-4, 48,59) leave a clear impression that, while local recruits might be sent all the way to the Syrian field army (see A.1,1.9-10; 19; W.Chrest.I 469), a unit of limitanei such the ala at Dionysias was recruited largely from the immediate vicinity of the camp. The consequence was that Abinnaeus' soldiers tended, through the pressure of their private interests and the paucity of their public duties, to home back to their native villages, for as long as they could get away with it, no doubt returning periodically to camp so as to assure the continuation of their military status. From this status itself they benefited in two main ways. First, it enabled them to receive annona, even when they were not present at the camp (A.4, 1.17). Secondly, it secured for them and their families effective support from the military authorities, such as instant and severe retribution on those who committed assault against them (A.12).

In the circumstances, of private interests and private influence, absenteeism of this sort is likely to have been common, and reduced the number of soldiers who needed to be housed in the camp at Dionysias. Its effect on military discipline and efficiency need not be spelled out here. Its consequence for the role of the unit in local life will have been that the military possessed and preserved strong and sensitive local roots over the whole area round the camp.

56. The first two, unproblematic, documents are A.6 and 8, the third 7. That the editors take the 'urgent matter' to be fiscal is implied by the reference to this document on p.75, n.32.

57. A.21, on the formulae of which see A.A.,26.

58. For a possible sale see the list of A.79 headed *λόγος τῶν πρᾶθέντων σιταρίων εἰς Ταυρία(?) Ὀξυρυχίτου*.

59. A.31.

60. Another case there the client writing to Abinnaeus seems to be a servant is A.25.

61. This discussion of Abinnaeus' role as patron may be supplemented by the observation that he also obtained money or goods from the countryfolk by barefaced extortion -- see A.35. It is possible that the military patronage in Libanius was occasionally likewise imposed by the avarice of the detachment.

62. A.28.

63. A.3.

64. A.9. We have an actual appeal to Abinnaeus for help against fiscal exaction in A.27; but the mention of the exactor suggests that the collection was for the annona militaris, in which it was natural and proper for Abinnaeus to take an interest; so this provides no true parallel to Libanius' charges.

65. A.28.

66. A.18. In this translation τα πρᾶχθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν (1.13) is rendered in the natural manner.

67. For the military jurisdiction of criminal delicts by soldiers see the discussion on p.217 above, citing a law of 355.

68. For officials of the city and nome securing criminals and handing them over in person to the governor's court, see for instance W.Chrest. I 379 (320), P.Lond.V 1651 (363) and P.Lips.37 (389). In the first two cases the official is the exactor; in the second and third the criminal is to be held until the praeses arrive and hear the case on the spot.

69. See our discussion on pp. 364-6. For an example in the archive of this lack of military solidarity see A.3, where the epitropos of the imperial estates uses the authority of the dux to secure co-operation from an apparently reluctant praepositus.

70. For the conflict between Abinnaeus and the dux Valacius over his holding of the Dionysias post see A.1 and 2. For the deficiency of direct contact between praepositus and dux the reference here is to A.3; A.11 is also a possible example, if, that is, it was in the original intention of the official of the dux that the task in question should devolve on Abinnaeus' unit.

71. The approach, and conclusion, rejected here is that of R.Rémondon, 'Militaires et civils dans une campagne égyptienne au temps de Constance II', Journal des Savants 1965, 132-143.

CHAPTER IV

- H.R. Theodoret, Historia Religiosa, PG 82, col. 1283-1496 (by column)
- Sym. Styl. The Syriac Life of St. Simeon Stylites, German tr. by H.Hilgenfeld in H.Lietzmann, 'Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites', Texte und Untersuchungen XXXII.4 (Leipzig 1908), 80 ff.
- V. Alex. Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète, ed. de Stoop, Patrologia Orientalis VI (Paris 1911), 643 ff.
- V. Ant. Athanasius, Vita Antonii, PG 26
- V. Dan. S. Danielis Stylitae Vita antiquior, in H.Delehaye, Les saints stylites (Brussels and Paris 1923)
- V. Hyp. Callinici Vita Hypatii, ed. G.J.M.Bartelink (Paris 1971)
- V. Isaac. Vita S. Isaacii, Acta Sanctorum Maii VII, 246 ff.
- V. Sin. Sinuthii archimandritae Vita Bohairice, tr. H.Wiesmann (Louvain 1951)
- V. Sym. Sal. Vita S. Symeonis Sali, Acta Sanctorum Julii I, 129 ff.
- P.L.R.E. I A.H.M.Jones and others, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire Vol. I (Cambridge 1971)

See P.R.L.Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man in late antiquity', Journal of Roman Studies LXI (1971), 80 ff.

1. Sym. Styl. c. 133.
2. V. Alex. See de Stoop's introduction for a general account of Alexander; his final return to Constantinople (treated below) is dated to the 420s. The episode now treated is in c. 32-34.
3. c. 38-42.
4. See, below, pp. 321-4.
5. Sym. Styl. For the chronology see Lietzmann on pp. 228-254; see also the summary of the text in A.J. Festugière, Antioche païenne et chrétienne (Paris 1959), 358 ff. The date of composition cannot be later than c. 470 (ib., 357).
6. Simeon as shepherd, c. 2; the rich aunt, 11; first asceticism, 8 (a fast for 21 days) and 10. The three miracles are in 8, 9 and 7 -- in the order of their treatment here.
7. c. 9.
8. See C.Th. VII.12.1 (323), ne cui liceat praepositorum vel decurionum vel tribunorum cohortium quocumque genere cuiquam de militibus a castris atque signis vel his etiam locis, quibus praetendant, discedendi commeatum dare. See too, above, pp. 459-61, on papyrological evidence.
9. c. 71 and 70 -- in the order of their treatment here. Not much is known of this general, who was subsequently consul in 429; but he was actively engaged in the execution of the emperor's ecclesiastical policy. See

PW Supplementband XII (1970), 741.

10. c. 101. Antiochus is described as dux 'in Damascus', i.e. of the limes Phoenicis; but in the *Notitia Dignitatum* no unit is stationed in Damascus itself (see pp. 40-1, above).

11. Here c. 133 must be supplemented by Antonius, Life of Simeon, c. 32 (Lietzmann, op. cit., 76)

12. See Chapter II, section 3, above.

13. See, for instance, St. John Chrysostom, Huit catéchèses baptismales, ed. A.Wenger (Paris 1957), 8.1-6 (especially 2 and 4), where a preacher eulogizing monks from the countryside to an urban audience has to apologize at length for their rusticity and language.

