http://dx.doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.02.15

Studia Ceranea 2, 2012, p. 181–194

Jacek Wiewiorowski (Poznań)

The Defence of the Long Walls of Thrace (Μακρά Τείχη τῆς Θράκης) under Justinian the Great (527–565 A.D.)

The Long Walls of Thrace (Μακρά Τείχη τῆς Θράκης) or the *Anastasian Wall* (Αναστάσειο Τείχος), also called *The Long Anastasian Wall* or *Longi Muri* are situated about 65 km west of Constantinople[1]. They strech from Evcik İskelesi at the Black Sea coast across the Thracian Peninsula to the coast of the Sea of Marmara 6 km west of Silivri (ancient Selymbria). Under Anastasius I (491–518) and Justin I (518–527) the wall was under command of two *vicarii* who had their seat there (*Nov. Iust.*, XXVI, pr.). One of them – the military officer – was the representative of *magister militum*[2]. The other, a civil officer, was possibly the representative

[1] On the *Longi Muri* and the long lasting disputes concerning the date of their construction see e.g. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518). Studio sulla sua vita, la sua opera e la sua personalità*, Roma 1969, p. 202–204; B. Croke, *The Date of the "Anastasian Long Wall" in Thrace*, GRBS 23, 1982, p. 59–78; L.M. Whitby, *The Long Walls of Constantinople*, B 55, 1985, p. 560–583; N. Joëlle, *Recherches sur les fortifications linéaires romaines*, Rome 1997, p. 379–389; J. G. Crow, *The Long Walls of Thrace*, [in:] *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. C. Mango, G. Dagron with the assist. of G. Greatrex, Cambridge 1995, p. 109–124; J.G. Crow, A. Ricci, *Investigating the hinterland of Constantinople: interim report on the Anastasian Long Wall*, JRA 10, 1997, p. 253–288; J. Crow, *Der Anastasische Wall: „Die letze Grenze"*, [in:] *Grenzen des Römischen Imperiums*, ed. G. Klose, A. Nünerich-Asmus, Mainz 2006, p. 181–187; F.K. Haarer, *Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006, p. 106–109; J. Crow, *The Anastasian Wall and the Danube frontier before Justinian*, [in:] *The Lower Danube in Antiquity (the fifth century B.C. – the beginning of the seventh century A.D.)*, ed. L. Vagalinski, Tutrakan 2007, p. 397–401; A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Europe)*, Wien 2008, p. 507–509 [= Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 12]; M. Meier, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 141–148. On the construction of the wall also see further.

[2] See: V. Laurent, *Notes du titulature Byzantine*, EO 38, 1938, p. 353–379, esp. 365–368; W. Ensslin, *vicarius*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XVI.2, Stuttgart 1958, col. 2029sq; J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and the Tagmata c. 580–900*, Bonn 1984, esp. p. 271; F.K. Haarer, *op. cit.*, p. 106 for the opinion that it was *magister militum per Thracias*; Α. Γκουτζιουκωστας, *Η διοίκηση Θράκης κατά την πρώιμη βυζαντινή περίοδο, Πρακτικά 1ου Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου Ανατολικορωμυλιωτών, 4–6 Απριλιου 2008, Κομοτηνή: Ανατολική Ρωμυλία (Βόρεια Θράκη). Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, p. 105–121, esp. 114sqq; Α.Ε. Γκουτζιουκωστας, Ξ.Μ. Μοniαρος, Η περιφερειακή διοικητική αναδιοργάνωση της αυτοκρατορίας από τον Ιουστινιανό Α' (527–565): Η περίπτωση της *Quaestura Iustiniana Exercitus,* Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, p. 43–44.

of *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* and possibly carried out the duties of vicar of the diocese of Thrace whose existence is confirmed by constitutions of Anastasius I or, which seems to be more probable, he governed only the area close to the Anastasian Wall[3].

For several years, both vicars also functioned under Justinian I (527–565). In 535 the emperor replaced both 'quarrelsome' officers by *praetor Iustinianus Thraciae*, established by the 26th novel, issued May 18th (*Nov. Iust.,* XXVI)[4]. The constitution, preserved in its entirety in Greek and Latin versions, is the most important written source concerning the military organization of the *Long Walls of Thrace* under Justinian[5].

The imperial enactment describes in detail the duties of *praetor Iustinianus Thraciae* and quotes the arguments which had persuaded Justinian to establish it. The *preface* concerns the former administrative organization of the region of Thrace, based on the two vicars and mentions problems caused by their never-ending disputes. The first *capitulum* provides a general description of the new office of *praetor Iustinianus Thraciae* as the successor of both vicars, joining the reorganization with the reforms introduced in Lycaonia and Pisidia where *praetores* were established as well. One also explains why it was necessary to abolish the division of powers in the region of Thrace, emphasizing, among other things, that the invasions of barbarians demanded more stringent measures to ensure that the area was properly governed. The second *capitulum* mentions the insignia of the first *praetor Thraciae* as betokening military and civil magistracy, his honorary rank – *spectabilis*, and the nature of emperor's instructions (*mandata principis*). Subsequently, the reasons why praetors were established are addressed once again, invoking the importance of the office of praetor in the Roman past and the need of ensuring justice to emperor's subjects. The first paragraph of this chapter concerns the question of the praetor's 100 subordinates and his *ad responsum* as the praetor's deputy for military affairs, while the second discusses in detail the levy of taxes and the financial branch of his *officium*. The third *capitulum*

---

[3] On *vicarius Thraciarum* cf. recent J. WIEWIOROWSKI, *Vicarius Thraciarum come construttore*, SPu 12, 2010, p. 259–264; IDEM, "*Vicarius Thraciarum" in the 4th and 5th centuries: some remarks*, BF 30, 2011, p. 385–410. *Officium vicarius Thraciarum* is mentioned directly for the last time in *CJ*, XII, 59, 10, 4 (a. 491–518) while the diocese of Thrace in *CJ*, X, 27, 2 (a. 491–505?) and *CJ*, VII, 63, 5 (a. 529).

[4] Recent publications concerning *praetor Thraciae*: A. Γκουτζιουκωστας*, op. cit.*, esp. p. 113, 116; M. MEIER, *op. cit*., p. 147; J. WIEWIOROWSKI, *Kompetencje późnorzymskiego vicarius Thraciae w VI–VII w.*, CPH 62, 2010, p. 31–47; IDEM, *Zakres terytorialny jurysdykacji praetor Iustinianus Thraciae,* [in:] *Hortus Historiae. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Józefa Wolskiego w setną rocznicę urodzin,* ed. E. DĄBROWA et al., Kraków 2010, p. 685–706, with bibliographical references to previous studies.

