BYZANTINA LODZIENSIA
XXVI

Paweł Filipczak

An introduction to the Byzantine administration in Syro-Palestine on the eve of the Arab conquest

WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU ŁÓDZKIEGO

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Series of the Department of Byzantine History of the University of Łódź

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Professor Waldemar Ceran

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Translated by

Artur Mękarski

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Preface

The work is an introduction to the topic of the Byzantine administration in Syro-Palestine in the sixth and seventh centuries (between the reign of Justinian and Heraclius). As such, it offers a general review of what the modern scholarship has to say about the issue in question, including some necessary corrections and additions. In writing the book I tried to use a pellucid and jargon-free language. However, the use of plain language, which is usually expected of works that fall into the "introduction" genre, providing a shallow analysis devoid of any significant insights into the problem at hand, does not, I hope, apply here. The work is based on primary sources, although some of the existing sources that might shed some light on the issue dealt with here are probably omitted from my analyses. Predominant are literary texts written in Greek, offering the perspective of the Byzantines. Arab sources, to which I refer relying on scholarly literature, remain in the background. I draw heavily on the findings presented in a great number of articles and monographs, focusing, however, on those that are most relevant to a specific topic with which I am dealing. If one wanted to base each of the three parts of this book on all the available literature and on the greatest possible number of primary sources, striving to resolve every single issue raised in this book and attempting to deal with the most heated polemics that these issues have provoked, one would have to write three separate monographs. Yet I am convinced that the publication of such an introductory guide to

the subject in question is fully justified. In addition to being particularly useful for students of the history of Byzantium, it should also be of some help to more experienced scholars.

I do not offer answers to all important questions that appear in the discussion of particular aspects of the Byzantine administration in the period under consideration. The work, for example, provides no explanation of the establishment of the theme system by Emperor Heraclius in Syro-Palestine. On the other hand, however, I give an account of the scholarly discussion concerning the themes, presenting the arguments offered by scholars who have covered this issue. Finally, I also attempt to outline research goals to be pursued with regard to this controversial problem in the future.

The construction of the work is simple. In the first part, devoted to administrative geography, I reconstruct the administrative divisions in Syro-Palestine, describe the administrative infrastructure of the cities that served as the capitals of particular provinces and offer introductory remarks on the deployment of particular units of the Roman army and on the territorial jurisdiction of military commanders. In the first chapter the topic is approached from a topographical angle. A prosopographical perspective is adopted in the second part of the work. It provides biographical information on Byzantine officials who were entrusted with the task of administering Syro-Palestine – governors of particular provinces, governors of the Diocese of the East and military commanders stationed in the region. The third part of the work can be referred to as "conception-related", for in giving an account of the changes brought to the imperial administration, I attempt to reveal the principles and ideas that underpinned the introduction of these changes.

The construction of the book requires one more explanation. The division of the imperial administration into civilian and military branches and, consequently, into two distinct hierarchies of public officers as well as into two territorial structures, took hold during the reign of Constantine the Great (306–337). Although the view of such a bipolar system, held in older literature and suggesting a clear division of authority between different groups of imperial officials, has recently been subject to revision, the existence of the system is not, in general outline, denied. I accept it in this book, dividing the first chapter into two parts, one dealing with a civilian administration (provinces, a diocese and a prefecture) and the other concerned with a military one (military districts governed by duces). The same pattern is followed in the second part of the book, separating the governors of particular provinces and of the Diocese of the East (that is, civilian officials) from the commanders of provincial troops. The adoption of such

a structure is designed to add clarity to the exposition of the topic and should not be treated as an indication of a poor knowledge of the administrative realities of the era.

In writing the work, I have encountered some difficulties in trying to maintain a fully consistent approach to the spelling of foreign-language names. In the first chapter I rely on a simplified, that is, devoid of diacritical marks, spelling of the geographical names of Arab and Turkish origin to be found in *Barrington Atlas of Greek and Roman World* (ed. R.J.A. Talbert, Princeton 2000; [while preparing this book I did not have access to *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 15. Syria (Syria Prōtē, Syria Deutera, Syria Euphratēsia)*, ed. K.-P. Todt, B.A. Vest, vol. I–III, Wien 2014–2015]. For the sake of consistency, I stick to the simplified spelling of geographical names later on in the book (hence, for example, Tartous and not Ṭarṭūs; Tripolis and not Ṭarābulus; Ajnadayn and not Ajnādayn; Yarmuk and not Al-Yarmūk). However, in some cases such an approach was not possible. In terms of geographical nomenclature, I found it necessary to preserve a scholarly transcription used by the authors whose views I present in the third chapter (hence, for example, ajnād of Ḥimṣ or ajnād Filasṭīn). As far as the Arab personal names are concerned, I apply a full scholarly transcription, following the spelling used by *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or – if a given name is missing from *EI* – following the general principles adopted in *EI* (hence, for example, Muḥammad, and not Muhammad or Farva Ibn ʿAmr al-Ǧuḏāmī, and not Farva Ibn Amr al-Gudami). I use the English versions of the Greek or Latin names of persons, if they are universally used in anglicised form (hence, for example, Theodore, and not Theodoros/Theodorus).