14. V. Isaac. The editors in the Acta Sanctorum date this Life to 'saeculo VI aut VII, aut saltem non diu post VIII'.

15. c. 5-10.

16. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. IV.31 (PG 82, 1193), φδοι...
The story is also in Sozomen, VI.40.

17. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. IV.30. For the two generals the various references are collected in P.L.R.E. I.

18. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. IV.28; Theodoret is explicit that it was Valentinian the First, but this could be his own mistake. In fact, Gratian set out with an army to help Valens, but Valens refused to wait for him (Ammian. XXXI. 11-12).

19. It may be noted that their testimony served to present in the best light that *παρρησία* which, of all the characteristics of holy men, was the slowest to win the acceptance of Constantinopolitan society, as the example of St. John Chrysostom shows with particular clarity.

20. V. Isaac. c. 14-16.

21. For Aurelian see c. 18, and Synesius, De Providentia 91D-92A (PG 66, 1217).

22. For the references see P.L.R.E. I, 'Saturninus 10' and 'Victor 4'. Letters to military men are to be used with caution (see pp. 331-44, especially 338, below), but the keen religious interests of these two generals are not in doubt.

23. For Theodoret on Peter see H.R. 1377 ff.

24. J.B.Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire (London 1923), I, 384. Simeon's forty day fast, Sym. Styl. c. 26; Peter, H .R. 1380 C.

25. H.R. 1325 A. Theodoret describes the typical life of the holy man in the following terms: *τούτους τίνον τοὺς διὰ πόνων μορίων τὸν βίον ὀδεύσαντας, ἰδρῶσι δὲ καὶ ταλαιπωρίαις τὸ σῶμα δαμάσαντας ... καὶ τροφὴν μὲν σωματικὴν τὴν ἀσκήσιον νομίζοντας, ... ἡδονὴν ἀμετρὸν τε καὶ ἀπληστον τὴν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ ψαλμωδίαις διατριβήν.* (H.R., Prologue, 1289 C).

26. The quotation is H.R. 1293 D; 'in the preface', 1288 B-C. In 1289 it is bodily austerities that are singled out for admiration at the climax of the Prologue.

27. Vit. Moys. (ed. J.Daniélou, Paris 1968), I. 56. The message is made explicit at II. 26, on the earlier theophany of the burning bush: ἐν τούτῳ τίνυν γενόμενος τότε μὲν ἐκεῖνος, νυνὶ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τῆς γῆνης ἑαυτὸν ἐκλύων περιβολῆς καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς βᾶτου φῶς βλέπων, τούτεστι πρὸς τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς τῆς αἰκανθώδους ταύτης ἐπιλάμψασαν ἡμῖν ἀκτῖνα ... , τότε τοιοῦτος γίνεσθαι οἷος καὶ ἕτεροις εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀρκέσαι καὶ καθελεῖν μὲν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν κακῶς τυραννίδα, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν πᾶν τὸ τῇ πονηρᾷ δουλείᾳ κατακρατούμενον.

28. Lk. 4. 1-15.

29. H.R. 1296 A. 1292 C: he who disbelieves in the holy man's miracles should disbelieve in those of Christ and the prophets, ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἐκεῖνοις ἐνεργήσασα χάρις, αὕτη καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐνεργηκέναι πεποιήκεν. ἀέννητος δὲ ἡ χάρις,...

30. For a holy man refusing benediction in irritation at being disturbed see V. Ant. c. 48; the return to civilization did represent a reversal of plan in the case of Simeon Salus (Vita c. 27).

31. 'The hermit Peter ...', H.R. 1384 A; 'Theodoret gives as his reason ...', H.R. 1392 C.

32. E.g. at H.R. 1292 C. R.E.Brown and others, The Jerome Biblical Commentary (London 1968), c. 78: 114, 'in the OT ... miracles performed for individual needs and purposes are found with frequency only in the Elijah and Elisha cycles.'

33. H.R. 1297 A (the quotation slightly abbreviates).

34. V. Sin. c. 13 and 9.

35. For a holy man's miracles converting a pagan to belief in biblical ones, see V. Alex. c. 12-3; for the biblical miracles being argued to support the authenticity of the holy man's, see H.R. 1292 C (quoted in n. 29).
36. See p. 253, above.
37. V. Sym. Sal. c. 39.
38. V. Dan. c. 60-61; V. Sin. c. 13.
39. V. Sin. c. 14.
40. Sym. Styl. c. 33; V. Sym. Sal. c. 36.
41. The chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ed. W.Wright (Cambridge 1882), c. 26.
42. Sym. Styl. c. 71; V. Dan. c. 60-61.
43. V. Sin. c. 106-8. A very similar story is told in c. 135-7.
44. V. Alex. c. 33.
45. Sym. Styl. c. 57.
46. V. Hyp. 11.4; for Simeon Stylites' directives to the village of the priest Cosmas, see the 'Letter of Cosmas' (Lietzmann, op. cit., 184-7), p. 186; Abraam, H.R. 1421 A. For normative rural patronage see Chapter II, section 2, above.
47. H.R. 1297 C; Isaiah, I. 17.
48. Sym. Styl. c. 71.

49. H.R. 1404; for John Chrysostom's testimony see Hom. de Statuis XVII.6. P.Brown, JRS 1971, 81 n.8 rightly sees significance in the fact that Macedonius had already come into contact with military men (H.R., ibid.).
50. Ep. I.99
51. Ep. 117.
52. Isaiah 3.16-7; V. Sin. c. 11.
53. James, H.R. 1297 A; Maisymas, H.R. 1413; V. Ant. 86.
54. Isidore's letters are in PG 78. Letters to Isaiah -- against arrogance generally II 190-1, 292, III 32,52, 'an evil demon' I 167, gait II 292, highwayman I 78, low birth II 292, Absalom and the others I 78, Plato quoted II 203, evil influence III 155 (see also III 307), 'my good friend (= ὁ βέλτιστε) II 190.
55. For Alexander's expulsion from Antioch see Vita 39-41, from Constantinople V. Hyp. 41.3; renouncing of worldly wealth, V. Alex. c. 6; pernoctation in a jar, ib. c. 26. That Alexander's unacceptability was due to a failure to build up his reputation in the normal way through influential clients is suggested by P.Brown, JRS 1971, 81 n.8. The story of Hypatius' protection of Alexander is in V. Hyp. c. 41; for the contacts of the former with the imperial family see ib. 37.1-3.
56. Sym. Styl. c. 71.
57. St. John Chrysostom, 43rd homily on I Corinthians (PG 61, 374). For the urban hostility to military men see pp. 383-392, below.