[5] Summaries of the novel can also be found in *Epitome* by Julian*, Novellensyntagma* by Athanasius of Emessa and *Epitome novellarum* by Theodorus Scholasticus; its text is quoted in *Basilica* as well (VI, 10, 2–5). Cf. L. WENGER, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*, Wien 1953, p. 669–672. See also about *Epitome Iuliani* F. BRIGUGLIO, *L'"Epitome Iuliani" e il "Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium"*, RDR 1, 2001, www.ledonline.it/rivistadirittoromano/ [12 XII 2011]; W. KAISER, *Die Epitome Juliani. Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht*, Frankfurt am Main 2004.

stresses first that it is crucial for a *praetor* to be incorruptible and just towards the emperor's subjects, then orders him to take care of military affairs by exercising soldiers and conducting military operations in the appropriate manner. The following long verses state the praetor's duties as a judge and the extent of the emperor's control over him in this respect. The fourth *capitulum* describes the praetor's responsibility for taking care of public works and stresses his autonomy in this field with regard to the office of praetorian prefect (of the East). The first paragraph defines the manner of the possible replacement of the praetor and expresses the emperor's expectation that a highly honored praetor, member of the Senate, will be a good administrator. The second paragraph describes the praetor's jurisdiction in the matter of abuses committed by tax collectors. *Capitulum* five begins with the statement concerning the nature of the emperor's *mandata* and then goes on to examine the praetor's jurisdiction in private and criminal law (but without diminishing the *administratio* of the province governor), the details concerning the appeals from their decisions and the position of *praetor Thraciae* among other officials (he was placed at the same level as *comes Orientis, proconsules, comites Phrygiae* and *Galatiae*). The first paragraph of this chapter stresses the need for the establishment of the praetor's salary, introduces a ban on any additional remuneration for the praetor, and decrees his salary and the sum of money which should be paid by the praetor as commission for his appointment.

In the light of the novel, *praetor Thraciae* was responsible solely for the area close to *The Long Walls of Thrace*, the eastern part of the province of Europa, despite of the broader meaning of *Thracia* in antiquity and in the early Middle Ages[6]. At the time Thracia would denote four territories[7]: 1. the southern part of the Roman Balkans, which was more or less the same as the territory of the province of Thrace under the Principate (i.e. the area between the coasts of the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea, bounded in the north by the Balkan Mountains and extended west to the Mesta River); 2. diocese of Thrace (*diocesis Thraciarum*) established at the turn of the 4th cent. (i.e. the area of the province of Thrace under principate expanded by the provinces of *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor*, situated on the Lower Danube); 3. the province of *Thracia prima*, alternatively and more fre-

[6] See A. Γκουτζιουκωστας, *Η διοίκηση Θράκης…*, p. 114sqq; J. Wiewiorowski, *Zakres terytorialny…*, *passim* – with references to views expressed in previous studies.

[7] Cf. A. Betz, *Thrake (römisch)*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XI.2, Stuttgart 1936, col. 452–472, esp. 456sq; W. Swoboda, *Tracja,* [in:] *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. VI, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Streiber et al.,Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1977, p. 119–123; H. Ditten, *Die Veränderungen auf dem Balkan in der Zeit vom 6. bis 10. Jh. im Spiegel der veränderten Bedeutung von „Thrakien" und der Namen der Provinzen der Thrakischen Diöceze*, BBg 7, 1981, p. 157–179 (I follow his distinction); E.G. González, *Una aproximación al conocimiento de la administración del siglo IV: la diócesis de Thracia*, Fav 6, 1984, p. 83–98; P. Soustal, *Thrakien (Thrake, Rodope und Haimimontos)*, Wien 1991, esp. p. 62–74 [=Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 6]; I. Καραγιαννοπουλος, *Το Βυζαντινο διοκητικό σύστημα στα Βαλκάνια (4ος–9ος αι.)*, Αθήνα 1994, p. 7sq; P. Soustal, *Dorostolon-Silistria. Die Donaustadt im Lichte neurer Forschung*, MBu 11, 1997, p. 115–126; I. Rumen, G. von Bülow, *Thracia. Eine römische Provinz auf der Balkanhalbinsel*, Mainz am Rhein 2008.

quently known as *Haemimontus,* incorporated into the diocese of Thrace (i.e. middle Marica, near modern Stara Zagora and Plovdiv); 4. *thema* of Thrace, created in the last decades of the 7th cent.

Nov. Iust., XXVI uses the noun *Thracia* only in *singularis*. In *praefatio* there is a statement about τήν Θρᾳκῶν ὀνμάσειε χώραν – *Thracum nominaverit regionem,* or the word *Thracia* is used only as the part of the praetor's title (title of the novel: Πραίτωρ Θρᾴκης – *Praetor Thraciae*; cap. 2: (...) πραίτωρ οὗτος Ἰουστινιανός ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης (...) – (...) *praetor iste Iustinianus in Thracia* (...); *post subscriptio* (about his salary)*:* (...) τῷ πραίτωρι Θρᾴκης – (...) *praetori Thraciae.* On the face of it, it may be inferred that the novel uses it as the equivalent for the province of *Thracia prima*[8]. But the *Long Walls of Thrace* were situated on the territory of province Europa*,* in the vicinity of Constantinople. It raises the question why *praetor Thraciae* was not therefore called simply *praetor Europae*. This resulted from the fact that at the time there existed a separate civil governor, which is also emphasized in the text of the discussed imperial enactment, where the administrator of the province is mentioned twice in *singularis* as [ὁ] ἡγεμών/ ἄρχων τῆς ἐπαρχίας – *iudex provinciae*[9]. On a separate occasion the province is also mentioned in *singularis* ([ἡ] ἐπαρχία – *provincia*) under the jurisdiction of the *praetor Thraciae*. The provinces in the Balkans are mentioned directly around 535, for instance by Hierocles in *Synecdemus*[10] and their governors by the *Nov. Iust*., VIII (a. 535).

When describing the necessity of establishing the praetor cap. 1 states that: ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγούμενος ἐν ἑτέροις τισίν ἐστι τόποις, μόλις ἐκείνοις ἀρκῶν (...) (*Provinciae namque iudex in aliis quibusdam locis positus vix illis sufficient – Governor of the province in other places is invested with insufficient authority*)[11]. Thus the sentence underlines the weakness of the common civil governor.

---

[8] So H. DITTEN, *op. cit*., esp. p. 161, 162.

[9] On using these words as an equivalent for 'provincial governor' in late antiquity see e.g.: E. HANTON, *Lexique explicative du recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, B 4, 1927/1928, p. 67sq; W. ENSSLIN, *Praeses*, [in:] *RE*, suppl. vol. VIII, col. 598–614; H.J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis*, Toronto 1974, p. 111–113; A. HARTMANN, *Úřední termíny pro správu provincií v theodosiově kodexu (Die Verwaltung der Provinzen im Codex Theodosianus)*, SPFFBU 22/23, 1977/1978, p. 239–250. On civil governors in late antiquity cf. e.g.: W. ENSSLIN, *Praeses...*, *passim*; FRANCESCO DE MARTINO, *Storia della costituzione romana,* vol. V, Napoli 1967, p. 277–289; CH. ROUECHÉ, *Provincial governor and their titulature in the sixth century*, ATa 6, 1998, p. 83–89; D. SLOOTJES, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire*, Leiden 2006, esp. p. 16–76.