The Polish edition of this book, in a slightly abridged form, was published as one of the parts of the monograph *Bizancjum i Arabowie. Spotkanie cywilizacji (VI–VIII w.)*, ed. T. Wolińska and P. Filipczak, Warszawa 2015, p. 90–176.

Paweł Filipczak
Łódź, October 2015

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Paweł Filipczak

Introduction

Syro-Palestine. The region of a long and undisturbed coexistence of the Byzantines and the Arabs, but also – or perhaps above all – of their first and most important military confrontation. It is from this region, forming something of a gate to the western world, that the Arabs launched their offensive against other Byzantine territories, capturing the whole of the North Africa and a number of more important islands on the Mediterranean Sea[1].

The rapid loss of Syro-Palestine by the Byzantines provokes a question concerning the state of the imperial administration in the region on the eve of the Arab conquest. In terms of Byzantium's political history, this "eve" is usually bound up with the reign of Emperor Heraclius. However, as far as the history of Byzantine administration is concerned, it needs to be regarded as lasting longer than the reign of the emperor mentioned above. The provincial administration,

[1] See for example R. Mantran, *L'expansion musulman VIIe–XIe siècles*, Paris 1995, p. 101–104; H. Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests. How the Spread of Islam changed the World We Live In*, London 2007, p. 145–149; Th. Bianquis, P. Guichard, F. Mahfoudh, *La première conquête et ses frontières*, [in:] *Les débuts du monde musulman VII^e–X^e siècle. De Muḥammad aux dynastie autonomes*, éd. Th. Bianquis, P. Guichard, M. Tillier, Paris 2012, p. 109–112. The long held view concerning the first Arab conquest of Lower and Middle Egypt has recently been subject to revision by Phill Booth (*The Muslim Conquest of Egypt Reconsidered*, TM 17, 2013, p. 639–670).

as it existed in 610, that is, in the year of Heraclius' accession to power, took shape in the reign of Justinian I, the last great reformer of state machinery in the period prior to the Arab conquest. Thus the work covers a timespan of about one hundred years which preceded the loss of the eastern territories by the Byzantines. For clarity's sake some references are also made to the administrative reforms introduced at the turn of the third and fourth centuries[2].

Works that cover long periods of time are usually cross-sectional in nature, and so is the text presented below. My first concern here is with the Empire's administrative geography. I will try to reconstruct the divisions of the Byzantine administration and to identify the cities in which both local and state authorities were based. Then, I will turn to carry out a prosopographical analysis of all biographical information concerning high ranking officials whose jurisdiction extended over the region of Syro-Palestine: provincial governors, governors of the Diocese of the East, and military leaders stationed in this region. In presenting a cadre of state officials, I found it necessary to follow geographical criteria, for the separation of civilian and military authority was not always strictly observed in the Empire, and in some of its parts – like, for example, in Arabia – actually never took hold.

Concentrating around two key issues, geographical and biographical, the work is structured in a way which opens up a possibility of obtaining significant insights that go far beyond the field of topography or prosopography. The analysis of these issues serves as the point of departure for the discussion of some institutional and social changes which, taken together, added up to the evolution of the administrative system in the sixth and seventh centuries. It also highlights the need to entirely redefine the category of the Empire's top provincial officials.

The topic dealt with here is not new. However, a thorough discussion of the state of research into the problem, the various aspects of which have attracted scholarly attention since the latter half of the nineteenth century, lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that the reforms of territorial administration put in place during the reign of Justinian I has been discussed in a great number of works by authors representing all important centres of Byzantinological studies. Thus this contribution draws heavily on the findings of modern scholarship, presenting a variety of views (scattered throughout the book) on the functioning of the Byzantine administration in Syro-Palestine in the period under consideration.