CHAPTER V

The letters of --

- St. Basil ed. Y.Courtonne (Paris 1957-66); PG 32, 219 ff.
- Gregory Nazianzen ed. P.Gallay (Paris 1964-7); PG 37, 21 ff.
- Libanius ed. R.Foerster in Libanii opera vol. X-XI (Leipzig 1921-2) (Lib.)
- Synesius ed. R.Hercher in Epistolographi Graeci (Paris 1873); PG 60, 1321 ff. (with slightly different numbering) (Synes.)
- Theodoret ed. Y.Azéma (Paris 1955-65); PG 83, 1173 ff. (Theod.)
- Karlsson G.Karlsson, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine² (Uppsala 1962)
- Petit P.Petit, Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C. (Paris 1955)
- P.L.R.E. I A.H.M.Jones and others, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire vol. I (Cambridge 1971)

1. Ep. 137.

2. Ep. 101 (Migne 100). See too, for instance, Theod. ep. 111, where the detailed self-defence is scarcely only for the eyes of the addressee, who was already his ally.

3. Demetrius, On style, ed. W.R.Roberts (Cambridge 1902), c. 230; Lib. ep. 318. Roberts (p. 64) dates Demetrius to 'either the first century B.C. or the first century A.D.,

the latter period being on the whole the more likely'.

4. Lib. ep. 419. Karlsson quotes Theophylact on the various reasons for brevity (PG 124, 1272 B-C, on Colossians 4.7, τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν τυχικός), καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ σοφίας, τὸ μὴ πάντα τιθεῖναι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ κατεπεύγοντα. πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ μηκύνειν ταύτας· ἔπειτα ἵνα καὶ ὁ ἀπερχόμενος ἔχη τι διηγέισθαι, κἀντεῦθεν αἰδοσιμώτερος ἢ. τρίτον, δείκνυσι πῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν δαίκεται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα ἐπίστευσεν. ἔπειτα, ἦν αἰ' οὐκ εἶδει διὰ γραμμάτων δηλωθῆναι.

5. Lib. ep. 867.

6. Theod. ep. 92 (to Anatolius), 93-6, 99-101, 103-4, 106, (for a similar dossier, this time over a fiscal dispute, see ep. 42-7). Diognetus is recommended to the retired general Saturninus (ep. 857), to Proculus (6), the prefect of the city (847), Eusebius (26), perhaps the magister officiorum (858), Ursus (859) and Diogenes (860).

7. Ep. 96. Theodoret also wrote to Nomus ep. 58 and 81. The only thing in the content of these letters that betrays a lack of perfect accord is the repeated complaint of the addressee's failure to reply; but such complaints were to some extent conventional. A milder example of the same phenomenon is Lib. ep. 558, which seeks the support of Musonius (1), the magister officiorum, for an Antiochene's embassy to the emperor: that Musonius was not already an ally of Libanius' is shown by the contemporary ep. 557, in which Libanius asks his ally Mygdonius to attempt to secure Musonius' support over the embassy. That the letters will

often reflect not the existence of some friendship but the quest for it creates a further restriction on deductions as to networks of alliance.

8. Lib. ep. 564. In ep. 550-9 we have several letters of the batch in which Crescens was omitted. The addressees are all persons of influence at court, but their posts are almost all unknown.

9. Greg. Naz. ep. 132. The best evidence for Saturninus' religious interests is his championship of St. Isaac (see pp. 270-9, above).

10. Lib. ep. 925.

11. Demetrius, On style (see note 3), c. 232; Greg. Naz. ep. 136-7; Lib. ep. 866, 972, Or. I.219; Basil ep. 19.

12. The following letters of Theodoret's, stretching over five years, are addressed to Anatolius: 45, 79, 92, 111, 119, 121, 138. But there are no correspondences with generals in Syria that are comparable in bulk and substance.

13. The Libanian letter on behalf of Rhetorius is ep. 318; other letters to Sebastianus are 350, 520 and 596, all on behalf of friends of Libanius visiting Egypt; see P.L.R.E. I for the dates of office and Libanian correspondence of Cataphronius I and Parnasius I. A parallel deduction from the letters to military men, mainly at court, on ecclesiastical affairs would be that, whatever the seriousness and sincerity of individual letters, they certainly testify to a real military

involvement in the ecclesiastical politics of the court.

14. For the incidents in question see: for the plot against Libanius Lib. Or. I.163-6, Norman (see next note) ad loc. and the relevant articles in P.L.R.E. I, for the c. 390 trial Or. XLVII.13-16 with our Chapter II section 3, for the deposition of c. 370 Or. I.170 with Norman ad loc. and for that of 388 Or. LVI.21 and I.270 with Norman ad loc.

15. A.F.Norman, Libanius' Autobiography (Oxford 1965), 199.

16. This is the familiar argument -- so Petit, 187 ('Au total, les chefs militaires ne jouent pratiquement aucun rôle dans la cité') and Liebeschuetz, Antioch, 116.

17. The letters to Alexander (5) are listed in P.L.R.E. I. The letter from Libanius to Ellebichus referred to is ep. 2, which professes itself the first in their correspondence and refers to a single and brief previous meeting; that to Addaeus is 1062. For the course of Libanius and Ellebichus' friendship see P.L.R.E. I on the latter; Ellebichus would be a special case even before 387 if, as Petit supposes (180, n.9), he was an Antiochene by birth, but the evidence is far from compelling.

18. For Richomer see P.L.R.E. I. Another indication of the formality of their correspondence is where, in ep. 972, Libanius suggests that σοὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ φήμη μικρὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἔκομιζέιν: the humility, of course, is feigned, but this does imply that the personal exchanges between them were not so substantial as to be informative. For Sapore, see

ep. 957 and Or. II.9 (where the same is said of visits by the generals Julius 2 and Victor 4). The remaining case in this category is Saturninus 10, to whom we have Libanian letters of 388, and who had some time previously served at Antioch as a comes rei militaris (Basil ep. 132): in view of his rank when at Antioch it is very possible that Libanius had no contacts with him at all -- until he became a figure of consequence at the court.

19. We have letters to the following military men resident at, or based on, the court -- Bacurius, Ellebichus, Promotus, Richomer, Saturninus 10, Teutomer, Varanes, Victor 4; for compliments on good standing with the emperor see ep. 866 (Richomer), 867 (Ellebichus), 1104 (Varanes) and 957 (to Sapores).