[10] HIEROCLES, *Synecdemus* 631–637, [in:] E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synecdémos d'Hiéroclès et l'opuscule géographique de George de Chypre. Texte commentaire et cartes,* Bruxelles 1939. See also *Hieroclis Synekdemos (Guide),* http://soltdm.com/sources/mss/hierocl/hierocles.htm [13 XII 2011]. On *Nov. Ius*., VIII see further.

[11] The translations are based on *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* vol. XVI, ed. S.P. SCOTT, Cincinnati 1931 and F.H. BLUME, *Annotated Justinian Code*, ed. T. KEARLEY, www.constitution.org/sps/sps.htm [12 XII 2011], with some amendments of my own.

The most important reference to the governor is made in *Capitulum* 5:

ουδὲν τοῦδε ἡμων τοῦ νόμου τὴ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντος ἐλαττοῦντος ἀρχὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείαου τε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς ἐπαρχίας τόποις πράττοντος, ἅπερ ἰδια τῶν νόμων ἐστί, τούτου τε, ἐν οἷς ἵδρυται μέρεσι, τὲν ἐπιτεταγμένην αὐτῶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πληροῦντος φροντίδα.
nihil hac nostra lege clarissimi provinciae iudicis minuente administrationem, sed illo in aliis provinciae locis agente quae propria legum sunt, hoc autem in quibus commoratur partibus commissam sibi a nobis implente sollicitudinem.
Our law does not diminish the importance of the *clarissimus g*overnor, but as the praetor acts in other places in the province, which is proper according to the laws, the governor shall perform the duties assigned to him by us in the places in which he is located.

It seems that according to Justinian's novel XXVI *praetor Thraciae* carried out certain duties in the province of Europa separately from its governor, who was responsible for other tasks in other places[12]. As a matter of fact, in the *Nov. Iust*., XXVI *praetor Thraciae* is not called 'governor' even once.

When comparing the part of the novel concerning the praetor's military duties with the civil ones, it may be observed that Justinian was interested chiefly in the proper and just administration of the area while military issues seemed to be of secondary importance.

As far as the praetor's military tasks are concerned, the novel stresses only preserving proper military discipline, training soldiers and conducting military campaigns (*Nov. Iust*., XXVI, 1 and 3 pr.). His military deputy was an officer called *ad responsum* (*Nov. Iust*., XXVI, 2, 2). Last but not least, the praetor of Thrace was responsible for taking care of public facilities which were situated there (including military installations: harbours, walls and bridges – *Nov. Iust*., XXVI, 4 pr).

However, military dilemmas are always connected with the particular local circumstances and events, which cannot be inferred from a legal text of general nature, as in the case of the Justinian's novel XXVI. Therefore the conclusion that in the light of the novel the praetor of Thrace was first of all a civil administrator and his military duties were secondary is not correct. On the contrary, Justinian was primarily concerned with stable army command and only secondarily with civil administration in the region more or less confined to the *Longi Muri*. Therefore *Nov. Iust*., XXVI, 1, 1 starts with the sentence:

ἡ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τούτων φυλακὴ καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους διοκίησις καὶ εὐταξία τε καὶ στρατηγία δεῖται τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἔχοντος ἐπιτηδείνος, στρατιώτας τε κοσμεῖν καὶ νόμων ἐξάρχειν (...).
murorum vero horum custodia et circa loca illa gubernatio <et> disciplina atque ducatus eget aliquo viro bono et qui ad utrumque opportunus existat, milites ordinare et legibus praeesse (…).
The care of walls [the Long Walls], the management and order of that region, as well as the keeping order of the army require the service of a good man, who is not only fit to command the soldiers, but also to issue orders in conformity with the laws (…).

[12] According to Α.Ε. Γκουτζιουκωστας, Ξ.Μ. Μοniαρος, *op. cit*., p. 44, it was the western part of the province *Europa*.

In the first sentence of *Nov. Iust*., XXVI, 2 preserved in the *Basilica*, there is even a direct statement that the emperor established the seat of *praetor Thraciae* in the *Longi Muri* (VI, 1, 1). It raises the question why his headquarters was there while the seat of the Roman provincial governor's was usually situated in the town[13]. When discussing the praetor's responsibilities one should remember too that besides *praetor Thraciae* there still existed the separate post of governor of province Europa. The latter officer was the civil governor in the province where the *Anastasian Wall* was situated, therefore the duties of the praetor of Thrace seem to be focused on military needs.

Praetor Thraciae was granted both civil and military powers as other regional officers established by Justinian in 535 and the following years, with the most important *Nov. Iust*., VIII (a. 535) at the forefront[14]. The goal of Justinian's reforms was, first of all, to simplify the administration and to curtail the never-ending disputes between military and civil officials. Besides, the emperor wanted to reduce corruption among provincial civil governors and to centralize administration in the eastern provinces. The centralizing policy suited praetorian prefecture in the East as well. Therefore some of the discussed reforms may have been suggested by John the Cappadocian, *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* between 532 and 541, who was the addressee of most novels establishing the new administrative order[15]. The

[13] Cf. e.g. R. HAENSCH, *Capita provinciarum. Stathaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1997.

[14] Cf. R. BONINI, *Ricerche sulla legislazione giustinianea dell'anno 535. Nov. Justiniani 8: Venalità delle cariche e riforme dell'amministrazione periferica*, Bologna 1976; IDEM, *Note sulla legislazione Giustinianea dell'anno 535*, [in:] *L'imperatore Giustiniano, Storia e Mito. Giornate di studio a Ravenna 14–16 ottobre 1976*, ed. G.G. ARCHI, Milano 1978, p. 161–178, esp. 167–170; R. HAASE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung des spätrömischen Reiches unter Kaiser Justinian I. (527 bis 565),* Wiesbaden 1994, esp. p. 15–53, 132–134. On the reforms see also CH. DIEHL, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1901, p. 270sqq., esp. 284; J.B. BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian*, vol. II, London 1923, p. 338–345; A. GITTI, *L'ordinamento provinciale dell'Oriente sotto Giustiniano*, BMIR 3, 1932, p. 47–79; L. BRÉHIER, *Le monde byzantin*, vol. I, Paris 1949, p. 106–118; J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung*, München 1959, p. 62–71; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, Paris–Brussells–Amsterdam 1949, p. 463sqq, 747sqq; A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire (284–602). A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, vol. I, Oxford–Cambridge Mass. 1964, p. 282sqq; K. VISKY, *Justinian für Rechtseinheit in den Provinzen*, RIDA 22, 1975, p. 355–373; M. MAAS, *Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation*, DOP 40, 1986, p. 17–32; J.A.S. EVANS, *The Age of Justinian. The Circumstances of Imperial Power*, London–New York 1996, p. 212sqq; CH. ROUECHÉ, *op. cit*., esp. p. 83–89; O. MAZAL, *Justinian I. und seine Zeit. Geschichte und Kultur des byzantinischen Reiches im 6. Jahrhundert*, Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 2001, p. 315sqq; A.E. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΩΣΤΑΣ, Ξ.Μ. ΜΟΝΙΑΡΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 36–56; S. PULIATTI, *La riforme costituzionali dal tardo impera all'età bizantina,* [in:] *Introduzione al diritto bizantino. Da Giustiniano ai Basilici*, ed. J.H.A. LOKIN, B.H. STOLTE, Pavia 2011, esp. p. 3–51.