[2] See also H. K e n n e d y, *The Last Century of Byzantine Syria. A Reinterpretation*, BF 10, 1985, p. 141–183.

The convention adopted here does not require a thorough discussion of primary sources – I will confine myself to describing their essential characteristics and to indicating those of them that are most relevant for the topic in question. Primary sources are certainly unevenly distributed in chronological terms. The long reign of Justinian I appears to be well documented, although it, too, is not without "blank spots". However, the further towards the seventh century we move, the smaller the number of the sources on which we can draw becomes, and those that do exist are usually poor in content. It has been repeatedly stressed in scholarly literature that there is a poignantly small number of sources originating from the period of the Arab conquests. It holds true for both Byzantine (Greek, Latin, or written in Syriac language) and Arab texts[3]. All the information concerning the provincial administration in Syro-Palestine during the reign of Emperor Heraclius is very scarce, and thus difficult to interpret.

What distinguishes the sources in question is their genre diversity. The analysis of the way in which the provincial administration functioned is based on classic works of Greek historiography, Church histories, chronicles, imperial constitutions, hagiographies, rhetorical and theological works, as well as on texts produced by imperial administration. Among the latter of particular note are two sources on which I heavily draw in the first chapter of the work.

The first of these sources is entitled *Synekdèmos*, a title which should be translated as a fellow-traveller. In its present form, the text, written in around 535 by Hierocles – who was also known as *grammaticus*, that is, a teacher or a secretary – is actually nothing but a simple list of cities, divided according to provinces in which they were located, with the rank of particular governors attached. *Synekdèmos*, although drawing on some earlier official records that are thought to have been brought into being in the mid-fifth century, is presumed today to refer to the first years of Justinian I's reign[4]. The second work is *A Description of the Roman World* (*Descriptio orbis romani*), attributed to George of Cyprus. It is a register of provinces, divided into cities and villages that lay within their borders. The source was once assumed to have come into existence at the end of

[3] The problem has recently been raised by H. K e n n e d y: *Great Arab Conquest...*, p. 2 and 22. In older literature the topic was covered, among others, by W.E. K a e g i, *Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest*, [in:] *The Expansion of the Early Islamic State*, ed. F.M. D o n n e r, Aldershot 2008, p. 113 [= W.E. K a e g i, *Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest*, ChH 38, 1969, p. 139–149].

[4] See A.H.M. J o n e s, *The Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces*, ed. M. A v i - Y o n a h et al., Oxford 1971, p. 514–521; *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, éd. E. H o n i g m a n n, Bruxelles 1939, p. 1–2; T.E. G r e g o r y, *ODB* II, p. 930 [s.v. *Hierokles*].

the sixth century. However, more recent studies date it to the beginning of that century, or, to be more precise, to the period directly preceding Justinian's rise to power. According to one theory, *Descriptio* is based on the information derived from Hierocles' work, coupled with some brief geographical and hagiographical descriptions. According to another, both authors relied on the same set of official records dating from the mid-fifth century[5]. In spite of the doubts that can be raised as to the authorship of these texts and their mutual relations, both *Synekdèmos* and *Descriptio orbis romani* form the basis of the reconstruction of the administrative divisions of the Byzantine Syro-Palestine in the last century of its existence[6].

An analysis of normative sources typifies every scholarly contribution devoted to the issues of imperial administration. These sources include, first of all, legal acts (edicts, amendments to the existing laws, digests) issued both by Justinian and, less commonly, by other rulers, especially his successors. Scholars rely on these acts for determining the titles held by provincial governors, for reconstructing the shape of local government during the reign of Justinian I and, above all, for determining changes that occurred in the Diocese of the East. Normative sources, more than any other kind of evidence, reflect the evolution of administrative system towards the end of antiquity. Legal sources are also used to reconstruct the way in which the authorities planned to reform the institutions of local administrations. Scholarly literature emphasises the fact that a great number of imperial institutions should be regarded as having "ideal" rather than "factual" character[7].

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[5] See A.H.M. J o n e s, *The Cities...*, p. 515–516; *Synekdèmos*, p. 49–50; A. K a z h d a n, *ODB* II, p. 837–838 [s.v. *George of Cyprus*].