20. For Barbatio and Gessius 1 see P.L.R.E. I. The letter in which Libanius seeks Barbatio's friendship is ep. 436; Libanius' comment on his earlier silence runs, *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς προτέρας ἐνθάδε μοι γενομένης ἐπιδημίας μικρά σοι συμμίξας οὐ προήλθον εἰς ἔδον ἔδει τοῦ τε σώματος μοι κάμνοντος καὶ σοὶ πολλῆς ἀσχελίας οὐκ ἔχοντος, τῶν γὰρ μεγίστων ἐπιστάταις*; even *μικρά* is probably an exaggeration, since Libanius justifies this letter, the first between them, with reference not, as elsewhere, to a previous meeting, but to the intercession of mutual friends. The letter certainly leaves the modern reader the impression that Libanius was afraid that Barbatio, in view of Libanius' previous silence, would treat the letter with some contempt, but the affected humility of the letter is an automatic consequence of Barbatio's rank, and the emphasis on the intercession of mutual friends is probably intended mainly as a compliment to them.

21. For the letters to Sebastianus, dux Aegypti, see n.13 above; the letter to Castricius, dux Isauriae, is ep. 426. We have two Libanian letters to a military praepositus -- ep. 1057 and 1059 to an officer serving in Euphratensis, for which see P.L.R.E. I, 'Moderatus'.

A previous discussion of Libanius' letters to military men is to be found in Petit, 179-181. He notes that the great majority of these letters date to the later period of Libanian correspondence, A.D. 388-393, and states that of the nine officers in question three are known pagans (Bacurius, Richomer, Ellebichus), three more may well be pagans (Sapores, Varanes, Moderatus), two are of unknown religion (Promotus and Addaeus) and only one is a known Christian (Saturninus); this leads to the suggestion that 'il faut, croyons-nous, chercher dans le paganisme obstiné de nombreux officiers supérieurs l'origine de leurs rapports avec Libanius, en un temps où la persécution resserre les rangs des païens, surtout dans les classes élevées'. Two objections are invited: --

(1) his religious statistics need to be corrected:

(a) his 'evidence' of Ellebichus' religion -- ep. 868 and 884, with their belletristic paganism -- is of no value, while the general's reverent reception of the hermit Macedonius' intervention over the affair of the statues in 387 (see Theod. H.R. 1404) may suggest he was a Christian.

(b) Bacurius is known from Rufinus, Hist. Eccl. I.11 and II.33, to have been not a pagan but a Christian. The 'evidence' for his paganism is Lib. ep. 1060, where there are two literary and conventional references to 'the gods', which scarcely justify even the suggestion of

P.L.R.E. I that Libanius thought him a pagan.

(c) Promotus can probably be elevated from the 'unknown' to the 'Christian' category, since his children were brought up, presumably as Christians, with those of the emperor Theodosius and within fifteen years of his death there was a monastery on his former estate in Constantinople (references in P.L.R.E. I).

(d) The 'evidence' for the possible paganism of Sapores, Varanes and Moderatus is worthless.

Hence the real figures are: pagan 1, unknown 4, Christian 2, perhaps Christian 2.

(2) Petit is under the impression that there was a social divide between pagans and Christians, at least in the Theodosian period. It is true that one of the possible grounds for amity between high-placed correspondents was agreement in religion -- for which see, apart from the obvious Christian letters, Libanius' pleasure in Richomer's paganism, Or. I.219. But that the state was divided into two parties which avoided contact with each other -- and it is of such mere contact that the letters are evidence -- is out of the question. Indeed it is the fact of the very contrary that enabled vocal pagans such as Libanius and Themistius to attain the height of their public careers under the aegis of a predominantly Christian court.

22. For Lupicinus, see P.L.R.E. I for the supplement from other sources to Or. I.164-5; for the circumstances of Lucianus' deposition see Norman, op. cit. (n.15), 227-8.

23. The great majority of Libanius' letters to military men belong to that body of letters dating to 388-393, a

period of complete peace on the eastern frontier. For the absence in the west of Richomer, and perhaps Promotus, at the time that they receive letters from Libanius, see the relevant articles in P.L.R.E. I.

24. For civilian magnates living in the cities and holding rural business beneath their attention, see pp. 76-8 and 115-6, above. Libanius' dislike of military men: ep. 426, τούς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πόρρωθεν τε ὀρώμεν καὶ ἡμᾶς βλέψωσι φεύγομεν, ep. 957 πατὴρ ἐκλήθης πολλακίς δείξας ὡς ἔστι και στρατιωτῶν ἡγούμενον μὴ χαλεπὸν εἶναι.

25. For Synesius see C.Lacombrade, Synesios de Cyrene, Hellène et Chrétien (Paris 1951). The chronology of his life and of the Letters is set out on pp. 314-5.

26. For the gift of the horse see ep. 40 (compare P.Abinn. 6); more curious is ep. 160 with its gift of an astrolabe to a military man of unusual culture. For Synesius' patronage of soldiers before their military superiors see, in addition to ep. 37 referred to here, ep. 94 -- a request for furlough -- and ep. 78 -- a petition for a unit in danger of degradation, (compare P.Abinn. 32). See, above all, ep. 62 for the importance of a general's judicial impartiality. We learn of a curious affair from ep. 6 and 14: a soldier of Anysius' has stolen a horse of Synesius', for which the general sends him under guard to the bishop, who accepts him as a suppliant and rescues him from military jurisdiction.

27. For the evidence from Shenuti, contrast the effective military action of the generals who enjoy his friendship and seek his blessing (Vita c. 103 ff. and 137; the former is quoted above on pp. 300-1) to the indolence and indifference of pagan generals during a serious invasion complained of in letters of Shenuti published in Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache XX (1902/3), 126-140. For the position in Cyrenaica discussed here see Synes. ep. 78 and Catastasis 1568-71; the letters to Anysius are 6, 14, 37, 59, 77-8, 94.

28. Ep. 77.

29. The letter to Marcellinus is ep. 62, the speech in honour of Anysius the Constitutio, the letter to Simplicius ep. 130. The offences of Cerialis, the dux castigated in ep. 130, are interesting: he had sold furlough to soldiers despite the urgent military situation, he had extorted bribes to avert entirely unnecessary billeting and he had failed to resist the barbarians.