[15] Only *Nov. Iust*., XLI and L were not addressed to John the Cappadocian. On his personality and influence cf. esp. P. LAMMA, *Giovanni di Cappadocia*, Aev 21, 1947, p. 80–100; E. STEIN, *Histoire...*, p. 433–437, 463–465; E. STEIN, *op. cit*., p. 433–437, 463–465; G. LANATA, *Legislazione e natura nelle novelle Giustiniane*, Napoli 1984, p. 129, n. 80; M. MAAS, *John Lydus and the Roman Past. Antiquarian-*

titles of the new officers also suited Justinian's propaganda, which described him as the *renovator imperii* and at the same time an efficient ruler of the empire[16].

The position of *praetor Thraciae* in Justinian's novel XXVI is compared with other Justinian's praetors – those of Pisidia and Lycaonia in Asia Minor, established respectively on May 15th and 18th, 535 (*Nov. Iust*., XXIV–XXV)[17].

The usual arguments are also used in the imperial enactments to explain the necessity to establish officers called praetors in all three separate regions. Their responsibilities as well as their civil and military powers were described similarly. The pattern of issues covered in all three novels is likewise analogous. Also certain points concerning trials they conducted were stipulated in a corresponding manner while their jurisdiction is stated in identical wording. All three *preatores* were paid 300 *solidi* as a salary, paying the same commissions for the appointments. Their *officia* consisted of 100 clerks who were paid 2 pounds of gold a year; also their *assessores* had the same salary – 72 solidi a year[18]. The next praetor established that year – *praetor Paphlagoniae* – had a similar status as well[19]. In contrast, *praetor Siciliae*, an office created not much later was solely a civil official and merely collected revenues for the army[20]. It seems that Justinian – or actually his *quaestor sacri palatii* Tribonian – gave similar justifications for the foundation of three *praeturae* (i.e. *Thraciae, Pisidiae* and *Lycaoniae*)[21]. But there is one significant difference: unlike

---

ism and Politics in the Age of Justinian, London 1992, p. 27, 38–39, 44; *PLRE*, vol. IIIb (Fl. Ioannes 11); Ch. Roueché, *op. cit*., p. 88; E. Franciosi, *Riforme istituzionali e funzioni giurisdizionali nelle Novelle di Giustiniano. Studi su Nov. 13 e Nov. 80*, Milan 1998, p. 14–20; P. Maraval, *L'empereur Justinien,* Paris 2003, p. 26sq.

[16] M. Mass, *Roman History…*, *passim*; idem, *John Lydus…*, p. 38sq with amendments by Ch. Roueché, *op. cit*., *passim*. For general information on the novels as the mirror of personal attitude of Justinian toward different social and ethical questions see H. Jones, *Justiniani novellae as the autoportrait d'un législateur*, RIDA 35, 1988, p. 149–208.

[17] Cf. T.C. Lounghis, B. Blysidu, St. Lampakes, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 476 bis 565,* Nicosia 2005, p. 265–266 (reg. 1064–1066) with bibliography. From the latest studies see also: R. Haase, *op. cit.,* p. 90–105, 136–137 (*Anhang* I–II – in the Anhang II *Praetor Thraciae* is omitted); A.E. Γκουτζιουκωστας, Ξ.Μ. Μονιαρος, *op. cit*., p. 39–44. On the similarities and differences between the position of the three praetors in the light of *Nov. Iust*., XXIV–XXVI see J. Wiewiorowski, *Ochrona porządku publicznego jako przesłanka ustanowienia praetores Pisidiae, Lycaonie, Thraciae i Paphlagoniae przez Justyniana Wielkiego w 535 r.*, [in:] *Ochrona bezpieczeństwa i porządku publicznego prawie rzymskim*, ed. K. Amielańczyk, A. Dębiński, D. Słapek, Lublin 2010, p. 307–316.

[18] They were also mentioned together in *Nov. Iust*., XXVII, 2 (May 18, a 535); XXX, 1, 1; XXXI, 3 (March 18, a. 536). Cf. T. C. Lounghis, B. Blysidu, St. Lampakes, *op. cit.*, p. 266 (reg. 1067), 277–278 (reg. 1110–1111).

[19] *Nov. Iust*., XXIX (July 16, a. 535). Cf. T.C. Lounghis, B. Blysidu, St. Lampakes, *op. cit.*, p. 269 (reg. 1077).

[20] *Nov. Iust*., LXXV = CIV (a. 537?). Cf. T.C. Lounghis, B. Blysidu, St. Lampakes, *op. cit*., p. 285 (reg. 1143); T. Wolińska, *Sycylia w polityce Cesarstwa Bizantyńskiego w VI–IX wieku*, Łódź 2005, p. 41–47.

[21] The same applied to all novels establishing administrative reform in 535. See E. Stein, *Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des languages dans ses novelles*, [in:] E. Stein, *Opera minora selecta*, ed. J.R. Palanque, Amsterdam, p. 359–371; T. Honoré, *Tribonian*, London 1978, esp. p. 47–48, 57–58,

praetor Thraciae, the praetors of Pisidia and Lycaonia were directly called governors[22]. Probably, when Justinian decided to establish the post of *praetor Thraciae*, the same pattern which had been used in the case of *praetor Pisidiae* and *praetor Lycaoniae* was followed in Justinian's novel XXVI. But the praetors of Pisidia and Lycaonia were the sole civil and military governors of provinces, while the praetor of Thrace, whose office combined civil and military powers, was accompanied by the civil governor of the province Europa. Nevertheless, the praetor of Thrace had the same position and salary as the praetors of Pisidia and Lycaonia. As observed before, the usage of the term *Thracia* in the title of the praetor of Thrace was not commensurate with its meaning. Still, coupled with his special status when compared to the other aforementioned praetors of Justinian, it highlights the significance the emperor attached to the post of *praetor Iustinianus Thraciae* with regard to the defence of the region, especially the defence from external threats and probably also the water supply of Constantinople itself (see further). A similar concept was put into practice by establishing the higher post of *quaestor Iustinianus excercitus* in 536, which is rightly described as *Justinian's desperate attempt to protect the northern flank of Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula*[23].