[6] Cf. the list of sources on administrative geography of the Late Roman Empire: A.H.M. J o n e s, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, vol. III, Oxford 1964, p. 381. See also R. B r ü n n o w, A. von D o m a s z e w s k i, *Die Provinzia Arabia auf Grund zweier in den Jahren 1897 und 1898 unternommen Reisen und der Berichte früherer Reisender*, Strassbourg 1909, vol. III, p. 256–263 with the detailed list of the provinces in the Early and Later Roman Empire in the Middle East, and with accurate list of sources on administrative geography.

[7] E. W i p s z y c k a, *Źródła normatywne świeckie* (*The Secular Normative Sources*), [in:] *Vademecum historyka starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu* (*Vade mecum for the Historian of the ancient Greece and Rome*), vol. III, *Źródłoznawstwo późnego antyku*, ed. E. W i p s z y c k a, Warszawa 1999, p. 614; J. W i e w i o r o w s k i, *Stanowisko prawne rzymskich dowódców wojsk prowincjonalnych – duces w prowincjach Scythia Minor i Moesia Secunda* (*The Legal Status of the Roman Military Commanders. Duces in the provinces of Scythia Minor and Moesia Secunda*), Poznań 2007, p. 20; i d e m, *Sądownictwo późnorzymskich wikariuszy diecezji (The Judicary of Diocesan Vicars in the Later Roman Empire)*, Poznań 2012, p. 33–34.

Inscriptions form a specific part of the source material used in this chapter. New inscriptions, discovered *in situ* in different countries of the Middle East, are increasing in number. Older inscriptions, on the other hand, undergo the process of new reconstruction, which in turn yield new interpretations. Those originating in the area of Syro-Palestine are to be found in a number of corpuses containing epigraphic material from all over the Empire[8], but, of course, the collections of inscriptions coming from the region of Syria are most important[9]. Nowadays, the largest corpus of inscriptions, whose scholarly value can hardly be overrated, is the series *Les inscriptions grecques and latines de la Syrie*, which has been intermittently published since 1929 (along with *Inscriptions de la Jordanie* which form an integral part of the whole collection)[10].

[8] Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (eds. A. Böckh, J. Franz, E. Curtius, A. Kirchoff, vol. I–IV, Berlin 1828–1859; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (published annual from 1923; the current editors: A. Chaniotis, Th. Corsten, R.S. Stroud, J.H.M. Strubbe, Leyden); *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, mainly vol. III. *Supplementum. Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici Latinarum supplementum*, ed. Th. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, A. Domaszewski, Berlin 1902 (reprint Berlin 1961–1967).

[9] Cf. *Inscriptions grecques and latines de la Syrie* (ed. W.H. Waddington, Paris 1870; reprint: Rome 1968 [Syria], Hildesheim 1972 [Asia Minor]); *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909. Division III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria*, *Section A, Parts 1–7. Southern Syria*, eds. H.C. Butler, E. Litmann, D. Magie, D. Reed Stuart, Leyden 1907–192; *Division IV, Semitic Inscriptions*, Sections A-D, ed. E. Littmann, Leyden 1914–1949. *Inscriptions from Palestina Tertia. Vol. I a. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi*, eds. Y.E. Meimaris, K.I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, Athens 2005; *Inscriptions from Palestina Tertia. Vol. I b. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi. Supplement (Khirbet Qazone, Feinan)*, eds. Y.E. Meimaris, K.I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, Athens 2008; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae. A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad*, vol. I (Jerusalem), ed. M.M. Cotton et al., Berlin–New York 2010; vol. 1/2 (Jerusalem), ed. H.M. Cotton et al., Berlin–Boston 2012; vol. 2 (Caesarea and the Middle Coast), ed. W. Ameling, Berlin–Boston 2011; vol. 3 (South Coast), ed. W. Ameling, Berlin–Boston 2014.

[10] See above all: D. Feissel, *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987–2004*, Paris 2006, p. 157–285 (a detailed list of epigraphic publications pertaining to the region of the Diocese of the East, divided according to geographical criteria into particular provinces and cities); *Guide de l'épigraphiste. Bibliographie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*, éd. F. Bérard, D. Feissel, N. Laubry, P. Petitmengin, D. Rousset, M. Sève et al., Paris 2010, p. 80–85 (contains bibliographic records of inscription corpuses, including the selection of inscriptions originating from particular cities and regions of Syro-Palestine); p. 170–172 (contains a separate list of works on juridical epigraphics); p. 250–252 (contains a separate list of the most important works on the Late Roman Empire). See also G. Greatrex, S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II AD 363–630. A Narrative Sourcebook*, London – New York 2002, p. 238–245 (a short review of epigraphic sources).