30. The topic of the relations between generals and cities in frontier areas would benefit from a fuller discussion including the evidence for other regions as well. Our emphasis on the restraint exerted on the dux by his need for the suffragia of the cities invites criticism in view of the well-known career of the dux Romanus in Africa, who showed no reluctance in entering into a head-on battle with the cities of his province (Ammian. XXVIII.6). But Romanus was in a special position as the kinsman and close ally of the magister

officiorum Remigius: with such support at court, he will have felt he could afford to show little respect for the provincials.

31. The reference discussed here to 'soldiers' under the comes Orientis (for whose military command in 387 see Lib. Or. XIX. 34-36) is ib. XXVII.14; see, too, ib. XXIX. 33-36, where στρατιώτης is used of high-ranking civilians even acting temporarily under the comes. Other examples of 'soldiers' in Libanius are Or. XXXIII.20 and XLIII.19. The edicts referred to on the civilian staff of the comes are C.Th. I.13.1 (394) and IX.40.15 (392).

32. I use the translation of Joshua in W.Wright, The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (Cambridge 1882). For soldiers setting up a hospital, in A.D. 500/1 see c.

43. The quotation on billeting is from c. 86; c. 95 is comparable. For the activity of the generals referred to see c. 92, 93-94 and 100.

33. C.Th. VII.9.1 (340). The other constitutions on temporary billeting (for which see pp. 47-49, above) are in VII.8-10.

34. Lib. Or. XLVI.14.

CHAPTER VI

1. This problem is posed in more detail on pp. 72-75.
2. See pp. 178-192, and, for the view rejected here, van Berchem, L'armée de Dioclétien, 70-71.
3. For the lack of interest in the minor criminal cases of the countryside shown by the imperial administration and the curials of the city see, esp., p. 203 and 221-7.
4. See A.H.M.Jones, The Greek city from Alexander to Justinian (Oxford 1940), 259-269 for the economic facts, Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 623-628 for the varied pay of the soldiery, and ib. 396-7 and 592-3 for the pay in kind and size of the civil service; an example of soldiers in cities providing employment is Lib. Or. XLVI¹⁴ (quoted on p. 373).
5. For the Antiochene food crisis in A.D. 362 see G.Downey, A History of Antioch, 382 ff. For the economic effect of the substantial military presence see Socrates, Hist. Eccl. III.17 (PG 67, 424 B), -- Julian lowered the prices of commodities excessively μηδὲ λογισάμενος ὡς παρουσία πολυπληθείας στρατοπέδου ταῖς τε ἐπαρχιώταις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ζημία γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐκκόπτει τῶν πόλεων. For the import of grain from neighbouring cities, and even Egypt, see Julian, Misopogon, 369. For the rural price being substantially higher than Julian's special price in Antioch see ib. 369 C (the rich buying up imported grain and selling it for a profit in the countryside) and 369 D (the countryfolk flocking into the city, since

bread there is abundant and cheap); compare countryfolk pouring into the city of Edessa at a time of famine (A.D. 499/500), J.B.Segal, Edessa (Oxford 1970), 147-8.

6. See the table on p. 21; the rest of the explanation is provided by the strategic factor (see 22-28).

7. 'Glutted with meat and wine', Lib. Or. XLVII.5 (quoted on p. 121); 'limitanei wander drunken over the fields ...', P.Abinn. 28; 'soldiers absenting themselves from the camps in pursuance of their private interests', see pp.459 ff.; 'accompanying a holy man in his peregrinations', Syriac Life of St. Simeon Stylites c. 9 (quoted on p. 257).

8. Ammian. XXVII.9.4 (and see XXII.12.6 for 'confidentia' in the ranks); Synesius, Constitutio and ep. 62; St. Isidore of Pelusium -- see pp. 319-21; Lib. Or. XLVII, passim.

9. Lib. Or. II.38 (compare Ammian. XXVII.9.6, on limitanei in Isauria, 'luxuque adiumento militari marcente'). Zosim. IV.23: Sebastianus, put in charge of the Gothic war by Valens, 'noting that the tribunes and soldiers were soft and wholly undisciplined, trained only for taking to their heels and making weak, womanish pleas', chooses a force of select recruits whom he drills intensively; ib. V.20, on Fravitta's preparations for the war against Gainas -- ἀργούντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο τῶν στρατιωτῶν... ἀλλὰ μελέταις συνεχέσθαι ἐξήκεσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτων

ταῖς γυμνασίαις ἐπέρρωσεν ὥστε ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸ τούτου
 ῥασιωνῆς τε καὶ ἐκμελείας, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Γαῖνας μέλλειν ἔδοκει
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, δυσχεραίνειν. For the poor performance
 of limitanei in Egypt see the evidence from Synesius
 and Shenuti referred to on pp. 358-60, with n.27 ad
loc. 'The same sources that wax eloquent ...', above
 all Lib. II. 37 ff.

10. Lib. Or. XLVII. 27,29 (and 35 -- τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπληστίαν);
 Ammian. XXII.4.7; Lib. XLVII.31-33 (for Romanus' demand
 for camels see Ammian. XXVIII.6.5).

11. 'The invective of a John Chrysostom: in PG 58,
 590 first civil servants, then **artisans** and finally
 landowners are fiercely criticized, above all for
 avarice. A.H.M.Jones, 'Inflation under the Roman Empire',
Economic History Review 1953, 305-7.

12. In Matth. hom. LXI (PG 58), 590-1. The victims of
 this indictment, referred to as 'τῶν στρατευόμενων', have
 usually been taken to be soldiers; but the omission of
 the topos of cowardice and indolence and emphasis on
 corrupt jurisdictional practices indicate that these
 are not soldiers **but** civil servants.

13. Ammian. XX.11.5: the passage continues, 'quod
 dictum ita amarum militaris multitudo postea apud
 Chalcedona recordata ad eius exitium consurrexit' --
 for which see ib. XXII.3.7-8.