In conclusion, it seems that for Justinian the most vital among the praetor's duties consisted in the personal presence of *praetor Thraciae* in the region close to the *Anastasian Wall*, taking care of it and its garrison, and commanding the army troops.

Apart from discussed Abowe Justinian's novel XXVI the there is no other written direct data about the army command and the detachments in the *Longi Muri* area under Justinian. However, some information may be deduced from the intensive archaeological excavations conducted there in the last two decades and by comparison with other sources.

236–237; M. MAAS, *Roman History...*, *passim*; *PLRE*, vol. IIIb (Tribonianus 1); R. HAASE, *op. cit.*, p. 7–9. On *quaestores sacri palatii* in general cf. R. DELMAIRE, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain de Constantin à Justinien: I. Les institutions civiles palatines,* Paris 1995, p. 57–63; Α.Ε. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *Ο θεσμός του κοιαίστωρα του ιερού παλατίου: Η γένεση, οι αρμοδιότητες και η εξέλιξή του*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001 (about Tribonian p. 50, an. 101, 58 – about the titles of *quaestor*, 103–104, 107, an. 312).

[22] *Nov. Iust*., XXIV: 1, 2, 4; XXV: *pr.*, 1, 3, 5: ὁ ἄρχων/*iudex*. In XXVI, 1 they are respectively called *praetor Pisidiae* – ὁ ἡγεμών/*iudex*; *praetor Lycaoniae* - ὁ ἔξαρχος/*praesul.*

[23] C. MORRISON, J.-P. SODINI, *The Sixth-Century Economy*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A.E. LAIOU, Washington 2002, p. 171. On the disputable post of *quaestor exercitus* see from the most recent studies only: S. TORBATOV, *Quaestura Exercitus: Moesia Secunda and Scythia under Justinian*, ABu 1, 1997, p. 78–87; F. CURTA, *Quaestura exercitus: the evidence of lead seals*, ABF 1, 2002, p. 9–26; M. ZAHARIADE, *Scythia Minor: A History of a Later Roman Province (284–681). Pontic Provinces of the Later Roman Empire I, with contributions by V. Lungu and Z. Coracef*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 58–61; J. WIEWIOROWSKI, *Quaestor Iustinianus Exercitus – a Late Roman Army Commander?*, E 93, 2006, p. 317–340; A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Published Lead Seals Concerning Quaestura Exercitus,* [in:] *Proceedings of the International Symposium, Dedicated to the Centennial of the Dr. Vassil Haralanov, Held in Shumen in September the 13th–15th 2007,* ed. I. JORDANOV, Shumen 2008, p. 109–118; Α.Ε. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΩΣΤΑΣ, Ξ.Μ. ΜΟΝΙΑΡΟΣ, *op. cit.*, *passim*; A. MADGEARU, *Un eşalon logistic din armata bizantină din secolul al VI-lea: quaestura exercitus Iustiniani*, GMR 20, 2009, p. 189–194.

The Long Walls of Thrace were originally approximately 56 km long and according to Procopius of Caesarea it took two days to travel from one side to the other[24]. The *Anastasian Wall* was the last of the group of long walls built or rebuilt in the Balkans in the 5th and 6th centuries, such as e.g. the Isthmian wall in Corinth and Thermopylae[25]. The *Longi Muri* had a thickness of 3.30 m and a height of over 5 m. Probably, it was built complete with large pentagonal towers projecting 11.5 m (they were amongst the largest towers known from any fortification in Late Antiquity), wide rectangular towers – there were approximately as many as 340 towers along the entire length of the wall, with gates, forts and ditches. It was constructed as the outer defence of Constantinople, although it was also probably intended to protect a part of the long-distance water supply of Constantinople which ran for more than 250 km from Bizye to the city[26].

The complement of basic units of the late Roman infantry in the 6th century – *numerus*, *tagma* – is estimated at 100–500 people, while the cavalry unit *turma* numbered about a half of that number[27]. Bearing in mind the size of Justinian fortresses in the Balkans and estimating population at the military sites it follows that the whole line of the Danube was protected at the time only by several thousand soldiers[28]. Given the above and the size of the *Anastasian Wall* it is hardly likely that

---

[24] Procopius Caesariensis, *De Aedificiis libri VI*, IV, 9, 6, ed. J. Haury [cetera: Procopius; = *Procopius Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. IV, Lipsiae 1964]; see also modern Polish translation with commentary: Prokopiusz z Cezarei, *O budowlach,* trans. P.Ł. Grotowski, Warszawa 2006). On the construction and the detailed architecture of the wall see e.g. C. Schuchhardt, *Die Anastasius-Mauer bei Constantinopel und die Dobrudcha-Wälle*, JKDAI 16, 1901, p. 107–127; J.G. Crow, *The Long Walls of Thrace…, passim*; idem, A. Ricci, *op. cit.*, 241–253; J. Crow, *The Anastasian Wall and the Danube frontier…*, esp. p. 398sq; M.A. McAdams, S. Kocaman, *Using spatial technologies to explore archaeological sites: a Study of the Anastasian Wall in Thrace, Turkey*, www.fatih.edu.tr/~mcadams/anas.pdf [12 XII 2011]; see also the data published on the website of the *The Anastasian Long Wall project*: www.shc.ed.ac.uk/projects/longwalls/AnastasianWall.htm [12 XII 2011].

[25] Cf. T.E. Gregory, *The Hexamilion and the Fortress*, New York 1993, esp. p. 128; J.G. Crow, *The infrastructures of a great city: Earth, Walls and Water in late antique Constantinople*, [in:] *Technology in Transition A.D. 300–650*, ed. L. Lavan, E. Zanini, A. Sarantis, Leiden 2007, p. 249–285; www.shc.ed.ac.uk/staff/academic/jcrow/documents/06aCrow_249–286.pdf [12 XII 2011], esp. p. 398.

[26] Cf. D. Krandjalov, *Antique Cities of Eastern Thrace (Provincia Europa) Vallums in Dobrudja, Besarabia and Proto-Bulgarian Theory*, http://berberian11.tripod.com/krandjalov_ramparts.htm [12 XII 2011] For details see: J.G. Crow, *The infrastructures of a great city…, passim*; J. Crow, J. Bardill, R. Bayliss, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople*, London 2008; T. Wolińska, *Zaopatrzenie Konstantynopola w wodę we wczesnym średniowieczu (IV–VII w.)*, [in:] *Człowiek w średniowieczu. Między Biologią a historią*, ed. A. Szymczakowa, Łódź 2009, p. 27–52; M. Kokoszko, T. Wolińska, *Aprowizacja miasta*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. Leszka, T. Wolińska, Warszawa 2011, p. 433–470. See also data at www.shc.ed.ac.uk/projects/longwalls/ [12 XII 2011].