CHAPTER

I

Places

Part I
The Units of Civilian Administration

Provinces

Syria Prima. Beginning in the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), a larger part of northern Syria was occupied by the province known as Celesyria (*Syria Coele*). This province was then divided into two smaller units Syria I (*Syria Prima*) and Syria II (*Syria Secunda*) – during the first years of Theodosius II's reign (408–450), probably between 413 and 417[1]. The newly established province – *Syria Prima* – covered a region extending from the Mediterranean Sea, through the Amanus Mountains and the plains of the lower and middle Orontes, to Limestone Massif in the Syrian interior[2].

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[1] J. B a l t y, *Sur la date de création de la Syria Secunda*, Sy 57.2–4, 1980, p. 465–481. See also G.A. H a r r e r, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, Princeton 1915, p. 87–90.

[2] *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. R.J.A. T a l b e r t, Princeton 2000, p. 67, 68, 102. Concerning the geography and historical geography of Syria *Prima* and Syria

The provincial governor held the rank of consular (*consularis*) and resided in Antioch (Antakya, Turkey)[3]. The governor's seat, probably from the reign of Emperor Zeno (474–491) and certainly in the first two or three decades of the sixth century, was located in the old building of Commodus' bathhouse, near Valens' forum[4]. The forum lay on the left-bank area of the city, north-east of the oldest Hellenistic district, which had been built by the city's founder, Seleucus I Nicator[5]. A bronze statue of Constantine the Great was erected in front of the consular building during Constantine's reign and it is reported that this statue was still standing during the first decades of the sixth century[6].

In addition to Antioch, the following cities lay within Syria Prima's administrative borders: Seleukeia Pieria (Samandağ, Turkey), Laodicea (Lattaquié, Syria), Gabala (Jebele, Syria), Paltos (Arab el-Moulk, Syria), Beroia (Alep, Syria) and Chalcis ad Belum (Qinnesrin, Syria)[7].

Secunda, see also classic title: R. D u s s a u d, *La Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 165–246; 413–446.

[3] *Synekdèmos*, p. 39; *Descriptio*, p. 62. I am basing the modern localisation of the places listed in *Synekdèmos*, *Descriptio orbis romani* and (later) in *Notitia Dignitatum*, on maps in *Barrington Atlas*... (maps 67–71), indices to the maps (*Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World. Map-by-Map Directory*, vol. II, ed. R.J.A. Talbert, Princeton–Oxford 2000, p. 1027–1074), old, but nonetheless precise commentaries of Eduard Böcking to his edition of *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. E. B ö c k i n g, Bonnae 1853 [reprint: La Vergne 2009, p. 341–395]), as well as from the internet site *Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire* edited by Johan Åhlfeldt from the Lund University (imperium.ahlfeldt.se). In the case of some Palestinian names I consulted also *TIR.IP* and K. G u t w e i n, *Third Palestine. A Regional Study in Byzantine Urbanization*, Lincoln 2000.

[4] C o n s t a n t i n e VII P o r p h y r o g e n i t u s, *De insidiis*, 35 (p. 166–167) contains the account of the riots staged by circus factions in about 484, which suggests that the praetorium of the governor was situated near Valens' forum, see P. F i l i p c z a k, *Władze państwowe wobec zamieszek fakcji cyrkowych w Antiochii w świetle Kroniki Jana Malalasa (State Authorities towards Factional Unrest in Antioch in the Light of the Chronicle of John Malalas)*, PZH 2004, 6, p. 35–49. J o h n M a l a l a s, XIII, 30 offers the account of Valens' building investments which includes the statement that "now" (transl. E. J e f f r e y s, R. S c o t t, p. 184), that is, during Malalas' stay in Antioch (from his birth in about 490 to 540 at the latest) praetorium was situated in the building called Commodion. See also G. D o w n e y, *A History of Antioch in Syria: from Seleucos to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton 1961, p. 405–406, 633–634.

[5] O. M ü l l e r, *Antiquitates Antiochenae. Commentationes duae*, Gottingae 1839, p. 109–110; G. D o w n e y, *A History of Antioch...*, p. 632–640.

[6] J o h n M a l a l a s, XIII, 3. G. D o w n e y, *A History of Antioch...*, p. 349, n. 144.