14. For the final point see pp. 330-1 and 354-6.

15. See Jones, Later Roman Empire, 357 ff., especially 358-9 and 362. The edicts on billeting are largely in C.Th. VII.8.
16. Rural patronage in Libanius' De Patrociniiis -- see Chapter II, especially 166-7; military jurisdiction in the Abinnaeus archive -- its manner and scope are discussed on pp. 192-6; patronage of holy men -- Chapter IV, in particular 268-70.
17. See pp. 244-8.
18. For the implication in hagiographical accounts of good contact being maintained up and down the ranks of the comitatus, see pp. 255, 268-70; for the local recruitment of the limitanei see p. 461; for orders from the dux reaching the praepositus with civilian intermediation see P.Abinn. 3 (referred to on p.246).
19. For an example of Syrian limitanei showing the same wish as Abinnaeus to serve the local population and win its favour, see IGLSYR V 2704 (end of IV or early V), from a village on the route from Palmyra to Damascus: 14 lines of hexameters celebrate the comes Silvinus, presumably the dux Phoenicis, setting up a castrum and mansio with an artificial oasis, which will enable agriculture and, above all, greatly benefit travellers. The emphasis in the poem, as well perhaps as the attempt at literature, shows that the inscription is the work of grateful civilians.
20. 'The tact and discretion shown by the magister militum ...', see pp. 345-56; 'in the case of Libanius'

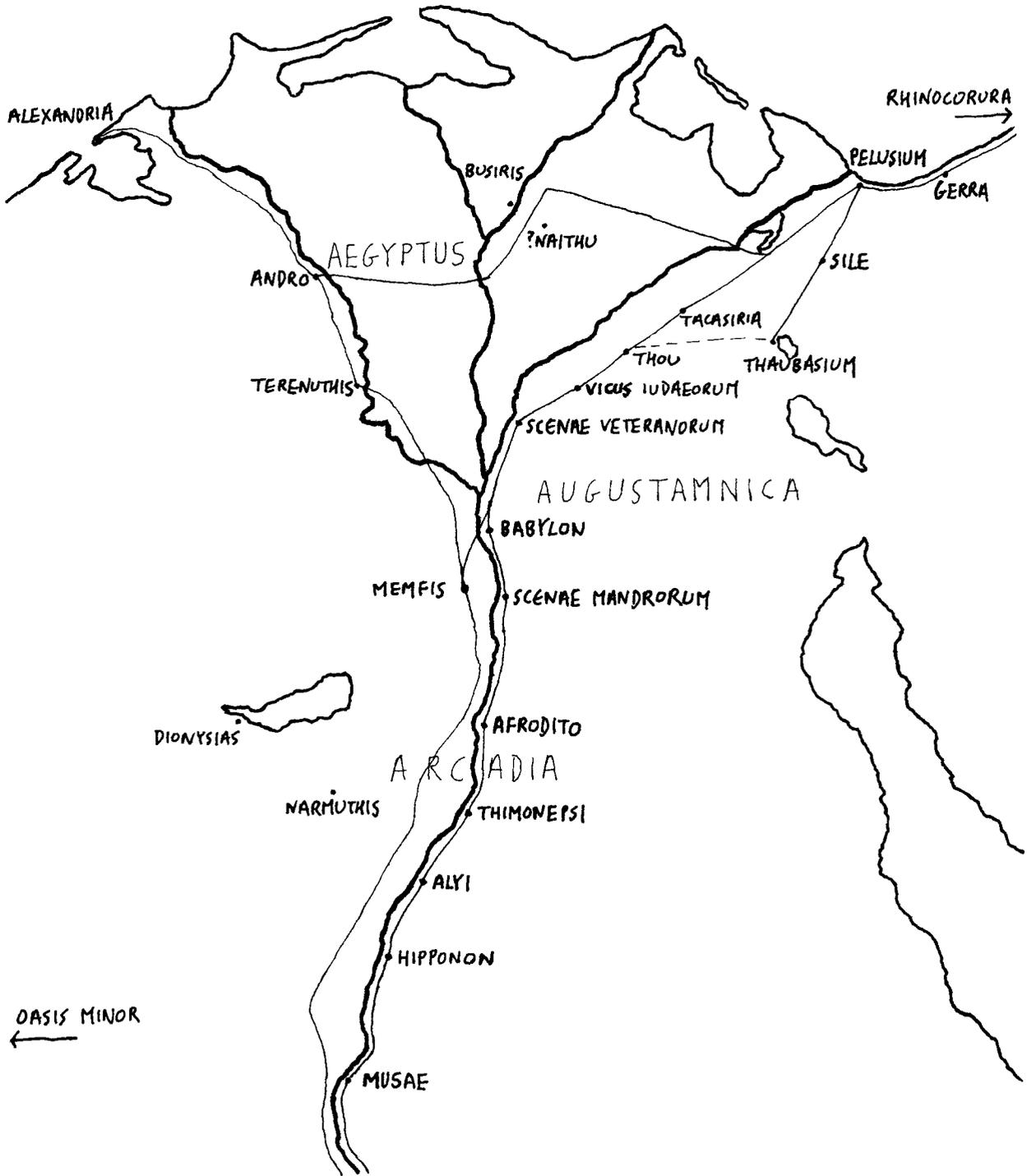
own lawsuit ...', see pp. 150-3 on Lib. Or. XLVII. 13-15. 'After a long time', see p. 137 on ib. 11 (πολλοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος); 'not to remain what they were', ib. 13; 'show that they have stones', ib. 7 (quoted on p. 122). P.Abinn. 18 (quoted and discussed on pp. 238-41).

21. That much of his more general treatment is only for emotive effect is observed on p. 155. For the contrast between the Codes and the Abinnaeus archive on military jurisdiction see pp. 217-27; for the 'standard form and formulae' see pp. 192-6, including n. 23.

22. 'All the episodes that Libanius describes', in Lib. Or. XLVII.4-13; for the 'quarrelsome and litigious population' of rural Egypt see pp. 208-10. For 'the traditional role' of rural patron as taken up by soldiers see the summing up on pp. 163-7; for the jurisdiction of praepositi pagi over the same class of cases that Abinnaeus deals with, see Chapter III, 199-202, etc.

23. R.MacMullen, Soldier and civilian in the Later Roman Empire (Harvard 1967), 152 ff.: a 'military way of doing things', 162; 'militarization of civilians', 152.

24. For these special aspects see -- in the rural patronage of comitatenses pp. 167-74, in the military jurisdiction of the Abinnaeus archive 204-8 and in soldiers' propagation of the fame of holy men esp. 267-270.



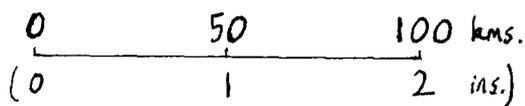
THE LIMES OF LOWER EGYPT

The place-names are those of the military posts listed in the Notitia Dignitatum. The routes are those of the Antonine Itinerary. (This map is an adapted version of that in D. van Berchem, 'L'armée de Dioclétien'.)