[27] Cf. e.g. R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Galienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin 1920, esp. p. 274–276; W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army 284–1081*, Stanford 1995, p. 93–98.

[28] Cf. F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700 A.D.*, Cambridge–New York 2001, p. 181–185; idem, *Tworzenie Słowian. Powrót do słowiań-*

the garrison under praetor of Thrace was greater than approximately three–four thousand soldiers[29].

According to a widely held view, Justinian was not consistent and his attitude towards the model of administrative organisation would vary: after the fall of John the Cappadocian in 541 some of the reforms connected with him were revoked[30].

The constant threat of incursions of different barbarian tribes, which began on the northern bank of the Danube (the river limiting the direct power of the Roman state[31]), combined with the lack of greater army forces in the Balkans[32], persuaded Justinian to embark on a programme of building military installations, praised

skiej etnogenezy, [in:] *Nie-Słowianie o początkach Słowian*, ed. P. URBAŃCZYK, Poznań–Warszawa 2006, p. 27–55, esp. 38sq.

[29] I follow the estimations presented by D. PRINGLE, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arabian Conquest: An Account of the Military History and Archaeology of the African Provinces in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, Part 1–2, Oxford 1981, p. 83–89, esp. 86; P.N. KARDULIAS, *Estimating Population at Ancient Military Sites: The Use of Historical and Contemporary Analogy*, AAn 57, 1992, p. 276–287, esp. 280–282. T.E. GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 13sq. On the most recent discussion concerning the troops stationed in the area enclosed by the long walls see J.F. HALDON, *Byzantine Praetorians…*, p. 271sqq. The author asked correctly whether the wall was ever "manned", in view of the vicinity of Constantinople and its garrison and the presence of forces under *magister militum praesentalis*. See also the estimation offered by J.G. CROW, *The Long Walls of Thrace…*, p. 117sq, which suggests 3,825 men (taking into account the number of forces defending other Roman "walls" in late antiquity).

[30] See correctly R. HAASE, *op. cit.*, p. 133; J. E. ATKINSON, *Justinian and the Tributations of Transformation*, AClas 42, 2000, p. 15–32, esp. 23sqq. On Justinian's administrative policy after 541 in general see E. STEIN, *Histoire…*, p. 747–756; R. BONINI, *Introduzione allo studio dell'età Giustinianea*, Bologna 1977, p. 71–78; IDEM, *L'ultima legislazione pubblicistica di Giustiniano (543–565)*, [in:], *Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustinianea: caratteri e problematiche*, ed. G.G. ARCHI, Ravenna 1985, p. 139–171, esp. 146–156; A.E. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΩΣΤΑΣ, Ξ.Μ. ΜΟΝΙΑΡΟΣ, *op. cit.*, p. 57–65.

[31] Cf. e.g.: Е. ФРАНЧЕС, *Византийское государство и левобереже Дуная в VI в.*, ВВ 20, 1961, p. 14–22; Č. BONEV, *Les Antes et Byzance*, EB, 1983, 3, p. 109–120; С.А. ИВАНОВ, *Оборона Византии и география варварских второжении через Дунай в первой половине VI в.*, I, ВВ 44, 1983, p. 27–47; II, ВВ 45, 1984, p. 35–53; F. CURTA, *The Making...*, p. 190–204; A. KÜLZER, *op. cit.*, p. 88–96. See also recently S. TURLEJ, *Upadek granicy cesarstwa na Dunaju*, [in:] *Barbarzyńcy u bram imperium*, ed. IDEM, Kraków 2007, p. 185–246; IDEM, *Bałkany w cieniu wojen Justyniana? Znaczenie relacji Prokopiusza*, [in:] *Hortus Historiae...*, p. 707–718.

[32] In part caused by the plague. Cf. J. L. TEALL, *The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies*, S 40, 1965, p. 294-323; A.S. FOTIOU, *Recruitment Shortages in Sixth Century Byzantium*, B 58, 1988, p. 65–77; L.M. WHITBY, *Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)*, [in:] *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III: States, Resources and Army: Papers of the third Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, ed. Av. CAMERON, Princeton 1995, p. 61–124, esp. 92–110. On the so-called Plague of Justinian see e.g. J. DURLIAT, *La peste du VI^e siècle, pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantins*, [in:] *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine*, vol. I, *IV^e–VII^e siècle*, ed. V. KRAVARI et al., Paris 1989, p. 107–113; D.Ch. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and pestilence in the late Roman and early Byzantine empire: a systematic survey of subsistence and epidemics,* Burlington 2004, p. 110–165; P. HORDEN, *Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian,* [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. MAAS, Cambridge 2005, p. 134–160; I. ANTONIOU, A.K. SINAKOS, *The Sixth-Century Plague, Its Repeated appearance until 746 AD and the Explosion of the Rabaul Volcano*, BZ 98, 2005, p. 1–4.

with exaggeration by Procopius in *de Aedificiis* (who also describes the works conducted as part of the *Long Walls of Thrace*)[33].

The necessity of developing defensive structures in the Balkans may have caused the abolition of praetor Thraciae around the mid-6th century and the reestablishment of the more suitable βικιριος Θρᾴκης – *vicarius Thraciae*, who was most probably the civil supervisor of the provinces: *Europa*, *Haemimontus* (i.e. *Thracia secunda*), *Rhodopa*, *Thracia* (i.e. *Thracia prima*). According to J.F. Haldon the post seems to have been abolished later, in the late 6th and 7th centuries, probably as a result of the presence of a large number of troops under *magistri militum* during the reigns of Mauricius, Phocas and Heraclius. In his opinion, *Now the Vicar of Thrace (or Praetor) was responsible for the area between the Long Walls and Constantinople, and commanded also a military force, at least in theory*[34]. But the civil nature of the 'new' vicarius of Thrace and his broader jurisdiction is well attested in sources dating from the late 6th century; in actual fact therefore the *vicarius Thraciae* was possibly mainly involved in building activities[35].