[7] *Synekdèmos*, p. 39; *Descriptio*, p. 63. On Syro-Palestinian cities, including Phoenicia and the region of Euphrates, see for example: E. H o n i g m a n n, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, ZDPV 46, 1923, pp. 149–193; V. C h a p o t, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquéte Arabe*, Roma 1967, p. 269–326; A.H.M. J o n e s: *The Cities of Eastern*

Syria Secunda. In terms of the area it occupied, *Syria Secunda* was the largest Roman province in Syria. It covered the area of northwest, central and eastern Syria, stretching from the Mediterranean Sea in the west, the coastal range of the Bargylus Mountains through the plain of the middle Orontes in the interior, to the Syrian Desert in the east[8].

The provincial governor, holding the title of *praeses*[9] and, from around 535, consular (*consularis*)[10] was based in Apamea on the Orontes (today Qalaat el-Moudiq, Syria)[11]. The consular residence was established in the so-called House of the Triclinus, built on a rectangular plan, standing in the south-eastern part of the city. It was equipped with a ceremonial hall (with a total area of about 110 square metres) paved with floor mosaics representing a great hunt. One of the mosaics portrays the virtue of courage that characterises the emperor or his provincial representative. It is accompanied by an inscription, which refers to this figure as the "greatest Apellion" (although it does not name his office). As shall be demonstrated in the prosopographical part of this chapter, such a term was often used in epigraphic material with regard to imperial officials (*comes*, *dux*, *praeses*). It can be argued that in 539 this Apellion, although now unknown, served as the governor of the province and that he resided at this time in the House of the Triclinus. A complex of private bathhouses, in addition to a number

Roman Provinces, ed. M. Avi-Yonah et al., Oxford 1971, p. 226–294; M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, Jerusalem 1976; Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni, J. Green, *Gazetteer*, [in:] *TIR.IP*, p. 53–263; M. Sartre, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique IV^e siècle av. J.-C. – III^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, Paris – Beyrouth 2001, *passim* (mainly p. 639–733); G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin and North Africa*, Berkeley–London 2006, p. 71–222; The abridged bibliography on the cities of Syro-Palestine can be found also in M.A. Casanova, A. Egea Vivancos, *Selección bibliográfica sobre La Siria romano-cristiana*, AnC 15, 1998, p. 27–37; see also the monumental work with bibliography of 1300 archaeological places in Syria and Lebanon – G. Lehmann, *Bibliographie der archäologischen Fundstellen und Surveys in Syrien und Libanon,* Rahden 2002.

[8] *Barrington Atlas...*, p. 67, 68, 102.

[9] *Synekdèmos*, p. 39 (the rank of the governor given in the source, in Greek – ἡγεμών – may mean a governor of any rank. Hegemons are often identified with presidents (*praesides*) of provinces. See H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysys*, Toronto 1974, p. 144). See also *A Greek English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott et al., Oxford 1996, p. 762 [s.v. ἡγεμόνεια]. Cf. *CIC, Novellae*, VIII (*consularis*).

[10] B. Kübler, *RE* IV/7, col. 1142 [s.v. *consularis*].

[11] *Synekdèmos*, p. 39; *Descriptio*, p. 63. On the topography of the city from the Hellenistic to the Arab period, see J. Balty, J.Ch. Balty, *Le cadre topographique et historique*, [in:] *Colloque Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1965–1968. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29 et 30 avril 1969*, éd. J. Balty et al., Bruxeles 1969, p. 29–51. However, the work contains no information concerning the seats of either local or state administration.

of other rooms, formed an integral part of this residence, which is believed to have been constructed around 539, during the reign of Justinian I[12].

Syria Secunda comprised the following cities, along with their associated territories: Epiphaneia (Hama, Syria), Areth(o)usa (Restan, Syria), Larissa (Shaizar, Syria), Mariamme (Mariamin, Syria), Balanea (Baniyas, Syria), Raphaneai (Rafniye, Syria) and Seleukobelos (Jisr es-Shoghour, Syria)[13].

Euphratensis (*Euphratensia*). This province was formed in the first half of the fourth century, during the reign of Diocletian (284–305), or, more probably, towards the end of the 30s of the fourth century, during the reign of Constantine I (306–337), or the beginning of the reign of Constantius (337–361)[14]. Euphratesia was carved out of the eastern part of Celesyria, situated along the Euphrates river. It occupied a vast area on the right bank of the central part of the river, at the point at which it takes on the shape of a bow bent westwards. Geographically, the lands are part of northern Mesopotamia, eastern Syria and south-eastern Asia Minor[15]. The governor of the province, holding the rank of *praeses*, was based in Hierapolis (Membidj, Syria)[16]. The location of government buildings remains unknown, as none of them survive[17].