THE LIMES OF THE DUX SYRIAE

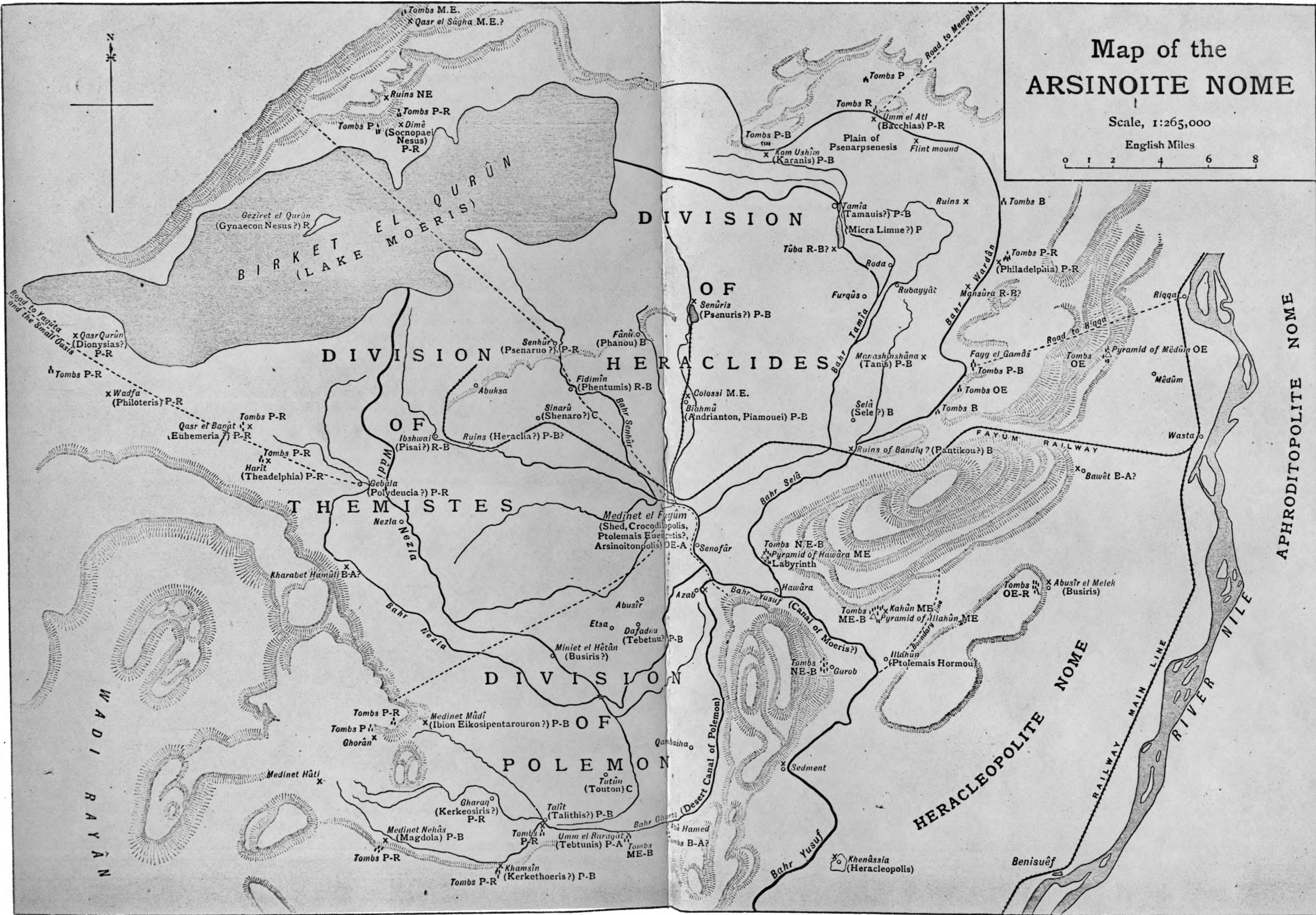
(To accompany pp. 38-40 and 411-2.) The posts in the list in the *Notitia Dignitatum* that can be located appear with small letters, the neighbouring cities in capitals.



Map of the ARSINOITE NOME

Scale, 1:265,000

English Miles



THE ROLE OF MILITARY MEN IN SYRIA AND
EGYPT FROM CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS II

We must first find our soldier. In the case of the limitanei the work has been done for us by the Notitia Dignitatum, which gives the names of their posts. Here a study of the list for Lower Egypt is particularly indicative. The striking fact which emerges is that the stations of the army were mainly in the countryside and with a concentration on the less urbanized areas. This can be accounted for in terms of the requirements for effective defence, against possible invasion from the north-east, to some, but only a limited, extent. The conclusion is invited that there existed a policy to keep the army, where the overriding strategic considerations allowed, out of the cities and in the countryside. When we turn to the less rich evidence for the other limites, we find the same pattern, with an exception in the case of the Upper Thebaid, where the need for purely local defence against attack from almost all directions necessitated widespread garrisoning of cities. When we turn to the Syrian comitatus, the Notitia

ceases to be informative, but at least we are well informed for the Antiochene region. Here we find that during the Persian wars and again for a short period after the riot of A.D. 387 there was a restricted military presence in Antioch, but the Syrian comitatus was essentially kept out of the city; in contrast, we find that many units had camps in the villages of its surrounding territory. Despite the lack of evidence for the other cities, it is reasonable to conclude, in the light of the Egyptian evidence, that the comitatenses, as well as the limitanei, were quartered, for by far the greater part, in stations in the countryside.

For the role of the military in the countryside where we have found they were largely resident the classic text is Libanius' De Patrociniis, a pamphlet on the subject of the rural patronage practised by comitatenses over the villages of northern Syria, especially in the territory of Antioch. **The** agriculture of this region was highly advanced, and a fair proportion of the wealth this generated remained in ~~the~~ hands of the peasantry. However, save in the untypical region of the Limestone Massif, the rural economy was not actually expanding, and the countryside

was consequently over-populated; this made the peasantry economically more vulnerable and led, above all, to bitter competition and contention over the possession of land and control of water supplies. These difficulties, in addition to the perennial problems of fiscal pressure and indebtedness, caused a keen demand for rural patrons, who could protect a village against the depredations of both the powerful and its immediate neighbours.