The constant presence of the civil governor of *Europa*, the vicinity of Constantinople and its prefect (ὁ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως), and the presence of *magister militum praesentalis* may also have demonstrated that the separate post of *praetor Thraciae* was useless. Justinian's administration of Pisidia represents a similar case; in 553

[33] Procopius, IV, 9, 9–13. Perhaps the programme was expanded only in the late 550s. Cf. S. Torbatov, *op. cit.*, p. 83sq. The latter followed the opinion of С.А. Иванов, *op. cit.*, p. 27sqq. The undertaken works are discussed in numerous studies. See e.g. V. Beševliev, *Zur Deutung des Kastelnamen in Prokops Werk 'De Aedificiis'*, Amsterdam 1970; S. Patoura-Hatzopoulos, *L'Œuvre de reconstruction du 'limes' danubien à l'époque de l'empereur Justinien Ier*, RESEE 18, 1980, p. 95–109; S. Turlej, *Upadek...*, p. 198, 217–218, 240–241; idem, *Bałkany...*, *passim*. On the accuracy of Procopius' description of the frontier area see J.-P. Arrignan, J.F. Duneau, *La frontière chez deux auteurs Byzantins: Procope de Césarée et Constantine Porphyrogénéte*, [in:] *Geographica Byzantina*, ed. H. Ahrweiller, Paris 1981, p. 17–30; Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century,* London–3New York 2000, p. 93; P.Ł. Grotowski, *op. cit.*, p. 68, 300–302.

[34] J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians…*, p. 271, 144.

[35] Cf. V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*, Berlin 1964, № 198 (a. 575–576): [Φλ(αβίου) Ἰουστίνου]/ αἰωνίο[υ] Α[ὐγούσ]/ του καὶ Αὐτοκράτο/ ρος ἔτους ἐνδε/ κάτου καὶ Φλαβίου/ Τιβερίου Κωνσταν/ τίνου τοῦ εὐτυ/ χεστάτου ἡμῶν/ Καίσαρος ἔτους δευτέρου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ',/ ἐπὶ Ἁρμάτου βι/ καρίου Θρᾴκης δι/ ὰ Χρυσαφίου ἐρ/ γολάβου; *ibidem*, No 227 (a. 582): † Ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε/ Σολομῶν ὁ τῆς μεγ(α)λ(ο)π(ρεποῦς)/ μνήμ(ης) γενάμ(ενος)/ κόμ(ης) τῶν κ(αθωσιομένων)/ δομεσ(τίκων κ(αὶ) βικάρ(ιος) Θρᾴκης/ τε(λευτήσας) μη(νὸς)/ Νοεμβρ(ίου) ς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α', βασι/ λ(είας) τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) ἡμῶν Φλ(αβίου)/ Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου ἔτους α'; G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals*, Basel 1972, № 2798, a and b (6th/7th cent.): Ἀρδιανοῦ βικαρίου Θρᾴκης; *ibidem,* No 2802 a (6th/7th cent.): Ἰωάννου νοταρίου/ *et vicarii T<h>raciae*; *ibidem*, № 2802 b (6th/7th cent.): Ἰωάννου/ *et vicarii Thracis*; I. Jordanov, *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*, Sofia 2003, № 35.1. A. a-c (6th/7th cent.): † Ἰωάννου νοταρίου/ [καὶ] vicarii Thracis; *ibidem*, № 35.1. B (6th/7th cent.): † Ἰωάννου νοταρίου/ *et vicarii Thracis*; unpublished seal (Archaeological Museum Plovdiv – information from I. Jordanov in a letter from of 29.04.2007): Ἀρδιανοῦ βικαρίου Θρᾴκης. Cf. already E. Stein, *Histoire…*, p. 747, an. 2: A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 56, an. 60 and recently with a detailed discussion and bibliography concerning *vicarius Thraciae*: Α.Ε. Γκουτζιουκωστας, Η *διοίκηση Θράκης…*, p. 116–121; J. Wiewiorowski, *Kompetencje..., passim.*

the division of powers was established there once again because it was better appreciated by the inhabitants (*Nov. Iust*., CXLV)[36]. The novel limited the jurisdiction of the new officer *dux et biokolytes* in *Pisidia* and *Phrygia* to civil matters whereas in *Lycaonia* and *Lidia* he held both military and civil powers.

A possible reason for the abolishment of *praetor Thraciae* may lie in the incapacity of this officer to improve the condition of the *Long Walls of Thrace*, as the written sources suggest[37].

They were crossed easily in Spring 559 during the raid of the Cutrigurs under Zabergan (perhaps also earlier by the Slavs in 550)[38]. According to a rhetorical statement of Agathias Scholasticus, in those days

> Age and neglect had in fact caused the structure of the great wall to crumble and collapse in many places. (…) Some parts of it the barbarians themselves knocked down, setting about task with the nonchalant air of man demolishing their own property. There was nothing to stop them, no sentries, no engines of defence, nobody to man them. There was not even the sound of a dog barking, as would at least have been the case with a pig-sty or a sheep-cot.[39]

The historian fails to mention that the destruction of the wall may have been caused earlier by the great earthquake in December 557[40]. Theophanes the Confessor, who described the latter disaster in detail, also wrote about Justinian' personal restoration of the *Anastasian Wall* in 559, stating with emphasis that before it took place *Likewise barbarians wandered about outside the city until August*[41]. Nonetheless, Theophanes's chronicle becomes valuable only with the reign of Justin II (565 A.D.); thanks to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus we also know about the triumphant return of Justinian to Constantinople that year, probably after having completed those works[42]. The personal involvement of Justinian in the restoration

---

[36] Cf. T.C. LOUNGHIS, B. BLYSIDU, ST. LAMPAKES, *op. cit*., p. 333 (reg. 1387).

[37] Similarly B. CROKE, *op. cit*., p. 77.

[38] *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, V, 13–19, ed. R. KEYDELL, Berlin 1967 (cetera: AGATHIAS); the translations are quoted from the English translation of J.D. FRENDO, Berlin–New York 1975. Justinian had to ask the retired general Belisarius to lead an improvised force against the Cutrigurs. Cf. e.g. E. STEIN, *Histoire…,* p. 539sq.

[39] AGATHIAS, V, 13, 5–6.

[40] AGATHIAS, V, 3–8. B. CROKE, *op. cit.,* p. 69 associates the damage to the *Long Wall of Thrace* with the earthquake of 551. *Contra*, correctly, J.G. CROW, A. RICCI, *op. cit.*, p. 239 n. 32. About the earthquakes between 551 and 557 and the resulting damage see E. GUIDOBONI, *Catalogue of ancient earthquakes in the Mediterranean area up to the 10th century*, vol. I, Rome 1994, p. 331–345 (with quotations of written sources concerning those).

[41] *Theophanis Chronographia*, A.M. 6050–6051, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. I, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 233–234. The quoted translation comes from *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History A.D. 284–813*, trans. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT with the assist. of G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997, p. 342 (further quotations come from this edition).