Euphratesia comprised the following cities: Cyrrhus (Nebi Ouri, Syria), Samosata (Samsat, Turkey), Doliche (Dülük, Turkey), Zeugma (Belkis, Turkey), Germanikeia (Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), Perre (Pirun, Turkey), Nicopolis (İslahiye, Turkey), Skenarchia (the identification of that place is uncertain and it is sometimes, probably erroneously, equated with the city of Eski-Meskene/Ba-

[12] J. B a l t y, *La grande mosaïque de chasse du triclinius*, Bruxelles 1939, p. 35; V. V e r h o o g e n, *Apamée de Syrie aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Bruxelles 1964, p. 14; J. B a l t y, *La grande mosaïque de chasse des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire et sa datation*, [in:] *Colloque Apamée de Syrie...*, p. 131; J.Ch. B a l t y, *Palais et maisons d'Apamée*, [in:] *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux débouts de l'islam. Pratiques et représentations de l'espace domestique. Actes du colloque International (Damas, 27–30 juin 1992)*, éd. C. C a s t e l, M. A l - M a q d i s i, F. V i l l e n e u v e, Beyrouth 1997, p. 283–295; i d e m, *Apamée: Mutations et permanences de l'espace urbain, de la fondation hellénistique à la ville romano-byzantine*, BEO 52, 2000, p. 179–180.

[13] *Synekdèmos*, p. 40; *Descriptio*, p. 63.

[14] For more on the circumstances and the chronology of the establishment of this province see P. F i l i p c z a k, *The Imperial Administration in Syria during the Reign of Diocletian and Constantine the Great. The Problem of Establishment of the Province Euphratensia*, [in:] *Saint Emperor Constantine and Christianity. Proceedings of International Conference Commemorating the 1700th Anniversary of the Edict of Milan*, ed. D. B o j a n o v i c, vol. I, Niš 2013, p. 217–227.

[15] *Barrington Atlas...*, p. 67, 102. Cf. also R. D u s s a u d, *Topographie...*, p. 447–480.

[16] *Synekdèmos*, p. 40; *Descriptio*, p. 63. Cf. also *CIC, Novellae*, VIII (*praeses*).

[17] G. G o o s s e n s, *Hiérapolis de Syrie. Essai de monographie historique*, Louvain 1943, p. 107.

lis, Syria – it is possible that this region is one of north-eastern Syria inhabited by the Arabs *Skenitai*), Salton Erazigenon/Salgenoratixenon (Abu Hanaya, Syria), Syrima (or Ourima, the identification of the city is uncertain, it is sometimes identified either with the ancient Antioch on the Euphrates, Syria) and Europos (Jerablous/Cerablus, also Carchemish, Turkey)[18].

Theodorias. The province of *Theodorias* comprised a territory taken from the earlier provinces of Syria Prima and Syria Secunda. Carved out from Syria Prima were the two coastal cities of Paltus and Gabala, as well as Laodicea – located in the interior part of the country and elevated to the position of the capital of the new province. The city of Balanea, also incorporated into the new province, was detached from Syria Secunda. *Theodorias* stretched over a narrow strip of coast lying at the foot of the Bargylus mountains[19]. *Synekdèmos* and Malalas do not inform us of the exact rank of the governor of the province[20], but in the Novel VIII he is described as *consular*[21]; it is not possible to identify government buildings on the ancient city's plan, nor can any such constructions be found among monuments that survive to this day[22].

Phoenice/Phoenice Paralia. The province Phoenicia (*Phoenice*), once also known as Phoenician Syria (*Syria Phoenice*), was established during the reign of Septimius Severus. At this time it was a large administrative district which, in addition to the coastal area of Phoenicia proper, also covered an area of central and eastern Syria[23]. In the reign of Diocletian, the province was divided into two smaller ones: *Augusta Libanensis*, occupying the central and eastern part of Syria, and *Phoenice* encompassing the coastal territory[24]. The reign of Theodosius I brought with it a change in the name of both administrative units, leaving their respective territories intact. The first province became Phoenicia Lebanese (*Phoenice Libanensis*) and the second became Phoenicia Maritime (*Phoenice Maritima*). This division continued until the reign of Justinian I, but sources from the period usually refer to *Phoenicia Maritima* as *Phoenicia Paralia*[25] or

[18] *Synekdèmos...*, p. 40; *Descriptio*, p. 63. Cf. R. D u s s a u d, *Topographie...*, p. 126–136.