Unfortunately, the civilians of wealth and influence were generally resident in the cities, and the chief class of them, the curial landowners, despised countrymen and their affairs and so showed no eagerness to undertake the labours of rural patronage; even coloni had often to look for patrons in addition to their own masters. This was the social and economic context in which the comitatenses in the countryside found themselves, and it is not surprising that they were much sought after as rural patrons; it was a role they were happy to play, mainly in order to win the goodwill and respect of the population they had to live among. In their local exercise of patronage they undertook the usual tasks of mediation inside village and protection against outsiders; but there

were peculiarities in the relations between military patron and the magnates and civilian authorities of the city. The local praepositus was not himself a figure of outstanding importance, but he enjoyed the protection of the magister militum in Antioch: this enabled him to protect his clients against certain fiscal demands and on occasion to enable coloni to withstand the oppression of their masters, even when this involved a legal battle before the governor's court. This is the main distinctive feature of this patronage: it combined the advantages of an immediate local presence in the village and effective power in the city. For protection such as this one might expect the price to have been high, and there were patrons whom Libanius accused of misusing their position to build up estates at the expense of their clients; but this is not one of the charges that he brings against military patrons, and the system of payment to which he refers is extraordinarily loose and informal. The explanation of this lack of designs on the land probably lies in the fact that the praepositi were generally strangers to the north Syrian countryside, where their residence was only temporary. As a consequence of these factors, the

rural patronage practised by the military was an exceptionally advantageous acquisition for a rural community, and Libanius testifies to peasants wandering from distant farms in search of it.

For the comparable role of the limitanei the evidence leads us back to Lower Egypt, where the Abinnaeus archive of the 340s sheds light on not the same topic but other matters from which the role of the military in the countryside can likewise be gauged. We find that the praepositus of the ala at Dionysias took a close interest in the collection of the annona militaris, and that soldiers were sometimes entrusted with the conveyance of contributions to the camp; but only the provision for the unit's own consumption is in question, and even here the general management and the actual collection remain firmly in civilian hands. In surprising contrast, military men were active in rural jurisdiction, where they tried cases of theft and assault that should properly have gone to the local liturgical official. The explanation for this contrast lies in the attitude of the city. The management of the annona militaris directly affected its welfare, since it was economically dependent on the surplus

of agricultural produce that could reach the city after fiscal deductions. In contrast, criminal cases among the peasantry did not affect its interests and consequently it showed no concern over them: this is indicated by the fact that, while all suits in the city secured the attention of the governor, precisely that class of rural cases to which the military jurisdiction of the archive is restricted was allowed the jurisdiction of the praepositus pagi, a minor liturgical official. Consequently, in the imperial edicts on military jurisdiction, which reflect the interests of curials and the civilian administration, civil cases involving the ruling classes of the city are firmly reserved for the regular civilian judges, but the rural jurisdiction of an Abinnaeus is left unhampered.

The question now arises why, in its respect for the civilian collection of the annona, the Dionysias unit showed so much greater caution in its relations with the city than the comitatenses of northern Syria. The answer lies in the fact that, while in the unitary field army there were close contacts between officer and general, such that the former could usually count in conflicts with the city on his commander's patronage and protection, in

the case of the more loosely organized limitanei the praepositus enjoyed only distant relations with the dux and did not enjoy his automatic support. But this difference is not to be exaggerated: even Abinnaeus sometimes came into contention with curials, and in the conflicts between military patrons and magnates at Antioch it is the clients who are responsible and force the pace.

One other aspect of the ready involvement of the military in rural life was the keen interest they showed in holy men, principally in northern Syria but also as far afield as Upper Egypt. For instance, St. Alexander the Sleepless was adopted by a detachment of the Syrian comitatus, which then introduced him to the patronage of the magister militum. The Syrian army was enabled to discover holy men in the depths of the countryside and then spread their fame far afield by the combination of its local presence scattered over the countryside, the links connecting the lower to the higher command and the social contacts enjoyed by generals with a wide circle of important civilians. But if military men could support holy men and spread their fame abroad, what services could they hope to receive in return? The chief of these

was benediction: soldiers often frequented holy men in order to receive their blessing, whether regularly as a matter of routine or in case of special need, as just before a campaign. Secondly, holy men could give them moral direction of exceptional value; for their spiritual authority was such that they could assure them that some act, say of alms-giving, was not only in accordance with divine law, but would receive God's blessing and win them His favour. There was, moreover, a special reason for the enthusiasm of the military over holy men: there was a strong contrast between their acceptability by holy men and their distrust by the churches of the cities, which shared in the urban prejudice against military men.

So it is with anticipation that we turn to the subject of the social and political role of generals in the cities. In the Antioch of Libanius the magister militum plays on occasion a decisive role in disputes between governors and city magnates, but his active involvement in the affairs of the city is most remarkable for its rarity. When we turn to the letters of Libanius, and of other early Byzantine epistolographers, we find many letters to military men, admittedly mainly at court

rather than in the provinces, but on examination very few indeed turn out to be of substance: letters were widely circulated, and it became conventional to write to generals, as if seeking their active support, as a mere expression of outward respect. It is to be admitted that in certain cities, those by dangerous frontiers, closer relations obtained between the cities and military men: in the Cyrenaica of Synesius, the cities needed the friendship of military men both in order to minimize the inconveniences attendant on a large military presence and to encourage them to show real application and initiative in repelling external attack.

So if military men were poorly thought of by the urban upper class, the reason cannot lie in their conduct in the cities, which was discrete and unobtrusive. The basic cause of resentment was that the wealth of the cities was substantially reduced by the heavy burden of provisioning the army, which was much larger in our period than during the Principate; but at the same time the pay of the individual soldier, especially in the case of the higher command, failed to keep up with inflation, with

the consequence that he had to top it up through corruption and embezzlement. What infuriated the cities was that men 'whose abundance of pay', in the words of a contemporary civilian official, 'was already exhausting the wealth of the empire' should be distinguished by avarice and rapaciousness.

Now it is this hostility of the cities towards military men that probably provides the explanation for the mainly rural location of the army. The requirements for defence and the problems of provisioning fail to do so, except to a limited extent, while any suggestion that the limitanei were concentrated in the countryside in order that they might fulfil non-military functions of importance, such as the collection of the annona militaris, is excluded by the evidence of the Abinnaeus archive.

But if soldiers were kept out, in the main, of the affairs of the cities, they made up for this by a busy involvement in the life of the countryside. But not even there did the military adopt a dominating role: in their choice of activities they were guided by the wishes and conceptions of the rural population, and in their performance of their role it was usually their clients who took the initiative and directed their efforts. Hence there

was, in our region and period, no 'military way of doing things' and no 'militarization of civilians': the role of the military testifies instead to the strength and resilience of the civilian society.