[42] CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENNITUS, *De caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, rec. I.I. REISKI, vol. I, Bonnae 1829, p. 497–498. Cf. E. STEIN, *Histoire*…, p. 818–819, B. CROKE, *op. cit*. p. 69.

of the *Anastasian Wall* might also have been engendered by the weakness of its administration under *praetor Thraciae* or the earlier abolition of the post. The *Long Walls of Thrace* were probably in poor condition already before 550; the securing of the towers of the *Anastasian Wall* described by Procopius and referred to in Agathias, probably took place already around the middle of the 6th century[43].

In all likelihood, the length of the fortifications made them difficult to defend and the lack of resources did not allow maintaining them in proper condition[44]. Agathias Scholasticus mentioned that *the Roman armies had not in fact remained at the desired level attained by the earlier Emperors but had dwindled to a fraction of what they had been and were no longer adequate to the requirements of a vast empire* (concerning the raid of Cutrigurs in 559)[45]. Therefore, as T.E. Gregory stated: *From the sixth century on, the defenders* [i.e. Romans] *apparently put their hope in superior technology and massive towering walls, while the barbarians simple bade their time and crossed the fortifications when and where they were poorly manned*[46]. Yet regardless of the above limitations, the fortifications built in the Balkans by Justinian in general – together with the diplomacy and subsidies for the northern barbarians – allowed him to keep a delicate balance along the Danube frontier. The system worked more or less properly, as may be inferred from the lack of monetary treasure between 550–565 in the Balkans[47]. From then on, it gradually declined in consequence of the arrival of the Avars in the 560s and the subsequent establishment of their hegemony among the northern barbarian tribes after Justinian's death in 565. His failure to sustain a consistent administration of *Longi Muri* did not affect it[48].

---

[43] Procopius, IV, 9, 6–13; Agathias, V, 3–8. Procopius was not an enthusiast of the wall (Procopius, IV, 9, 8). L.M. Whitby, *The Long Walls…*, p. 582, an. 81, also supported by Agathias, V, 3–8. He followed his judgement as to the date of Procopius's *De aedificiis*, presented later in L.M. Whitby, *Justinian's bridge over the Sangarius and the Date of Procopius 'de Aedificiis'*, JHS 105, 1985, p. 129–148. An opposing opinion is expressed by G. Greatrex, *The dates of Procopius' works*, BGMS 18, 1994, p. 101–114, esp. 109, who emphasized that the passage of Procopius cannot be related to any historical events or at least to the raid of the Slavs in 550. Cf. also J.G. Crow, A. Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[44] On the limited effectiveness of the *Anastasian Wall* cf. J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians…*, p. 273 sq; idem, *Strategies of defence, problems of security: the garrisons of Constantinople in the middle Byzantine period*, [in:] *Constantinople and its Hinterland…*, p. 143–155. *Contra* and more correct studies quoted in an. 1 and 24. E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge Mass.–London 2009, p. 77sq is probably intuitively right in stating that the *Anastasian Wall* was abandoned because the number of its defenders was too high.

[45] Agathias, V, 13, 7. The question of the size of the late Roman army is still disputed. Cf. e.g. R. MacMullen, *How Big was the Roman Imperial Army*, K 62, 1980, p.. 451–460; W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army Byzantium and Its Army 284–1081,* Stanford 1995, p. 43–86; P. Southern, K. R. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, London 1996, p. 31–33; M.J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire. The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the battle of Adrianople,* Amsterdam 1998, p. 67–76.

[46] T. E. Gregory, *op. cit*., p. 151.

[47] Cf. C. Morrisson., V. Popović, V. Ivanišević [et al.], *Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491–713)*, Paris 2006, p. 75–93; F. Curta, *The Making...*, esp. p. 175–178, 188–189.

[48] Cf. e.g. recently L. M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on*

Abstract: The paper discusses the question of the defence of the *Long Walls of Thrace* (Μακρὰ Τεῖχη τῆς Θρᾴκης) or the *Anastasian Wall* (Αναστάσειο Τείχος) under Justinian the Great (527–565 A.D.). Emperor Anastasius I (491–518 A.D.) probably put an end to the *vicarius Thraciarum*, the head of administration of the late Roman Diocese of Thrace, establishing two vicars instead. One of them was responsible for the defence of the Long Walls of Thrace while the other was a purely civil officer. Both vicars governed the area of the *Anastasian Wall* also in the first years of Justinian's reign. This administrative framework was useful for the defence of Constantinople itself but it also gave rise to certain problems. When Justinian reformed the provincial administration and abolished all vicariates in 535 A.D., he replaced the vicars of the *Anastasian Wall* with *praetor Iustinianus Thraciae* (*Nov. Iust.*, XXVI – a. 535). Next year, the emperor created the peculiar post of *quaestor Iustinianus exercitus* (*Nov. Iust.*, XLI). The territory of the quaestura contained the provinces *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia Minor*, located in the lower Danube region, as well as the provinces of Cyprus, Caria and the Aegean Islands. In turn, the responsibilities of the Praetor of Thrace were confined to the region of the *Anastasian Wall*. The new post combined the functions of military officer and head of civil administration. The nature of *praetor Thraciae* is discussed in the light of *Nov. Iust.*, XXVI and compared with analogous praetors established in the provinces of Paphlagonia and Pisidia (*Nov. Iust.*, XXIV–XXV), as well as other data. After the fall of John of Cappadocia in 541, Justinian revoked some administrative reforms, restoring the vicariate of Pontica and restoring former powers to the *comes Orientis* who played the same role as a vicar in the Diocese of Oriens. In the Balkans, Justinian left the post of *quaestor Iustinianus exercitus* intact. Meanwhile, the function of the *preator Thraciae*, which proved to be inefficient, as the incursions of the Slavs (ca. 550) and the Kutrigur Bulgars in 559 had shown, was possibly abolished. The repairs of the *Anastasian* Wall needed to be conducted after the great earthquake in 557 A.D. by Justinian himself, which indirectly demonstrates the weakness of administration under *praetor Thraciae* or the earlier abolishment of the post. It is likely that instead Justinian reinstated the post of the vicar of Thrace, who became a civil administrator over the part of the former Diocese of Thrace limited to the provinces of *Europa, Haemimontus*, *Rhodopa* and *Thracia*, a function which was probably more suited to overseeing construction undertakings conducted at the time in the Balkans.

Jacek Wiewiorowski
Katedra Prawa Rzymskiego i Historii Prawa Sądowego
Wydział Prawa i Administracji
Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
ul. Św. Marcin 90
61–809 Poznań, Polska
wiew@amu.edu.pl

Persian and Balkan Warfare, Oxford 1988, p. 138–194; A. MADGEARU, *The Dawnfall of the Lower Danubian Late Roman Frontier*, RRH 36, 1997, p. 315–336; W. POHL, *Die Awaren: ein Steppenvolk im Mitteleuropa, 567–822 n. Chr.*, [2]München 2002, p. 58–89, 128–162; S. TURLEJ, *Upadek...,* p. 241–246.