[19] *Barrington Atlas...*, p. 68.

[20] J o h n M a l a l a s, XVIII, 39; *Descriptio*, p. 63.

[21] *CIC*, *Novellae*, VIII.

[22] J. S a u v a g e t, *Le plan de Laodicée-sur-Mer*, BEO 4, 1934, p. 81–114. J.-P. R e y - C o q u a i s indicates a significant role of the harbour, see *Laodicée-sur-mer et l'armée romaine. À partir de quelques inscriptions*, [in:] *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East. Proceedings of a Colloqium Held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992*, ed. E. D ą b r o w a, Kraków 1994, p. 149–163.

[23] J.-P. R e y - C o q u a i s, *Syrie romaine de Pompee à Diocletien*, JRS 68, 1978, p. 61–62.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 62.

[25] *Descriptio*, p. 66.

simply *Phoenicia* (*Phoenice*)[26]. The province extended along the Mediterranean coast, between Tyre (Es-Sur, Lebanon) in the north and Arad (Arwad, Syria) in the south[27].

The province, with Tyre as its capital, was governed by a *consularis*[28]. Scholarly literature provides no information about where he resided, or where local government buildings were located[29]. It can only be presumed that these buildings were situated within the so-called imperial city, that is, in a district which lay in the southern part of Tyre (in the area known as the Egyptian harbour). An alley flanked with columns led to this district, and thermal baths and public buildings were located in its vicinity[30]. As in the rest of the Empire, the city's political life was centred here around the hippodrome. Its impressive ruins survive to this day in the eastern part of the city, the best preserved of which is the southern part of the hippodrome, encompassing its main entrance and the stands for local officials[31].

The province of Phoenicia comprised the following cities: Ptolemais (Acre, Israel), Sidon (Saida, Lebanon), Berytus (Beirut, Lebanon), Byblos (Jbeil, Lebanon), Botrys (Batrun, Lebanon), Tripolis (Tripoli/Tarabulus, Lebanon), Arca (Arqa, Lebanon), Orthosia (Ard Artousi, Lebanon), Antarados (Tartus, Syria), Constantia (identified as Antarados), Pogonas (its location remains unidentified – it may have been Gun/Dijon, near Akka) and Paneas (also known as Caesarea Philippi, today Banias, Israel)[32].

Phoenicia Lebanese (*Phoenice Libanensis*). This administrative unit was established during the reign of Theodosius I (379–395) replacing the province *Augusta Libanensis*. It encompassed the territory of the Bekaa valley, the Anti-Lebanon mountain range along with the Hermon mountain massif, the valley of the river Barada and the Damascus oasis, the western banks of Lake Tiberias and the vast open spaces of the Syrian Desert[33].

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[26] *Synekdèmos*, p. 40.

[27] *Barrington Atlas...*, p. 69, 102. Cf. R. D u s s a u d, *Topographie...,* p. 7–36.

[28] *Synekdèmos*, p. 40; *Descriptio*, p. 66. Cf. also *CIC*, *Novellae*, VIII.

[29] See a number of reports (*Chronique*) on the excavation work published by M. C h é c h a b in BMB 6, 1942–1943, p. 86; 8, 1946–1948, p. 160–161; 9, 1949–1950, p. 108; 18, 1965, p. 112–113) and the paper by this author *Tyr à l'époque romaine. Aspects de la cité à la lumière des textes et des fouilles*, MUSJ 38, 1962, p. 13–40. See also R. B u r n s, *Monuments of Syria. An Historical Guide*, London–New York 1999, p. 149–151.

[30] All of these spots can be clearly seen in the aerial photos of Tyre which were "imposed" on the plan of the ancient city. See N. J i d e j i a n, *Tyr à travers les ages*, transl. D. H a l a r d - J i d e j i a n, Beyrouth 1996 [two large black and white photos included prior to the title page].

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 188–195.

[32] *Synekdèmos*, p. 41; *Descriptio*, p. 66.

[33] *Barrington Atlas...*, p. 68, 69, 102. Cf. also R. D u s s a u d, *Topographie...*, p. 276–290.